

Watjarri

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1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

The Watjarri language, spoken by the few remaining descendants of an Aboriginal tribe previously camped along a section of the Murchison River in Western Australia, is a suffixing type language similar to the Western Desert language (see Douglas 1958, 1964).

The phonemes of Watjarri are the typical Western Desert pattern with three significant vowels and 17 consonants. In Watjarri, however, there is no contrast between long and short vowels. Monosyllabic words predictably carry vowel length. There is contrast between dental, alveolar and apico-post-alveolar stops, nasals and laterals, and between two rhotics. A contrast between lamino-dentals and lamino-alveolars (sometimes mistaken for lamino-palatals) cannot be sustained on the ground of semantic distinction. Watjarri speakers, though, recognize the sound difference and refer to the lamino-dental articulation as 'light Watjarri' and the lamino-alveolar as 'heavy Watjarri'. Individual speakers fluctuate in their usage of these sounds.

The Watjarri syllable pattern is strongly CV or CVC; but words may begin with a vowel (as in Eastern dialects of the Western Desert) and there is a strong tendency to have a vowel as word-final phoneme. In utterance-medial positions, words may end with one of the continuants except /m/, /ŋ/, /r/, /w/ or /y/.

Morphologically, Watjarri is not very complex. Monosyllabic words are comparatively rare. (Note the frequent occurrence of single-syllable words in Nyungar of the South-West, Douglas 1968). Noun and verb stems are predominantly bisyllabic. There is a distinction between common and proper nouns and pronouns. Bound pronouns may occur instead of free pronouns and may be found suffixed to noun, noun phrase or verb fillers on clause level to indicate Subject or Object. A bound pronoun suffixed to a free form of the pro-

noun produces an emphatic form of that pronoun.

The free pronoun system has singular, dual and plural distinctions as well as inclusive-exclusive distinction in the dual and plural forms. The bound pronoun system is restricted to 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular, 1st dual and 3rd plural with a restricted use of a 2nd dual. The accusative forms of the bound pronouns, from the data available, are restricted to 1st and 2nd singular only.

In addition to the personal pronouns, there is a set of positional pronouns or locationals which could be regarded as 3rd person pronouns except that they take the same case markers as nouns and carry a component of position in relation to the speaker as 'near', 'mid-distant', 'distant' or 'previously referred to'. In the noun phrase these forms function as demonstratives.

Admittedly it is difficult to maintain a distinction between nouns and adjectives in this description. Each of these categories is inflected in the same way and each may be derived from verbs in the same manner. A noun which is the head of a noun phrase may be said to be modified by an adjective, which is peripheral to the noun nucleus; but a generic noun may also be modified by a more specific noun. On the other hand, although an adjective may occupy a headless noun phrase, in a requested repetition the noun head will be supplied. For ease of description on this surface level, therefore, the adjective category has been retained. Semantically this category includes those forms which refer to state, quality, number or quantity, and size.

Transitive-intransitive contrast occurs within the verb system and there are two major conjugational classes, manifested by their differing inflectional suffixes, marking off the verbs as belonging to either the -YA class or the -LA class. The labelling is borrowed from the future tense allomorphic suffixes. A small number of irregular forms of the verb have been noted.

A notable feature of Watjarri is the presence of a nominative-accusative case system for pronouns, an ergative-absolutive system for common nouns, and an ergative-absolutive system associated with proper names but with a different marker for the absolutive form.

In the syntax, word order within the noun phrase is more fixed than in clauses generally. As the major functional units within the clause are clearly marked by the case endings, change of word order may change only the semantic focus. As in the Western Desert language, clauses may have verbal or verbless predicates. With clauses having verbal predicates, there is distinction between transitive and intransitive statement and command types. The verbless clauses may be equational, stative or locational. Dependent clauses indicate whether the action of the second predicate is simultaneous with or subsequent to the action of the main predicate. There is no 'switch reference system' in Watjarri.

Although a statistical analysis has not been attempted, the differences in Watjarri and Western Desert language vocabularies is obvious. There are, as can be expected, a number of shared cognates and also a number of obvious borrowings; but the vocabulary overlap between the two languages

is small. Syntactic overlap is greater; but even in this area there are notable differences.

1.2 THE SPEAKERS

In 1973, I estimated the number of Watjarri speakers as fewer than two hundred scattered between Meekatharra and Geraldton. Of these, probably fewer than fifty spoke the language fluently. On later visits, I found that many of these people had become unreliable as language informants because of alcoholism. In fact, it was difficult to find a person whose first language was Watjarri. Very few could tell a traditional story without using English. Recently, there have been signs of a cultural revival among the Watjarri people. A number of the people have attempted to retrieve the lost knowledge of their own language and culture. Parents, concerned now because their children had not learned the language in the home, have even requested that the children be taught the Watjarri language in primary schools.

Fink (1965) writing about the situation in the Murchison District in the years 1955-57 stated: 'Most of the coloured people in the district are descended from the original local tribal groups; but other Aborigines, brought in from South Australia by an early settler, have now intermarried and merged with the local people (who are Wadjari). The word "Jamadji" (yamatji) means "man" in the Wadjari language, and is commonly used by natives in the Murchison for anyone of Aboriginal descent who was born in the district. Other terms are applied to natives from other districts; for instance, Aborigines from farther east are called Wanmala, and those from the south-west, Nunga (Nyungar).'

The people from 'South Australia', referred to by Fink, were probably the group of Aborigines brought from Eucla by Reece and Scott about 1905. To-day, in the Murchison, they are referred to as the 'Yukala' people. Their language is also known as 'Yukala'; but only a few vocabulary items could be recalled by the informants approached. Elsewhere their language has been referred to as Mirniny or Mirning (Wurm 1972, Tindale 1974).

Since Dr. Ruth Fink did her research in the Murchison, there has been considerable movement of Watjarri people. Some families may still be found at Mullewa, Yalgoo and Mt. Magnet, at Meekatharra and Geraldton. Others have moved to places as far away as Kalgoorlie and Perth and there are a few individuals from the area who have travelled even more widely.

1.3 DIALECTS AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

Curr in his *The Australian Race* (1886-7) Vol.1 p.310, includes reference to a language, 'Watchandie', spoken by a tribe camped at the mouth of the Murchison River. From the vocabulary lists supplied in Volumes I and IV, it seems obvious that this language was closely related to the Watjarri spoken higher up the river. No doubt there would have been

mutual intelligibility between dialects right along the river, although people at one end of the string may have regarded those at the other end as speaking something unintelligible. Watjarri speakers in the Murchison to-day do not know the name Watjanti (Watchandie) but refer to the people at the sea end of the Murchison River as either 'Wirlunyu' (Wirlunju) 'sea coast people', or 'Tja Urra', which refers to their use of the verb 'urra' (meaning 'He is coming') in their 'speech' or 'mouth', tja.

The Watjarri are surrounded by a multiplicity of languages. During the period of research (infrequent intervals between 1964 and 1977), Watjarri speakers referred to more than thirty languages or dialects of which they had some knowledge. This excludes their knowledge of English, of Aboriginal English, and of other European languages. I may mention that one excellent Watjarri informant, Joe Marlow, spoke English with a broad Scottish accent acquired from association with his long-time Scottish employer. A list of languages referred to by Watjarri speakers is supplied in 1.5 below.

In 1964, people of Watjarri background were located in Geraldton, Mullewa, Yalgoo, Mt. Magnet and Meekatharra towns. They were also to be found on pastoral stations along the Murchison, both on the south side and on the north. The farthest east Watjarri family was located at Mt. Fraser station, just north of where the river crosses the Great Northern Highway. Small numbers of people were also to be found at Trilbar, Moorarie, Koonmarra, Berringarra, Milly-Milly, Byro (a significant Watjarri centre), Nookawarra, Mileura, Curbar, Narryer, Meeberrie, Boolardy (another significant centre), Twin Peaks, Murgoo, Pinegrove, Bullardoo and Yuin.

As can be expected, dialects developed or were centred in some of these stations and towns. For example, Mrs. Lily Dann compared the 'heavy' and 'light' dialects in this way. Using the Watjarri word *katja* as the example, she said, 'On the Byro side it is light, *kaʃa*; but the heavy Watjarri (referring to the Boolardy side) is *kaʃa*'. The 'Byro dialect', being closer to Inkartara, was possibly influenced by this language in which the lamino-dental stops are more common. Boolardy is regarded by people on the south side of the river as the centre of 'true Watjarri'. Compare Brandenstein's reference to Iirra-Wadjarri (Brandenstein 1967:3).

As the Watjarri people moved into towns along the railway line between Geraldton and Mt. Magnet, they came under the influence of the Wirtimaya (also called the Watjanmay by the Nyungars) around Yalgoo, and the Patimaya, who had moved from Paynes Find to Mt. Magnet township. They were also influenced by the Nyungars of the South-west, now moving into the towns of Geraldton, Mullewa and Mt. Magnet also (Douglas 1976). Other groups of Watjarri speakers were influenced by the Western Desert language in towns along the Great Northern Highway, especially at Cue and Meekatharra. Borrowings from these languages are evident in more recently collected vocabulary items. For example, the Watjarri negative is *watji*. To-day, Watjarri speakers at Mt. Magnet, Mullewa, at Meekatharra and even as far as Boolardy, may be

heard using the Wirtimaya negative, *wirti*. A number of Patimaya, Western Desert and other language borrowings may be found in the dictionary.

Northwards, at Woodlands Station, the negative is *nanu*, and this gives the name *Nanu* to the language which has a vocabulary overlap with *Watjarri* of approximately 70%, according to the local estimate. At *Pingandie* Station, further north, the language is referred to by the southern speakers as '*Watjarti*'.

1.4 PAST WORK ON THE WATJARRI LANGUAGE

The greatest amount of information on *Watjarri* seems to be contained in the writings of Mrs. Daisy Bates (c.1904). Her manuscripts are held in the Australian National Library. No.365 manuscript has a section (XII) which has an Outline of the Grammar and also Vocabularies from the Murchison area. These vocabularies, which incidentally confirm much of the material in the present work, come from various dialect areas within the Murchison district (Bates c.1904).

Reference has been made already to *Curr's* vocabulary list from 'the mouth of the Murchison', contained in Volume IV of *The Australian Race*, pages 4-45. *Augustus Oldfield* (1886), writing in Volume I of the same book, has a brief introduction to the *Watchandi* Tribe and then a short vocabulary list. He suggests that there may be some connection between *watchu*, meaning 'west', and the name of the tribe (see *Oldfield* 1865, 1886:310-313).

Other observations on the people of the Murchison were made by *Helms* (1896), *Perks* (1886), *Richardson* (1900), *Vivienne* (1901) and the *Elder Scientific Exploring Expedition* of 1891-2. More recently, *Hambly* (1931) described types of weapons in the area. *Fink* (1960) supplied an Appendix for her dissertation on social change in the Murchison District. The appendix is entitled '*Traditional songs*' and contains some valuable material of a linguistic nature. A copy of this is held by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies for 'Restricted use' only. Another paper of a restricted nature is one by *Gratte* (1966). This contains first hand observations of certain ceremonies; but also contains about 250 words from *Watjarri* speakers at *Boolarady* Station.

1.5 NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES REFERRED TO BY WATJARRI SPEAKERS

The initial spelling of language names in this section is in the practical alphabet described in chapter 2 and represents the pronunciation of the Aboriginal informant. To enable the reader to gain further information about the languages listed, references to the appropriate pages or sections in *O'Grady*, *Voegelin* and *Voegelin* (1966) and *Oates* (1975), Vol.I, are given. These two sources are abbreviated to '*O'Grady*' and '*Oates*' respectively. Other references are given in full. Comments by Aboriginal informants are given in quotes.

- ARNMANU - a coastal language. Some vocabulary supplied. Probably Nanta. O'Grady pp.119-28. Oates 53.4a.
- INGKARTA - 'Gascoyne Junction way'. O'Grady pp.114-118. Oates 53.2.
- INTJIWARNI - 'The language of Jack Smith'. Probably Jindj-ibandi. O'Grady p.90-6. Oates 50.4b.
- KANJARRA - Joe Marlow related the word to Yukala. O'Grady pp.103ff. Oates 51.
- KARIYARRI - 'The language spoken in the Port Hedland - Roebourne area.' Example of the language given. O'Grady pp.96ff. Oates 50.5a.
- MALIYARA - '... means East'. Informants indicated that it is synonymous with Wanmala (q.v.). O'Grady, in list p.37. Oates 53.5a.
- MALKANA - '...spoken at Hamelin Pool'. 'We can understand a bit of that.' O'Grady p.119. Oates 53.3a.
- NJANTA - '...more over Geraldton way. We can hear some of this talk.' O'Grady pp.119ff. Oates 53.4a.
- NANU - '...a dialect of Watjarri. Nanu means 'no'. 'The dialect of Alan Hill of Woodlands Station. He said, 'Watjarri means, "What's your word?"' See Tindale (1974) map, Ninanu north of Watjari. Not listed in O'Grady or Oates; but a Nanu listed under Ngurlu in Oates and Oates (1970:74).
- NGARLA - 'Around the Fortescue - Ashburton area'. About 60 expressions supplied showing considerable overlap with Watjarri and with Paljku-Pantjima. O'Grady pp.80ff. Oates 50.1.
- NJIYAPALI - 'Language of Tablelands to Jigalong'. Wurm (1972:23, 125). Oates 56.11a. See also Oates and Oates (1970:55, 80).
- NJUKARN - '...near Malkana...spoken near Northampton'. Oates 53.3b.
- PALTJIRI - 'Spoken at Williambury Station.' (N.E. of Carnarvon). In area indicated for Bayungu in O'Grady, p.108. Oates 51.2.
- PANTUMA - 'Language of Hammersley, Rocklea and Mulga Downs stations.' Prob. Pantjima, O'Grady pp.84ff. Oates 50A.2a.
- PATIMAYA - '...spoken in the Mt.Magnet - Paynes Find area.' O'Grady p.128. Oates 52.3.
- PINIKURRA - '...spoken at Nanutarra station'. O'Grady p. 103. Oates 50.7.
- PULINJA - '...old Geraldton talk..'. A small vocabulary collected showing about 60% overlap with Watjarri. Wurm (1972:126), Oates 53.4c.
- TALANTJI - '...spoken in the Pindar River country and at Towera station.' O'Grady p.103-7. Oates 51.1a.
- TARRKARI - '...in the Carnarvon area'. O'Grady p.111-2 Oates 51.3.
- TJA URRA - '...spoken around Murchison House and near Northampton.' 'I understand that; but they talk a little bit different...' 'Tja Urra and Watjarri are all mixed up.' (Inf. Joe Marlow). Not listed in O'Grady or Oates.
- WANMALA - 'Easterner', 'The desert people.' 'The Wanmala people at Meekatharra come from Wiluna...They are the warriors (avengers).' A common term for the people of the Western Desert. Not listed.

- WARTALJ - 'The Jigalong talk.' O'Grady p.37. Oates 56.3c.
 WATJARRI - 'The Murchison River language.' O'Grady p.128.
 Oates 52.1.
 WATJARTI - '...spoken at Pingandie station' (i.e. by the
 Scott family and by two or three other people mentioned
 by name). A variant of Watjarri. Not listed by O'Grady
 or Oates.
 WIRTIMAYA - '...spoken north of Paynes Find.' 'It was ori-
 ginally spoken at Yalgoo.' Also called Wirtiya. Speak-
 ers use *watjan* 'fire', a *Watjanmay* distinction. Douglas
 (1973), O'Grady p.128. Oates 52.4.
 WIRLUNJU - '...sea coast people.' *Wirlu* 'sea'. See under
 Tja Urura. Not listed in O'Grady or Oates.
 YUKALA - '...the original Eucla dialect.' Also known as
Mirninj. See reference to Yukala under section 1.2 in
 this description. Oates and Oates (1970) 9Wr,p.64.
 Also 55.1a on p.62.
 YANARTI - '...spoken at Onslow.' '...original language of
 Onslow was *Purtuna*.' ? Oates and Oates (1970) 3Wr,p.64.
 YUNGKATJI - a dialect spoken north of Watjarri. Not listed
 in O'Grady or Oates.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 THE PHONEMES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

There are 17 consonants and three vowels in Watjarri.

In this section, the phonemes will be symbolised with one symbol for each sound. In a following section a practical alphabet will be introduced in which digraphs will be used, partly to simplify printing and also to encourage literacy in the language. The consonants are set out in Table 2.1 and the vowels in Table 2.2.

2.1.1 GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES

The *stops* are voiceless and unaspirated in the word initial position and in polysyllabic words; but become lightly voiced following nasals in the word-medial position, *ngarnka* 'cave' is phonetically [ŋaŋga]. There is also a tendency for bilingual (English-Watjarri) speakers to lightly voice medial stops in bisyllabic words such as *ika* 'bone'.

Lamino-dentals occur allophonically as definite interdentals preceding the vowels /a/ and /u/, especially in dialects north of the river; but as lamino-alveolars (or lamino-post-dentals) in the southern dialects. It has been noted that some speakers of the Byro dialect even retain the inter-dental articulation before the vowel /i/. (For example: in the word for the 'Ta-ta lizard', *itjtji*, which is in this dialect phonetically [iʃiʃi]). However, the general usage throughout the area is post-dental with a slight high-vowel off-glide preceding the vowel /i/. With increased Anglicisation there is a greater tendency to palatalise the dentals before /i/. When the

TABLE 2.1 - *Watjarri consonants*

<i>Manner of articulation</i>	<i>Place of articulation</i>				
	bilabial	lamino-dental	apico-alveolar	apico-post-alveolar	velar
stops	/p/	/t/	/t/	/t̥/	/k/
nasals	/m/	/n̥/	/n/	/n̥/	/ŋ/
laterals		/l̥/	/l/	/l̥/	
rhotics			/r/	/r̥/	
semi-vowels	/w/	/y/			

lamino-interdental stop is preceded by an apico-alveolar continuant (/n/, /l/, /r/), regardless as to whether it is followed by /a/ or /u/, it assumes the lamino-post-dental (or lamino-alveolar) position as is usual before /i/. Examples include:

/t̥aka/	phonetically	[t̥aka]	'carrying dish'
/kuṭara/	"	[kuṭara]	'two'
/yamaṭi/	"	[yamaṭi]	'a person'
/winta/	"	[winta]	'an elder'
/t̥ina /	"	[t̥ina]	'foot'

A light palatal fricative, (ɥ), may be manifested for the lamino-dental stop preceding /i/ in some dialects (or, more correctly, idiolects), e.g., /waṭi/ 'no', phonetically [waṭi] becomes [waɥi]; /yamaṭi/ 'person', phonetically [yamaṭi] becomes [yamaɥi] in the speech of Joe Marlow, Meekatharra.

The *rhotics*, /r/ and /r̥/, are found in minimally contrastive words such as /waru/ 'the back' (body part) and /waru/ 'light', 'lamp'. /r/ occurs as an apico-alveolar flap in normal speech; but as a trill in emphasised speech. Because of the tendency of some speakers to lightly voice medial /t/ in two-syllable words, /t/ and /r/ are easily confused in this position and may even be said to fluctuate in this position. /r̥/ is a voiced, apico-post-alveolar or alveolar retroflex continuant.

As mentioned by O'Grady (1966:85) for Bailko (paɪku), there may be fluctuation between /r̥/ and /y/ in Watjarri. For example: /kaṛimaṇa/ fluctuating with /kaɪimaṇa/ 'standing'; also /paṭaṛimaṇa/ fluctuating with /paṭaɪimaṇa/ 'becoming angry'.

There is also frequent fluctuation between /tj/ and /y/ (see 3.7.1[v](e)). Less frequently there is fluctuation between /r̥/ and /w/, see njararni--njawarni-, and between /k/ and /w/, as in warluwura and warlukura.

2.1.2 VOWEL LENGTH. Words of a single syllable regularly manifest length of vowel phonetically and several borrowed words also manifest vowel length. Vowel length is not phonemic in Watjarri; but in borrowed words of more than one syllable it will be symbolised since sometimes it is an indication of stress in the second syllable. Examples include:

TABLE 2.2 - *Watjarri vowels*

	front	central	back
high	/i/		/u/
low		/a/	

single syllable words, always long

/t̪a/	phonetically [t̪a:]	'mouth'
/n̪a/	" [n̪a:]	'what?'
/wi/	" [wi:]	'where?' (or general interrogative)
/kan/	" [ka:n]	'gun' (from English)
/ku/	" [ku:]	'school' (from English)
/wan/	" [wa:n]	'creek' (from Patimaya)
/yal/	" [ya:l]	'how?'

polysyllabic borrowings

/kaapu/	'calf'		
/maaka/	'mug'		
/maata/	'boss', 'master', 'government official'		
/puṛaaku/	'dress', 'frock' (a word used in the days of the Afghan traders in Western Australia; probably from English 'frock')		
/turaapa/	'trough'	/wiitpala/	'whitefellow'
/tiipu/	'sheep'	/muuniya/	'pneumonia'

(In ordinary speech, these borrowed words tend to adapt to the short vowel pattern of the language.)

2.1.3 PHONOTACTICS. Unlike Ngaanyatjarra of the Western Desert, Watjarri permits the occurrence of vowels initially.

The canonical syllable pattern for Watjarri is:

CV	V		CV	C = consonant
	+ CV		
VC	CVC		CVC	V = vowel

Any one of the three vowels may occur word-initially. There are no phonemic diphthongs in Watjarri. Any vowel also may occur word-finally.

Any consonant may occur initially except the following: /l/, /r/, /l/, /n/, /r/. Although the word initial use of /r/ is found in neighbouring languages, there is a striking absence of its occurrence in this position in Watjarri. Neither in the author's field data nor in the historical material, including the extensive vocabularies of Daisy Bates, is this sound found in the word-initial position. It is also difficult to find cognates for words beginning with /r/ in neighbouring languages. Maybe such a cognate is /yira/ 'mouth' compared with Mangala r̪ira 'mouth', 'lip', 'tooth', 'teeth'.

Stops do not occur word-finally, except the two rare examples: yaṭ-yaṭ 'torn' and pilat 'fat' (probably from English). Continuant may occur word-finally except the continuant consonants /w/, /y/, /m/ and /ŋ/.

Consonant clusters never occur initially or word-finally. In the morpheme medial position and across morpheme boundaries, a stop never occurs before a continuant except in the rare case of yaṭ-yaṭ 'torn'. The permitted sequence is

TABLE 2.3 - *Morpheme medial-consonant clusters*

		second member						
		p	k	m	ŋ	t̥	t	t̥
first member	m	x						
	ŋ		x					
	n̥	x	x	x	(x)	x		
	l̥	x	x	x	(x)	x		
	n	x	x	x	(x)	x	x	
	l	x	x	x	(x)	x	(x)	
	r	x	x	(x)	x	x		
	ŋ̥	x	x	x	(x)	(x)		x
	l̥	x	x	(x)	(x)	(x)		(x)

continuant plus stop or continuant plus continuant. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 give the full range of permitted sequences as evidenced by the data on hand; x indicates that there is evidence for the occurrence of the cluster; (x) indicates that the combination occurs in reduplicated forms and there is a strong probability it occurs also morpheme medially.

Note that within a morpheme consonant clusters are further limited as follows:

- /m/ is followed only by /p/
- /ŋ/ is followed only by /k/
- /ŋ̥/ is never followed by /t/
- /n̥/ is never followed by /t/
- /r/ plus /t̥/ medially is manifested phonetically as [-rt̥ʷ-]
- /n/ plus /t̥/ medially is manifested phonetically as [-ndʷ-]
- /l/ plus /t̥/ medially is manifested phonetically as [-lt̥ʷ-]
- /l̥/ plus /p/ or /k/ is manifested phonetically as [-l̥ʷp-] and [-l̥ʷk-].

Note the phonetic differences in the following combinations:

- /-n̥t̥-/ is phonetically [-ndʷ-] i.e., the stop is voiced and alveolarised.
 - /-n̥t̥-/ is phonetically [-nd̥-] i.e., both consonants are interdental.
- and so for other examples of alveolar continuant plus dental stop or dental continuant plus dental stop, e.g., /-rt̥-/ is [-rt̥ʷ-].

For rules governing consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries see 2.1.6 below.

2.1.4 STRESS PLACEMENT. Primary syllable stress falls on the first syllable of each word except in a few borrowings from English, such as /puṛaaku/ 'frock' and /tuṛaapa/ 'trough', in which stress on the second syllable is indicated by vowel length (which actually occurs phonetically). In three-syll-

TABLE 2.4 - Consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries within the word

		second member								
		p	k	m	ŋ	t̪	t	t̪	w	y
first member	n	x	x	x	(x)	x				
	l	x	x	x	(x)	x	(x)			(x)
	n	x	x	x	(x)	x	x			
	l	x	x	x	(x)	x	x			(x)
	r	x	x	x	(x)	x				(x) (x)
	ŋ	x	x	x	(x)	x				x
	!	x	x	(x)	(x)	x				x

able words, secondary stress falls on the second syllable. In four-syllable words, secondary stress falls on the third syllable. In words of more than four syllables, secondary stress falls on the penultimate.

2.1.5 MINIMAL AND ANALOGOUS CONTRASTS. The following are examples only. Final decisions on what are the phonemes of Watjarri were based on more comprehensive data.

/t̪/ v /t/ kati 'arm', kaṭi 'spear', tuwa 'house', tuwari 'red ochre'

/t̪/ v /t̪/ kati 'arm', kaṭila 'lift (meat from fire)'

/t̪/ v /t̪/ muṭi 'cold', muṭi 'husband'

/t̪/ v /r/ mitu 'mate', miru 'spearthrower', kuruṇ 'spirit', kankutu 'gun-less'

/n/ v /n/ napa 'what?', napa 'fat'

/n/ v /ŋ/ muni 'money', muṇi 'wife', tuṇa 'put it', tuṇa 'hitting stick'

/n/ v /ŋ/ paṇa 'that', paṇa 'ground'

/n/ v /ŋ/ nuṛiṭ 'navel cord', ṇuṛi 'bag', ṇuṭiṇa 'afraid'

/l/ v /l/ muṭa 'nose', muṭa 'dead', kuṭu 'sweet potato', kulu 'flea'

/l/ v /l/ puṭi 'cockatoo', puṭi 'carpet snake', maṭa 'behind', mala 'will get'

/r/ v /r/ tuṛa 'girl', tuṛa 'put it', waru 'back', waṛu 'light', 'lamp'

/l/ v /i/ kaṭa 'armpit', kaṭa 'fire'

/l/ v /r/ waṛala 'will sing', waṭa 'egg', waṛaṇ 'song'

/t̪/ v /r/ maṛa 'hand', maṭa 'hill', tuṭa 'calf of leg', tuṛa 'shield'

/ŋ/ v /n/ ṇana 'who?', nana 'this one'

/a/ v /i/ v /u/ pika 'sore', puka 'covering', puku 'buttocks'

2.1.6 MORPHOPHONOLOGY The non-phonemic changes of components in consonant combinations within the morpheme have been described above. There are several changes which occur across morpheme boundaries for which a set of rules can be suggested.

Both the ergative suffix and the locative suffix (each being a single open CV syllable) have as their initial consonant an apico-stop. The ergative may be symbolized as - /{-tu}/ and the locative as - /{-ta}/. These forms occur following stems ending with a consonant, and each has an allo-

morph which occurs following stems ending with a vowel. In morphemics these may be displayed in this way:

subject stem ending with a vowel takes /-ŋku/ 'ergative'
 subject stem ending with a consonant takes /{-tu}/ 'ergative'
 location stem ending with a vowel takes /-la/ 'locative'
 location stem ending consonant takes /{-ta}/ 'locative'

The stem-final consonant, however, may be dental, alveolar or post-alveolar (retroflex). The following rule then applies:

The apico-stop initial consonant of the suffix assimilates to the same point of articulation as the final consonant of the stem.

Thus:

/ŋakalalaŋ-tu/ 'The cockatoo did it.'
 /kuṭulilin-tu/ 'The tadpole did it.'
 /mapaŋ-ta/ 'on the magic stone.'

An exception to the rule occurs in the case of stem-final /r/, which is lost in the suffixation, producing an apico-post-alveolar (or retroflex) initial consonant of the suffix, e.g., /mayu maŋkur/ 'the three children', plus /{-ta}/ 'locative' becomes phonetically (mayu maŋkuṭa), 'on the three children'.

With suffixes beginning with /t̪/ (such as /-t̪ara/, /-t̪anu/) following stems ending with a consonant, the same rules apply as for clusters within the morpheme (described above), that is

/-n + t̪-/ becomes phonetically [-ndʲ-]
 /-ŋ + t̪-/ becomes phonetically [-ŋd̪-]
 /-ŋ + t̪-/ becomes phonetically [-ŋdʲ-] etc.

Or, to state this as a rule, suffix-initial dental stop is interdental following a stem final interdental continuant or vowel; but following any other stem final continuant consonant it is alveolarised, i.e., it becomes a post-dental with a slight /i/ offglide.

2.2 A PRACTICAL ALPHABET

In choosing a practical orthography, I have been guided by recommendations from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, by the experience of linguists and teachers who have been engaged in bilingual education programmes, by the demands of typewriters and printing presses, and by appeals that the material supplied on this language may be easily compared with materials on other Western Australian languages, such as the Western Desert language, which have been in print for some considerable time.

A major problem in choosing a practical alphabet for an Australian language is that connected with the choice of b, d, g, or p, t, k, for the symbolising of the voiceless, unaspirated stops, /p/, /t/, and /k/. There are difficulties whichever choice is made. I would prefer to use b, d and g for Watjarri; but have chosen rather to adopt the voiceless symbols for several reasons, one of these reasons being that

TABLE 2.5 - *Phonetic symbols and practical alphabet correspondents*

Stops	/p/	p	/t/	tj	/t/	t	/t̥/	rt	/k/	k
Nasals	/m/	m	/n̄/	nj	/n/	n	/ŋ/	rn	/ŋ/	ng
Laterals			/l̄/	lj	/l/	l	/l̥/	rl		
Rhotics					/r/	rr	/r̥/	r		
Semi-vowels	/w/	w			/y/	y				
Vowels					/i/	i	/a/	a	/u/	u

it makes for ease of comparison with the Western Desert language.

For the lamino- (/inter-)dentals, the symbol -j has been chosen to represent 'dentalness' consistently, viz. tj, nj, lj. Digraphs have been chosen also for the apico-post-alveolar (retroflexed) consonants, viz. rt, rn, rl. The symbol now recommended for the trilled or flapped rhotic is rr, and for the retroflexed rhotic the single r has been adopted. Where /ŋ/ or /l̄/ occur before /t̥/, the practical alphabet spelling will be rnt, rlt respectively. The phoneme /t̥/ occurring singly will be represented by rt.

Table 2.5 shows the symbols used for both linguistic and practical purposes; each phonemic symbol is enclosed in slant lines and is followed by the practical representation.

PUNCTUATION: The comma (,) represents a tentative pause, rising pitch.

The stop (.) represents a final pause, falling pitch.

Questions are indicated by (?) and exclamations by (!)

Quotation marks (') will be used for direct quotations.

Punctuation as above is not based on a thorough study of the intonational features of the language. Such a study has not been attempted here.

Comparison of phonetic and practical orthographies:

<i>Phonemic</i>	<i>Practical</i>	
/ŋana/	ngana	'who?'
/ŋana/	njanja	'this one'
/muni/	muni	'money'
/muŋi/	murni	'wife'
/mut̥i/	murti	'cold'
/mut̥i/	mutji	'husband'
/miru/	mirru	'spear thrower'
/tu̥tu/	tjurtu	'elder sister'
/kati/	kati	'arm'
/muja/	mulja	'nose'
/mula/	mula	'dead'
/marlu/	marlu	'kangaroo'
/waru/	waru	'light/lamp'
/yarku/	yarlku	'blood'
/waŋkamaŋa/	wangkamanja	'talking'
/yanat̥ina/	yanatjinja	'came'
/mat̥uŋu kulayimaŋa/	martungu kulayimanja	'my spouse is coming closer'

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

[i] *Nouns*. The term 'noun' may be used to cover two sub-classes as follows: (a) Common nouns, the major and open sub-class. Common noun stems may be derived or non-derived. (b) Proper names: distinguished from common nouns by the occurrence of allomorphic variants of certain inflectional suffixes which occur with this subclass of nouns.

These two classes may be further sub-divided by a phonological feature which affects the form of inflectional suffixes, namely, the occurrence of word-final consonant or word-final vowel.

Common nouns and proper names, marked with appropriate inflectional suffixes, are distinguished by fulfilling certain syntactic functions such as transitive or intransitive subject, direct or indirect object, possession, location, direction, instrument or benefactor. Common nouns and proper names may also occur in the verbless predicate of an equational clause.

[ii] *Adjectives*, like common and proper nouns, are divided into two phonological classes according to whether words end with a vowel or a consonant. Adjectives function as peripheral to the head noun of noun phrases; but, in rare cases may constitute a headless phrase, functioning as subject or object, taking the same inflectional suffixes as common nouns. They may be derived or non-derived.

Adjectives may also occur as predicates in verbless clauses, such as the stative clauses, or as modifiers of nouns in noun phrases occurring in the predicate of equational clauses. Adjectives may also serve adverbial functions, qualifying verbal predicates.

[iii] *Pronouns*. (a) Personal pronouns. This is a closed class with forms for singular, dual and plural pronouns with inclusive and exclusive forms for the dual and plural. (b) Positional pronouns or demonstratives. These function like the personal pronouns in that they can fill the function of 3rd person pronoun; but they may also function as do adjectives (or nouns) in that they can modify nouns in noun phrases. They are also distinct from personal pronouns in that they take some of the inflectional suffixes of common nouns. Semantically, they refer to 3rd person items according to position near, mid-distant or distant from the speaker.

[iv] *Adverbs* may be non-derived or derived from other classes. Adverbs function as manner, location, direction or time fillers in syntactic constructions.

[v] *Verbs*. Verb stems may be non-derived or derived from other classes. Derivational suffixes occur as first order suffixes on the stems, followed by tense/mood suffixes then by other optional affixes, e.g. subject or object indicators.

The major division of verbs is the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. There are also a few verbs which are ditransitive. Transitive verbs may take a direct object, whereas an intransitive verb never

takes a direct object. Other transitive markers may also occur in clauses having a transitive verb in the predicate.

A further division, on phonological grounds, places verbs in two major conjugational classes according to which allomorph of the tense and mood suffixes they take. There is also a residue of irregular forms numbering probably not more than five or six.

As indicated above, verb inflection is by suffixation. In addition to tense-aspect and mood affixes, pronominal suffixes, negation and emphatic suffixes and other types of suffix occur following the stem.

[vi] *Interrogative substitutes*. This is a series of words which may supply a substitute for each of the other parts of speech in interrogative constructions. These cover such questions as 'Who?', 'What?', 'Whom?', 'Whose?', 'How?', 'Why?', 'When?', 'Where?', 'Doing what?', 'Becoming what?', and so on.

[vii] *Interjections and Exclamations*. Common and proper nouns and pronouns (usually second person) may fill a vocative role in utterances. Also, command forms of the verb may occur as attention attracters outside the regular grammatical constructions. There are, however, a few items which are used specifically as exclamations, or to indicate agreement, certitude, negation, and so on (see 4.4).

3.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 STEM FORMATION OF COMMON AND PROPER NOUNS. Stems in these two sub-classes may be simple, compounded, reduplicated, or complex. A sample list of simple stems is given below, divided according to the significant phonological dichotomy - (a) stems ending with a vowel and (b) stems ending with a consonant.

(a)	ika	'bone'	(b)	maparn	'sorcerer'
	iku	'younger sister'		marnun	'upper arm'
	kaku	'crow'		murtinj	'a pre-initiate'
	kalja	'armpit'		nurilj	'umbilical cord'
	kami	'grandfather'		ngurlurn	'a windbreak'
	kamparnu	'uncle'		pakarn	'throat'
	kurri	'spouse'		panin	'seed'
	maka	'head'		pimpilj	'a rib/ribs'

Examples of proper names include:

Malka 'proper name of the nephew of Putjulkura in a sacred story'
 Malura 'place name - the hill at Mileura'
 Muluwi 'place name - Mullewa'
 Para 'place name - Perth'
 Tjampinu 'place name - Geraldton'

And the substitute name for a deceased person:

njatja 'sand', 'dirt', used metaphorically as Njatja
 'name of deceased'

Compound stems (noun plus noun):

- makayarla 'doctor' (maka 'head' + yarla 'hole', referring to a 'third eye')
- marlukantja 'kangaroo-fur blanket' (marlu 'kangaroo' + kantja 'fur skin')
- marlupirri 'the Kangaroo Paw (*Anigosanthos Manglesii*)' (marlu + pirri 'claw')
- pilapirti 'a mallee tree (*Eucalyptus pyriformis*, etc.)' (pila 'spinifex' + pirti 'den')
- tjilinpiti 'maggie lark' (tjilin 'sweet potato' + piti 'carrying dish')
- tjinapuka 'boots' (tjina 'foot' + puka 'a covering')
- katjayara 'son-father relationship' (katja 'son' + yara 'relationship')
- mangkawarla 'hat' (mangka 'hair' + warla 'egg')
- wanatjilingka 'scorpion' (wana 'digging stick' + tjila/i 'tail' + -ngka locative, 'on'.)

Reduplicated stems. Reduplication may be partial or complete. Partial reduplication may be the result of loss of vowel when two similar vowels become juxtaposed on complete reduplication, or the combination may be simply onomatopaeic. Onomatopaeic words may prove to be a large sub-class of nouns owing to the popularity for this form of signification for birds. Complete reduplication of noun or adjective roots may indicate diminution (e.g. of size, quality or state) or, on the other hand, an extension of the meaning of the root meaning. Reduplication of verb root may indicate continuity of the action or process.

Examples of partial reduplication:

- ilili 'noise of wooden spears rattling together' (probably ili + ili with loss of repeated vowel)
- itjitji 'Ta-ta lizard' (probably itji + itji, from child speech)
- kakararra 'East'
- kurrkurtu 'owl' (Onom. kurr + kurr + -tu)
- ngakalalanj 'Major Mitchell cockatoo' (Onom. compare Western Desert language kakalyalya)
- parnparnkarlarla 'bell bird' (Onom. compare Western Desert language parnparnpalala)
- warurru 'cold season' (probably from waru-waru, referring to 'fires')
- wirlutjarutjaru 'plover'. (Onom. 'weeloo', plus tjaru-tjaru, referring to its hovering descent, from -tjaru 'downwards')

Examples of complete reduplication:

- karakara 'afternoon' (karangu 'sun')
- marinj-marinj 'black ant' (as an adjective, means 'proud')
- marta-marta 'a small lizard' (marta 'stone', 'pebble')
- mintin-mintin 'beetle'
- munga-munga 'evening' (munga 'night')
- ngarn-ngarn 'jaw' 'chin' (ngarna 'ate')
- njirri-njirri 'smell of meat cooking' (but parntilku more frequent)
- para-para 'gecko lizard'
- pirti-pirti 'butterfly' (pirti 'den') (compare Western Desert language pinta-pinta)
- titi/pipi/mimi 'breasts', 'nipples'
- yipilj-yipilj 'a night-flying bat'
- wirta-wirta 'honey ants' (wirta 'tall')
- yarlu-yarlura 'black gecko lizard' (yarlu 'gum leaf', -ra 'plural')

Compound stems (noun plus adjective):

kaljawirri 'rock wallaby' (kalja 'armpit' + wirri 'black')
 kurntuwara 'echidna' (kurntu/i 'hitting stick' + wara 'long')
 kurupurikartu 'the Sturt Pea' (kuru 'eye' + purika 'big' + -rtu
 'emphatic')
 tjilawara 'long-tailed lizard' (tjila 'tail' + wara 'long')
 Kurtayapula~Kurtayarapula 'The Two Brothers' (Mythic figures said to be
 standing as white stones at Yuin Reef. kurtā 'elder brother' +
 -yara 'reciprocal relationship' + -pula 'dual'.)

Complex stems. Nouns derived from other parts of speech, but not on the regular pattern of derivation. Examples include:

ngartingka 'a post initiate' (ngarti 'with force' + -ngka 'locative')
 tjutila 'policeman' (tjutila, a verb meaning: 'he will tie/hand-cuff')
 wirlunju 'sea-coast people' (wirlu 'sea' + -nju, from njuwa, 'having',
 used as a general adjective-deriving suffix.)

These occur in the following sentences:

- (1) ngartingka yanatjimanja The initiate is coming.
- (2) yamatjilu tjutila pinja The man hit the policeman.
- (3) wirlunju marlaku yanmanja The sea-coast people are going back.

Regular derivation of nouns. From the limited amount of material salvaged, the following types of regular derivation occur:

(a) *Nouns derived from adjectives.* Evidence for the use of derivational affixes is absent. The practice is to use adjectives as subjects or objects in headless phrases, e.g.

- (4) kutiya karimanja
 one stand-PRES
 There is only one standing.
- (5) kurninjsa mulayinja
 pitiable die-PAST
 The poor fellow died.
- (6) yungatja kutiya ngarnaku
 give-to me one eat-PURP
 Give me one to eat.

(b) *Nouns derived from adverbs.* Nouns may be derived from adverbs by the affixation of the nominalizer -tja. Compare:

- (7) ngatja marla njinamanja
 I behind sit-PRES
 I am sitting behind.
- (8) ngatja marlatja pika
 I behind-NOMLSR sore
 The calf of my leg is sore.

(c) *Nouns derived from verbs.* A verb stem plus the suffix -njtja produces a noun.

- (9) mayu yaljsa piyamanja
 children all play-PRES
 All the children are playing.

- (10) mayu yaljpa piyanjtja-ki yanmanja
 children all play-NOMLSR-ALL go-PRES
 All the children are going to the game.

Note that both adjectives and nouns are derived from verbs by the use of this same -njtja suffix. This shows again the difficulty in dividing these two categories. Only by expansions or transformations can a decision be made in many cases. For example, (10) may be interpreted to mean '(Someone) is going to all the playing children.' But if an elucidation were requested, the sentence above may be restated as, mayu yaljpa yanmanja piyanjtjaki, which is 'All the children are going to that which is being played.'

3.2.2 CASE INFLECTIONS OF COMMON AND PROPER NOUNS

(i) *Transitive subject* is marked by ergative inflection. This has different forms depending on whether it is added to a common or a proper noun, and depending on whether this ends in a vowel or in a consonant.

(a) common noun ending with a vowel. There is dialectal fluctuation between the use of -ngu and -ngku as ergative marker following stems ending with a vowel. The same speaker may use both when repeating a sentence. For this reason, examples will enclose the (k) in brackets.

- (11) mayu-ng(k)u tjutju pinja
 child-ERG dog hit-PAST
 The child hit the dog.

There is an alternative usage, however, which has semantic significance. The -lu suffix, normally used on proper nouns, may be affixed as the ergative marker to common nouns when the speaker wishes to show deference or to contrast 'personal' with 'impersonal', e.g.

- (12) njarlu-ng(k)u tjutju pinja winta-ngku
 woman-ERG dog hit-PAST stick-INST
 The woman hit the dog with a stick. (Impersonal)

- (13) njarlu-lu tjutju njanganja
 woman-ERG dog see-PRES
 My wife is watching the dog. (Personal)

(b) common noun ending with a consonant. The phonetic shape of the final consonant of the stem determines the allomorph of the suffix which occurs. Or, in process terms, the initial consonant of the ergative suffix assimilates to the same point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem. The allomorphs are: -tu~-tju~-rtu, as in:

- (14) murtinj-tju papa nganmanja
 preinitiate-ERG water consume-PRES
 The young man (pre-initiate) is drinking water.

- (15) maparn-tu pika njanganja
 doctor-ERG sick see-PRES
 The doctor is examining the sick(one).

In Watjarri, the ergative marker may be omitted when no ambiguity may occur, as, for example, when a direct object is marked or when a person occurs in the subject and an inani-

mate or non-personal item fills the direct object position, e.g.

- (16) kutjarra mayu njanganja ngalinja
two children see-PRES us(dual)-OBJ
The two children are watching us two.

(c) proper noun (name) ending with a vowel. These invariably take the suffix *-lu*, e.g.

- (17) Mungku-lu tjutju pinja
Mungku-ERG dog-OBJ hit-PAST
Mungku hit the dog.

(d) proper noun ending with a consonant. The same rule applies as for common nouns ending with a consonant. The allomorphs of the ergative suffix are *-tu--tju--rtu*, e.g.

- (18) Stan-tu tjutju pinja
Stan-ERG dog hit-PAST
Stan hit the dog.

(*ii*) *Intransitive subject* (including the subject of verbless clauses) and (*iii*) *Transitive object* are both marked by the absolutive case suffix which again has different forms depending on whether it is added to a common or a proper noun, ending in a vowel or in a consonant:

(a) common noun ending with a vowel: \emptyset (zero), e.g.

- (19) papa intimanja
water-ABS flow-PRES
The water is flowing.

(b) common noun ending with a consonant: *-pa*, e.g.

- (20) kurninj-pa mulayinja
pitiabale one-ABS died-PAST
The poor fellow died.

- (21) kuwiyari-pa waku-ki yanmanja
goanna-ABS hole-ALL go-PRES
The goanna is going to the hole.

(c) proper noun ending with a vowel: *-nja*, e.g.

- (22) Mungku-nja njinamanja
Mungku-ABS sit-PRES
Mungku is sitting.

(d) proper noun ending with a consonant: *-nga*, e.g.

- (23) Mingkurl-nga njinamanja
Mingkurl-ABS sit-PRES
Mingkurl is sitting.

- (24) Mingkurl-nga pika
Mingkurl-ABS sick
Mingkurl is sick.

In traditional stories, the personalising of natural objects is indicated in the language by the use of the proper noun suffixes occurring with common nouns. (And, of course, there are many proper names which are simply common nouns personalised in this way.)

(iv) *Location*. The locative suffix indicates location 'at', 'on', 'in', and may occur with a noun in an adverbial phrase in which an adverb meaning 'near', 'above', etc occurs. There are again allomorphs sensitive to whether the noun is common or proper, and whether it ends in a vowel or a consonant.

(a) Common nouns ending with a vowel take either -ngka or -la (which seem to be in complete dialectal fluctuation at the time of writing except that speakers from Murgoo preferred -ngka rather than -la), e.g.

(25) kuwiyarlpa marta-ngka kayinja
goanna rock-LOC stand-PAST
The goanna stood on the rock.

(26) kuwiyarlpa marta-la kayinja
goanna rock-LOC stand-PAST
The goanna stood on the rock.

(27) kuwiyarlpa marta-ngka kula kayinja
goanna rock-LOC near stand-PAST
The goanna stood near the rock.

(28) yamatji njinamanja marta-ngka
person sit-PRES rock-LOC
The man is sitting on the rock.

(29) mayu ngayimanja tjaka-ngka
child lie-PRES dish-LOC
The child is lying in the carrying dish.

(b) Common nouns ending with a consonant take one of the allomorphs -ta ~ -tja ~ -rta according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem, e.g.

(30) puluku turayin-ta yanmanja Tjampinu-ki
bullocks train-LOC go-PRES Geraldton-ALL
The bullocks are going on the train to Geraldton.

(c) Proper nouns ending with a vowel take -la.

(31) panja Tjampinu-la njinamanja
he Geraldton-LOC sit/stay-PRES
He is in Geraldton.

(d) Proper nouns ending with a consonant behave like common nouns ending with a consonant, e.g.

(32) Kurtayarapula kayimanja Yuwin-ta
The Two Brothers stand-PRES Yuin-LOC
The Two Brothers are standing at Yuin Reef.

(33) mayu panja kayimanja Mingkurl-ta kula
child that stand-PRES Mingkurl-LOC near
That child is standing near Mingkurl.

(v) *Direction towards*. The allative suffix indicates motion to or towards. This is -kuwi, often shortened to -ki, suffixed directly to the noun stem regardless as to whether it ends with a consonant or vowel, e.g.

- (34) ngatja marlaku yanmanja tuwa-ki
I back go-PRES house-ALL
I'm returning to the house.
- (35) yanmanja mungal marlaku-pa Carnarvon-ki
go-PRES tomorrow back-IMMED Carnarvon-ALL
I am going right back to Carnarvon tomorrow.
- (36) yamatji yanmanja tawun-ki warinj-ku
man go-PRES town-ALL food-PURP
The man is going to town for food.
- (37) martungu-kuwi-pa yanmanja
spouse-ALL-IMMED go-PRES
He's going straightaway to his wife.

Note that place names take *-ki* immediately following the stem, but personal name stems take the locative suffix (*-la/ta*) before *-ki* is added.

(*vi*) *Direction from*. The ablative suffix indicates 'motion away from'. It has one form, *-tjanu*. Following common nouns, whether ending with a consonant or a vowel, *-tjanu* immediately follows the stem. Following proper nouns ending with a vowel, the locative suffix has first position following the stem, followed by *-tjanu*. Proper noun stems ending with a consonant take one of the allomorphs of the locative suffix, according to the point of articulation of the final consonant (*-ta~-tja~-rta*), and *-tjanu*, e.g.

- (38) turapa-tjanu yanatjinja
trough-ABL come-PAST
He came from the (water-)trough.
- (39) mayu yanatjimanja kurl-tjanu
child come-PRES school-ABL
The child is coming from school.
- (40) Kuwiyarl-ta-tjanu pakarli kutjarra yanatjinja
Kuwiyarl-LOC-ABL man two come-PAST
From Kuwiyarl came the two initiated men.

(*vii*) *Instrument*. The instrumental suffix has the same form as the ergative suffix and obeys the same rules of affixation. Instrument occurs only in a transitive sentence and refers to the instrument used to carry out the action against the object. To translate certain 'instrumental' constructions in English, such as, 'to walk with a walking stick', 'to wash a child with water', the instrumental would not be used in Watjarri but rather a form such as *-njuwa* ('having', or 'equipped with') would be used following the noun or noun phrase in manner position.

- (a) Common nouns ending with a vowel take *-ngku* or *-lu*. The choice of one or the other is a dialectal one and does not seem to bear any semantic overtones.
- (b) Common nouns ending with a consonant take *-tu~-tju~-rtu* according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem.
- (c) Proper nouns ending with a vowel take *-lu*.
- (d) Proper nouns ending with a consonant take *-tu~-tju~-rtu* according to the rules above, e.g.

- (41) warlarnu-lu tjutju yuwalku
boomerang-INST dog strike-PURP
.. To strike the dog with a boomerang.
- (42) yamatji-lu tjutju warlarnu-ngku pinja
man-ERG dog boomerang-INST hit-PAST
The man hit the dog with a boomerang.
- (43) njarlu-ngku tjutju pinja winta-ngku
woman-ERG dog hit-PAST stick-INST
The woman hit the dog with a stick.
- (44) makayarla-lu parnti-ya maparn-(r)tu
doctor-ERG make good-FUT magic stone-INST
The doctor will heal him with a magic stone.

(viii) *Possession*. The possessive suffix is -ku for both common and proper nouns, e.g.

- (45) yamatji-ku ngura It is the man's camp.
(46) murtinj-ku mama It is the pre- initiate's father.
(47) Mungku-ku kutjarta It is Mungku's spear.
(48) Mingkurl-ku tjutju It is Mingkurl's dog.
(49) njarlu-ku tjutjungku ngatjanja patjarna The woman's dog bit me.

Inalienable possession: for body parts, names of persons, one's language and other inalienable possessions, the -ku suffix is not used, but the noun precedes the thing possessed and is inflected according to case, e.g.

- (50) Akurtu wangka
Akurtu speech
It is the speech of Akurtu.
- (51) njinta Mingkurl-nga maka pinja
you Mingkurl-OBJ head hit-PAST
You hit Mingkurl's head.
- (52) yalipirri warla
emu egg
It is an emu egg.
- (53) murtinj yini wayi tjapin
preinitiate name NEG ask-IMP
Don't ask the pre- initiate's name.

(ix) *Purpose*. The purposive suffix is -ku also, and remains constant for common and proper nouns. This suffix may indicate purpose or reason, e.g.

- (54) yamatji yanmanja tawun-ki warinj-ku
man go-PRES town-ALL food-PURP
A man is going to town for food.
- (55) ngatja patjayimanja warinj-ku
I become desperate-PRES food-PURP
I'm becoming desperate for food.
- (56) njarlu papa-ku yanatjimanja
woman water-PURP come-PRES
A woman is coming for water.

(x) *Cause*. The causal suffix is -kutja, with no allomorphs. It is found as a suffix to a noun or noun phrase only. (Ver-

TABLE 3.1 - Summary of noun cases

	Common noun ending in		Proper noun ending in	
	vowel	consonant	vowel	consonant
Transitive Subject (Ergative)	-ng(k)u (-lu) rare	-(tu)*	-lu	-(tu)
Intransitive Subject Direct Object (Absolutive)	-ø(zero)	-pa	-nja	-nga
Location (Locative)	-ngka~-la ~-ku(r)la	-(ta)*	-la	-(ta)
Direction towards (Allative)	-kuwi~-ki	-kuwi~-ki	-laki	-(ta)ki
Direction from (Ablative)	-tjanu	-tjanu	-latjanu	-(ta)tjanu
Instrument (Instrumental)	-ngku~-lu	-(tu)	-lu	-(tu)
Possession (Possessive)	-ku	-ku	-ku	-ku
Purpose (Purposive)	-ku	-ku	-ku	-ku
Cause (Casual)	-kutja	-kutja	-kutja	-kutja
Indirect Object (Dative)	-kila	-kila	-la	-(ta)

*-(tu) = -tu and its allomorphs, -tju and -rtu; -(ta) = -ta and its allomorphs -tja and -rta; according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem (a homorganic cluster is produced).

bal 'causes' are formed with purposive or reason verb markers), e.g.

(57) ngatja mayu-kutja mamanjimanja
I child-CAU become angry-PRES
I'm becoming angry because of the children.

(58) minga-kutja ngatja pakarna
ants-CAU I rise-PAST
On account of the ants I got up.

(xi) *Indirect object.* The indirect object or dative suffix is -kila for common nouns and -la for proper names (or on a common noun to stress personality or deference). For proper names ending with a consonant, an appropriate allomorph of -ta is used according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem, e.g.

(59) tjutju-kila palu wangkanja yanayiku
dog-DAT he tell-PAST come-PURP
He told the dog to come.

- (60) wangkama, wuljpala-la ya-naku-pa
tell-IMP whiteman-DAT go-PURP-IMMED
Tell the whiteman to go now.
- (61) njinta Mungku-la wangkaya waralku
you Mungku-DAT tell-FUT sing-PURP
You will tell Mungku to sing.

Table 3.1 summarises the case inflections on common and proper nouns, and their allomorphs.

There is also a benefactive suffix *-tja* 'to me' that occurs only in sentences with the verb 'to give'. See 3.8.2.

3.3 ADJECTIVES

3.3.1 STEM FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES. Examples of simple stems, ending with a vowel:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (62) | kampu | 'cooked' | kuka kampu | 'cooked meat' |
| (63) | kumuru | 'blind' | palu kumuru | 'he is blind' |
| (64) | malarti | 'tired' | yamatji malarti | 'a tired man' |
| (65) | murla | 'dead' | mayu panja murla | 'that child is dead' |
| (66) | ngurlu | 'afraid' | ngatja ngurlu | 'I'm afraid' |
| (67) | pika | 'sick' | mayu pika | 'the child is sick' |
| (68) | wanka | 'raw', 'fresh' | kuka wanka | 'raw (uncooked) meat' |

Examples of simple stems, ending with a consonant:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| (69) | kartanj | 'broken' | waru kartanj | 'the lamp's broken' |
| (70) | kurninj | 'pitiable' | kurninj mama | 'poor old father' |
| | | | mayu kurninjpa | 'the pitiable child' |
| (71) | wangunj | 'ashamed' | ngatja wangunjpa | 'I am ashamed' |

Examples of reduplicated stems:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (72) | murrkar-murrkar | 'wise', 'clever' | paluka murrkar-murrkarpa | 'he (emph) is wise' |
| (73) | marinj-marinj | 'proud' | wuljpala marinj-marinjpa | 'a proud white-man' |
| (74) | patja-patja | 'drunk (intoxicated)' | patja-patjan | 'you're drunk' |
| (75) | tjirr-tjirr | 'embarrassed' | njarlu tjirr-tjirrp | 'the woman is embarrassed' |
| (76) | watjarr-watjarr | 'leg-weary' | ngatja watjarr-watjarrpa | 'I'm leg-weary' |

3.3.2 DERIVATION OF ADJECTIVES. The following affixes derive an adjectival stem:

[i] *-njuwa*, the comitative suffix, e.g.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| (77) | papa-njuwa | 'having water' | <i>in</i> yirapiya papanjuwa | 'a storm cloud heavy with rain' |
| (78) | puta-njuwa | 'having lice' | <i>in</i> tjutju putanjuwa | 'a lice-ridden dog' |
| (79) | martungu-njuwa | 'having a spouse' | <i>in</i> yamatji martungunjuwa | 'a married man' |
| (80) | njarlu pakatinjuwa | 'a bucket-equipped woman' | | |
| (81) | kurartu-njuwa | 'equipped with a spear' | <i>in</i> pakarli kurartunjuwa | 'an initiated man equipped with a spear' |

[ii] -kutu, the privative suffix, follows stems ending with a vowel or a consonant. One borrowed word, kan 'gun', takes a vowel following the stem:

- (82) kan-a-kutu 'gunless' *in* pakarli kanakutu njinamanja 'the man without a gun is remaining here'
 (83) panin-kutu 'seedless' *in* wirnta paninkutu 'the tree is seedless'
 (84) kurartu-kutu 'spearless' *in* yamatji yaljpa kurartukutu 'all the fellows are spearless'

[iii] -yara, reciprocal relationship suffix. This is usually suffixed to relationship terms, and produces an adjective indicating that two or more people have a reciprocal relationship to each other.

- (85) martungu-yara 'husband-wife relationship' (martungu 'spouse') *as in* pula martunguyara 'they-two are married'
 (86) katja-yara, mama-yara 'son-father', 'father-son' relationships respectively; yaku-yara 'a mother-child relationship'. Note that kamparnu 'uncle' + -yara becomes kamparnira.

[iv] -njtja, used to derive an adjective from a verb (gerundive suffix).

- (87) warni- 'to fall' *gives* warni-njtja *as in* papa warninjtja 'it is falling water (rain)' (see section 3.7.2 for the concurrent action suffix, -njtja with -YA class and -nta with -LA class verbs).

3.3.3 DERIVATION OF VERBS FROM COMMON NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES. This rightly belongs under the heading of verbs; but it should be noted at this point that both common nouns and adjectives, by the addition of the appropriate suffixes, may be verbalised to become transitive or intransitive verbs. The following examples involving the verbalising suffixes -tji~-yi 'to become' and -ma- 'to make' will give a general view of the manner of suffixation:

adjective murti 'cold': verb murti-tji-manja 'becoming cold'
 noun karla 'fire', verb karla-tji-manja 'becoming hot'
 adjective ngurlu 'afraid', verb ngurlu-ma-nmanja 'to make afraid/hunt'

In rarer cases the normal verb suffix may be used, e.g.,
 noun wangka 'speech', 'language', verb wangka-manja 'talking', 'telling'.

3.3.4 CLASSES OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives may be divided into classes according to the order in which they may occur in descriptive phrases. The following classes may be noted:

Adjectives of state:

kumuru	'blind'	palparu	'stupid'
murla	'dead'	parnti	'good'
murti	'cold'	patja	'angry'
malarti	'tired'	yimpilj-yimpilj	'untidy'
ngurlu	'afraid'		

Adjectives of colour

wirri/mawurtu 'black' pirinj/pilingki 'white', 'shiny'
 piljinji/yarlku 'red' (yarlku 'blood')

Adjectives of number or quantity:

kurriya (kutiya/kurri)	'one'	yaljpa	'many'
kutjarra (kutja)	'two'	wirti	'none'
marnkurr	'three'	kutju	'another'

Adjectives of size:

yarnta	'big', 'large'	wirtara	'tall'
tjintjamarta	'small', 'little', 'young'	wiljpirri	'thin'

See 4.2 for discussion of order of adjectives in the noun phrase. Demonstrative adjectives, or positional pronouns are dealt with in 3.5.

3.3.5 INFLECTION OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives are inflected in the same manner as nouns, depending on whether the stem ends with a vowel or a consonant and giving attention to the grammatical function the adjective is performing. This is dealt with more specifically under syntax; but, briefly, functioning as nouns or as the final word in a noun phrase, adjectives take the same inflections (case endings, etc.) as would nouns in these positions, e.g.

- (88) kutiya-lu karla kutjarna
 one-ERG fire ignite-PAST
 One (fellow) lit the fire.
- (89) mayu kutjarra yanatjimanja
 child two-ABS come-PRES
 The two children are coming.
- (90) njarlu yanmanja tjutju kutjarra-ku
 woman-ABS go-PRES dog two-PURP
 The woman is going for the two dogs.
- (91) pakarli-lu njarlu yarnta pinja
 man-ERG woman big hit-PAST
 The man hit the big woman.
- (92) pakarli-lu njarlu njanja-nja pinja
 man-ERG woman this-person-ACC hit-PAST
 The man hit this woman.

3.4 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

Table 3.2 shows the pronoun paradigm. It will be noted that the case system associated with pronouns is a nominative-accusative system differing from the ergative system associated with common nouns and adjectives. This means that 'Subject' in the table covers both transitive and intransitive subject as the pronoun retains the same form for each of these grammatical functions. 'Object' then refers to transitive object, which takes the accusative case.

3.5 POSITIONAL PRONOUNS OR DEMONSTRATIVES

Positional pronouns or demonstratives may fill a number of grammatical functions, such as transitive or intransitive

TABLE 3.2 - Pronouns and their inflections

Roots (used without suffix for subject function):

	singular	dual	plural
1 person inclusive	ngatja	ngali	nganju
1 person exclusive		ngalitja	ngantju
2 person	njinta	njupali	njurra
3 person	palu*	pula*	tjana

Suffixes

Object (accusative case)	-nja
Locative	-la
Allative (direction to)	-laki
Ablative (direction from)	-latjanu
Possessive	nganatjangu for 1sg (<i>also</i> ngatjangu, nganayangu <i>rarely</i>) -ngu on all others
Indirect object	-laki~-la on 1sg, 2sg, 3sg, 1 du inc -la on all others
Emphatic	-rna on 1sg -n on 2sg -ka on 3sg (non-singulars do not have emphatic form)

* palu and pula refer to 3rd person singular and dual (respectively) within the local group. To refer to a third person (singular) outside the group palutja is used. To refer to third person dual outside the group pulatja is used.

subject, direct or indirect object, location-direction, and so on, taking the appropriate case markers on clause level. They may also function in the same manner as pronouns, both personal and non-personal, i.e., they may stand in the place of common and proper nouns (but with the added component of 'position in relation to the speaker'). As demonstratives they may also occur on phrase level, functioning as modifiers or specifiers.

Positional pronouns indicate the position of a third person or thing as 'near', 'mid-distant', 'distant' or as someone or something which was referred to previously, but is not now visible. They are inflected like nouns and not like pronouns. The stems are as follows:

njanja	'that which is near', 'this person/thing'
pala	'that mid-distant person or thing'
mawu	'that distant person or thing'
panja	'that person or thing previously referred to' (panjatja 'someone of the outside group referred to previously')

Examples, showing use of the case endings on positional pronouns:

Transitive subject

(93) mawu-lu kuka pawunmanja That (distant) person is cooking meat.

Intransitive subject

(94) njanja ngalilaki yanatjinja This person came to us-two

Direct object, substitute for a common noun

(95) karla-ki-n tjurra panja
fire-ALL-2sg put-IMP that(previously mentioned)thing
Put that thing in the fire.

Direct object, a person

(96) njarlu-lu pala-nja manmanja
woman-ERG that-person-ABS get-PRES
The woman is picking up that (child).

Location-Direction

(97) yamatji njanja njinamanja
fellow here sit-PRES
The fellow is sitting here.

To avoid ambiguity, this sentence may be repeated as:

(98) yamatji njinamanja ^onjanja
fellow sit-PRES here
The fellow is sitting here.

(With ^o indicating the onset of primary sentence stress, which, in the actual field situation, was not lacking in the first example of this sentence but was unmarked in the written example in the above description.)

As well as the directive, -ki 'to', 'towards', listed as a suffix to nouns, another suffix is frequently found following the positional pronouns in location-direction on clause level. It is the suffix -karti 'around', 'on the other side of', e.g.

(99) njarlu kutjarra panjakarti njinamanja
woman two-ABS that-around sit-PRES
The two women are around the other side there (referring to something previously referred to).

(100) yamatji panja palakarti njinamanja
fellow that that-around sit-PRES
That fellow (we were talking about) is sitting around there.

An additional suffix, occurring before -karti, the form -rni, probably referring to the speaker as object of the direction (compare -rni the pronominal suffix indicating 1st person object), is also used in some combinations such as:

(101) mayu yalpa njanja-rni-karti yanatjimanja
child many this-side of come-PRES
All the children are coming on this side.

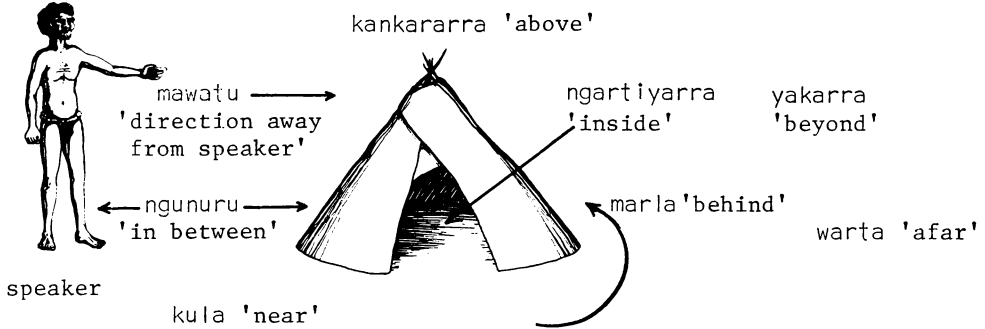
(102) mayu yalpa panja-rni-karti marta-ngka njinamanja
child many that-side of hill-LOC sit-PRES
All the children are sitting on the other side of the hill.

3.6 ADVERBS

Under this heading there are three classes distinguished. There is a set of locational-directionals which occur in the location-direction clause-level 'slot' and which do

not require the locative suffixes required by nouns or noun phrases occurring in this position. Then there is a set of temporals which occur in the time 'slot' on clause-level. These also occur without the suffix which occurs with nouns or noun phrases in this position. A third set may be labeled 'adverbs of manner' in that they occur in the manner 'slot' immediately preceding the verb. These also are undclinable except that they take the ergative suffix when the clause is transitive.

[a] *The locational-directions.* These may be diagrammed as follows:



[b] *The temporals.* These may be diagrammed according to whether they refer to time in relation to the present or to the time of day.

ukarla	kuwarti	(w)urta
'before'	'now'	'later'
'previously'	'today'	'in the future'
mungal	midday	tjuljara
'during pre-noon'	;	'during afternoon'
		munga-munga
		'late afternoon'

maruwara	*	marungapa
'early in the morning'		'at sunset'

*'midday' and 'midnight' are derived from nouns, tjurringka and munga-ngka respectively.

waparangu (from wapa-karangu)
'another day'

Whether the time of day is past or future depends on the tense of the verb. For example:

(103) ngalitju mungal yarra
 we-two-inc-RECIP in the morning go-IMP
 Let us go away (with each other) in the morning.

[c] *Adverbs of manner.* A list of these forms will be found in the Vocabulary.

(104) mayu ngartara ngayimanja
 child crookedly lie-PRES
 The child is lying uncomfortably.

3.7 VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.7.1 STEM FORMATION

[i] *Simple Stems.* Simple verb stems may have one to four syllables, but most frequently consist of just two syllables.

<i>One syllable roots</i> (complete list)	<i>Two syllable roots</i> (examples)	<i>Three or more syllable roots</i> (examples)
pu- 'to hit'	patja- 'to bite'	malarti- 'to tire'
nja- 'to see'	njina- 'to sit'	mungalji- 'to night-fall'
tju- 'to put'	inti- 'to flow'	patawi- 'to stiffen'
ma- 'to get'	ngula- 'to cry'	
nga- 'to eat'	ngurli- 'to fear'	<i>Four syllable stem</i>
yu- 'to give'	paka- 'to rise'	(rare example)
ya- 'to go'	pawu- 'to cook'	kartapaya- 'to break meat'

[ii] *Reduplicated stems* usually indicate repeated action, e.g.

kiti-kiti- as in kiti-kiti-manja 'tickling'
 kula-kula- as in kula-kula-ri-manja 'becoming closer together'
 mara-mara- as in mara-mara-nga-nja '(the child) crawled about'
 mawu-mawu- as in mawu-mawu-yi 'keep moving over a bit further'
 puti-puti- as in puti-puti-manja 'continually circling around'
 ngangku-ngangku- as in ngangku-ngangku-# 'think about it' (ngangku
 'listen')
 ngantju-ngantju- as in ngantju-ngantju-manja 'being very bashful'
 tilj-tilj- as in tilj-tilj-manmanja '(frogs) croaking'

[iii] *Complex Stems.* The etymology of polysyllabic stems is difficult to determine by the descriptive method without recourse to comparative and other branches of linguistics. Stems, such as kartapaya, are obviously compounds (karta- occurs in verbs to do with 'breaking' or 'cutting'); but -paya does not appear to occur as a meaningful unit in Watjarri. A number of other simple verb stems take suffixes to extend their meanings; but again it is difficult to assign specific meanings or functions to the various suffixes themselves.

A number of these forms will be dealt with under Derived Stems; but before listing these forms it will make for simpler presentation if the major classes of the verbs are introduced first.

[iv] *A preliminary note on verb classes.* Verbs may be divided into two inflectional classes, with a residue of irregular forms; and simultaneously into two syntactic classes.

Using the future tense marker as the identifying feature, the two major inflectional classes may be labelled the -YA class and the -LA class. The seven irregular verbs recorded each has a monosyllabic stem.

The two syntactic classes are the transitive (TV) and intransitive (IV) divisions. These classes are determined by occurrence of the verbs belonging to them in two differently marked types of syntactic constructions. The verbs themselves are not marked specifically for transitivity, although there are examples of known intransitive verbs changed to transitive verbs by the addition of a transiti-

vising suffix.

The two inflectional classes are clearly marked by the differing allomorphs of the tense suffixes as follows:

the -ya class	Present tense -manja, e.g. ngulamanja 'crying'	(IV)
	Past tense -nja, e.g. yanatjinja 'came'	(IV)
	Future tense -ya e.g. intiya 'will flow'	(IV)
the -la class	Present tense -nmanja, e.g. tjapinmanja 'requesting'	(TV)
	-rnmanja following stems with final a or u	
	Past tense -rna~-na e.g. wararna 'sang (a song)'	(TV)
	Future tense -rla~-la e.g. pakarla 'will arise'	(IV)

[v] *Derived verb stems.*

-YA class verbs:

(a) *noun, adjective or verb root* + nga. Transitive and intransitive verbs are formed with the suffix -nga. Apart from its verb-forming function, the meaning of -nga is obscure. Most examples of its occurrence are listed below.

- karla-nga-ya (TV) 'will cause to be hot' (karla 'fire')
- mara-nga-ya (IV) 'will crawl' (mara 'hand')
- parnti-nga-ya (TV) 'will smell it' (parnti 'smell')
- pitja-nga-ya (IV) 'will prowl' (pitja 'locomote' Western Desert language)
- pukurna-nga-ya (IV) 'will run' (puku 'buttock', pukurnta- 'to run along')
- tjakula-nga-ya (IV) '(the sun) will set/enter' (tjakula, meaning uncertain)
- tjakultju-nga-ya (IV) '(the water) will flow' (tjakul+-tju but meaning uncertain)
- karta-nga-ya (IV) 'will break/become broken' (kartanj 'broken')
- kartiya-nga-ya (TV) 'will lift meat' (karti- 'to lift')
- piya-nga-ya (IV) 'will play' (piya 'play') (piyamanja 'flying')
- ngari-nga-ya (IV) 'will lie down' (ngari-/ngayi- 'to lie/be lying down')
- wilala-nga-ya (IV) 'will spill/leak' (wila 'creek', but wilala uncertain)
- yara-nga-ya (IV) 'will tear/rip/split' (yara 'torn', 'ripped')

(b) *verb root/noun root* + -ranga. The combinations, -la-nga and -ya-nga (as in wilalangaya and kartiyangaya above) may be interpreted as allomorphs of -ranga; but the evidence seems to be inconclusive at this stage. Transitive and intransitive verbs are formed with this suffix. Its lexical meaning is uncertain. It functions as both a verbalising suffix and to extend the meaning of simple verb roots. These examples are virtually the total number of examples of this form recorded.

njina-ranga-ya (IV), 'will sit down (from a non-sitting position)'.
Compare njina- as the root of the verb 'to sit', referring to the act of being in a sitting position.

paka-ranga-ya (TV) 'to rouse, raise'. Compare the IV paka- 'to rise',
-LA class.

yurla-ranga-ya (IV) 'to smoke/to be smoky (as a fire)', (yurla 'smoke' (noun)).

(c) *root* + *-rni*. The root may be a verb or other root, sometimes its origin is uncertain. The suffix seems to indicate 'direction towards the speaker'. These are the recorded examples:

kangka-rni-ya (TV) 'will fetch/bring' (compare *kangka-* 'to take (away)')
 pungku-rni-ya (IV) 'will sleep' (meaning of *pungku*, unless related to 'hit' or violent action, is uncertain)
 njara-rni-ya (IV) 'will become hungry' (meaning of *njara-* in this context not known)
 tjampa-rni-ya (IV) 'to run', 'will hurry' (tjamparn 'hurry!', 'hurriedly')
 tjupa-rni-ya (IV) 'will straighten out' (tjuparn 'straight')

(It could be stipulated that *tjuparn* + *-rni*, by loss of final consonant of the stem, becomes *tjuparni-*, and so with *tjamparn*; but it seems unnecessary to engage in a circular argument as to which is the basic form in such a brief description of *Watjarri*.)

(d) *noun, adjective, adverb or verb root* + *-ri~yi*. Intransitive verbs only are formed by this combination. The suffixes are found in free fluctuation and will be symbolised in the lists below by *-yi* alone. The morpheme, manifested by the variants *-ri* and *-yi*, functions as a verbalising suffix and carries the meaning of 'to be' or 'to become'. It may be added to any noun or adjective.

karla-yi-ya 'will become hot' (karla 'fire')
 kula-yi-ya 'will become near/close' (kula 'near/close')
 murla-yi-ya 'will become dead' (murla 'dead')
 paljpa-yi-ya 'will become tired' (paljpa 'tired')
 patja-yi-ya 'will become angry' (patja 'angry')
 pika-yi-ya 'will become sick/ill' (pika 'sick')
 tjuka-yi-ya 'will become happy' (tjuka, not recorded in isolation)
 tjintja-yi-ya 'will become small' (tjintja 'small')
 tjuna-yi-ya 'will become clothed' (tjuna probably from the verb 'to put')
 wilja-yi-ya 'will become splashed, sprinkled, bathed' (wilja- 'to splash')

(e) *root* + *tji~yi*. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are formed. The root may be a verb root or derivative or a root of unknown etymology. The function and meaning of the suffix is uncertain, sometimes changing a transitive verb into an intransitive verb, changing the direction of an action, or, in one case, carrying a meaning similar to *-ri~yi* above. The list below probably includes all the examples recorded.

kalpa-tji-ya (IV) 'will climb' (kalpa not recorded elsewhere)
 tjarta-tji-ya (TV) 'will insert' (tjarta 'calf of leg')
 wangka-tji-ya (IV) 'will talk/converse' (wangka 'speech', wangka- (TV) 'to tell')
 watji-tji-ya (IV) 'will become finished/complete' (watji 'no', 'nothing')
 yana-tji-ya (IV) 'will come (towards the speaker)' (ya- 'to go')
 mana-tji-ya (TV) 'will lift up' (ma- 'to get')
 karla-tji-ya (IV) 'will become hot' (karla 'fire')
 murti-tji-ya (IV) 'will become cold' (murti 'cold')

-LA class verbs.

[a] *noun or adjective root + -ma*. The suffix *-ma* may produce transitive or intransitive verbs. The suffix may be related to the verb *ma-* 'to get'; but it is difficult to assign a lexical meaning to it. The following are the only recorded examples:

puntu-*ma-la* (TV) 'will close/shut it' (puntu not found in isolation)
 warntu-*ma-la* (TV) 'will skin it' (warntu '(animal) skin')
 parlku-*ma-la* (IV) '(dog) will bark' (parlku not found in isolation)
 ngurlu-*ma-la* (TV) 'will hunt/sool' (ngurlu 'fear' in Western Desert language)

tjunku-*ma-la* (IV) 'will swim/splash about (in water)' (tjunku, etymology uncertain)

waljtji-*ma-la* (TV) 'will corrupt/belittle' (waljtji 'bad')

yal-*ma-la* (TV) 'will do what?' (yal 'interrogative')

mika-*ma-la* (TV) 'will make it' (mika 'make', probably English borrowing)

mili-*ma-la* (TV) 'will light (a fire)' (mili 'light', 'daylight')

karla-*ma-la* (TV) 'will heat it' (karla 'fire')

[b] *root + -tja*. Only two examples are recorded, one intransitive the other transitive. One root is adjectival, the other a verb root. The meaning of the suffix is uncertain; but, in the case of its occurrence with the adjective root, it could be related to the Western Desert form *-tjarra* meaning 'having', 'equipped with'.

murti-*tja-la* (TV) 'will become cold' (murti 'cold')

warni-*tja-la* (TV) 'will throw it' (warni- 'to fall')

[c] *root + -tju*. All verbs produced by the suffixation of *-tju* are transitive. The suffix itself is probably related to the verb *tju-* 'to put'.

ngari-*tju-la* (TV) 'will cause to lie down' (ngari-/ngayi- 'to lie/recline')

wakal-*tju-la* (TV) 'will scratch/write it' (waka- 'to spear')

pina-*tju-la* (TV) 'will burn it' (pinma 'light' in Patimaya)

yurla-*tju-la* (TV) 'will cause to smoke' (yurla 'smoke', 'smoke signal')

3.7.2 VERB INFLECTION. Table 3.3 shows the inflections of the two conjugational classes of regular verbs and Table 3.4 has all forms recorded for the seven irregular verbs (all of them have monosyllabic roots).

The *-YA* class is the largest verb class with approximately 63% of the total number of verbs (48% intransitive, 15% transitive). The *-LA* class comprises about 36% (10% intransitive, 26% transitive). The irregular verbs make up the remaining 1% (or less); all irregular verbs are transitive excepting *ya-* 'to go'.

The following inflectional suffixes occur with the regular verbs. In the list of suffixial allomorphs below, the allomorph associated with the *-YA* class is listed first, followed by the *-LA* class allomorph or allomorphs.

- (i) *-manja~-rnmanja/-nmanja* (stems ending with *-i* take only *-nmanja* in *-LA* class, but stems ending *-a* or *-u* may take *-rnmanja* or *-nmanja* by dialectal choice or in fluctuation) 'present tense' or 'continuous aspect', e.g.

TABLE 3.3 - *Inflections of regular verbs*

	present	past	future	perfect impera- tive	imperfect impera- tive	purpo- sive	concurrent action
-YA class	-manja	-nja	-ya	-∅ (zero)	-ma	-ku -wu	-njtja
-LA class	-rnmanja ~-nmanja	-rna ~-na	-rla ~-la	-n	-nma	-lku	-rnta ~-nta

(105) njarlu yanatjimanja
woman come-PRES
The woman is coming.

(106) nganalu pawunmanja, kuka [pawunmanja and pawurnmanja
who-ERG cook-PRES meat fluctuate dialectically]
Who is cooking it....the meat?

(ii) -nja~-rna (or -na following stems ending in -i), 'past
tense' or 'completive aspect', e.g.

(107) kutiya karinja
one-ABS stand-PAST
One only stood.

(108) mayu njinanja parnangka
child-ABS sit-PAST ground-LOC
The child sat on the ground.

(109) palu wayi ngangkurna
he-NOM not hear-PAST
He did not hear it.

(iii) -ya~-rla (or -la following -i): 'future tense' or 'poten-
tial aspect', e.g.

(110) papa urta intiya
water-ABS later flow-FUT
The water will flow by and by.

(111) palu ngakarla kuwarti
he-NOM catch-FUT now/directly
He will catch you directly.

(iv) -∅ (zero)~-n, 'perfect imperative mood' or 'completive
command'. Used in commands and as a hortative or
desiderative with first person subjects, e.g.

(112) njinaranga Sit down!

(113) kulayi Come closer!

(114) kuka pawun Cook the meat!

(115) tjapin Ask him!

(116) ngatja njina I want to sit down, or Let me sit down.

(v) -ma~-nma, 'imperfect imperative' or 'continuous command'.
be used as a polite form of command (or request) or
may indicate 'permission', e.g.

TABLE 3.4 - *Inflections of irregular verbs*

	present	past	future	perfect imperative
pu- 'hit'	pumanja~ pinjmanja	pinja	pumaya	(pumaya)*
nja- 'see'	njanganja	njanja~ njinja	njangaya	njanga
tju- 'put'	tjunmanja	tjuna	tjunaya~ tjiya	tjurra
yu- 'give'	yungamanja	inja	yungaya	yunga
ya- 'go'	yanmanja	yana	yanaya~ yara	yarran
ma- 'get'	manmanja	mana	mara~mala	marra
nga- 'eat'	nganmanja	ngarna	ngala	(?ngala)*

	imperfect imperative	purposive	concurrent action
pu- 'hit'	puma	pinjaku~ pinjakurlu	pinjanjtja
nja- 'see'	njangama	njangaku~ njinjanawu	njinjanta
tju- 'put'	tjunma	(?tjunawu)	tjunanjtja
yu- 'give'	yungama	injangawu	(?injanjtja)
ya- 'go'	yanma	yanaku~ yanakulu	yananta
ma- 'get'	manma	manaku~ manawu	mananta
nga- 'eat'	nganma	ngarnaku~ ngarnangawu	(?ngarnanta)

*The future tense, or potential aspect, is sometimes used for the imperative.

There is some evidence for an HISTORIC PAST, see (240).

(117) njinama, pintu Remain sitting and be quiet!

(118) kuwa, wangkama Yes, keep telling it!

(119) ngatjanja ngangkunma Continue to hear me!

(vi) -ku~-lku, 'purposive', marking a verb in a dependent clause of purpose or reason. (Note that in some of the examples the irregular form -kulu or kurlu may be

shown with an irregular verb.)

- (120) ngapuri, njinta njinaya wangkaku palanja
 brother-in-law you sit-FUT tell-PURP him
 Brother-in-law, you will stay to tell him (the story).
- (121) palu warlarnu mana tjutju yuwalku
 he-NOM boomerang get-PAST dog strike by throwing at-PURP
 He got the boomerang to hit the dog.

Note that *-ku* has an allomorph, *-wu*, which follows the low vowel *-a*; but this seems to be dialectal choice rather than by rule as in *Walmatjari* (see Hudson 1978:12-13). For example, Mrs. Dann corrected Joe Marlow's *manawu* to *manaku*, but allowed Fred Simpson's use of the same suffix. The *-wu* suffix manifests phonetically as *[-u]* following *-a* and *-u*, e.g., *kutiyalu kartiyangawu* '...so that one could take the meat out of the fire', shown phonetically as *[kutiyalu kaʃiyangau]*.

- (vii) *-njtja-rnta/-nta* 'concurrent action (C.A.)' is marker for a verb in a dependent clause functioning as object, time, or other clause level 'filler' in which the action or event is occurring simultaneously with the action or event of the main clause, e.g.
- (122) tjatjan mayu tjamparninjtja pinjakurlu
 chase-IMP child(ren) run-C.A. hit-PURP
 Chase the children who are running away in order to punish them!
- (123) ngatja ngangkuna winjtju yuwakarta
 I-NOM hear-PAST wind blow-C.A.
 I heard the wind blowing.
- (124) ngatja njinja yamatji yaljpangku mama karinjtja
 I-NOM see-PAST fellow many-ERG ceremony performing-C.A.
 I saw a number of fellows performing a ceremony.

The forms of the inflectional suffixes occurring with the irregular verb roots are not completely predictable and, to complicate the picture, the stems themselves change shape for some tenses or moods. Not all tenses, aspects and moods have been recorded. The forms obtained are given in Table 3.4. Forms which have not been recorded but which are hypothesised are enclosed within parentheses in the table. Note that although *ngangkula* ('will hear it') is not listed as an irregular verb, it will be noted that in an example the purposive form is written *ngangkunku* instead of, as would be expected, *ngangkulku*. Further research may clarify this point.

3.8 BOUND PRONOUNS AND OTHER MOVEABLE SUFFIXES

3.8.1 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES. The low number of examples of the occurrence of bound pronouns seems to indicate that, in *Watjarri* (unlike in some Western Desert dialects), the preference is to use free pronouns much more frequently than bound pronouns.

In a large mass of conversational material recorded there are only a few examples of the use of bound pronouns

functioning as subject of a clause. 1st and 2nd singular, 1st dual and 3rd person plural forms have been noted. 1st and 2nd person object forms have been recorded also, but only on rare occasions. Bound forms have been more closely associated with commands, and there are examples of the bound forms occurring with the free forms of the pronoun to form emphatic pronouns.

The following tables summarise the basic information extracted from the recorded data:

Pronominal suffixes, subject form (also used in emphatic pronouns):

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-rna	-li	---
2nd	-n	(-pula)	---
3rd	-#	---	-ya

The bound subject pronoun occurs as the final suffix to the first grammar functioning item or 'tagmeme' in a clause, e.g.

- (125) ngatja-rna ngarinja I (emphatic) lay down.
 (126) yanmanja-rna urta I am going away shortly.
 (127) urta-n kariya You will dance by and by.
 (128) yarra-pa-li ngali Let us (dual inclusive i.e. you and me)
 go now.

Note that there is no inclusive-exclusive distinction with the bound pronouns; but (128) shows how the distinction can be made by combining free and bound pronouns.

Pronominal suffixes, object form:

	Singular
1st	-rni
2nd	-nta

The bound object pronoun also occurs following the first clause level unit as a final suffix, e.g.

- (129) ngatja-nta watji pinja I did not hit you.
 (130) pinja-rni-n ngatjanja
 hit-PAST-lsg0-2sgA lsg-0
 It was definitely me whom you hit.

Vocative forms of the pronominal suffixes (as associated with commands):

	Singular	Dual	Plural
2nd	- \emptyset (zero)	-pula	-ya

The vocative suffix, while most frequently occurring on the verb, as a final suffix, may also occur as a suffix to an item or phrase preceding the verb if another clause level construction occurs in the initial position in the clause, e.g.

- (131) yanatji- \emptyset You come here; you (singular) come.
 (132) yanma-pula You (dual) go on!, you two, proceed!
 (133) yanma-ya You (plural) proceed!
 (134) tampatja-pula yunga You (dual), give me damper!

3.8.2 SUNDRY ADDITIONAL FORMS OF THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

The following have been noted:

[i] -tja '1st person benefactive', as in (6), (134) and

(135) *tamatja yunga* Give me damper!

(136) *yungatja tampa* Give me damper!

(137) *yungatja kutiya ngarnaku* Give me one to eat!

[ii] -ra '3rd person dative' (only one example noted):

(138) *njintara wangka* You say it to him!

[iii] -tju '1st person possessive', e.g.

(139) *kurtatju yanmanja kuwarti* My brother is going directly.

(This suffix occurs with nouns or noun phrases; but most frequently with kin terms, e.g., *kangkutju* 'my uncle', *mamatju* 'my father', etc.)

[iv] -tju 'reflexive-reciprocal suffix', occurs in association with transitive verbs and often as a suffix to a pronoun, e.g.

(140) *njupali wangkatju* "You two are talking to each other" *or* (Lit.)
You two, talk to each other!

(141) *mutukakula wangkatjinjtja ngalitju* In the motor car, we two
were conversing with each other.

3.8.3 THE EMPHATIC SUFFIX. -rtu 'emphatic or intensifier suffix' may follow any part of speech which needs to be emphasised, e.g. *tjamparn* 'Hurry up!' and

(142) *tjamparntu, njanjura* Make it quick, I'm hungry! (in which
'Make it quick' is a colloquial expression for 'Hurry more').

3.8.4 IMMINENT ACTION OR PUNCTILIAR SUFFIX. -pa is not a tense or aspect marker in the strict sense. It may occur with any part of speech in any part of a clause, drawing attention to the imminence of the action itself (as a suffix to the verb) or in relation to any specific clause level item. The meaning of -pa remains rather elusive, so a number of examples are supplied. The suffix, when occurring with verbs, is a second order suffix, following tense or mood affixes and preceding pronominal suffixes.

(143) *njintapa wangka* You say it now!

(144) *njupalipa wangka* You two say it now!

(145) *nganalupa warala* Who will sing now?

(146) *martungunjuwapa* It was a married person (? 'probably' or
'just observed')

(147) *ngakanpa* Grasp him immediately!

(148) *wangkama wuljpalala yanakupa* Tell (politely) the whiteman
to go away now (i.e. 'not to hesitate to leave').

(149) *yarrapartu* Let's definitely go away right now.

(150) *kurninj, yanmanja puluku traintapa tjampinuki* What a pity,
the poor bullocks are on the train already to go to
Geraldton.

(151) *nawupan wangkamanja yaljpa wangka nganatjunga* Why are you at
this point talking all my language?

3.8.5 NEGATION. The negative, *watji*, has a variant, *wayi* (which in some dialects is *wayi*, where [y] is a voiced lamino-alveolar fricative) which is frequently used to negate verbs. However, some speakers prefer to retain the form, *watji*, for this purpose.

- (152) *watji, wayi njanganja* No, I cannot see it.
 (153) *ngatja wayi ngurlimanja* I'm not becoming afraid.
 (154) *watji, wayi pawurna* No, its not cooked.
 (155) *ngatjanta watji pinja* I did not hit you.
 (156) *watji nganayangu ngura* Not my camp.

3.9 INTERROGATIVES

There are interrogative substitutes for most grammatical functions on all levels - word, phrase and clause. The substitute for a common noun is *nja?* ('what?'). This form is declined like a common noun following an ergative-absolutive system. Proper names follow this system also; but instead of the zero marker for the absolutive, proper names take *-nja~-nga* both for the subject of an intransitive clause and for direct object in a transitive clause.

[i] *Common noun interrogative substitute, nja?*

transitive subject	<i>nja-lu?</i>	What did it?
intransitive subject	<i>nja?</i>	What did?
object	<i>nja?</i>	He did it to what?
location	<i>nja-ngka?</i>	On what?
instrument	<i>nja-ngku?</i>	With what?
direction (towards)	<i>nja-ki?</i>	To what?
direction (from)	<i>nja-tjanu?</i>	From what?
purpose	<i>nja-ku?</i>	For what?
vocative	<i>nja!</i>	Whatever it is!
possession (alienable)	<i>nja-ku?</i>	Belonging to what?
possession (inalienable)	<i>nja (warla)</i>	(The egg) of what?
time (time at which)	<i>nja-ngka?</i>	When?
becoming (intransitive)	<i>nja-tji-(plus tense)</i>	What is he becoming?

[ii] *Proper name (person or place) substitute ngana?*

transitive subject	<i>ngana-lu?</i>	Who did it?
intransitive subject	<i>ngana-nja?</i>	Who did? (freq. reduced to <i>ngana</i>)
object	<i>ngana-nja?</i>	Whom?
location	<i>ngana-la?</i>	At what named place?
direction (towards)	<i>ngana-laki?</i>	To whom/place name?
direction (from)	<i>ngana-la-tjanu</i>	From whom?
vocative	<i>ngana</i>	Whoever it is!
possession (alienable)	<i>ngana-ngu?</i>	Belonging to whom?
possession (inalienable)	<i>ngana-nja?</i>	Whose? (<i>as</i> whose head?)

Examples include:

- (157) *palu ngana-nja pinja?* He hit whom?
 (158) *mayu nja-ngka njinamanja?* What's the child sitting on?
 (159) *yamatjilu nja-ngku pinja?* With what did the fellow hit him?
 (160) *warla pala nja-tji-nja?* What did that egg become?
 (161) *njangka palu yanatjinja?* When did he come?
 (162) *palu ngana-nja maka pinja?* Whose (whom) head did he hit?

[iii] *Interrogative substitutes for clause level fillers:*

for transitive verb	yal-ma- (-la class)
for intransitive verb	yali- (-ya class)
for stative	yal?
for number (subject)	nakalju?
for reason	nawu-lu?
for manner	tjarnu? (intransitive)
	yalj-tju? (transitive)
exclamation	yi?
general interrogative	wiyi?

Examples include:

- (163) palu yal-ma-nmanja? What is he doing to it? (trans.)
 (164) palu yali-manja What is he doing? (intrans.)
 (165) yal njinta?
 what state you
 How are you?
 (166) nakalju yamatji yanatjinja mama kariku?
 how many men come-PAST song dance-PURP
 How many men came to dance (perform) the ceremony?
 (167) nawu-lu-pula njanganja ngalinja?
 why-they two see-PRES us two-ACC
 Why are those two looking at us two?
 (168) ngatja tjarnu wangkaya?
 I how speak-FUT
 How will I talk (tell it)?
 (169) yaljtju mikamanja kurartu?
 how make-PAST spear
 How did you make the spear?
 (170) kurninjpara, yi
 pitiable ones, who on earth
 We poor old fellows, what do you think we are?
 (171) warntu wiyi? Where's my blanket?
 (172) wangkanja wiyi?
 speak-PAST eh?
 Did he speak?

4. SYNTAX

4.1 THE BASIC (NON-EXPANDED) CLAUSE TYPES

Below are the basic clause types of Watjarri laid out in tabular form. Optional expansions are dealt with in a later section; but it will be noted that where a noun or a noun phrase may fill a particular clause level spot, examples of both types of fillers may be shown in the examples.

4.1.1 THE INTRANSITIVE STATEMENT

A. With common noun subject:

	<i>common noun subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(173)	papa - \emptyset	inti-manja	The water is flowing.
(174)	mayu kutjarra - \emptyset	yanatji-manja	The two children are coming.

B. With proper name subject:

	<i>proper name subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(175)	Mungku-nja	njina-manja	Mungku is staying (lit: sitting).
(176)	Mingkurl-nga	paka-rnmanja	Mingkurl is arising.

C. With free pronoun subject:

	<i>free pronoun subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(177)	ngatja	kula-yi-manja	I am coming closer.
(178)	njinta	yanatji-manja?	Are you coming?

D. Bound pronoun subject:

	<i>predicate</i>	
(179)	yanatji-manja-rna	I am coming. (I'm coming.)
(180)	yanaya-n	You'll go.

4.1.2 THE INTRANSITIVE COMMAND

	<i>optional vocative</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(181)		kulayi- \emptyset	Come closer!
(182)		paka-n	Get up!
(183)	mayu,	tjuparni- \emptyset	Child, straighten out!
(184)	njupali,	wangkatji- \emptyset	You two, talk!
(185)	Mungku,	yanatji- \emptyset	Mungku, come here!

4.1.3 THE TRANSITIVE STATEMENT

A. With common noun subject; common noun object; transitive verb:

	<i>common noun subject</i>	<i>common noun object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(186)	tjutju-ngku	mayu- \emptyset	patja-rna	The dog bit the child.
(187)	ngakalalanj-tju	njarlu kutjarra- \emptyset	patja-rnmanja	The cockatoo is biting the two women.
(188)	njarlu kutjarra-ngku	ngakalalanj-pa	pinja	The two women hit the cockatoo.
(189)	mayu marnkurr-tu	tjutju- \emptyset	pumanja	The three children are hitting the dog.

B. With proper name subject; proper name object; transitive verb:

	<i>proper name subject</i>	<i>proper name object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(190)	Nungki-lu	Panin-nga	njinja	Nungki saw Panin.
(191)	Panin-tu	Nungki-nja	ngangku-rna	Panin heard Nungki.

C. With free pronoun subject and object, plus transitive verb:

	<i>pronoun subject</i>	<i>pronoun object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(192)	ngatja	njinta-nja	ngangku- rnmanja	I am listening to you.
(193)	njinta	palu-nja	pinja	You hit him.
(194)	njupali	pula-nja	ngangkurna	You two heard those two.

D. With bound pronoun forms plus transitive verb:

	<i>free pronoun subject- bound object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(195)	ngatja-nta	tjutila	I'll tie you up.
(196)	njinta-rni	pinja	You hit me!
	<i>free pronoun object- bound subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(197)	njinta-nja-rna	ngangkurna	I heard you.
(198)	palu-nja-n	kangkaya	You will take him away.
(199)	<i>bound pronouns with the predicate</i> ngurlumanmanja-rna- \emptyset		I am frightening him.

4.1.4 THE TRANSITIVE COMMAND.

	<i>optional vocative</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(200)			tjatjan	You chase it!
(201)			puma	You hit it!
(202)		kuka	pawun	You cook the meat!
(203)	mayu,	mimi	nganma	Child, drink the milk!
(204)	njupali,	mama	waran	You two, sing a song!
(205)			tjatjan- pula	You two, chase it!
(206)			puma-ya	All of you, hit it!

4.1.5 VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES

A. Equational:

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(207)	ngatja	pakarli	I am an initiated man
(208)	ngana yini	pala	What is that person's name?
(209)	ngatjangu mayu	njarlu	My child is a female offspring.
(210)	pakarli	katja	
		maparnpa	The man is a sorcerer.
(211)		pakarli-rna	I'm an initiated man.

B. Stative:

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(212)	warla	parnti	The egg is good.
(213)	yamatji pala	pika	That fellow is sick.
(214)	kurta	mampu pika	Elder brother is sore-legged.
(215)		pika-n?	Are you sick?

C. Locational:

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(216)	kuwiyarl	marta-ngka	The goanna is on the rock.
(217)	njarlu kutju	panjakarti	There's another woman on the other side.
(218)	yamatji njanja	ngura-ngka	This fellow is in camp.
(219)	yamatji yaljpa	Yuwin-ta	All the men are at Yuin.
(220)		ngura-ngka-rna	I'm in camp.

4.1.6 DEPENDENT CLAUSE TYPES

A. Simultaneous action clauses. Dependent clauses are marked to indicate their relationship to the main clause. There is no true 'switch reference system', but rather a focus on simultaneity of action as contrasted with subsequent action. (By 'action' in this context is meant *event* as contrasted with *entity* and *abstraction*.)

Simultaneity of action is indicated in the dependent clause by the concurrent action suffix, -njtja~-rnta~-nta as described in 3.7.2 (vii).

	<i>temporal clause (dependent)</i>	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(221)	mayu yaljpa kurl-ki	yana-nta	pakarli panja	marlaku yanatjiya.
	child many	school-ALL go-C.A.	man that	return come-FUT.
	When the children go to school, that man will come back.			

	<i>temporal clause (dependent)</i>	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(222)	karangu tjakulanga-njtja-	-rna	yanatjiya	
	sun enter-C.A.-	-I	come-FUT.	
	I will come at sunset.			

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	<i>direct object clause</i>	
(223)	njarlu-ngku	pinja	tjutju warntu-ngka	ngayi-njtja
	woman-ERG	hit-PAST	dog blanket-LOC	lie-C.A.
	The woman hit the dog which was lying on the blanket.			

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	<i>direct object clause</i>	
(224)		tjatja-n	mayu tjamparni-njtja	
		chase-IMP	child run-C.A.	

Chase the child who is running.

	<i>subject</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	<i>locational/direction clause</i>	
(225)	tjutju-ngku	marlu	tjatjanmanja	yamatji kurartu-njuwa	
	dog-ERG	kangaroo	chase-PRES	man spear-WITH	
				kayi-njtja-ki	
				stand-C.A.-ALL	

The dog is chasing the kangaroo towards the man standing with a spear.

- (226) *subject object predicate locational/direction clause*
 tjana mayu murilja kangka-nja yamatji yaljpa-ngku mama
 they child pre- take-PAST men many-ERG song
 initiate

kari-njtja-ki
 perform-C.A.-ALL

They took the pre-initiate child to the men who were performing a ceremony.

- (227) *subject clause object predicate*
 yamatji yaljpa-ngku mama kari-njtja-lu murilja ngaka-rna
 man many-ERG song perform-C.A.-ERG pre-ini- grasp-PAST
 tiate

The men who were dancing the corroboree grasped the pre-initiate.

Further examples of dependent clauses indicating simultaneity of action:

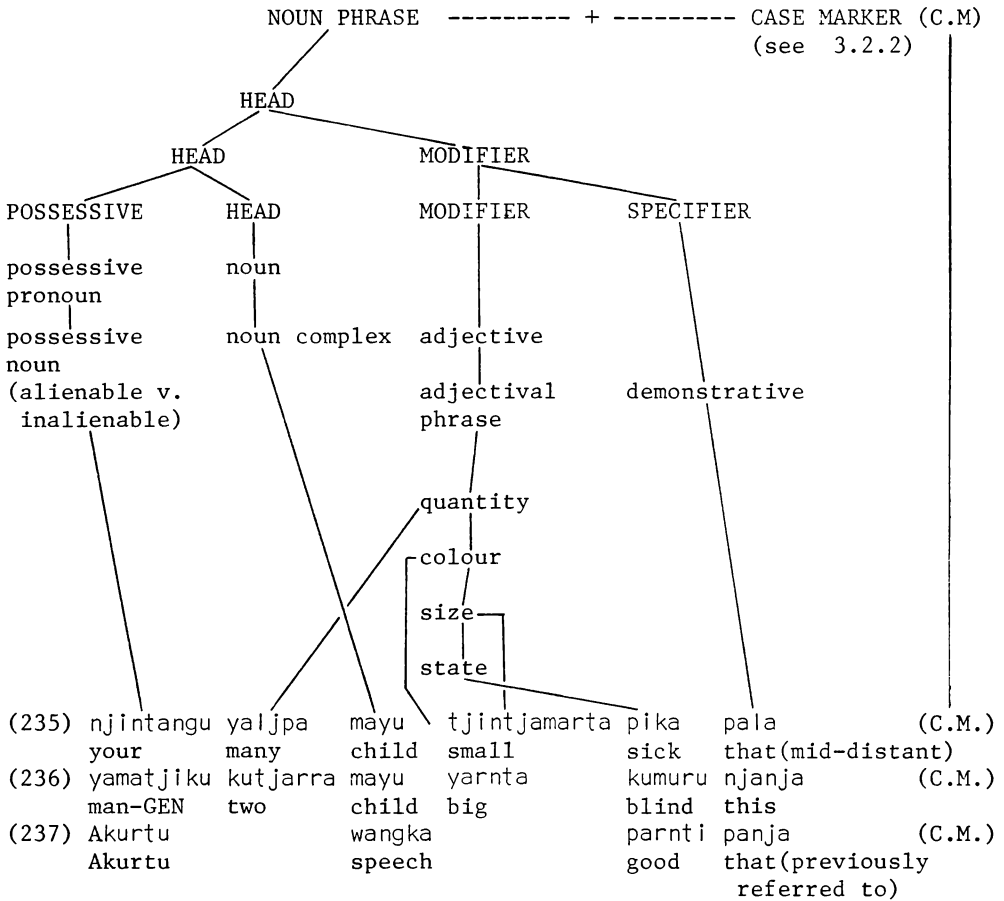
- (228) wilara paka-rnta yanatji ngatjangu ngura-ki
 moon rise-C.A. come-IMP my camp-ALL
 When the moon arises, come to my camp.
- (229) ngatja mayu njinja marlaku yana-nta kurl-tjanu
 I child see-PAST return come-C.A. school-ABL
 I saw the children coming home from school.
- (230) yamatji-lu njinja njarlu-ngku mana-nta lizard
 man-ERG see-PAST woman-ERG get-C.A. lizard
 The man saw the woman get the lizard.

B. Dependent clauses with subsequent action. These purpose clauses are indicated by -ku following -YA class verb stems, -lku following -LA class verb stems; -kurlu frequently occurs following the verb 'to hit'.

- (231) *predicate object clause purpose clause*
 tjatja-n mayu tjamparni-njtja pinja-kurlu
 chase-IMP child run-C.A. hit-PURP
 Chase the children who are running away so as to punish them.
- (232) *object subject predicate purpose clause*
 puraku ngatja kangkarni-nja njinta tjunayi-ku
 frock I bring-PAST you(sg.) put on-PURP
 I've brought the frock for you to put on.
- (233) *vocative location predicate purpose clause*
 njinta ngura-ngka njina-ma ngatja yana-ku kuka-ku
 you camp-LOC sit-IMPERF IMP I go-PURP meat-PURP
 You remain in camp so I can go out for meat.
- (234) *subject time predicate purpose*
 mayu urta yara piya-ku
 children later go-FUT play-PURP
 The children will be going out later-on to play.

4.2 PHRASE STRUCTURE

4.2.1 THE NOUN PHRASE. A noun phrase usually has a common noun head, which may be accompanied by one or more modifiers or other peripheral elements; or it may be a proper name, in which case there is no recorded evidence that other periph-

FIGURE 4.1 *The structure of the noun phrase*

Translations of these noun phrases are:

- (235) Those many little sick children of yours ---
 (236) These two big blind children belonging to the man ---
 (237) That good speech of Akurtu's ---

eral elements occur with it.

The head of a noun phrase, when a common noun, may be a single noun or a noun complex (such as *mara pirri* 'finger nail', *tjina pirri* 'toe nail', *yamatji pakarli* 'an Aboriginal man', etc.). Possessives usually precede the noun in linear order, and adjectives of colour, size, state, then quantity follow in that order. An adjective of quantity may precede the noun, however, in which case it follows the possessive. The possessive may be a possessive pronoun, proper name or common noun.

Demonstratives occur finally in the noun phrase. Case markers occur after the final element in the phrase and the form of the case marking suffix depends on the form of the final word in the phrase, that is, whether it ends with a consonant or a vowel (see 3.2.2).

Figure 4.1 shows the general structure of the noun phrase.

The noun phrase may occur as subject, object, or location-direction in a clause, taking the appropriate case markers. It may also occur as instrument or as time, the former taking the ergative case marker, the latter taking the locative case marker.

Any common noun may occur as the head of a noun phrase. A noun complex occupying the head of a phrase may be any of the following combinations of nouns:

Inalienable possession combination: marlu kantja '(lit.) kangaroo skin', 'rug', as in

- (238) ngatjangu marlu kantja parnangka ngayimanja
 1sg-POSS rug ground-LOC lie-PRES
 My rug is lying on the ground.

Other examples include:

mulja tja 'nostril', lit. 'nose - hole/mouth'
 mulja yirti 'nose bone', lit. 'nose - skewer'
 tjina puka 'boots', 'shoes', lit. 'foot - covering'
 mara pirri 'finger nails', lit. 'hand - claw'

Contrast with the above forms marlu parriya 'kangaroo pad/track' and yalipirri warla 'emu egg' which will not take another possessive as marlu kantja does in (238). marlu parriya would better fit the form Akurtu wangka, (237), in which the combination is one of inalienable possession, but wangka is head of the phrase and the possessive, Akurtu, is peripheral.

'Gender' combinations:

njarlu katja 'daughter', lit. 'woman (female) - offspring'
 yamatji pakarli 'Aboriginal man', lit. 'Aboriginal male - man, initiated'
 yamatji katja 'son', lit. 'male - offspring', as in

- (239) njintangu yamatji katja kutjarra ngulamanja
 your male offspring two cry-PRES
 Your two sons are crying.

Generic - specific combinations with a generic noun followed by a more specific noun, e.g.

njarlu warluwura 'adolescent girl', lit. 'woman - adolescent'
 mayu murilja 'a preinitiate', lit. 'child - uncircumcised male'
 kuka marlu 'kangaroo meat', lit. 'meat - kangaroo'
 kuka puluku 'bullock meat'

ELLIPTICAL NOUN PHRASES may be used to convey ambiguity or when the referent is known or has been referred to previously. The sole filler of a noun phrase may be an adjective of quantity:

- (240) itjapa, kutiya-lu waka-lmara kurartulu
 certainly one-ERG spear-HISTORIC PAST spear-WITH
 Right enough, one spears with a barbless spear.

Or an adjective of size:

- (241) yarnta-lu pinja
 big-ERG hit
 It was the big one who hit him.

Or an adjective of state:

- (242) pika ngarimanja
 sick lie-PRES
 The sick (one) is lying down.

Demonstratives also may fill this position; but in such case they may be regarded as positional pronouns.

WORD ORDER in the noun phrase is more fixed than word order on clause level. As indicated in the brief initial statement on the noun phrase, possessives precede the noun head. Possessives have not been found in a headless noun phrase, that is, in association with an adjective functioning as the sole filler of a noun phrase. This fact may be one criterion for separating adjectives from nouns.

A *QUANTITATIVE ADJECTIVE* may occur preceding or following the noun head in an unexpanded phrase; in the expanded phrase, however, in which adjectives of size and state may occur, the adjective of quantity tends to occur before the noun head.

- (243) yaljpa mayu kultjanu yanatjimanja
 many child school-ABL come-PRES
 There are a lot of children coming home from school.
- (244) njarlu mayu marnkurrpa wayi ngayimanja
 woman child three not lie-PRES
 The three girls are not lying down.

SIZE and *STATE* adjectives follow the noun in that order; but if *COLOUR* occurs, it precedes size and state and immediately follows the noun head. See (235), (236).

An *APPOSITIONAL PHRASE*, usually a more specific presentation of the initial noun phrase, may follow the main phrase after a non-final intonational juncture (rising pitch). The appositional phrase takes the same case marking as the main noun phrase, and is followed by another temporary pause, e.g.

- (245) yamatji-lu, Mingkurl-ku mama-lu, kuka marlu ngura-ki
 a man-ERG " -POSS father-ERG kangaroo-meat camp-ALL
 kangkarnimanja
 bring-PRES
 A man, Mingkurl's father, is bringing kangaroo meat to the camp.

Examples of noun phrases in other than subject position include:

- (246) njarlu-ngku kutjarra mayu pika hospital-ki kangkangamanja
 woman-ERG two child sick hospital-ALL take-PRES
 That woman is taking the two sick children to hospital.
- (247) palu yamatji pika njanja kangkangaya nganatjungu ngurlurn
 he-NOM man sick this take-FUT my windbreak
 yarnta-ki
 big-ALL
 He will take (carry) this sick man to my big windbreak.

EMBEDDED NOUN PHRASE. A noun phrase may be found embedded in another noun phrase as a modifier of the noun head of the main phrase, e.g.

- (248) yamatji panja pakarli martungu kutjarra-njuwa
 man that initiated man spouse two-WITH
 That man (previously referred to) is an initiated man with
 two wives.

In this sentence, *martungu kutjarra*, a noun phrase, is related to the main phrase by the relator *-njuwa* which may be regarded as an adjectivisor.

4.2.2 *ADJECTIVAL PHRASE.* This phrase type may be embedded in a noun phrase or it may occur as the predicate of a verbless clause of state. There are two types of expansion of the adjective phrase, one is the introduction of an intensifier, which has been found only with adjectives of state, and the other the use of a negative. The intensifier occurs before the adjective and the negative also occurs before the adjective and also before the intensifier if this is present in the phrase, or it may occur finally if in the predicate. E.g.

- (249) ngatja ngarti pika
 I-NOM very sick
 I am very sick.
- (250) mayu ngarti pika panja parnangka ngayimanja
 child very sick that ground-LOC lie-PRES
 That very sick child is lying on the ground.
- (251) ngatja wayi malarti
 I-NOM not tired
 I am not tired.
- (252) palu ngarti pika wayi or palu wayi ngarti pika
 he-NOM very sick not He not very sick
 He is not seriously ill.

4.2.3 *THE VERBAL PHRASE.* The intensifier may also be used in the verbal phrase and it has been found in the pre-verb and the post-verb position, e.g.

- (253) palu ngarti tjurnimanja He is laughing loudly (forcefully).
 (254) tjana pinjarimanja ngarti They are fighting vigorously.
 (255) mutuka pukurtamanja ngarti There's a motor car running along
 really fast.

4.2.4 *TEMPORAL PHRASE.* This may precede or follow the verb or it may occur first in the clause. There are a number of words which may be regarded as 'adverbs of time' or they may be classed as a separate class of time slot fillers (using tagmemic terminology). See the list in the vocabulary and note also that phrases may occur in this position, e.g.

- (256) palu wapa karangu yanatjinja
 He-NOM another sun come-PAST
 He came yesterday.

- (257) karangu kutjarratjanu palu marlaku yanatjinja
 day(sun) two-ABL he back come-PAST
 He returned after two days.

4.3 CONJUNCTIONS AND SENTENCE FORMATION

No examples of conjunctions have been found in field data, except where prolonged association with English has led some speakers to insert 'and' (as 'n) between clauses when asked if they have any equivalent for the English conjunction. Independent clauses are strung together without any formal conjunctions. Intonation contours, however, supply links between related clauses, e.g.

- (258) pikayinjarna, malartiyinjarna. I've become sick and I have become tired.

The comma (,) indicates a non-final pause with rising intonation, whereas the full stop (.) indicates a final, falling intonation.

Relationships between independent and dependent clauses are indicated by suffixation, already described in the appropriate sections.

Sentences may, then, be utterances which contain part clauses or exclamations; complex clause constructions (in which there is a main clause and one or more dependent clauses); or coordinate clauses (simple or complex) bound together by intonational features as described above.

4.4 SENTENCE PARTICLES

A sentence may be comprised of a single sentence particle, such as an exclamation, an interjection, an affirmative, negative, or certificative (as well as an interrogative, a partial clause or word ... as in answer to a question ... or a larger construction such as an independent clause, a complex clause, or a coordinate clause). A sentence particle may be added to a sentence without affecting its lexical meaning, as when an exclamation occurs as an opener; or it may affect the meaning of the whole sentence, as when a certificative is added. Examples below illustrate the few particles recorded in the data.

Exclamations and interjections:

- (259) karla! 'Go ahead!' 'Proceed!' as in karla! waranpa 'Go on, sing!'
 (260) katji! 'Beware!', 'Don't approach!', as in katji! panja karlatjanu 'Get away from that fire!'
 (261) walayi! 'Look out!', 'Caution!', as in walayi! martanju 'look out! Police'. ('Watch out! Policeman coming!')
 (262) njanja! 'Look here!', 'Attention!' as in njanja! kuka 'Look here! Meat'
 (263) putju! 'Come now!', 'Knock off!', 'Right ... finish what you're doing!' as in putju! tjapa kuwarti 'Finish up! It's supertime'

Affirmation:

- (264) kuwa 'Yes!', as in kuwa! 'Yes!' or kuwa, tjana pakaranganjtja kuwiyarl 'Yes, they were arousing the goannas'.

Negation:

- (265) watji! 'No', 'Nothing', as in watji, wayi njanganja 'No, I'm not looking at it'
 (266) njinta tina tjuna? 'Have you put the dinner(tina) on?'
 (267) watji, wayi pawurna 'No, it's not cooked'

Certification:

- (268) itja! 'True', 'Truly', 'Certainly', 'O yes'; itja? 'Is it true?'
 (269) itjapa, kutiyalu wakalmara kurartulu 'That's true now! One would spear with a spear' (as part of text)

VOCABULARY

In the alphabetical vocabulary of Watjarri, the following order is employed:

a, i, k, l, lj, m, n, ng, nj, p, r, rl, rn, rr, rt, t, tj, u, w, y

Each word is given both in the alphabetical listing, and then again in the vocabulary by semantic fields.

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

- | | |
|--|---|
| arnmanu, N: Arnmanu coastal dialect; man, in this dialect | iri, N: point of spear or digging stick |
| ika, N: bone | irilja, N: scraper (usually white quartz) used for scraping skins |
| ikirl, N: a rip, tear, or hole in skin or cloth covering | irli, N: meat from the back of an emu |
| iku, N: younger sister | itja, Sentence Particle: certitive, surely, certainly, truly |
| ilili, N: the rattling noise of wooden weapons knocking together | itjitji, N: the Ta-ta lizard |
| ilimpiri, Place name: Twin Peaks near Murchison River | kaka, N: child, variant of mayu |
| iliwaka, N: large edible ground frog | kakararra, N: east |
| ilkari, N: the day, sky (from Western Desert language) | kaki, N: galah (from English cocky) |
| ingkarta, N: the Inkartata language | kaku, N: crow (Corvus orru) |
| ini ~ yini, N: name (an inalienable possession) | kakulj, Adv: by oneself, alone |
| inja, Vtr: past tense of yu- to give | kakurla, N: the native or silky pear |
| inti-, Vintr: to flow, -YA class | kalatjarra, Adj: sorcerized |
| intirri, N: the daytime sky; Adj: high | kalatjarrayi-, Vintr: to become sorcerized, -YA class |
| intjiwarni, N: the Intjiwarni language | kalja, N: armpit, axilla |
| ipinj, N: tinder (for fire-lighting) | kaljartu, N: substitute reference to a deceased person |
| ira ~ yira, N: mouth, lips, language | kaljawirri, N: rock wallaby |
| irapiya ~ yirapiya, N: cumulonimbus or storm clouds generally | kalpatji-, Vintr: to climb, -YA class |
| | kami, N: grandfather, grandson |
| | kamitjuna, N: my own grandfather |
| | kamparnira, N: uncle-nephew relationship |
| | kamparnu, N: mother's brother, uncle |

- kampu, Adj: cooked (meat)
 kampurarra, N: wild tomato, solanum
 kan ~ kana, N: gun, shotgun (from English)
 kangka-, Vtr: to take away, -YA class
 kangkanga-, Vtr: to carry (in direction away from speaker), -YA class
 kangkarni-, Vtr: to bring, fetch, -YA class
 kangku, N: mother's brother, uncle, (probably borrowed from Njungar kongk)
 kangku, N: knee (dialect variant)
 kaninjjarra, N: subincision (from Western Desert language, underneath)
 kanjarra, N: the Kanjarra language
 kanjtjari, N: grandmother, granddaughter
 kankarra, Adv: above, upwards
 kanparrka, N: spider (Patimaya)
 kantara, N: tortoise
 kanti, N: knife, stone knife or chisel
 kantja, N: skin bag, fur rug or covering; see marlu kantja
 kantjari, N: a head ring (used by women when carrying a load on the head)
 kapi, N: water (from Western Desert language)
 kapu, N: calf (from English)
 kapurtinj, N: kidney(s)
 kapurtu, N: egg
 karakara, N: Temp: afternoon
 karangu, N: sun, day
 kari-, Vintr: to stand, to dance, -YA class
 kari-, Vtr: to reenact a myth or ceremony; see mama
 karimarra, N: skin group (male marries purungu)
 karla, N: fire (generic), fire-wood, firestick
 karla, Excl: Go on! Go ahead! Get on with it!
 karlama-, Vtr: to heat up, to heat a meal, -LA class
 karlanga, Adj: hot
 karlanga-, Vtr: to heat, to make (something) hot, -YA class
 karlaya, N: emu (from Western Desert language); see yalipirri
 karlayi-, Vintr: to become hot, -YA class
 karta-, Vtr: to break, -YA class
 kartanga-, Vtr: to cause to break, -YA class; alternate karlatji-kartanganj ~ kartanj, Adj: broken
 kartapaya-, Vtr: to cut, to carve (meat) to apportion or distribute meat or food, -LA class
 kartawala, N: spider
 karti-, Vtr: to lift, to raise cooked meat from the hot ashes, -YA class
 kartiyanga-, Vtr: to cause to lift cooked meat from the hot ashes, -YA class
 kati, N: forearm, arm (generally)
 katja, N: one's offspring, son or daughter
 katjanja, N: processionary caterpillar
 katjara, N: river
 katjayara, N: son-father relationship, daughter-mother relationship
 katji, N: a spear
 katji, Excl: Hop it! Get away! Move out of the way!
 kawilkura, N: a rainbird, probably the pallid cuckoo or the fan-tailed cuckoo. It is said to drag the rain along behind it
 kayi-, Vintr: to stand, to exist (as trees); alt. kari-, -YA class
 kirrkurta, N: brown hawk (Falco berigora)
 kitikiti-, Vtr: to tickle, -YA class
 kuka, N: flesh, meat (all flesh foods) (from Western Desert language); see kuwa
 kuka mantu, N: cooked meat
 kuka marlu, N: kangaroo meat
 kuka puluku, N: bullock meat
 kukuntjirri, N: sheep (east and north dialects); see tjipu
 kukurl ~ kukurr, Adv. continually
 kul ~ kurl, N: school (from English)
 kula, Adj: close, near; Adv: closely
 kulari- ~ kulayi-, Vintr: to become nearer, closer, -YA class
 kuljpa, N: clothes, garments
 kulju, N: native sweet potato
 kulu, N: fleas
 kumarta, N: storm cloud, cumulus, thunderstorm

- kumparta, N: night, night sky
(Patimaya)
- kumpu, N: urine
- kumuru, N: blind, sightless
- kuntja, N: elder sister
- ku(r)ntuwara ~ kuntuwaa ~ kuntuwa
~ kurntuwa, N: echidna, spiny
anteater
- kupa, N: ashes, white ash
- kupulja, N: sleep; Adj: asleep
(Patimaya)
- kurarra, N: needle tree
- kurartu, N: spear, a straight
spear without a barb
- kuripi, N: bullock
- kuripi njurnti, N: bullock tail
- kurl ~ kul, N: school (from
English)
- kurlka, N: ear, ears
- kurlkarta, Adv: attentively
- kurlkaturangu, N: prickly
flannel bush
- kurlku, N: a sling for carry-
ing a baby
- kurninj, Adj: pitiable, poor,
hapless, unfortunate
- kurninjpara, N: poor old
fellows, pitiable ones
- kurnta, N: shield
- kurnti, N: short hitting stick,
also a magic pointing stick
- kurntuwa, see kuntuwara
- kurrakurra, Adj: pesty (e.g.
flies)
- kurrarra, N: seeds, small seeds
said to be carried by ants to
their holes and to be eaten
by a certain small lizard, the
wuntiljarra
- kurri, N: spouse (from Western
Desert language) used more
specifically in Watjarri for
husband; see martungu, watji
- kurriya ~ kutiya, Adj: one (some-
times shortened to kurri)
- kurrkurtu, N: owl, the Boobook
(*Ninox novaeseelandiae*)
- kurrparu, N: magpie (probably
Gymnorhina dorsalis)
- kurruri-, Vintr: to fly, circle
or glide (as birds), -YA class
- kurrurn, N: the spirit of a living
person, the inner being
- kurta, N: older brother
- kurtikurti, shortened form of
kuwarti-kuwarti, Temp: a short
time, not for long
- kurturtu, N: heart, the human heart
- kurturtu, N: ceremonial ground (a
special place where parents wait
while their son is undergoing
initiation rites)
- kuru, N: eye, eyes; also tjurla
kurupurlkartu, N: the Sturt pea
(*Clianthus formosus*)
- kutiya ~ kurriya, Adj: one; N: a
certain person
- kutja-, Vtr: to ignite, to light a
fire, -LA class
- kutjarra (sometimes shortened to
kutja), Adj: two
- kutjarta, N: a many-barbed spear
- kutjita, N: water snake (said to
control pimarra springs)
- kutju, Adj: another (of the same
kind)
- kutjulilin, N: tadpoles
- kutjurta, Adj: all, every (in NP +
-pa, kuka kutjurtapa, every bit
of meat)
- kuwa, Affirmation: yes
- kuwa, N: meat, all game meats,
flesh
- kuwarti, Temp: now, soon, directly
- kuwarti-kuwarti, Temp: shortly,
not for long; see kurtikurti
- kuwiyarl, N: goanna, perentie
(*Varanus giganteus*)
- kuyu, N: variant of kuru, eye(s)
(also in Pulinja)
- likarra, N: dry bark (Patimaya and
Western Desert language); see
pingara
- ma-, Vtr: to get, pick up, obtain
(irregular verb)
- maka, N: head
- maka, N: cup, drinking vessel
(from English mug)
- maka wintja, N: a grey-haired man
- makanga-, Vintr: flying (lit.
over-heading), -YA class
- makayarla, N: doctor, diagnostician
(refers to 'the third eye' but in
some dialects means lit. 'bald
head', a symbol for eldership or
wisdom)
- makuta, N: a meat portion
- malarti, Adj: tired, weary
- malarti-, Vintr: to become tired or
weary, -YA class
- maliyara, N: east, an eastern group,
a desert native; see wamala

- malju, N: younger sister
 malka, Adv: soundly, fast (asleep), deeply, still (unmoving), silently (unresponsively) (depending on verbal context)
 malkakayi-, Vintr: to appear inattentive, to stand as though oblivious to circumstances, -YA class
 malkana, N: the Malkana language
 malka, PN: Malka, nephew of Putj-ulkura (in traditional folk tale)
 malura, Place name: Malura, probably original of Mileura (pastoral station)
 mama, N: father, father's brother
 mama, N: song, ceremony, corroboree
 mama karimanja, Vtr. phrase: re-enacting a myth, ceremony, dreaming; see kari- and wara-
 mamanji-, Vintr: to be/become angry, irritated, peeved, -YA class
 mamayara, N: father-son relationship
 mambu, N: lower leg
 mambu ngartara, N: bowlegged, bandy
 manatja, N: policeman (from Njungar manatj, black cock-
 atoo)
 manatji- ~ manayi-, Vtr: to pick up (e.g. to pick up a freshly killed kangaroo), -LA class
 mangarta, N: jam tree, the edible gum from this tree
 mangka(lja), N: head hair
 mangkawarla, N: man's hat
 mangkuru, N: the red kangaroo (Ethel Creek dialect)
 manjtjanjtjarra, N: termites
 manjtjunjtjurru, N: termites (variant)
 mantu, Adj: cooked (meat)
 maparn, N: doctor, sorcerer (from Western Desert language magic stone)
 maparnpayi. ~ maparntjarra, Adj: describing a man with the power of magic or sorcery
 mara, N: hand, forepaws of an animal
 mara, Adv: manually, as in mara parntimanja, doing a job well by hand (manually)
 mara pirri, N phrase: finger nail
 mara tjuti-, Vtr. phrase: to handcuff, lit. 'to tie hands', -LA class
 maranga-, Vintr: to crawl, to walk on the hands and knees, -YA class
 maraya-, Vintr: to crawl, to go along on the hands (mara yanmanja); as ya- (irregular verb)
 marinjmarinj, N: large black 'soldier' ants
 marinjmarinj, Adj: proud, conceited
 maritji, N: brother's wife
 marla, Adv: behind
 marlakarti, Adv: back, at a starting point
 marlaku, Adv: back, to a starting point
 marlatja, N: calf of the leg
 marlpa, N: the sky; Adj: high
 marlpa, N: an initiated man (Ethel Creek dialect)
 marlu, N: kangaroo, the red kangaroo (Megaleia rufa); also used metaphorically for red wine
 marlu, Place name: Marlu - the kangaroo (or Creation Being in the traditional myth)
 marlu kantja, N: kangaroo skin, fur blanket
 marlu parriya, N: kangaroo pad/track (these pads indicate the presence of water in the vicinity)
 marlukuru, N: Sturt pea (Clianthus formosus)
 marlupirri, N: kangaroo paw (lit. 'kangaroo claw') (Anigosanthos manglesii)
 marlurnka, N: spinifex grass (Triodia)
 marna, N: rump, buttock
 marna, N: money; see also marta
 marnkurr, Adj: three
 marnpi ~ marnpinju, N: common bronze-wing pigeon (Phaps chalcoptera)
 marnta, N: anus, buttock
 marntuta, N: rain cloud
 marnun, N: arm, upper arm
 marrarn, N: fair weather cumulus and the cool wind from the south which brings these clouds
 marrkarn, N: frog (Patimaya); see wantitu
 marrpu, N: achilles tendon, kangaroo sinew used for binding in implement making
 marta, N: rock, stone, range, break-away

- marta, N: money, coins
 martalmartalpayi, N: policeman
 (lit. 'the very rich one'),
 sometimes reduced to martapayi
 martamarta, N: a small stone-
 coloured lizard
 martanju, N: policeman (from
 martanjuwa, Adj: having money)
 martumpura, N: budgerigar (Melop-
 sittacus undulatus); also
 njingarri
 martungu, N: spouse, potential
 spouse, the spouse relation-
 ship
 martungu, N: boyfriend, girl-
 friend (a modern usage)
 martungunjuwa, Adj: married; Adv:
 accompanied by a spouse
 maru, Adj: dark, black
 marun, N: quandong (Patimaya);
 see walku
 marungapa, Temp: at sunset, at
 dark
 marunmarta, N: the nuts of the
 quandong tree
 marurtu ~ mawurtu, Adj: black
 maruwara, Temp: early in the
 morning
 matja, N: boss, master, govern-
 ment official
 matja-, VINTR: to wait, -LA
 class
 mawatu, Directive: direction
 away from speaker (precedes
 verbs of locomotion)
 mawu, Pos.Pn: that (distant);
 mawunja, that distant person
 mawu-mawuyi-, VINTR: to move over,
 to move away (as from a fire or
 in bed), -YA class
 mayu, N: child (generic), baby in
 arms, an uninitiated boy
 mayu kurninj, N: a pitiable
 person or child, poor old
 soul (idiom)
 mayu kurninpara, N: another
 idiom for unfortunate charac-
 ters, pitiable ones
 mayu murilja, N: a preinitiate,
 a boy beginning the initiation
 cycle
 mayu yanakupa, N: a child just
 learning to walk
 mayurru, N: a young man, a young-
 ster
 mikinj, N: grey hawk (? Falco
 hypoleucus)
- mila, N: a bonfire, a large commu-
 nity fire in winter time
 mili, N: a light
 milima-, Vtr: to light, to ignite,
 to make a fire, -LA class
 milimili, N: north
 milja, N: entrails (of animal);
 Adj: soft
 miljirrinj, N: white froth on the
 edge of a claypan (metonym for
 claypan)
 milju, N: bark lizard, skink
 miljurra, N: venomous snake
 milki, N: milk (usually referring
 to powdered milk) (from English)
 milku, N: a song for initiated men
 only
 mimi, N: breast, nipple; (hence
 milk); also titi, pipi
 mimpurtu, N: breastbone (sternum)
 minga, N: ants (generic)
 ringkari, N: digging bowl; also tjaka
 mingkarri, N: humpy, dwelling
 miniyara, N: centipede
 minta, N: shade, shadow
 minta, N: mug, cup, any drinking
 vessel
 mintinari, N: beetles
 mintinmintin, N: beetles (generic)
 mintjinj, N: mountain devil
 (Moloch horridus)
 mira, N: a venomous snake
 mirla, N: a rock catchment, rock-
 hole
 mirli, N: diarrhoea, watery faeces
 mirnangu, N: south (from Njungar,
 mirnong)
 mirnti, N: egg shell, shell (gen-
 eric)
 mirru, N: spearthrower, firesaw
 mirru, N: the male umbilicus/navel
 miti, N: common goanna (Varanus
 tristis)
 mitu, N: friend (male or female)
 (from English mate)
 miyurtu, N: mouse
 mula ~ murla, Adj: dead
 mulja, N: nose (metonym for face)
 mulja tja, N: nostril, nose hole
 (for nose bone), i.e. pierced
 septum
 muljayirti, N: nosebone, and, by
 association, the pierced nasal
 septum
 muluwi, Place name: Mullewa
 munga, N: the night sky, nighttime

- mungal, N: morning; Temp: this morning, tomorrow morning (depending on the tense of the verb and the time of day)
 mungalji-, Vintr: to become dark/night, -YA class
 mungal purntara, N: Venus, the morning star
 mungamunga, N: evening
 mungarta, Adj: dark (as at night time)
 mungku, Proper name: Mungku, the personal name of a male
 muni, N: money (probably from English)
 muniya, N: pneumonia (from English)
 muntungu, N: devil, evil spirit, a European-Australian (derogatory)
 murilja, N: a preinitiate, an adolescent; also murtilja
 murla ~ mula, Adj: dead
 murlantji, N: green parrot (Barnardius zonarius)
 murlayi ~ mulayi, Vintr: to become dead, to die, -YA class
 murni, N: wife (Pulinja)
 murrkarmurrkar, Adj: clever, wise
 murti, N: knee (from Western Desert language); see purru
 murti, Adj: cold
 murti papa, N: cold water
 murtilja, N: a preinitiate, an adolescent boy
 murtilju, Adj: cold (weather), wintry
 murtinj, N: an uninitiated boy
 murtitja-, Vintr: to become cold, -LA class
 murtu, N: bone marrow
 murupurikartu, N: the Sturt Pea; see kurupurikartu
 mutji, N: husband (as used by a woman addressing her daughter)
 mutuka, N: motor car (from English)
 muya, N: the rabbit bandicoot or bilby

 nakalju, Interrog: how many?
 nani, N: goat (from English)
 nanpa, N: hairbelt (Patimaya, Western Desert language)
 nanta, N: the Nanta language

 nanti, Adv: there (distant) (Patimaya)
 nanu, N: the Nanu language (the word means the negative, no)
 napa, N: fat, animal fat, kidney fat
 nara, N: lips, mouth (Ethel Creek)
 nawu-, Interrog: why? (takes ergative-absolutive markers)
 niyanniyan ~ njannjan, Adj/Adv: secretive, secretly, with care
 nurilj, N: umbilical cord (kept wrapped in a cloth, 'If they throw it away the baby will miss it and cry all the time')

 nga-, Vtr: to consume, to eat, to drink (irregular verb)
 ngaka-, Vtr: to catch, to grasp, -LA class
 ngakalalanj, N: Major Mitchell cockatoo (Cacatua leadbeateri)
 ngali, Pn: first person dual inclusive nominative form, sometimes made more specifically inclusive in njinta-ngali
 ngalitja, Pn: first person dual exclusive nominative form
 ngalitju, Pn: first person dual inclusive reciprocal form
 ngaljayarla, N: a doctor, a diagnostician (lit. 'forehead-hole')
 ngalpuka, N: summer, the hot season
 ngalungu, N: totem, forbidden food
 ngana, Interrog. Pn: who? (takes ergative-absolutive case markers)
 nganatju, Pn: for me
 nganatjungu, Pn: first person singular possessive pronoun; occurs also as nganayangu
 ngangkarangu, Place name: reputed for its spring with a watersnake
 ngangkari, N: day sky (Patimaya)
 ngangku-, Vtr: to hear (a sound), to perceive aurally, -LA class with irregular purposive form
 ngangkunku
 ngangkunganku-, Vintr: to think, to be thinking, -LA class with purposive as above
 nganirri, N: bullroarer (Patimaya); see tjilpirrpa
 nganju, Pn: first person plural inclusive nominative form
 nganku, N: cheek (body part)

- ngantju, Pn: first person plural exclusive nominative form
 ngantjungantju-, Vintr: to be shy (boys and girls embarrassed in each other's company), -YA class
 ngapu, N: a sweet, white edible root
 ngapuri, N: brother-in-law, wife's brother, brother's wife's brother
 ngarangu, N: a totemic group; see also yarlpu and ngalungu
 ngaraya, N: nephews, nieces, brother's children; variant ngayaya
 ngari- ~ ngayi-, Vintr: to lie down, to recline, to sleep, to exist (as regards animals), -YA class
 ngaritju- ~ ngayitju-, Vtr: to cause to lie down, to put down to sleep, -LA class
 ngarla, N: the Ngarla language
 ngarlku, N: bulb of flax lily
 ngarlpu, Temp: in the summertime
 ngarnamara, N: mallee fowl (*Leipoa ocellata*)
 ngarnawara, N: white cockatoo; see puli
 ngarnka, N: cave
 ngarnkilirri, N: temple (body part)
 ngarnkurr, N: beard
 ngarnngarn, N: lower jaw, chin
 ngarnnti, N: small stick, small wood for kindling
 ngarrka, N: chest (body part)
 ngarrpa, N: seeds for grinding into flour, the plant which produces these seeds
 ngartara ~ ngartaya, Adj/Adv: uncomfortable, uncomfortably, bent, crooked, lying in an awkward position
 ngarti, Adv: forcefully, loudly (depending on verb); Intensifier: very
 ngartingka, N: post-initiate in seclusion
 ngartiyarra, Adv: beneath, underneath, inside, under
 ngartura, N: a small bag for carrying food, etc., a skin bag
 ngaruwa, N: black duck (*Anas superciliosa*)
 ngatja, Pn: first person singular nominative form
 ngawu, N: mallee fowl (ngarnamara)
 ngayi- ~ ngari-, Vintr: to lie down, to rest, to exist (e.g. animals); see under ngari-, -YA class
 ngayitju-, Vtr: variant of ngaritju-, to lay down (someone or something), -LA class
 ngula-, Vintr: to cry, to weep, -YA class
 ngunja, N: fur, animal fur
 ngunuru ~ nguluru, Adv: between, in between two points, in the middle of
 ngupanu, Adj: wild, untamed, non-domesticated; sometimes used without tjutju for dingo
 ngura, N: camp, campsite, place (ngurra in Western Desert language)
 nguri, N: small bag for carrying food
 ngurlal, N: eaglehawk (*Aquila audax*)
 ngurli-, Vintr: to be afraid, to become frightened, -YA class
 ngurlu, Adj: afraid, fearful
 ngurluma-, Vtr: to hunt away, to frighten, -LA class
 ngurlurn, N: a windbreak
 ngurnku, N: elbow; also tjulka
 ngurrinjngurrinj, N: sugar, sweet excretion from flowers and plants
 ngurru, N: horse; also yawarta (ngurt in Njungar)
 ngurtinga, N: spear wood, a type of tree from which spear wood is obtained
 ngurtu, N: brains (sometimes used for marrow, but see murtu, tjilu)
 nja?, Interrog. Pn: what? (interrogative substitute for common noun)
 nja-, Vtr: to see (it), to watch (it) (irregular verb)
 njangamarta, N: the youngest child in a family
 njangka?, Interrogative substitute for both time and location: when?, on what?, where?
 njanja, Pos.Pn: this (near the speaker)
 njanja!, Excl: Look!, Attention! Here!, This way!

- njanjarnikarti, Adv: this side of
njanjura, Adj: hungry
njanka, N: back of neck; also
njinka
njannjan, variant of niyanniyan,
q.v.
njararni- ~ njawarni-, Vintr: to
become hungry, -YA class
njarlu, N: a female person,
usually refers to a married
woman
njarlu katja, N: daughter (lit.
'female offspring')
njarlu martungunjuwa, N: a
woman with a spouse, a married
woman
njarlu tjukarnu, N: a female
elder, an old woman (generally)
njarlu warluwura, N: an adolescent
girl
njarlu wayitwan, N: a white woman,
a European woman; also wiljpila
njarlu
njarra, Pos.Pn: that (distant from
speaker), also in Western Desert
language
njarratjanu, Adv: from there
njatja, N: sand, ground, dirt
(also a euphemistic term for
the dead: a corpse)
njilin, N: hole in roof of a cave
njina-, Vintr: to sit, to exist
(of humans), to stay, -YA class
njinara-, Vintr: to proceed to
sit down, to move into a sitting
position
njinawu!, Excl: wait! stay!
njingarri, N: zebra finch (*Taenio-
pygia castanotis*)
njinka, N: back of neck; variant
of njanka (both forms accept-
able in Watjarri)
njinkururru, N: a small crested
bird said to deceive by mimicry
njinta, Pn: second person singu-
lar nominative form
njinta-ngali, Pn: first person
dual inclusive
njirrinjirri, N: savoury smell
njirrkku, N: mosquito (from
Patimaya)
njiyapali, N: the Njiyapali
language
njukarn, N: the Njukarn lang-
uage (see 1.5)
njumulpunjira, Adj: full,
satisfied
njupali, Pn: second person dual
nominative form
njupar ngayi-, Vintr. phrase: to
sleep, to lie down sleeping,
-YA class (in rapid speech,
njuparangayi-)
njurlarrku-, Vtr: to extinguish
(fire), -YA class
njurni, N: mosquito
njurnti, N: tail (of animal)
njurra, Pn: second person plural
nominative form
njurta, N, Adj: another (of a diff-
erent kind), somebody else
njurta-, Vtr: to apportion (meat),
to distribute portions to various
relatives, -YA class
paka-, Vintr: to ascend, to arise,
to go out of a low shelter, -LA
class with present tense pakarn-
manja
paka-, Vintr: to increase (in
height), to grow tall, -LA class
(-ria)
pakara, N: sacred kingfisher
(*Halcyon sancta*)
pakaranga-, Vtr: to arouse (some-
one/something), to cause to
arise, -YA class
pakarli, N: a fully-initiated man
pakarli katja, N: an initiated
offspring, a mature son
pakarn, N: throat
pakati, N: bucket (from English)
paki, N: tobacco, usually refers to
chewing tobacco (from English)
pakitji, N: box (from English)
pakunpakun, N: bellbird; see
parnparnkarlarla
pala, Pos.Pn: that (mid-distant);
Adv: there (mid-distant)
pali, N: vomit
pali-, Vintr: to vomit, to retch,
-YA class
paljpa, Adj: tired, weary
paljpayi-, Vintr: to become tired,
weary, bored, -YA class
palparu, Adj: mad, stupid, crazy
paltjarri, N: skin group (paltjarri
male marries purrkurlu)
paltjiri, N: the Paltjiri language
palu, Pn: third person singular
nominative form
paluka, Pn: third person singular
emphatic, nominative form

- palutja, Pn: third person singular outside the local group nominative form
- pampurru, N: message stick (Patimaya)
- pani-, Vtr: to grind (e.g. seed), -LA class
- panin, N: seed, seed foods generally
- panja, Pn: third person singular previously referred to absolute form
- panjakarti, Adv: behind, at the rear, out of sight
- panjarnikarti, Adv: beyond a previously known place
- panjatja, Pn: third person singular substitute for a common noun previously referred to
- panjatjanu, Temp: after that, then
- pantuma, N: the Pantuma language
- pantutjilj, N: a type of shrub colloquially named standback bush, a prickly bush
- papa, N: water, rain
- papa warnimanja, Vintr. clause: it is raining. (lit. 'the water is falling')
- papul, N: a hole in top of a cave, a cave air-vent
- para, Place name: Perth
- parapara, N: a gecko lizard
- parla, N: forehead
- parlkuma-, Vintr: to bark (e.g. a dog), -LA class
- parlpa, N: anklebone (Malleolus)
- parna, N: ground, earth, sand (en masse)
- parnaparnayatin, N: quail (probably *Turnix velox*)
- parnka, N: a type of small goanna
- parnparnkarlarla, N: bellbird (*Oreoica gutturalis*)
- parnta, N: kidney(s); also kapurtinj
- parnti, Adj: good, well
- parnti-, Vtr: to perfect (it), to complete (a task) well, to make good, to finish or polish (an implement), -YA class
- parnti-, Vtr: to produce a pleasant or unpleasant smell, -YA class
- parntilku, N: a savoury smell, the smell of meat cooking
- parntinga-, Vtr: to smell (something), to perceive the smell of something, -YA class
- parnti- tju-, Vtr. complex: to put (something) in good order, to fix (it), to put (it) right, parnti-, -YA class; tju-, irregular
- parntiyarra, Place name: a place near Wooleen, mentioned in song
- parriya, N: track, footpad, road; see marlu parriya
- parrka, N: narrow or spiny leaves, as contrasted with yarlu, broad leaves; a narrow-leaf tree
- parrtji, N: arm, forearm
- partarnu, N: a male elder, an old man (generally)
- partarnukarti, N: elder sister
- parti, N: edible grub, the 'bardy' grub, (probably from English)
- partura, N: bustard, wild turkey (*Eupodotis australis*)
- paru, N: gum (for affixing flints, etc.), a gum obtained from a type of spinifex grass, gum colour (a dark brown to black)
- patawi-, Vintr: to become leg-weary, to become stiff in the legs, -YA class
- patimaya, N: the Patimaya language
- patja, Adj: angry, upset
- patja-, Vtr: to bite (metaphorically, to be angry, to snap at someone in anger), -LA class
- patjapatja, Adj: drunk, intoxicated, silly, abusive
- patjari ~ patjayi-, Vintr: to become angry, to become desperate (e.g. for food), -YA class
- patjikil, N: bicycle (from English)
- pawu-, Vtr: to cook (it), to roast (meat), -LA class
- pi- ~ pu-, Vtr: to hit, fight, kill, (irregular, see under pu-)
- pika, Adj: ill (generally), sick, sore, aching, sorcerized
- pika, N: sorcery, sickness, an ache, a sore
- pikayi-, Vintr: to become ill or sick or sorcerized, -YA class
- pikurta, N: euro, (*Macropus robustus*)
- pila, N: spinifex grass (Patimaya); see marlurnka
- pilapirti, N: *Eucalyptus pyriformis*
- pilara, N: a many-barbed spear
- pilat, N: fat (from English)
- pilingki, Adj: white, bright, shiny
- pilingki, N: whiteman, European
- piljinji, Adj: red
- pilti, N: belt; see also tartatji-pilti, policeman

- pimarra, N: spring, a rock spring
 (said to be controlled by a
 water snake)
 pipilj, N: ribs, rib portion of a
 kangaroo
 pinarangura-, Vtr: to burn (found
 only in tjina pinarangurakurla
 'in case you burn your feet'),
 -LA class
 pinatju-, Vtr: to burn (some-
 thing), -LA class
 pingara, N: dry bark
 pinikurra, N: the Pinikurra
 language
 pinjari-, Vtr: to fist-fight
 (someone), -YA class
 pinta-, Vtr: to flash (as
 lightning), -YA class
 pintama-, Vtr: to kill, to
 strike down, -LA class
 pintu, Adj/Adv: quiet, quietly
 (of voice)
 piparlu, N: paper (probably
 from English)
 pipi, N: breast, nipple
 pipitjali, N: an edible root
 or bulb, lit. 'large-
 nipple'; see puntuwanj
 pirinj, Adj: white, shiny;
 also pirlunj
 piritji ~ pirtirta, N: shoulders
 pirri, N: claw, nail (of fin-
 ger/toe), tjina pirri 'toe-
 nail'; mara pirri 'finger-nail'
 pirti, N: den
 pirtipirti, N: butterflies, moths
 piti, N: carrying dish
 pitara, N: kindling wood
 pitjanga- ~ piyanga-, Vtr:
 to prowl, to approach stealth-
 ily, -YA class
 pitjarn, N: liver
 piyanga- ~ piyinga- ~ piya-, Vtr:
 to play, to fly, -YA class
 piyarli, N: pink and grey galah
 (Eolophus roseicapillus)
 pu- ~ pi-, Vtr: to hit, to kill
 (irregular, pumanja ~ pinjanja
 recorded as present tense forms)
 puka, N: traditional body-covering
 made of fur-skin; also kantja
 (the fur-skin); and tjina puka,
 foot-covering
 pukararri-, Vtr: to meet, to
 mix with (people), -YA class
 pukarr, N: echo
 puku, N: buttock; also marnta
 pukurnanga-, Vtr: to run,
 -YA class
 pukurnta-, Vtr: to run along
 swiftly (as a motor car),
 -YA class
 pula, Pn: third person dual nomin-
 ative form
 pularakartu, N: (a term used by
 some speakers for) God; a
 shorter form recorded is pular-
 artu
 pularra, variant of punarra, N:
 eucalyptus tree
 puli, N: little corella (Cacatua
 sanguinea)
 pulinja, N: the Pulinja language
 puljaman, N: doctor, sorcerer
 puluku, N: bullock; see also kapu
 punarra, N: eucalyptus tree
 pungkurni-, Vtr: to sleep, -YA
 class
 pungkurninj, N: magic pointing
 stick (Patimaya); see kurnti
 puntjarrnga-, Vtr: to love (some-
 one), to court (a person), -YA
 class
 puntuma-, Vtr: to close or shut
 (e.g. a door), -LA class
 puntuwanj ~ puntuwarinj, N: an
 edible root or bulb (known by
 different names; pipitjali,
 wilupurl, ngapu)
 pupanji-, Vtr: to bend down, to
 crouch, to stoop, to hide (meto-
 nym: to vomit), -YA class
 puraku ~ puraaku, N: dress, frock
 (from English frock); puraaku
 wirri, black dress for funeral
 puriakupa, Temp: already
 purli, N: carpet snake
 purlka, Adj: big
 purntara, N: star, stars
 purrkurlu, N: skin group (purrkurlu
 male marries paltjarri)
 purru, N: knee; also murti, kangku
 purtuntja, N: owl-nightjar
 (Aegotheles cristatus ?murchi-
 sonianus)
 purtupuri, N: blowfly, blowflies
 (generic), purtupi in Byro dialect
 purturna, N: the Purturna language,
 spoken in the Onslow area
 purungu, N: skin group (purungu
 male marries karimarra)
 purunjmarta, Adv: quietly (Patimaya)
 puta, N: a louse, lice (generic)
 putiputi-, Vtr: to circumambulate
 (as when approaching a new place)
 -YA class

- putju! Interj: finish up!, righto!,
come now ...! (an idiosyncrasy
of the Byro dialect)
- putjulkura, N: a type of pigeon;
Proper name: Pigeon (an anthro-
pomorphic being in mythology,
uncle of Malka)
- puwa, N: mother's brother's son
- talantji, N: the Talantji lang-
uage
- talkayi, N: banded anteater,
rabbit bandicoot, bilby
- tampa, N: damper, camp bread
(from English)
- tarlka, N: hook or peg of spear-
thrower
- tarrkari, N: the Tarrkari language
- tartatji, N: trousers (from
English)
- tartatji-pilti, N: policeman, the
police (lit. 'trousers-belt',
a symbolic reference)
- tawun, N: village, town, city
(from English)
- tiljtiljma-, Ventr: to croak
(as a frog), to knock (as on
a door), -LA class
- titi, N: breast(s), nipple(s)
- tungkuru, N: sandhill
- turapa ~ turaapa, N: trough,
drinking trough (from English)
- turayin, N: train (from English)
- turnku, N: range, hills; warta
turnku, a distant range
- tuwa, N: house, a town house
- tja, N: hole, opening, mouth,
language (see ira ~ yira,
the more generally accepted
form for 'mouth' and 'lang-
uage' in Watjarri)
- tja urra, N: the Tja Urra
language
- tjaka, N: a wooden carrying dish
or bowl
- tjakartu, N: a tree gall, commonly
known as a mulga apple
- tjaku-, Ventr: to set/enter, -LA
class (short form of next entry)
- tjakulanga-, Ventr: to enter, to
set (e.g. the sun), -YA class
- tjakultjunga-, Ventr: to flow
(e.g. water), -YA class
- tjakutja-, Vtr: to chew (e.g.
tobacco), -YA class
- tjalanj, N: tongue (variant of
tjarlinj)
- tjaljanjara, N: robin redbreast
(probably Petroica goodenovii)
- tjamarni-, Ventr: to run, to go
along swiftly (as in a motor
car), a short form of tjamparni-
- tjamparn, Adj: quick; Adv: quickly,
speedily; Excl: hurry up!
- tjamparni-, Ventr: to run, to
locomote speedily, -YA class
- tjampinu, Place name: Geraldton
- tjampu, N: left hand, left side,
Adv: tjampuki, to the left
- tjana, Pn: third person plural
nominative form, they
- tjanta, Adj: cold; see murti
- tjantatja, N: cold, that which is
cold
- tjantayi-, Ventr: to become cold,
-YA class
- tjapa, N: supper (from English)
- tjapanpirti, Place name: Tjapan-
pirti, the place of lightning
- tjapi-, Vtr: to ask (a question),
-LA class
- tjapurta, N: a male elder (Ing-
karta)
- tjara, N: shield (from Western
Desert language); see wurnta
- tjari-, Ventr: to lie, to report
falsely, -YA class (Njukarn)
- tjarli, N: neck base (referring
to the part of the neck en-
circled by a baby's legs when
it is carried on the shoulders)
- tjarlinj ~ tjalanj, N: the tongue
- tjarlura, N: a long fighting-stick
- tjarnkurna, N: emu (Northern
dialect); see yalipirri
- tjarnta, N: heel
- tjarnu, Interrog. substitute for
manner (intransitive): how?,
in what manner?
- tjarta, N: calf muscle (gastroc-
nemius)
- tjartatji-, Vtr: to insert, to
put (it) in, -YA class
- tjatja-, Vtr: to chase, to pursue
to hunt, -LA class
- tjatjara, N: a small jew lizard
- tjika, N: snake (probably from
English)
- tjikal, N: hot coal, ember
- tjikarnu, Place name: Outcamp Hill
(marta tjikarnunja, Tjikarnu Hill)
- tjila~tjili, N: tail
- tjilawara, N: a long-tailed goanna

- (Patimaya)
- tjilin, N: native sweet potato
(may be mashed and made into a type of flat bread, like damper)
- tjilinpiti, N: magpie lark
(*Grallina cyanoleuca*)
- tjiljatji- ~ tjiljayi-, Vintr:
to lie, to speak untruthfully,
to be or to become untruthful,
-YA class
- tjilkari- ~ tjilkayi-, Vintr: to
be or become happy, to be pleased,
to rejoice, -YA class;
also tjukayi-
- tjilku, N: river gum (tree)
- tjilpirrpa, N: bullroarer
(Patimaya)
- tjilu, N: bone marrow
- tjina, N: foot, feet, footprint,
track
- tjina, as Adv. of manner: by
foot - followed by verb of
locomotion
- tjina pirri, N: toenail
- tjinapuka, N: shoes, traditional
foot-covering
- tjintja(marta), Adj: small, young;
N: younger brothers and sisters,
a baby in arms, small pieces of
meat ready for distribution
- tjintjayi-, Vintr: to become
small/smaller, -YA class
- tjipu, N: sheep (from English)
- tjipula, N: a spring (of water),
a soak (in sandy country, in
contra-distinction to pimarra)
- tjirala, N: centipede (Patimaya)
(tjiralj in Njungar); see miniyara
- tjirarnti, N: black cockatoo
(*Calyptorhynchus magnificus*)
- tjirli, N: shoulder blade
- tjirnti, Adj: quiet (as regards
the sounds of movement); Adv:
quietly (in movement)
- tjirrtjirr, Adj: shy, ashamed,
embarrassed (in child speech,
the flap is usually omitted)
- tjirr-yanga-, Vintr: to become shy/
embarrassed, -YA class (sometimes
reduced to tji-yanga-, or tjiyi-
yanga-, in children's speech)
- tjirtartu, N: wedgebill, 'Jinny
Linthot' (*Sphenostoma cristatum*)
- tjirtu, N: small varieties of
venomous snakes
- tjitja, N: sister, esp. hospital
sister (from English)
- tju-, Vtr: to put, to place (irregular)
- tjukarnu, N: an elderly female
- tjukayi-, Vintr: to be or become
happy, to be satisfied, to
rejoice, -YA class
- tjukurn, Adj: quick; Adv: quickly
- tjuljara, N: afternoon; Temp: in
the afternoon
- tjuljku, N: an infant, a baby in
arms
- tjulka, N: elbow (dialect variant
of ngurnku)
- tjuna-, Vtr: to leave, forsake, re-
ject, to discountenance, -YA
class
- tjunayi-, Vtr: to clothe (a person),
to don clothes, -YA class (with
clothes as Object)
- tjunkuma-, Vintr: to swim, to
splash about (in water), -LA
class
- tjunta, N: thigh, leg of meat
- tjunta kutjarra, N: skin of kangaroo
(idiom)
- tjupa, N: child (Patimaya); dialect
variant of mayu
- tjuparn, Adj: true, straight
- tjuparni-, Vintr: to straighten or
stretch out, -YA class
- tjura, N: child, girl (a Watjarri
borrowing from Nanu, in which
tjura means 'a marriageable girl')
- tjurla, N: eye(s) (a dialect variant)
- tjurna, N: a short hitting stick
- tjurni, N: carpet snake (Malkana)
- tjurni-, Vintr: to laugh, -YA class
- tjurnu, N: rockhole, waterhole
- tjurtu, N: father's sister, aunt,
a female cousin, and (in some
dialects) elder sister
- tjuti, N: headband, see yalkirri
- tjuti-, Vtr: to bind/tie, to hand-
cuff, -LA class
- tjutila, N: policeman (from tjutila,
will bind, will handcuff)
- tjutja, N: an old man, old fellow
- tjutju, N: dog (domesticated) (in
one dialect, tjutju means hair)
- tjutju ngupanu, N: wild dog, dingo
- tjuwari, N: red ochre; see also
wilki
- tjuwi, N: tawny frogmouth (*Podargus
strigoides*)

- ukarla, Temp: before, previously,
long ago, once upon a time
urnta ~ wurnta, N: shield
urta ~ wurta, Temp: by and by,
later
urtama!, Interj: wait!, later on!
- waka-, Vtr: to spear (with a
spear), to stab, -LA class
waka-, Vintr: to shine (e.g. the
sun), to flash (as lightning),
-LA class
wakaltju-, Vtr: to scratch, to
write, to etch, -LA class
waku, N: hole, pit (means camp
in Patimaya)
walararra, N: crested, grey pigeon
(*Ocyphaps lophotes*)
walayi!, Excl: look out! beware!
walinja, Adj: bad, unfit, unwell,
weak
waljtji, Adj: not right, filthy,
foul
waljtji-, Vintr: to become bad,
corrupt, rotten, -YA class
waljtjima-, Vtr: to belittle to
scandalize, to corrupt, to
make bad, to embarrass, -LA
class
walku, N: quandong tree (*Santalum
acuminatum*)
wama, N: wine (from Western Des-
ert language sweetness)
wana, N: digging stick, crowbar
wana, N: the female navel (*umbi-
licum*), (probably metaphorical
use of wana, digging stick,
which is associated with women)
wana, N: scorpion (*wanatjilingka*
in Patimaya)
wanatja, N: upper leg, leg of
kangaroo meat (regarded as the
best cut of meat; it is usually
cut off and grilled in the hot
ashes); see also tjunta
wangka, N: language, speech
wangka-, Vtr: to say (something),
to tell, -YA class
wangkatji-, Vintr: to talk, con-
verse, yarn, -YA class
wangunj, Adj: shy, nervous, ashamed
wangunju-, Vintr: to be or become
shy, nervous, ashamed, diffident,
-YA class
wanjtjakutja?, Temp, Interrog: how
long?, for what length of time?
wanka, Adj: fresh, raw (e.g.
kuka wanka, raw or uncooked meat)
wanmala ~ warnmala, N: desert
native, an avenger, a warrior
(if a desert dweller comes to
Watjarri country it is assumed
he has come to carry out revenge)
wanta, N: winter, the cold season;
also warlulu
wantangka, Temp: in the winter time
wantipul, N: a rat
wantitu, N: the April frog (*marrkarn*
in Patimaya)
wantja, N: dog (Ethel creek dialect)
wantu-, variant of warntu-, q.v.
wapa, Adj: another (of a different
kind)
wapakarangu, Temp: on another day
(sometimes shortened to wapanan-
gu). The time (future or past)
depends on the tense of the verb.
wara, Adj: long
wara-, Vtr: to chant (songs), to
sing (a song), -LA class
waranj, N: song; see mama
warayi, N: fly, flies (generic)
warimara-, Vintr: to worry (from
English), -YA class
warinj ~ wayinj, N: food (all veg-
etable foods)
warla, N: egg, bird's eggs (gener-
ic); also kapurtu
warlarnu, N: boomerang
warlpa, N: sacred kingfisher (dia-
lect variant of pakara, q.v.)
warlukura, N: an adolescent girl,
a virgin; other variants are
warluwura, tjura
warlulu, N: cold season clouds
(*altostratus*), the cold season,
winter, a fine cold drizzle
warni-, Vintr: to fall; papa
warnimanja, raining, -YA class
warnitja-, Vtr: to throw away,
-LA class
warnkura, N: green frog(s)
warnmala, variant of wanmala, q.v.
warntu, N: fur skin, blanket, rug,
clothes (see kuljpa)
warntu-, Vtr: to follow, to track,
-LA class.
warri, N: stomach, abdomen, viscera;
njarlu warri, the Pleiades (lit.
'woman's belly')
warru, N: lumbar region, the back
warta, Adv: afar, distantly: Adj:
distant, far away
wartalj, N: the Wartalj language

- wartapi, N: a racehorse goanna (smaller than the Perentie)
- wartawartayi-, VINTR: to become more distant, -YA class
- waru, N: firelight, a lamp, a light (from Western Desert language)
- warungutu, N: rainbow
- watatjarri, N: lightning (Patimaya)
- watja-, VTR: to reproach, reprove, upbraid (someone), -LA class
- watjarri, N: the Watjarri language
- watjarrwatjarr, Adj: leg-tired, weary
- watjarti, N: a dialect of Watjarri
- watji, N: husband, sweetheart (in Wirtimaya)
- watji, N: none, nothing; Inter: no!
- watji ~ wayi, Negative: not, no
- watji-, VTR: to complete, to finish, -YA class
- watjitji- ~ watjiyi-, VINTR: to become finished, complete, -YA class
- waya, Inter: no! (Ethel Creek)
- wayi ~ watji, negative (as watji, above)
- wayurta, N: possum
- wi?-wiyi? General Interrogative
- wila, N: creek, creek bed
- wilalanga-, VINTR: to spill, to leak out, -YA class
- wilara, N: the moon
- wilara, N: month, a lunar month
- wilja-, VTR: to spill, to sprinkle, -LA class
- wiljari-, VINTR: to bathe, to become splashed or sprinkled, -YA class
- wiljka, N: tooth, teeth
- wiljki, Adj: wet
- wiljki-, VINTR: to become wet, -YA class
- wiljkima-, VTR: to wet (something/someone), to cause (it) to be wet, -LA class
- wiljpila ~ wilpala ~ wuljpala ~ witpala, variants for N: whiteman, European-Australian (from English)
- wiljpila njarlu, N: a white woman
- wiljpirri, Adj: thin, skinny
- wilju (recorded also as wilu), N: curlew (*Burhinus grallarius*)
- wilki, N: red ochre, also tjuwari
- wilpa-, VTR: to grill (meat), -LA class
- wilpintjanu, N: a bulb which produces a purple flower
- wilu, N: penis
- wilupurl, N: edible root or bulb; see puntuwanj
- wilura ~ wirlura, N: west; see wirlu, sea, which is west of Watjarri country (present-day speakers differed in their opinions on the pronunciation of this word)
- wilwil, N: aeroplane (probably from English windmill)
- wingku, N: black ants (Patimaya)
- winjtu, N: the wind
- winta, N: tree; variant of wirnta
- wintiljarra, N: a silvery coloured fish, also applied to a silver coloured lizard; see wuntiljarra
- wintja, N: elderly male, an old man; Adj: old, greyheaded
- wintjintji, N: grasshoppers (generic), a large green grasshopper
- wirlka, N: teeth; variant of wiljka
- wirlu, N: the sea (see note under wilura)
- wirlu, N: kingfisher; see pakara
- wirlunju, N: the seacoast people
- wirlutjarutjaru, N: plover (probably *Peltohyas australis*); see also purtuntja
- wirnta ~ winta, N: tree (generic), fire-wood, stick(s); wirnta watjan, N: firestick (in Patimaya)
- wirntu, N: quandong tree (Patimaya)
- wirrangu, N: a single barb spear (the barb is made by cutting a notch a short distance from the point of the spear)
- wirri, N: black ants, sometimes used to contrast an Aboriginal person with a European, thus 'blackfellow'
- wirri, Adj: black
- wirriya, N: creek sand, black sand
- wirrki, N: saliva, spit
- wirrkirinj, N: froth on the edge of a claypan, white froth, soap suds
- wirta(ra), Adj: tall
- wirtawirta, N: honey ant(s)
- wirti, Negative: no (in Wirtimaya), a form which has spread into the

Watjarri speaking area
 wirtimaya, N: the Wirtimaya language
 witjarnu, N: a stranger (probably one who has arrived)
 wiyartu, N: a single-barb spear; see wirrangu
 wiyi-, Vintr: to arrive, -YA class
 wulaya, N: moon, variant of wilara
 wuljpala, see wiljpila
 wuntiljarra (see wuntiljarra), N: a small silver-coloured lizard
 wurnta ~ urnta, N: shield
 wurta ~ urta, Temp: by and by
 later

ya-, Vintr: to go (direction away from the speaker) (irregular verb)
 yakarra, Adv: beyond
 yaku, N: mother, mother's sister
 yakuyara, N: mother-daughter relationship
 ya!, Interrog. substitute for state: how (are you)?, what?
 yalamparri, N: emu (Geraldton); see yalipirri
 yali-, Vtr: to do (something), to make (it), -YA class
 yalipirri, N: emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae*)
 yaljma-, Vtr: to create, to make, -LA class
 yaljpa, Adj: many, all, much
 yaljpayi-, Vintr: to increase (in number), -YA class
 yaljtju?, Interrog. substitute for manner (transitive); how?
 yalkatji, N: claypan, flat area
 yalkatji-, Vintr: to lie flat (as a body of water covering a claypan), to become flat, -YA class
 yalkirri, N: head band, symbol of initiated manhood; see tjuti
 yamatji, N: a person (usually male), a man, an Aboriginal person, the Watjarri people ('The Yamatjis')
 yamatji katja, N: son
 yamatji martungunjuwa, N: a married person/man, a person with a spouse
 yamatji matja, N: an Aboriginal Affairs Officer
 yamatji njarlu, N: an Aboriginal woman (as contrasted with wiljpila njarlu, a white woman)
 yamatji pakarli, N: an Aboriginal

man who is fully-initiated
 yanarti, N: the Yanarti language
 yanatjaki, N: a hunting trip, walkabout
 yanatji-, Vintr: to come (towards the speaker), to locomote, -YA class; alternates with yanayi-
 yangka, N: a short hitting stick
 yangkarl, N: hip, hipbone
 yanjalpa-, Vintr: to escape, -YA class
 yanma-, Vintr: to blaspheme, to use taboo words, to swear, -LA class
 yanmanjarni, Vintr: present tense of ya-, to go, with suffix -rni, changing meaning to indicate direction towards speaker; only recording (irregular verb)
 yapu, N: rock, stone, range, breakaway
 yapurtu, N: north
 yaputji, N: rock wallaby; dialect variant of kaljawirri
 yara, Adj: ripped, torn
 yaralj, N: lungs
 yaranga-, Vintr: to become torn, ripped, -YA class
 yarla, N: hole
 yarlarlang, Place name: Yallalang Station and its Watjarri name
 yarlku, N: blood
 yarlku, Adj: red, blood colour
 yarlku-, Vtr: to rip or tear (something), -LA class
 yarlpu, N: totem, kin avoidance, forbidden food
 yarlu, N: leaf, a broad leaf, broad leaves
 yarlurr, N: white gum (tree)
 yarlurt, N: mulga tree (*Acacia aneura*) (yalurt seems to be an aberrant form; may be some confusion with yarlurr)
 yarluylarlura, N: a black gecko
 yarnta, Adj: big, large
 yarntayi-, Vintr: to increase (in size), to grow big, to become inflated, -YA class
 yarrari-, Vintr: to leak or run out, -YA class
 yatj-ku-, Vtr: to tear, -LA class (a seemingly aberrant form)
 yatj-yatj, Adj: ripped, torn; see yara
 yawarta, N: horse (kangaroo in the Geraldton area)

- yayiliri, Adj: hysterical (found only in a song)
- yi? Interrog. (functions like wi/wiyi?); kurninjpara yi? what are we poor fellows going to do? what about us?
- yimpiljyimpilj, Adj: untidy
- yini ~ ini, N: name, one's proper name
- yipiljyipilj, N: a night-flying bat
- yira ~ ira, N: mouth, the oral orifice (including lips and teeth), language
- yirapiti, Place name: name of a hill near Narryer station
- yirapiya ~ irapiya, N: heavy rain-cloud, storm clouds (cumulo-nimbus) (Byro dialect); see marntuta
- yirti, N: a skewer, a peg; mulja yirti, a nose bone, a nose peg
- yu-, Vtr: to give (irregular verb)
- yukala ~ yukurla, N: the Yukala (Eucla) language
- yuljitjana-, Vintr: to burrow (as frogs or goannas), -YA class
- yumpu, N: death charm (bundles of hair and gum or other binding substances; used to carry a death curse to a particular person)
- yungarra, Adj: one's own (in Watjarri song); an initiated man (Pulinja)
- yungkatji, N: the Yungkatji dialect spoken north of Watjarri area
- yurilji-, Vintr: to move, to move about, -YA class
- yurla, N: smoke (in smoke signalling; produced by burning green leaves)
- yurlaranga-, Vintr: to smoke (as a fire), to be smoky, -YA class
- yurlatju-, Vtr: to cause to smoke, to produce smoke, to send up a smoke signal, -LA class
- yurlpa, N: smoke, smoke from an ordinary fire as distinct from signalling smoke
- yurlpari, N: an initiate, one passing through initiation rites
- yurna, Adj: smelly, rotten, a derogatory term for a government official
- yurtanji-, Vintr: to be or become thirsty, -YA class
- yutila, N: policeman (from Njungar)
- yuwa-, Vtr: to hit (by throwing a stick or boomerang), -LA class
- yuwaka-, Vintr: to blow (as the wind), -LA class (Patimaya)
- yuwin, N: a reef or rocky outcrop; Place name: Yuin Reef (the 'Two Brothers' of mythology in the form of white stones)

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

NOUNS

A - Body Parts

- abdomen: warri
- achilles tendon: marrpu
- animal fat: pilat, napa
- anklebone (malleolus): parlpa
- anus: marnta
- arm, forearm: kati, parrtji
upper arm: marnun
- armpit (axilla): kalja
- back, lumbar region: warru
back part of emu meat: irli
- beard: ngarnkurr
- belly: warri
- blood: yariku
- bone: ika
- bonemarrow: murtu, tjilu, (ngurtu)
- brain: ngurtu
- breast, nipple: mimi, titi, pipi
- breastbone: (sternum) mimpurtu
- buttock: puku, marnta
- calf of leg: marlatja
- calf muscle (gastrocnemius): tjarta
- cheek: nganku
- chest: ngarrka
- chin, lower jaw: ngarnngarn
- claw (of animal): pirri
- corpse: njatja
- diarrhoea: mirli
- ear: kulka
- elbow: ngurnku, tjulka
- entrails (of animal): milja
- eye(s): kuru, tjurla
- face: mulja ('nose', used as metonym)
- fat, kidney fat: napa

feet, foot: tjina
 finger nail: (mara) pirri
 flesh: kuka, kuwa
 forehead: parla
 foreleg, of animal: mara (hand)
 fur: ngunja, kantja
 hair, of head: mangka(lja)
 hand: mara
 head: maka
 heart: kurturtu
 heel: tjarnta
 hip, hipbone: yangkarl
 inner being, spirit: kurrurn
 kidney: parnta, kapurtinj
 knee: purru, murti, kangku
 left, hand or side: tjampu
 leg, upper: wanatja, tjunta
 lower: mampu
 lips, mouth: yira, ira, nara
 (Ethel Creek dialect)
 liver: pitjarn
 lumbar region: warru
 lungs: yaralj
 marrow: ngurtu, tjilu, murtu
 meat: kuka, kuwa
 mouth: yira, ira, tja
 navel (umbilicus) male: mirru
 female: wana
 neck, base: tjarli (where a
 baby's legs circle)
 back: njanka, njinka
 nipple: titi, pipi, mimi
 nose: mulja
 nostril: mulja tja
 pierced septum: muljayirti
 penis: wilu
 pneumonia: muniya
 ribs: pimpilj (also rib portion
 of kangaroo)
 rump: marna
 saliva: wirrki
 shoulder: piritji, pirtirta,
 (tjarli, see neck)
 shoulder blade: tjirli
 sickness, pain: pika
 sinew: marrpu
 skin: kantja, warntu, puka
 skin of kangaroo: tjunta kutjarra
 (metaphorical expression)
 spirit, human: kurrurn
 stomach: warri
 subincision: kaninjtarra
 tail, of animal: njurnti, tjila/i
 teeth: wirka, wiljka, yira
 temple: ngarnkilirri
 tendon: marrpu
 thigh: tjunta

throat: pakarn
 toenail: (tjina) pirri
 tongue: tjarlinj, tjalanj
 umbilicus, see navel
 umbilical cord: nurilj
 urine: kumpu
 viscera: warri
 vomit: pali

B - Human Classification

Aboriginal person: yamatji
 a dark-skinned person: wirri
 adolescent, boy: murtinj
 girl: warlukura, njarlu warluwura
 avenger: wanmala, warnmala
 baby, in arms: tjuljku, mayu,
 tjintjamarta
 boss, master: matja
 boy, beginning initiation: mayu
 murilja
 child, generic: mayu, kaka, tjupa
 a preinitiate: murtinj, murtilja
 the youngest child: njangamarta
 just walking child: mayu yana-
 kupa
 a pitiable child: mayu kurninj
 (used also for any person)
 deceased person: njatja
 substitute name for: kaljartu
 desert native: wanmala, maliyara
 devil, evil spirit, whiteman:
 muntungu
 diagnostician: makayarla,
 ngaljayarla (lit. 'head-hole')
 doctor, sorcerer: maparn, maparn-
 tjarra, puljaman, maparnpayi
 elder, male: wintja, maka wintja
 'greyhead', partarnu, tjutja,
 tjapurta (Ingkarta)
 female: tjukarnu, njarlu tjukarnu
 'European', whiteman: wiljpila,
 wilpala, wuljpala, witpala,
 pilingki (white), muntungu
 (devil)
 girl: warluwura, warlukura, tjura
 (Nanu)
 initiate, a preinitiate: mayu
 murilja
 passing through the rites:
 yurlpari (yurlpa 'smoke')
 post-initiate in seclusion:
 ngartingka
 a fully-initiated man: pakarli
 man, person: yamatji, yamatji
 pakarli
 a male initiate: marlpa (Ethel
 Creek), yungarra (Pulinja)

married man: yamatji martungunjuwa
 married woman: njarlu, njarlu
 martungunjuwa
 master, Government official: matja
 Aboriginal affairs officer:
 yamatji matja
 old person, see elder
 person: yamatji (see also 'Euro-
 pean')
 policeman: martanju (from
 martanjuwa, 'having money'),
 martalmartalpayi ('the very
 rich one'), tjutila (from
 'will bind', 'will handcuff'),
 manatja (derived from Njungar
 manatj), tartatji-pilti (Lit.
 'trousers and belt', a symbolic
 reference to a policeman),
 yutila (from Nyungar)
 sorcerer: maparn, etc. (see under
 doctor)
 spouse: martungu
 stranger: witjarnu
 unmarried girl: warluwura
 whiteman, see 'European'
 whitewoman: wiljpila njarlu,
 njarlu wayitwan
 woman: njarlu, yamatji njarlu
 youngster: mayu, mayurru, murilja,
 njangamarta

C - Kinship

aunt, father's sister: tjurtu
 boyfriend, girlfriend: martungu
 brother, older: kurta
 younger siblings: tjintjamarta
 brother-in-law, wife's brother:
 ngapuri
 brother's wife's brother:
 ngapuri
 mother's brother's son: puwa
 brother's children: ngaraya
 brother's wife: martungu,
 maritji
 child, one's own offspring: katja
 daughter: njarlu katja
 daughter-mother relationship:
 katjayara
 elder brother: kurta
 elder sister: tjurtu,
 partarnukarti, kuntja
 father: mama
 father-son relationship: mamayara
 friend, male or female: mitu
 (from English 'mate')
 grandfather, grandson: kami
 grandmother, granddaughter:

kanjtjari
 husband: martungu, watji, kurri
 (Western Desert language)
 husband, as referred to when a
 woman addresses her daughter:
 mutji
 mother: yaku
 mother-daughter relationship:
 yakuyara
 mother's brother: kamparnu, kangku
 nephews, nieces, brother's children:
 ngaraya
 siblings: tjintjamarta
 sister, older: tjurtu, kuntja
 partarnukarti, tjitja
 younger: malju, iku
 son: yamatji katja
 son-father relationship: katjayara
 spouse, male: martungu, mutji,
 kurri
 female: martungu, murni
 uncle, mother's brother: kamparnu,
 kangku
 uncle-nephew relationship:
 kamparnira
 wife: martungu, murni
 wife's brother: ngapuri

Ca - Skin groupings

intermarrying groups (marriage =,
 mother-child relationship ↔):
 (purungu = karimarra)
 (purrkurlu = paltjarri)
 skin, totem (re kin avoidance and
 forbidden foods): ngalungu
 ngarangu, yarlipu

D - Mammals

anteaters, banded: talkayi
 spiny: kurntuwa(ra), kuntuwara
 bandicoot, or bilby: talkayi, muya
 bat: yipiljyipilj, milatjari
 bullock: kuripi, puluku
 calf: kapu (from English)
 dingo, wild dog: ngupanu, tjutju
 ngupanu
 dog, domesticated: tjutju, wantja
 (Ethel Creek dialect)
 echidna: kurntuwa
 euro: pikurta
 goat: nani (from English)
 horse: ngurru, ngurt (Nyungar),
 yawarta
 kangaroo, grey: yawarta (Geraldton
 area)
 red: marlu, mangkuru (Ethel
 Creek dialect)
 mouse: miyurtu

possum: wayurta
 rat: wantipul
 rabbit bandicoot: talkayi, muya
 rock wallaby: kaljawirri, yaputji
 sheep: tjipu, kukuntjirri

E - Reptiles

bark lizard, skink: milju
 bungarra: kuwiyarl
 carpet snake: purli, tjurni
 (Malkana)
 goanna, perentie (*Varanus giganteus*): kuwiyarl
 common (*Varanus tristis*)
 miti
 a long-tailed variety:
 tjilawara
 others: parnka, wartapi
 gecko, black: yarluylarlura,
 parapara
 'Ta-ta lizard': itjitji
 lizards, small, 'Jew lizard':
 tjatjara
 stone-coloured: martamarta
 silvery: wuntiljarra (see
 wuntiljarra 'a silvery fish'
 under G)
 mountain devil (*Moloch horridus*): mintjinj
 snakes, carpet snake: purli
 water snake: kutjita (said
 to control pimarra 'spring')
 venomous: miljurra, mira, tjika
 small varieties: tjirtu

F - Birds

bell-birds (*Oreoica gutturalis*):
 parnparnkarlarla, pakunpakun
 budgerigar (*Melopsittacus undulatus*): martumpura
 bustard, wild turkey (*Eupodotis australis*): partura
 cockatoo, black (*Calyptorhynchus magnificus*): tjirarnti
 little corella (*Cacatua sanguinea*): puli
 Major Mitchell (*Cacatua leadbeateri*): ngakalalanj
 crow (*Corvus orru*): kaku
 curlew (*Burhinus grallarius*):
 wilju ~ wilu
 duck (*Anas superciliosa*): ngaruwa
 eagles and hawks,
 eaglehawk (*Aquila audax*): ngurlal
 brown hawk (*Falco berigora*):
 kirrkurta
 grey hawk (? *Falco hypoleucus*):
 mikinj

egg: warla, kapurtu
 egg shell (any shell): mirnti
 emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae*):
 yalipirri, karlaya, yalamparri
 (Geraldton), tjarnkurna (North-
 ern)
 finch, zebra (*Taeniopygia castanotis*): njingarri
 galah, pink and grey (*Eolophus roseicapillus*): piyarli, also
 kaki (from English)
 kingfisher, sacred (*Halcyon sancta*):
 pakara, warlpa, wirlu
 magpie (probably *Gymnorhina dorsalis*): kurrparu
 magpie lark (*Grallina cyanoleuca*):
 tjilinpiti
 mallee fowl (*Leipoa ocellata*):
 ngarnamara, ngawu
 owl, Boobook (*Ninox novaeseelandiae*):
 kurrkurtu
 owlet-nightjar (*Aegotheles cristatus*
 ? *murchisonianus*): purtuntja
 parrot, green (*Barnardius zonarius*):
 murlantji
 pigeon, common bronzewing (*Phaps chalcoptera*): marnpi,
 marnpinju
 crested (grey) (*Ocyphaps lophotes*): walararra
 an anthropomorphic pigeon in the
 mythology: putjukura
 a small crested bird said to
 mimic or deceive: njinkururu
 plover (probably *Peltohyas australis*): wirlutjarrutjarru
 quail (probably *Turnix velox*):
 parnaparnayatin
 'rainbird' (said to be swallow-
 tailed; probably *Cuculus pallidus* or *Cacomantis pyrrhophanus*, i.e. the pallid cuckoo
 or the fan-tailed cuckoo):
 kawilkura
 robin redbreast (probably *Petroica goodenovii*): tjajlanjara
 tawny frogmouth (*Podargus strigoides*): tjuwi
 wedgebill, 'Jinny Linthot' (*Sphenostoma cristatum*): tjirtartu

G - Amphibia and fishes

fish, a silvery river fish:
 wuntiljarra
 frogs, green: warnkura
 the April frog: wantitu, marrkarn
 (Patimaya)
 large edible stripey: iliwaka

tadpoles: kutjulilin
tortoise: kantara

H - Insects and Arachnids

ants (generic): mingə
small black: wirri, wingku
(Patimaya)
large black 'soldier':
marinjmarinj
honey ant: wirtawirta
beetle (generic): mintinmintin,
mintinari
butterflies and moths:
pirtipirti
caterpillar, processionary:
katjanja
centipede: miniyara, tjirala
(Patimaya)
fleas: kulu
fly, flies (generic): warayi
blowflies: purtupuri, purtupi
grasshoppers: wintjintji
grub, edible 'bardy': parti
lice: puta
mosquito: njurni, njirru
(Patimaya)
scorpion: wana, wanatjilingka
(Patimaya)
spider: kartawala, kanparrka
(Patimaya)
termites: manjtjunjtjurru
manjtjanjtjarra

I - Language and ceremony

(For list of languages known to the Watjarri, see section 1.5)
bullroarer: tjilpirrpa, nganirri
ceremonial ground (a special area in which parents wait while their son is undergoing initiation rites): kurturtu (Lit. 'heart')
ceremony, corroboree: mama
death charm (bundles of hair and gum or other binding substances; used to carry a death curse to a particular person): yumpu
language, speech: wangka
magic pointing stick:
pungkurninj (Patimaya)
message stick: pampurru
name (an inalienable possession):
yini ~ ini
'What is his/her name?':
ngana yini palu?
red ochre: tjuwari, wilki
song, ceremony, corroboree: mama

song, that which is sung: waranj
song for initiated men only:
milku

sorcery, sickness: pika
subincision: kaninjtarra

J - Artefacts, possessions

(including some cross-cultural borrowings)
airplane: wilwil
bag, small, for carrying food, etc.:
nguri, ngartura
for carrying a baby, a sling:
kurilku
skin bag, also used for a covering:
kantja
barb, of spearthrower: tarlka
belt: pilti
bicycle: patjikil
blanket: warntu
boomerang: warlarnu
box: pakitji
bucket: pakati
carrying bowls, dishes: tjaka, piti
clothes: kuljpa
covering, traditional body covering:
puka, also kantja
traditional foot covering:
tjinapuka
digging tools, bowl: mingkari
stick: wana
dress (originally referred to black dresses sold by Afghan traders):
puraku (from English 'frock')
fire saw: mirru
fire stick: wirnta watjan, karla
gum (for affixing flints, etc.):
paru
gun: kan ~ kana
hairbelt: nanpa
hat, men's: mangkawarla
head band, symbol of manhood:
tjuti, yalkirri
head ring, used by women for carrying:
kantjari
hitting sticks (generic), tree or
stick: wirnta
short hitting sticks: yangka
tjurna, kurnti
a long, fighting stick: tjarlura
house, a town house: tuwa
humpy: mingkarri
knife, stone knife or chisel: kanti
money: marna, marta ('stone'), muni
motor car: mutuka
mug, cup: minta, maka
nose bone: muljayirti

paper: piparlu
 point of spear or stick: iri
 scraper, white quartz stone: irilja
 (used for scraping kantja)
 shield: kurnta, wurnta, tjara
 skewer, peg: yirti
 smoke, in smoke signalling: yurla
 spear, straight with no barb:
 kurartu, katji (Patimaya)
 single barbed: wirrangu, wiyartu
 many barbed: kutjarta, pilara
 spear wood: ngurtinga
 spearthrower: mirru
 stone tools: marta
 train: turayin (from English)
 trough: turapa (from English)
 trousers: tartatji (from English)

K - Fire, food, water

fire, generic: karla, watjan
 (Patimaya)
 firewood: karla, wirnta
 hot coal, ember: tjikarl
 ashes: kupa
 bonfire, large fire: mila
 firelight: waru
 tinder: ipinj
 kindling wood: pitara, ngarnti
 dry bark: pingara, likarra
 smoke: yurlpa, tjurtu watjan
 (Patimaya)
 food, all vegetable foods: warinj,
 wayinj
 fruits
 native pear: kakurla
 native tomato, a solanum:
 kumpurarra
 quandong (*Santalum acuminatum*):
 marun
 'mulga apple', a tree gall:
 tjakartu
 game foods: meat (generic): kuka,
 kuwa
 kangaroo meat: kuka marlu
 (see also under Mammals, Rep-
 tiles, for other edible game.)
 cooked meat: (kuka) mantu
 savoury smell: njirrinjirri,
 parntilku
 distribution of cooked meat,
 portions: makuta, tjintja-
 marta, kutjurtapa
 gums, edible from Jam tree:
 mangarta
 introduced foods and drinks:
 bullock meat: kuka puluku
 damper: tampa

milk (usually refers to powder
 milk): milki
 sugar: ngurrinjngurrinj
 supper: tjapa
 tobacco, chewing tobacco: paki
 wine: wama
 root foods and bulbs:
 bulb of flax lily: ngariku
 native 'sweet potato': tjilin,
 kulju
 other: pipitjali, puntuanj,
 wilpintjanu, wilupurl, ngapu
 seed foods, seed (generic): panin
 plant seeds which are ground into
 flour and made into dampers:
 ngarrpa
 small grass seeds, 'ant seeds':
 kurrarra
 quandong nuts: marunmarta
 water: papa, kapi
 cold water: murti papa

L - Celestial, weather

celestial bodies:
 moon, month: wilara, wulaya
 sun: karangu
 stars: purntara
 morning star: mungal purntara
 clouds, alto-stratus, in cold
 season: warlulu
 fair weather cumulus: marrarn
 heavy rain cloud: yirapiya,
 marntuta
 thunderstorm clouds: yirapiya,
 kumarta
 day, sun: karangu
 daytime sky: ilkari, intirri,
 marlpa ('high'), ngangkari
 divisions of the day
 morning: mungal
 afternoon: tjuljara, karakara
 evening: mungamunga
 (see also section 3.6 for Adverbs
 of time.)
 light: mili, pinma (Patimaya)
 lightning: watatjarri
 month: wilara
 night: munga
 night sky: munga, kumparta
 (Patimaya)
 rainbow: warungutu
 seasons, cold season/weather:
 wanta, warlulu
 hot season/summer: ngalpuka
 wind: winjtju

M - Geography

camp, place, campsite: ngura
 cave: ngarnka
 claypan: yalkatji, miljirrinj
 creek, creek bed: wila, waan
 (Patimaya)
 creek sand: wirriya
 directions, north: milimili,
 yapurtu
 south: mirnangu
 west: wilura
 east: kakarra
 froth, on edge of claypan or on
 water: wirrkirinj, miljirrinj
 ground, earth: parna
 dirt, sand: njatja
 hole, pit: waku
 hole in top of cave: papul, njilin
 reef: yuwin
 river: katjara
 rock, stone, breakaway: marta, yapu
 range: turnku
 rock hole: tjurnu, mirla
 sandhill: tungkuru
 school: kul
 sea: wirlu
 shade, shadow: minta
 spring, rock spring: pimarra
 (said to be controlled by
 a water snake)
 spring in sand, soak: tjipula
 stone, boulder: yapu
 track (generic): parriya, tjina
 kangaroo pad: marlu parriya
 town: tawun
 windbreak: ngurlurn

N - Arboreal

bulbs and roots (see edible
 varieties listed under Food)
 bushes, shrubs and flowers
 flannel bush (prickly):
 kurlkaturangu
 kangaroo paw: marlupirri
 'standback bush': pantutjilj
 Sturt pea: murupurikartu,
 marlukuru
 wild tomato: kumpurarra
 grasses (producing edible seeds):
 ngarrpa, kurrarra
 spinifex: marlurnka, pila
 (Patimaya)
 leaves, spiny: parrka
 broad: yarlu
 tree, (generic): wirnta
 eucalyptus: pularra, punarra
 mallee: pilapirti

mulga: yarlurt
 needle tree: kurarra
 pear: kakurla
 quandong: walku, wirntu
 river gum: tjilku
 white gum: yarlurr

O - ADJECTIVES

Adjectives of state

aching: pika
 afraid: ngurlu
 angry: patja
 ashamed: tjirrtjirr, wangunj
 bad, unfit, unwell: walinja
 not right: waljtji
 rotten, smelly: yurna
 pesty, as flies: kurrakurra
 bent, crooked: ngartara
 blind: kumuru
 bow-legged: mampu ngartara
 broken: kartanj, kartanganj
 clever: murrkarmurrkar
 cold: murti, tjanta
 cold weather: murtilju
 conceited, proud: marinjmarinj
 cooked meat: kampu, kuka kampu,
 kuka mantu
 dead: murla
 distant: warta
 drunk: patjapatja
 fresh, raw: wanka
 full: njumulpunjira
 good: parnti
 hot: karlanga
 hungry: njanjura
 hysterical: yayiliri
 ill (generally): pika
 sorcerized: kalatjarra
 mad: palparu
 pitiable: kurninj
 ripped, torn: yara, yatjyatj
 shy: wangunj
 tired: malarti, paljpa, manga
 leg-tired: watjarrwatjarr
 true, straight: tjuparn
 untidy: yimpiljyimpilj
 wet: wiljki
 wild, untamed: ngupanu

Adjectives of number and quantity
 one: kurriya, kutiya
 two: kutjarra
 three: marnkurr
 many: yaljpa
 another, of the same kind: kutju
 of a different kind: wapa, njurta

Adjectives of size

big, large: yarnta, purlka
 small: tjintja(marta)
 long: wara
 tall: wirta(ra)
 thin: wiljpirri

Adjectives of colour

black: wirri, mawurtu, marurtu,
 maru
 white: pirinj, pilingki
 red: piljinji, yarlku ('blood')
 dark: mungarta

VERBS

(illustrated in the present
 tense forms: -(r)nmanja = -LA
 class; -manja = -YA class)

P - Motion

arrive: wiyimanja (Intr)
 bend down (to hide, to vomit,
 etc.): pupanjanja (Intr)
 blow, as the wind: yuwakanmanja
 (Intr)
 burrow, as goannas: yuljitjanamanja
 (Intr)
 chase: tjatjanmanja (Tr)
 circle, glide (as birds):
 kurrurimanja (Intr)
 circumambulate, as when approaching
 a new place: putiputimanja (Intr)
 climb: kalpatjimanja (Intr)
 closer, become: kulayimanja (Intr),
 kulakulayimanja (Intr)
 come, towards speaker:
 yanatjimanja (Intr)
 crawl: marangamanja,
 maramarangamanja, marayanmanja
 (Intr)
 dance: karimanja (Intr)
 dance a corroboree: karimanja (Tr)
 enter, set (as the sun):
 tjakulangamanja (Intr)
 escape: yanjalpamanja (Intr)
 fall: warnimanja (Intr)
 flow, as water: intimanja
 tjakultjungamanja (Intr)
 fly: kurrurimanja (Intr)
 follow, track: warntunmanja
 (Tr)
 foot-walk: tjina yanmanja (Intr)
 go, direction away from speaker:
 yanmanja (Intr)
 go out of a shelter: pakarnmanja
 (Lit. arise) (Intr)
 hunt game: tjatjanmanja (Tr)
 leak out: yarrarimanja,

wilalangamanja (Intr)
 locomote, direction away from
 speaker: yanmanja (Intr)
 towards speaker: yanatjimanja
 (Intr)
 as a motor vehicle: pukarntamanja
 (Intr)
 move, about: yuriljimanja (Intr)
 away from speaker:
 wartawartayimanja (Intr) (Lit.
 'become more distant')
 over, away: mawumawuyimanja
 (Intr)
 near, become, see closer, become
 prowl: pitjangamanja (Intr)
 pursue: tjatjanmanja (Tr)
 rain: papa warnimanja (Intr)
 re-enact a 'dreaming': mama
 karimanja (Tr)
 rise: pakarnmanja (Intr)
 run: tjamparnimanja, tjamarnimanja
 pukurnangamanja (Intr)
 run out, as sand or water:
 yarrarimanja (Intr) (see
 leak)
 run along, as a river: intimanja
 (Intr)
 set (as the sun), see enter
 sit, the act of moving into a
 sitting position: njinarangamanja
 (Intr)
 spill, see leak
 straighten, stretch: tjuparnimanja
 (Intr)
 swim: tjunkumanmanja (Intr)
 track: warntunmanja (Tr)
 walk, see foot-walk, locomote

Q - Rest

ascend, arise: pakarnmanja (Intr)
 crouch: pupanjanja (Intr)
 exist (humans): njinamanja (Intr)
 (animals): ngayimanja (Intr)
 (trees): kayimanja (Intr)
 lie down: ngayimanja, ngarimanja
 (Intr)
 sleep: njupar ngayimanja (Intr)
 lie flat, as water in lake:
 yalkatjimanja (Intr)
 rest, recline: ngayimanja (Intr)
 rise (as the sun): pakarnmanja
 (Intr)
 sit, stay: njinamanja (Intr)
 sleep, see under lie
 stand: karimanja, kayimanja (Intr)
 wait: matjamanja (Intr)

R - Induced position

belittle, scandalize:
 waljtjimanja (Tr)
 bind: tjutinmanja (Tr)
 bring: kangkarnimanja (Tr)
 catch: ngakarnmanja (Tr)
 carry away: kangkangamanja (Tr)
 complete, finish: watjimanja (Tr)
 corrupt, make bad: waljtjimanja (Tr)
 embarrass: a metaphorical usage
 of waljtjimanja (Tr)
 fetch, see bring
 get: manmanja (Tr)
 give: yungamanja (Tr)
 grasp: ngakarnmanja (Tr)
 handcuff: tjutinmanja (Tr)
 hunt away: ngurlumanmanja (Tr)
 lay down (someone/something):
 ngari-/ngayitjunmanja (Tr)
 leave, reject: tjunamanja
 lift: kartimanja (Tr)
 lift cooked meat from fire:
 kartiyangamanja (Tr)
 pick up, get: manmanja,
 manatji-/manayimanja (Tr)
 seize, see grasp
 spill, sprinkle: wiljanmanja (Tr)
 take away: kangkamanja (Tr)
 throw away: warnitjanmanja (Tr)

S - Affect

apportion, distribute:
 njurtamanja (Tr),
 kartapayanmanja (Tr)
 arouse (something/someone):
 pakarangamanja (Tr)
 bathe: wiljarimanja (Intr)
 break: kartamanja (Tr)
 burn (something): pinatjunmanja (Tr)
 chew: tjakutjamanja (Tr)
 close (something): puntumanmanja (Tr)
 clothe (one): tjunayimanja (Tr)
 cook: pawunmanja (Tr)
 create: yaljanmanja (Tr)
 cut, carve (meat):
 kartapayanmanja (Tr)
 distribute, divide (meat), see
 apportion
 do: yalimanja (Tr)
 etch: wakaltjunmanja (Tr)
 extinguish (fire):
 njurlarrkumanja (Tr)
 fight: pinjarimanja (Tr)

finish, polish: parntimanja (Tr)
 fix: parntitjunmanja (Tr)
 grill (meat): wilpanmanja (Tr)
 grind (seed): paninmanja (Tr)
 heat, make hot: karlangamanja,
 karlamarnmanja (Tr)
 hit, kill: pumanja, pinjanja (Tr)
 hit with a stick or boomerang:
 yuwanmanja (Tr)
 ignite: kutjanmanja, milimanmanja (Tr)
 insert: tjartatjimanja (Tr)
 kill: pintamanmanja, pumanja (Tr)
 light fire, see ignite
 make: yaljanmanja (Tr)
 meet, mix with: pukararrimanja (Intr)
 perfect: parntimanja (Tr)
 put, place: tjunmanja (Tr)
 put on clothes, see clothe
 put in, see insert
 put right, see fix
 raise, cause to arise:
 pakarangamanja (Tr)
 rip, tear: yarlkunmanja,
 yatj-kumanja (Tr)
 become ripped, torn:
 yarangamanja (Intr)
 roast, see cook, grill
 scratch (marks), see etch
 set apart, see apportion
 shine (as the sun): wakanmanja (Intr)
 shoot, hit with an instrument:
 yuwanmanja (Tr)
 shut (a door or lid): puntumanmanja (Tr)
 skin (an animal): warntumanmanja (Tr)
 smell, produce a smell, scent:
 parntimanja (Tr)
 smoke, produce smoke signal:
 yurlatjunmanja (Tr)
 spear: wakanmanja (Tr)
 splash about in water:
 wiljarimanja (Intr)
 tear, see rip
 tickle: kitikitimanja (Tr)
 unite with, see meet, mix
 write, see etch

T - Attention

listen, hear: ngangkunmanja (Tr)
 reject, discountenance:
 tjunamanja (Tr)
 see, watch: njanganja (Tr)

stand, as though inattentive:

malkakayimanja (Intr)

think: ngangkungangkunmanja (Intr)

wait: matjanmanja (Intr)

U - Communicating

ask: tjapinmanja (Tr)

bark: parlkumanmanja (Intr)

blaspheme: yanmanmanja (Intr)

chant (songs): waranmanja (Tr)

converse: wangkatjimanja (Intr)

croak, as a frog: tiljtiljma-
nmanja (Intr)

lie, speak untruths: tjiljatji-/
tjiljayi-/tjari-manja (Intr)

reproach, reprove: watjanmanja
(Tr)

say (something): wangkamanja (Tr)

sing (a song): waranmanja (Tr)

swear: yanmanmanja (Intr)

tell (something): wangkamanja (Tr)

upbraid: watjanmanja (Tr)

yarn: wangkatjimanja (Intr)

V - Corporeal

afraid, be: ngurlimanja (Intr)

angry, become: patjayimanja (Intr)

ashamed, be: wangunjamanja (Intr)

bad, become: waljtjimanja (Intr)

bashful, be: ngantjungantjumanja
(Intr)

big, become: yarntayimanja (Intr)

bite, snap at: patjanmanja (Tr)

cold, be: murtitjanmanja (Intr)

complete, be: watjiyimanja (Intr)

consume (food, water): nganmanja
(Tr)

corrupt, be: waljtjimanja (Intr)

court: puntjarrngamanja (Tr)

cry, weep: ngulamanja (Intr)

decrease (in size): tjintjayimanja
(Intr)

desperate, become (as for food):
patjayimanja (Intr)

drink: nganmanja (Tr)

die: murlayimanja (Intr)

eat: nganmanja (Tr)

embarrassed, be: tjirryangamanja,
tjiyiyangamanja (Intr)

finished, become: watjiyimanja
(Intr)

frightened, be: ngurlimanja (Intr)

grow, see increase

happy, become: tjilkari-/tjilkayi-
manja, tjukayimanja (Intr)

hot, become: karlayimanja (Intr)

hungry, be: njararnimanja,

njararnimanja (Intr)

ill, become: pikayimanja (Intr)

increase, in number: yaljpayimanja
(Intr)

in size: yarntayimanja (Intr)

in height: pakarnmanja (Intr)

irritated, be: mamanjimanja (Intr)

laugh: tjurnimanja (Intr)

lightning flashes: pintamanja (Intr)

love, court: puntjarrngamanja (Tr)

nervous, be: wangunjamanja (Intr)

night approaches: mungaljimanja
(Intr)

peevied, be, see irritated

play: piya-/piyanga-manja (Intr)

rejoice: tjukayimanja (Intr)

retch: palimanja (Intr)

rip, become torn: yarangamanja
(Intr)

shy, be (as boys and girls with
each other): ngantjungantjumanja
(Intr)

sick, become, be sorcerized:
pikayimanja, kalatjarrayimanja
(Intr)

sleep: njupar ngayimanja

pungkurnimanja (Intr)

small, become: tjintjayimanja
(Intr)

smell (something): parntingamanja
(Tr)

produce smell, scent:

parntimanja (Tr)

smoke, produce smoke (as a fire):
yurlarangamanja (Intr)

stiff, become (legs): patawimanja
(Intr)

tear, become torn: yarangamanja
(Intr)

thirst: yurtanjimanja (Intr)

tire, become tired generally:
malartimanja (Intr)

become bored: paljpayimanja (Intr)

become leg weary: patawimanja
(Intr)

upset, become, see angry, irritated

vomit: palimanja (Intr)

weary, become, see tire

weep, see cry

wet, become: wiljkimanja (Intr)

worry: warimaramanja (Intr) (from
English)

ADVERBIALS

(Several of these forms are noun
phrases or adjectival, but occur as
verb modifiers without derivational

affixes.)

W - Manner

alone, by oneself: kakulj
 attentively: kurlkarta
 by foot: tjina (+ verb 'to locomote')
 by hand: mara
 continually: kukurl ~ kukurr
 filthily, foully: waljtji
 forcefully: ngarti
 how?: tjarnu (Intr), yaljtju (Tr)
 loudly: ngarti (+ appropriate verb)
 quickly: tjukurn, tjamparn
 quietly, of voice: pintu
 of other sounds: tjirnti, purunjmartā (Patimaya)
 secretly: niyanniyan, njannjan
 soundly: malka (+ appropriate verb)
 surely: itja
 uncomfortably: ngartaya, ngartara
 very (in phrase): ngarti

X - Place and direction

above: kankararra
 afar: warta, wartararrpayi (in song)
 away, direction away from speaker: mawatu
 back, at a starting point: marlakarti
 back, to a starting point: marlaku
 behind: panjakarti, marla
 beneath: ngartiyarra
 between, in between two points: ngunuru, nguluru
 beyond: yakarra, panjarnikarti
 closely: kula
 distantly: warta

inside: ngartiyarra
 middle, in the: ngunuru
 near: kula
 this side of: njanjarnikarti
 under-(neath): ngartiyarra
 upwards: kankararra

Y - Time

afternoon: tjuljara
 after that: panjatjanu
 already: purlakupa
 another day, on: wapakarangu
 before, previously: ukarla
 by and by, later: urta ~ wurta
 continually: kukurr
 directly, soon: kuwarti
 evening: mungamunga
 how long?: wanjtjakutja?
 later: urta ~ wurta
 long ago: ukarla
 morning, in early: maruwara
 this morning: mungal
 next morning: mungal
 (depending on time of day and tense of verb.)
 now: kuwarti
 previously: ukarla
 shortly, not for long: kuwarti-kuwarti
 summertime, in: ngarlpu kala
 sunset, at: marungapa
 tomorrow: mungal (with future tense), wapakarangu
 when?: njangka
 winter time, in: wantangka
 yesterday: mungal, wapakarangu
 (with past tense of the verb)

Z - Interjections and exclamations
 (see section 4.4)

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