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Clamor Schürmann's
Barngarla grammar

A commentary on the first section of
A vocabulary of the Parnkalla language

Mark Clendon
Clamor Schüermann’s Barngarla grammar

A commentary on the first section of
A vocabulary of the Parnkalla language

Mark Clendon

The work of the German missionaries on South Australian languages in the first half of the nineteenth century has few contemporary parallels for thoroughness and clarity. This commentary on the grammatical introduction to Pastor Clamor Schüermann’s Vocabulary of the Parnkalla language of 1844 reconstructs a significant amount of Barngarla morphology, phonology and syntax. It should be seen as one of a number of starting points for language-reclamation endeavours in Barngarla, designed primarily for educators and other people who may wish to re-p resent its interpretations in ways more accessible to non-linguists, and more suited to pedagogical practice.
Clamor Schürmann's Barngarla grammar
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Clamor Schürmann's Barngarla grammar

A commentary on the first section of
A vocabulary of the Parnkalla language

by

Mark Clendon

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The University of Adelaide
Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann
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<td>applicative verbaliser</td>
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<td>negator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
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<td>patrilineal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfect aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl, PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
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<td>POSS</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJTV</td>
<td>subjunctive mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>any unspecified vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VBL.ZR</td>
<td>verbaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative case</td>
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<td>*x</td>
<td>unattested form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x*</td>
<td>reconstructed form</td>
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Preface

This commentary on the grammatical introduction to Pastor Clamor Schürmann’s *Vocabulary of the Parnkalla language* of 1844 is designed primarily for educators and other people who may wish to re-present its interpretations in ways more accessible to non-linguists, and more suited to pedagogical practice. It should be seen as one of a number of starting-points for language-reclamation endeavours in Barngarla, and is framed as a component in a Barngarla reclamation project undertaken by the University of Adelaide, and supported by the Commonwealth of Australia.¹

Grammar is the acoustic-auditory code we use to signal. Language has evolved over the last 1.5 million years at least, and our signals are infinitely varied and extraordinarily complex.² Grammar, therefore, could be likened to a mathematical geometry of human cognition. This means that grammar is complex, and Australian languages are as complex as any. Being complex signalling systems, with emotion and culture overlying their geometry, no language is inherently easy for adults to learn; nor is it possible to describe them simply in any interesting detail. While I have tried to make this commentary accessible, it inevitably includes material that is more involved than many non-linguists will wish to take on board at a first reading. It has not been my intention to avoid or skim over difficult or unfamiliar areas of Barngarla grammar, for to do so would be to show scant respect both to Schürmann and to the language itself.

I am indebted to Jane Simpson of the Australian National University for providing me with a copy of Schürmann’s vocabulary in an electronic file. This searchable version of the Barngarla vocabulary enabled a more comprehensive appreciation of the language than would have been otherwise achieved. And I am

¹ Grant no. 1001592-1000002338: *Online Learning Space: Barngarla Language*. Awarded under the Indigenous Languages Support-New Media initiative within the Attorney General’s Department of the Ministry for the Arts; Ghil’ad Zuckermann Chief Investigator.

² On the antiquity of language see Dediu & Levinson (2013).
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

most especially indebted to Luise Hercus for making available her notes on Kuyani, recorded from the last full speaker of that language, and which constitute the most thorough modern documentation we have of any Thura-Yura language.

Mark Clendon
Adelaide, July 2015
The northern and western Thura-Yura languages
1 Introduction

This commentary will seek to recast the first twenty-two pages of Clamor Schürmann’s 1844 *Vocabulary of the Parnkalla language* in the light of contemporary understandings about other Thura-Yura languages, and about Australian languages more generally.

We are unusually fortunate in having a nineteenth-century grammar and vocabulary of Barngarla of such a high standard. Not only was the Lutheran pastor and missionary Clamor Schürmann an intelligent and accomplished linguist, but as a native speaker of German he was unhindered by the etymologically transparent but transcriptionally disastrous conventions of English spelling. The work of the German Lutheran missionaries on South Australian languages in the first half of the nineteenth century has few contemporary parallels for thoroughness and clarity. We are, therefore, and comparatively speaking, in an excellent position to reconstruct a good deal of Barngarla’s phonology and morphology, and some of its syntax.

1.1 Barngarla in geographical context

Barngarla is a member of South Australia’s Thura-Yura group of languages, one that was spoken traditionally on the Eyre Peninsula and north into the Gawler Ranges as far as the southern end of Lake Torrens, but probably not along the peninsula’s west coast. An historical survey of the Thura-Yura group is presented in Simpson & Hercus (2004), along with a review of features that distinguish these languages from, or unites them with, others around them; and with argumentation for an ultimate phylogenetic origin.
Thura-Yura languages historically constituted a dialect spread from the Mount Lofty Ranges in the southeast, up to the northern Flinders Ranges in the north, and across to South Australia’s west coast. We know, for example, that the southern languages Kaurna, Nhukunu and Nharangga were mutually intelligible; that Adnyamathanha, Kuyani and Barngarla were mutually intelligible — at least near their margins — and that it is likely that Nhawu, Barngarla and Wirangu were also mutually intelligible, again near their margins at least. About Ngadjuri, we have almost no information at all. This kind of linguistic geography is observable in many parts of the world, and it is characteristic of small-scale traditionally oriented societies which have shared social institutions, in the absence of major geographical barriers.

Thura-Yura languages share a number of features — both phonological and morphological — which collectively serve to distinguish them from surrounding languages. A full inventory of these is presented in Simpson & Hercus (2004), while only a summary of their most noticeable features will be attempted here.

At the level of phonology, Thura-Yura languages show a three-way rhotic contrast (a trill, a flap and a retroflex glide). The pronunciation of nasal and lateral consonants in many words may be made with a stop consonant at the same place of articulation inserted in front of them (prestopping). As an example of this, note the Barngarla verb root meaning ‘fall’, warni-, compared to the same root in Kuyani, pronounced with a prestopped nasal as wardni-, and the very common Australian 1st dual pronoun ngali ‘we two’, pronounced in Barngarla with a prestopped lateral as ngadli.

Dative case-marking suffixes -ru and -ni are employed in most Thura-Yura languages, and a verbal present continuous tense ending -ntha, or variations thereupon, is also common to most Thura-Yura languages. A stop consonant may be omitted from sonorant-stop clusters: so where Kuyani and Kaurna have -ngku and -ngka as ergative and locative case suffixes respectively, Barngarla and Adnyamathanha have -nga for both these meanings.1 The Barngarla, Kuyani and Adnyamathanha verbal applicative suffix is found as both -ngku- and -ngu-; and the Kuyani verb root karlda- ‘call out’ appears in Barngarla as garla ‘call out’. The Wirangu words ngaldi ‘liver’ and bindhara ‘salt lake’ are found in southern Barngarla as ngali and binhara respectively. Finally, many phonologically compounded words in Thura-Yura languages are formed by omitting the first consonant of the second word or morpheme. As an example of this,

1  Barngarla also shows -ngi and -ngu.
Mark Clendon

note the Barngarla relativising suffix -bidni attached to the adverb yarrgulu 'before' to make the compound yarrguludni 'ancient': yarrgulu + bidni → yarrguludni.

Thura-Yura languages show correspondences between stop consonants that occur at the beginning of words. Words that start with the consonant th/dh in most other Thura-Yura languages often start with y in Barngarla and Adnyamathanha. Words that start with p/b in other languages start with v in Adnyamathanha, and the consonant k/g is lost from the start of most Adnyamathanha words.

Societies speaking Thura-Yura languages possessed as well a number of distinctive cultural features, some of which they shared with people living in the Lake Eyre Basin. The brief summary attempted here follows that of Hercus (2006c).

Among practices shared with the Lake Eyre Basin was a kinship system divided between two exogamous moieties called (in the orthography that will be suggested here) Madharhi and Garharru, which Schürmann (1846/2009: 222) spelled Mattiri and Karraru. This system appears to have extended south and east as far as the country of people who spoke Nhukunu, but not to have included speakers of Ngadjuri or Kaurna. Linguistically, the moiety system was operated by way of an elaborate set of pronouns including up to ten series, one of which could be selected on any occasion to address or refer to different categories of kinfolk. Schürmann recorded three or four of these series in Barngarla, although there are likely to have been more, which he may have missed. The three he recorded may be represented by 1 dual forms: ngadli, ngadlaga and ngarinyi; but he did not record their references consistently on pages 12 to 13 of his grammar, and on page 251 of his later work. The anomalies may be summarised as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ngadli} & \text{ngadlaga} & \text{ngarinyi} & \text{budlanbi (3 dual)} \\
\text{Gramm: 12-13} & \text{—} & \text{matrilineal} & \text{patrilineal} & \text{affinal} \\
\text{Manners: 251} & \text{siblings} & \text{affinal} & \text{parent-child} & \text{—} \\
\end{array}
\]

In this commentary I will follow the explanation put forward in the grammar section of his vocabulary, as that appears to match more closely the Adnyamathanha system as described by Schebeck (1973) and Hercus & White (1973).

Thura-Yura languages also possess a system of nine birth-order names, with separate terms for male and female children. This system is recorded for Kaurna in

---

2 See Hercus & White (1973) and Schebeck (1973) for the way this system operated in Adnyamathanha.
Amery & Simpson (2013: 15), and for Adnyamathanha in Schebeck (1973: 27). The birth-order names that Schürmann recorded for Barngarla are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first born</td>
<td>Kartanya</td>
<td>Gardanya</td>
<td>Piri</td>
<td>Birhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second born</td>
<td>Warrayu</td>
<td>Warrayu</td>
<td>Wari, Warri</td>
<td>Warri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third born</td>
<td>Kunta</td>
<td>Gunda</td>
<td>Kunni</td>
<td>Guni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fourth born</td>
<td>Munnaka</td>
<td>Munaga</td>
<td>Munni</td>
<td>Muni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifth born</td>
<td>Marruko</td>
<td>Marruga</td>
<td>Marri</td>
<td>Marri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixth born</td>
<td>Yarranta</td>
<td>Yaranda</td>
<td>Yarri</td>
<td>Yara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventh born</td>
<td>Méllakka</td>
<td>Milaga</td>
<td>Milli</td>
<td>Mili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighth born</td>
<td>Wanggurtu</td>
<td>Wanggurdu</td>
<td>Wangguyu</td>
<td>Wangguyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninth born</td>
<td>Ngallaka</td>
<td>Ngarloga</td>
<td>Ngallai</td>
<td>Ngarlayi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The left-hand columns in each case record Schürmann’s spelling, while the right-hand columns in italics suggest how these words may be represented phonemically, in the spelling system to be used in this commentary. Phonemic forms may be read primarily off the Adnyamathanha terms and supported by the Kaurna terms. Nhukunu and Kuyani have *pirtiya/pirdiya* for the first-born son (Hercus 1992: 27, 2006a), so we may guess that the Barngarla word also has a retroflex second consonant. Nhukunu has *milatu* and *miliya* for eighth-born daughters and sons respectively, and Kuyani has *milaka* for the eighth-born daughter (Hercus 1992: 23, 2006a). This makes it clear that the lateral in the Barngarla words was also alveolar.

The *Wilyaru* ritual was practised by people speaking the northern and western Thura-Yura languages Adnyamathanha, Barngarla, Wirangu and Kuyani. Hercus (2006c) provides a more detailed account of, as well as historical references to, this ritual. The *Wilyaru* was performed as well in the Lake Eyre Basin and by Arrernte-speaking people in the north of South Australia. The *Wilyaru* was called in Barngarla *Wilyalginyi* (Schürmann 1846/2009: 231-4). This word appears to have been used

---

3 Also *wayuru.*
to refer to both the ceremony itself and to the men who took part in it. It was in
Barngarla society the third and final stage of male initiation, undertaken by young
men of about eighteen, and involved the cutting of long parallel scars or cicatrices on
the back. Adnyamathanha people maintained this ceremony up until the late 1930s.

Thura-Yura languages share lexical and grammatical features with languages to their
north in the Lake Eyre Basin (e.g. Hercus 1999: 133), and further away, with languages
in the southeast of the Northern Territory and with those on the Darling River. East
of the Mount Lofty Ranges, however, along the lower reaches of the River Murray,
the eastern Fleurieu Peninsula and the Coorong, Ngarrinyeric languages are spoken,
in a number of varieties or dialects including Ramindjeri, Yaraldi, Ngarrindjeri and
Tanganekald. These languages are significantly different in their grammars and lexica
from the languages to their west and north: the Mount Lofty Ranges represent a major
discontinuity in Australia’s linguistic geography between Ngarrinyeric languages to
the east, and Thura-Yura languages to the west and northwest.

The origins of this discontinuity go back, in all likelihood, to the last ice age.
Under conditions of increased aridity and decreased temperature, the Lower River
Murray would have provided then, as it must always have done, hospitable conditions
in an otherwise inhospitable environment. People are likely to have remained living
along the Lower Murray throughout the last glaciation, long after other landscapes
were effectively depopulated. When at the onset of the Holocene the vast southern
plains of inland Australia were re-colonised from the Dividing Range (Clendon 2006,
McConvell & Alpher 2002), the languages of the Lower Murray by that time would
have diverged considerably from other Pama-Nyungan languages.

A summary of what little is known about Barngarla dialectology is set out in Hercus
(1999: 12-13). Barngarla-speakers were probably never very numerous and were
dispersed throughout a large and largely semi-arid region. Their speech would have
differed in relatively minor ways from place to place: many of the differences would
have been characteristic of particular extended families in particular places and may
not always have been reified or labelled. Hercus (1999: 12-13) discusses evidence for a northern variety of Barngarla having a number of frequently used lexical items shared with Wirangu rather than with the Barngarla spoken around Port Lincoln.

West of Port Lincoln, around Coffin Bay and up along the coast north-westward from there, people spoke a Thura-Yura variety called Nhawu. Schürmann’s Barngarla associates were clear that this name referred to a distinct group, but then they were also clear that other named groups were distinct: they referred to Badharra (*Eucalypt sp*) people, and Wambiri (coastal) people as well. Nevertheless Nhawu probably was in some respects noticeably different from Barngarla, as the following sentence example from Schürmann’s vocabulary shows:

(1.1) (23)

1 SCHÜRMANN: kurrirurriri Nauurri wanggatanna
2 PHONEMIC: guRiRuRiri Nhawurri wanggadhanha
3 MORPHEMES: guRi-RuRi-ri Nhawu-rrri wangga-dha-nha
4 GLOSS: twist-REDUP-VBLZR NAME-HUM.PL speak-PRES-2,3.pl
5 TRANSLATION: *the Nauos talk unintelligibly*

Barngarla *kurrirurriri* is ‘round about’, and Kuyani has *kuri-kuri* ‘go round and round’ (Hercus 2006a), based on *kuri-* ‘bind up, twist’. Schürmann’s translation ‘unintelligibly’ for *guriruriri* is almost certainly an overstatement.

Only the first and fifth lines in the above sentence example are Schürmann’s; the other lines have been introduced to show the sentence’s phonemic representation in line 2, its morphology in line 3, and its morpheme glosses in line 4. All sentence examples taken from Schürmann’s book will be in this form, with five lines as indicated, and with the page number where the example is to be found in his vocabulary appearing either above the sentence and after the sentence example number as here, or in the left-hand margin and below the example number. The grammar and vocabulary sections of Schürmann’s book are paginated separately; so all sentence examples taken from the grammar section will have their page numbers prefixed with the letter *g*.

Very few words of Nhawu have survived, Schürmann’s (1846/2009: 250) list of ten Nhawu words being all we have. Hercus (1999: 13-15) makes a case that Nhawu may have been closer to Wirangu than to Barngarla, and that it may also have
been intermediary between both. Hercus & Simpson (2001) give a comprehensive account of all that we know about this Thura-Yura speech.

The only Thura-Yura language with remaining full speakers is Adnyamathanha. According to the website of the University of Adelaide’s Mobile Language Team, there are currently around twenty Adnyamathanha speakers in 2014, living in both the Flinders Ranges and in Adelaide. Adnyamathanha is in a dialectal relationship with Kuyani, a Thura-Yura language spoken to the west and northwest of the Flinders Ranges, around the northern end of Lake Torrens. Luise Hercus recorded Kuyani spoken by Alice Oldfield, its last full speaker, in 1975 (Hercus 2006a-c). We have a sketch grammar of Wirangu (Hercus 1999) and a small dictionary of Nhukunu (Hercus 1992). The language of the Adelaide Plain, Kaurna, was well described by Christian Teichelmann and Clamor Schürmann in the nineteenth century (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840), and it has been undergoing reclamation and revival work since the 1990s (e.g. Amery 2000, Amery & Simpson 2013). However, very little material has survived of Nharangga or of Ngadjuri.

1.2 Clamor Schürmann

Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann was born in 1815 in Schledehausen near Osnabrück, in Lower Saxony. In 1832, aged seventeen, he travelled to Berlin to enter the Lutheran Seminary there, where he studied Latin, New Testament Greek, German Grammar, English and Hebrew. In 1836, aged twenty-one, he entered the Seminary of the Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden, and in 1838 he travelled as a missionary to Adelaide in the new colony of South Australia, founded just two years previously.

He journeyed there with a fellow Lutheran student and missionary from Dresden, Christian Teichelmann. Three settlements of German colonists flourished in Adelaide from an early date: Klemzig on the plain, and Hahndorf and Lobethal in the hills east of the town. Schürmann and Teichelmann were both intelligent and well-trained in languages, and both took a sound professional interest in the language they encountered on the Adelaide plain. Within two years they had produced their Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology of the Aboriginal language of South Australia.
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

In 1840, the year this book was published, aged only twenty-five, Schürmann travelled to Port Lincoln on the southern tip of the Eyre Peninsula to act as missionary to, and Assistant Protector of, Aboriginal people there. In 1844, Schürmann published his *Vocabulary of the Parnkalla language*, and in 1846 *The Aboriginal tribes of Port Lincoln*. Schürmann was based in Port Lincoln for thirteen years until 1853, when he returned to Adelaide, and soon after travelled to undertake pastoral work in Western Victoria.

The next forty years of his life he spent among Lutheran communities in Western Victoria and South Australia. He is recorded as being of small stature, ruddy complexion and of a particularly genial disposition. He was esteemed for his humility, kindness, straightforwardness and conscientious devotion to duty (Schurmann 1987: 207). He died in Bethany, in South Australia’s Barossa Valley, in 1893, aged seventy-eight, and is buried in Hamilton, Victoria.

A comprehensive account of Schürmann’s life and work in South Australia and Victoria may be found in Schurmann (1987), a biography written by his great-grandson.

1.3 Barngarla documentation

The copy of the vocabulary from which I have been working includes pages with typed notes added to the original published edition at some later date. Near the front of the copy beneath the stamp of the South Australian Museum are three or four handwritten notes as follows:

[1] With additions by C W Schürmann from his ms notes.

[2] (annotated about )

[3] Received from the Public Library. This copy was bound and given to the S. a. Museum as return for the gift to them of Schürmann’s own copy with his manuscript additions. There are additional annotations by N B Tindale.

[4] N B Tindale compared this copy line for line with the above Schürmann annotated copy on June 6 1972.

Beneath the first note, very faintly, is a note that appears to read ‘annotated about ___’ with what may have been a date, now illegible.

On the face of it, therefore, the authorship of the additions could be problematic. Nevertheless typewriters were commercially produced after 1873, and
the spelling of Barngarla words used in the added typewritten notes is the same as that used by Schürmann in the original edition. It is certain, then, that these notes are by Schürmann rather than by Tindale, compiled from his earlier notebooks. Tindale's own notes are handwritten and usually initialled.

Tindale himself, around about 1934, transferred Schürmann's vocabulary onto a set of index cards, now held in the South Australian Museum archives (Tindale 1934a, b). The record entry for these items includes the descriptor 'C W Schürmann 1884'; so this is likely to be the year in which he annotated an original copy of his vocabulary.

Over 250 kilometres to the northeast of Port Lincoln, the American linguist Ken Hale recorded Barngarla man Harry Crawford, also called Harry Croft, at Iron Knob 'through a doorway of a house' one day in 1960 (O'Grady 2001). By that time there were apparently only three Barngarla speakers remaining, and Crawford's language is clearly influenced by Wirangu and Kukarta. Of the 380 items in Hale's vocabulary questionnaire, Crawford was able to respond to seventy-eight (20%); so it is likely that he had not used Barngarla regularly for many years. Nevertheless his record offers us a valuable perspective and check on the language Schürmann recorded over a hundred years earlier.

In 1965 and 1966 at Point Pearce and Andamooka, Luise Hercus recorded Moonie Davis speaking Barngarla, in lists of vocabulary items and in elicited sentences. Davis's main language was Kukarta, but he was apparently proficient as well in Barngarla (Hercus 2006c). These recordings are held in Canberra at AIATSIS (Hercus 1965, 1966) and have recently formed the foundation of efforts to revive Barngarla on the Eyre Peninsula.5

Jane Simpson included an analysis of some Barngarla morphology in a publication on historical language sources (Simpson 1995), and Luise Hercus's (1999) description of Wirangu contains a valuable discussion of what is known of Barngarla dialectology and of the relationships, apparently close, between Barngarla, Wirangu and Nhuw on the Eyre Peninsula.

A more extensive bibliography of archival material relating to Barngarla may be found on the website of the University of Adelaide's Mobile Language Team.6

1.4 Procedure

Phonemic representations of the words presented in Schürmann’s 1844 grammar and vocabulary may be attempted by comparing his work with that of authors writing in the middle and late twentieth century, about the then currently spoken Thura-Yura languages Adnyamathanha, Wirangu, Kuyani and Nhukunu. Tunbridge (1988: 281, fn 5) claims that Barngarla and Adnyamathanha were in a dialectal relationship, and that Adnyamathana speakers confirmed that these two languages were mutually intelligible. Nevertheless Barngarla was spoken over a wide area, and would have almost certainly shown regional differences. It is worth remembering that the language Schürmann recorded was spoken around Port Lincoln, roughly 300 to 400 kilometres southwest of the southern Flinders Ranges. The reconstruction of the Adelaide language currently referred to as Kaurna (Amery & Simpson 2013) may also be used cautiously for this purpose. Kuyani and Nhukunu have ceased to be spoken since recordings were made in the 1970s (Hercus 1992, 2006).

The comparison undertaken here proceeds on the understanding that twentieth-century authors have benefited from our increased knowledge of Australian languages and of contemporary linguistic practice over the 130 or so years since Schürmann wrote his Barngarla grammar and vocabulary. And although this is certainly the case, it would nevertheless be a mistake to imagine that recent transcriptions of living Thura-Yura languages are unproblematic. None but fairly cursory accounts of the phonology of any Thura-Yura language exist, and phonemic representations are sometimes inconsistent, even within the work of a single author.

Where I have been able to find correspondences in contemporary or recently-spoken and recorded Thura-Yura languages, or in Kaurna, for the Barngarla words and suffixes Schürmann transcribed, I will note those correspondences; where I have been unable to find correspondences I will adhere to Schürmann’s spelling, exception being made where his representation contradicts what we know about Thura-Yura phonology generally, and about Barngarla phonology and morphology in particular.

Schürmann published his Barngarla vocabulary after four years in Port Lincoln. He was to spend another nine years there, during which time he clearly discovered more about the language than he had put into the vocabulary. Unfortunately, many of the sentence examples added after the book was published lack translations, and this occasions some difficulty with respect to recognising grammatical phenomena.
This commentary by no means exhausts all that could be discovered about Barngarla from Schürmann’s vocabulary. A full review of the vocabulary section would almost certainly reveal more insights about the way Barngarla was used, which in turn could add to and modify the grammar he presents in its first twenty-two pages.
2 Writing Barngarla sounds

2.1 Consonants

From a comparison of Schürmann’s material with the phoneme inventories of Adnyamathanha (Tunstill 2004: 459), Nhukunu (Hercus 1992: 3), Wirangu (Hercus 1999: 26) and Kaurna (Amery & Simpson 2013: 29), Barngarla seems to have had a normal Australian consonant inventory. We are able to reconstruct unvoiced, unaspirated stops at six places of articulation, including two laminal series — lamino-dental and lamino-palatal — and two apical series — apico-alveolar and apico-postalveolar (or retroflex) — orthographically represented by the voiced grapheme series. There are also six matching nasals and four matching laterals at coronal points of articulation, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops:</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>dy</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals:</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals:</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic trill:</td>
<td></td>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic tap:</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glides:</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rh/R</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As well, all nasal and lateral sounds that are not velar can be prestopped when they occur at the start of the second syllable in a word. That is, they can be pronounced
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with a stop consonant at the same place of articulation in front of them. The relevant nasal and lateral sounds are shaded in the above chart. The prestopped nasal and lateral phonemes are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>palatal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prestopped nasals:</td>
<td>bm</td>
<td>dnh</td>
<td>dn</td>
<td>rdn</td>
<td>dny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prestopped laterals:</td>
<td>dlh</td>
<td>dl</td>
<td>rdl</td>
<td>dly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prestopping appears to have been to some extent optional in the area around Port Lincoln, where Schürmann worked.

Words seem not to have been able to begin with apical consonants; instead laminal consonants, as well as bilabial and velar consonants, occur in this position (Simpson & Hercus 2004: 186-8). Lamino-dental consonants occur at the start of words before a and u (e.g. dha-, dhu-), and lamino-palatal consonants occur at the start of words before i (dyi-). Words can start with a vowel, and all words must end with a vowel.

There is one example in Schürmann’s vocabulary of the three-consonant cluster nky, in the verb pinkyata/binkyadha ‘call, name’. This cluster occurs also in Kaurna, but rarely, along with the cluster ngky.

2.1.1

The German missionaries recorded the phonetic raising and fronting of the vowels a and u before lamino-palatal consonants by the digraphs <ai> and <ui>, and by the letter <ü>: examples are paitya for phonemic-orthographic badya ‘angry’, wailbi for phonemic walybi ‘southwest’, ngukaintya for phonemic nguganydya ‘have gone’, murtuiya for phonemic murdudyga ‘different, separate’, tuin-nga for phonemic dhunynga ‘without a gloss’, partütyuru for phonemic bardudyuru ‘long rumped’, murtünuyu for phonemic murdunyu ‘species of fish’ and kauülyaranna for phonemic gawulyaranha ‘lots of water’. This is quite consistent and usually indicates the lamino-palatal position of a following consonant. Schürmann also seems to have regularly, although by no means infallibly, recorded the lamino-dental nasal nh as orthographic nn in his text, and the retroflex lateral rl as ll.
2.2 Rhotics

There is likely to have been a three-way rhotic contrast in Barngarla, as is the case in other Thura-Yura languages (Simpson & Hercus 2004: 185), although as Hercus (1999: 33) notes, 'in Thura-Yura the trilled \textit{rr} is not a particularly frequent phoneme'. For Barngarla this contrast is unlikely to be recoverable in full or with certainty from historical texts. At Iron Knob Harry Crawford attested only two rhotics, a glide and apparently a trill; but Crawford’s speech was influenced by Wirangu, which has only these two, and he does not appear to have been using Barngarla regularly at the time Ken Hale interviewed him (O’Grady 2001). The way Thura-Yura rhotics have been represented in spelling over the years is nothing if not luxuriant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>spelling</th>
<th>authors</th>
<th>key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apico-alveolar trill:</td>
<td>\textit{rr}</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 5, 6</td>
<td>1 Amery &amp; Simpson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{r}</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 Hercus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apico-alveolar flap:</td>
<td>\textit{r}</td>
<td>2, 3, 4, 7</td>
<td>3 McEntee &amp; McKenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{rh}</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 Miller et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{rd}</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5 O’Grady et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{d}</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 SA Education Dept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex glide:</td>
<td>\textit{r}</td>
<td>3, 7</td>
<td>7 Schebeck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{r}</td>
<td>2, 4</td>
<td>8 Warlpiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{r}</td>
<td>1, 5, 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex flap:</td>
<td>\textit{d}</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{d}</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{rd}</td>
<td>6, 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The retroflex flap is apparently found only in Adnyamathanha, and in Warlpiri in the Northern Territory.

2.2.1

Adnyamathanha appears to have a four-way rhotic contrast (Schebeck 1974: xvi, McEntee & McKenzie 1992: ix, Tunbridge 1996: 31), although this may be the
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case at a phonetic level only. Tunbridge (1996: 31) notes that Adnyamathanha’s two rhotic flaps, apico-alveolar and apico-postalveolar (retroflex) respectively, are flapped between vowels, but are pronounced as stops elsewhere. Unless there is an intervocalic contrast between rhotics and stops at these places of articulation, they may represent single phonemes with flapped and stopped allophones. See also Simpson & Hercus (2004: 185, fn 7) for a diachronic perspective.

2.2.2

Schürmann identifies three rhotics in Barngarla and gives examples of the difference between two of them with three minimal pairs. He says ‘the words in the right column have the peculiar sound [probably a trill] described above’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yurra</th>
<th>man</th>
<th>yurra</th>
<th>earth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wirra</td>
<td>scrub</td>
<td>wirra</td>
<td>air or rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karra</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>karra</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we look for correspondences for these six words in contemporary transcriptions of other Thura-Yura languages we find the following, using the rhotic symbols (r, r, rr) used by Luise Hercus, among others:

| Words with a flap or tap (r): | Wirangu   | wira | sky         |
| Words with a retroflex glide (R): | Adnyamathanha | yuRa | person     |
|                                  | Kuyani    | thuRa| person     |
|                                  | Wirangu   | gaRa | grass      |
|                                  | Iron-Knob Barngarla | wiRa | cloud^3 |
| Words with a trill (rr):        | Adnyamathanha | yurra | dirt, earth|
|                                  | Kuyani    | karra| high       |
|                                  | Adnyamathanha | arra | high       |
|                                  | Nhukunu   | wira | scrub      |

This gives us a completely different set of rhotic contrasts from the one Schürmann offers:

1  Hale’s transcription of Harry Crawford’s word (see Chapter 6).
Schürmann’s *wirra* is ‘air or rain’, Wirangu *wira* is ‘sky’ and Harry Crawford’s *wira* is ‘cloud’ — three different transcriptions with three different attested meanings. Nevertheless it is probably the case that they represent a single word, with the unusual property that a flap in Wirangu appears to correspond to a glide in Iron Knob Barngarla. Because of my uncertainty as to which should be preferred, I have listed them both here.

The members of Schürmann’s two columns are represented in all three rhotic categories, when compared to contemporary spoken languages. This could mean that Barngarla rhotics, while not corresponding to rhotics in other Thura-Yura languages, yet retained acoustic and articulatory coherence as a set of rhotics: but this is a rather unlikely situation. Perhaps more likely is the possibility that while Schürmann recognised a rhotic contrast, he did not record it systematically, and did not recognise its significance. For this he cannot be blamed; for although he was trained in New Testament Greek, Latin and Biblical Hebrew, and fluent in German and English, none of these languages make any phonemic rhotic distinctions.

The third rhotic Schürmann distinguishes is not a rhotic at all; rather it is a clear perception of the articulatory qualities of retroflex consonants in Barngarla:

*yurne* or *yurdne*  
*throat*

Here we see a quite common phenomenon in Thura-Yura languages, in which nasal and lateral consonants may be optionally prestopped: in the first of these two words we see a retroflex nasal *rn*, and then the same sound prestopped as *rdn* (=*rdrn*). These words correspond to their counterparts in other Thura-Yura languages, where they may also contain prestopped nasals:

Adnyamathanha, Nhukunu, Kuyani:  
*yurndi*  

Kaurna:  
*yurni*

Barngarla:  
*yurndi*, *yurni*
In order for Barngarla to be easily compared with other northern Thura-Yura languages, and in order for written material in those languages to be read consistently, it would seem reasonable for the representation of Barngarla rhotics to conform to the spelling conventions most commonly found in material about other Thura-Yura languages. The apico-alveolar trill is in Australia almost universally written *rr*, and for the apico-alveolar tap or flap most writers on Thura-Yura languages have used *r*. Most of the contemporary material on the northern languages has been written by Luise Hercus, who consistently uses *rr* for the trill and *r* for the flap or tap. It would therefore seem advantageous to maintain the use of these signs in Barngarla spelling. However for the retroflex glide, both diacritic *ṛ* and capitalised *R* could be inconvenient. The digraph *rh* might be used here to capture the softness of this sound. With the foregoing in mind, the following conventions for Barngarla rhotics will be suggested in this commentary:

- The rhotic trill: *rr*
- The rhotic flap or tap: *r*
- The retroflex glide: *rh*

2.3 Vowels

Like other northern Thura-Yura languages, Barngarla probably had four phonemic vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*, and long *aa* or *ā*. Schürmann, however, uses *e* and *o* as well. Vowel sounds represented in the spelling of early nineteenth-century German linguists are discussed by Amery & Simpson (2013: 32). Schürmann’s *e* is phonemic *i*, and his *o* is phonemic *u*, with the following exceptions: his *e* is usually *a* after *y*, and his *o* is usually *a* after *w*.

Vowel harmony across morpheme boundaries is pervasive in Barngarla, although it may be sporadic. Vowels in a number of suffixes may optionally or obligatorily harmonise with their host nouns, and these will be noted as they occur.

The historical-orthographic observation that Schürmann’s *o* is phonemic *a* after *w* does not apply at the end of words. A number of examples may be adduced to support this contention, including one to be discussed in Section 4.2.4: (i) Schürmann (1973: 125) lists *nauo*, *nawo* as the name of a language (‘national name of the native
tribe’) spoken around Coffin Bay. This name can be shown to be phonemic *Nhawu*, with Schürmann’s *o* representing phonemic *u* word-finally. In his grammar, but not his dictionary, Schürmann has the word *Nauurri* ’the Nauos’, referring to a group. This is *Nauu* (*Nhawu*) with the human plural suffix *-rri* on the end. Hercus & Simpson (2001: 284, 287) list early transcriptions of *Nauo*, which all point to a final *u*-sound, the only exception being the contemporary pronunciation of a senior Wangkangurru man who said *Nyaawa*, but this some fifty years after he had heard the word from Barngarla speakers. (ii) Schürmann (1973: 53) lists *kauo* ’water’, and Harry Crawford gives two words for ’water’, *kawi* and *kawu* (O’Grady 2001). This guarantees that Schürmann’s word-final *o* is phonemic *u* in this word. (iii) On the same page Schürmann lists *kauokauurriti* (probably phonemic *gawu-gawuridhi*) ’to swing to and fro, being suspended’. This clearly shows a reduplicated root iconic of the repeated motion of its denotation. The second part of the root (*kaoul/gawu*) reveals more clearly the phonemic representation of the first part, which Schürmann spells *kauo*. The upshot of this is that although Schürmann’s *o* is usually phonemic *a* after *w*, this is not the case when these two sounds occur together in that order word-finally: in this position it is likely that his *-wo*, *-o* or *-uo* represent phonemic *-wu*.

2.4 Sandhi

Morphological sandhi processes undoubtedly affected vowels at morpheme boundaries, although observations on this important area of Thura-Yura phonology are few and indirect. Barngarla phonotactics probably did not allow vowel clusters or diphthongs. Although Schürmann’s grammar and vocabulary are replete with orthographic vowel clusters such as *kaya ilka* [spear assoc] and *kulakaiyte* ’cut for me’, upon investigation these can usually be shown to involve anticipatory fronting and raising (see above) or the excrescence of a glide.

2.4.1

Accounts of Thura-Yura languages commonly imply that vowel clusters are part of Thura-Yura phonotactics, but there is evidence that such claims describe morphology, not phonology. Bernhard Schebeck’s work in particular appears seldom to distinguish the two levels of description: for example, his *marra-anha* ’fourth-born male child’ (1973: 27, 42) is spelled *marr-anha* by McEntee & McKenzie (1992: 81) (among many other instances). Although concerned with justifying spelling, the discussion of
Adnyamathanha sounds in Tunstill (2004: 464-6) points indirectly to an absence of phonemic vowel clusters in that language.

There appear to be at least two strategies available to deal with vowels brought into contact by morphological processes. Tunbridge (1996: 31), writing about Adnyamathanha, states that 'when any two short vowels occur together in a word they generally come to be pronounced as a single long vowel with the phonetic value of the second of the two'. Evidence for the second part of this statement at least is available from Kuyani, where Hercus (2006c) notes the word *kuty'-alpila* 'the other two', composed of *kutyu* 'other' and the dual suffix *-al(y)pila*. Here the final vowel of *kutyu* is elided, while the first vowel of the dual suffix remains; it does not lengthen, however. When considering in Section 4.3 the way in which enclitic pronouns are attached to Barngarla verbs, we will see that two short vowels need not make a long.

Kuyani evinces a second and competing phonological process, as seen in *kutyualpilangku* |kutyu-alpila-ngku| [other-dual-erg] 'the other two (ergative)' (Hercus 2006c). Again, two vowels are brought together in this word, but this time without elision of either vowel. Hercus notes that the dual suffix is *(w)alpila* after *u*, citing the word *paaruwalpila* |paaru-w-alpila| [meat-ep-dual] 'two sorts of meat' (Hercus 2006c), with a glide excreted between the last vowel of *paaru* and the first of *-alpila*: this is almost certainly the case with Hercus' *kutyualpilangku* as well.

Further investigation of a living Thura-Yura language will be required to discover what constraints, if any, apply to the application of these two phonological processes.
3 Pronouns

3.1 Pronoun forms

In this section we will look at the different kinds of meaning that Barngarla pronouns code, and in the following section we will look at the kinds of grammatical functions coded on pronouns.

3.1.1 1 Singular

The first person singular pronoun (I, me) is shown below, with technical labels for its various meanings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngai</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td><em>I, me; NOMINATIVE</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngatto</td>
<td>ngadhu</td>
<td><em>I; ERGATIVE</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaitye</td>
<td>ngadyi</td>
<td><em>of me, my, mine; POSSESSIVE</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaityidni</td>
<td>ngadyidni</td>
<td><em>from me; ABLATIVE</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaityidninge</td>
<td>ngadyidningi</td>
<td><em>with me; COMITATIVE</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaityidniru</td>
<td>ngadyidnirhu</td>
<td><em>towards me; ALLATIVE</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Schürmann recognised two core cases in Barngarla, which he called *nominative* and *active nominative*. An understanding of these terms requires an understanding of the difference between intransitive and transitive verbs, which is explained again briefly in Section 4.1.2. He recognised a third case, *possessive*, but he did not provide labels for the other forms; the labels seen here are those commonly used in modern grammatical description.

The nominative case is the case of subjects of intransitive verbs, such as *she* in *she is sleeping*. The active nominative, or what is now called *ergative*, is the case of subjects of transitive verbs, such as *she* in *she saw me*. English does not have an ergative case, so in English the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs are the same. There is a third core case, called *accusative*, which is the case of objects of transitive verbs, such as *her* in *I saw her*. In Barngarla, the subjects of intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive verbs are treated in the same way, and this is what the term *nominative* refers to in Schürmann’s grammar. A term *absolutive* may also be used to refer to the marking of subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs together, but I will stick with Schürmann’s term *nominative* for this situation in this commentary. And so the core cases that are marked in Barngarla grammar are *nominative*, covering intransitive subjects and transitive objects, and *active-nominative* or *ergative*, covering transitive subjects.

The possessive shape, like the possessive shape of all Barngarla pronouns, is used to signal ownership, but it is also used for other things. As you can see, it is used as a base or stem for the other cases, and this will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.2. Possessive shapes are used as well to mark someone who benefits from something; you may see an example of this use in sentence example (4.4) in Section 4.3.

An important case not represented in Schürmann’s lists is *dative*. This is the case that marks a human object of verbs that mean *give*: the person who is given or who receives something. Barngarla nouns take a dative-case ending *-ni* (see Section 7.5.1) and dative pronouns take this same suffix: unusually it is attached to the nominative-case shape of the pronoun. So the dative-case shape of the 1 sg pronoun is *ngayini*; you may see an example of this in use in sentence example (7.15a) in Section 7.5.1.

Barngarla has two ablative case suffixes: *-bidni* and *-ngurni* (for discussion see Sections 7.5.2 & 8.3.1). On pronouns these suffixes are shortened to *-idni* and *-urni*. Most pronouns use *-idni*, while three (2 sg general, 2 sg patrilineal and the
interrogative pronoun *nganha* use *-urni*, and two (1 sg and 1 pl) appear to be able to choose between these endings. The alternative ablative, comitative and allative shapes for the 1 sg pronoun are:

- ngaityurni
- ngaityurninge
- ngaityurniru

from me; ABLATIVE
with me; COMITATIVE
towards me; ALLATIVE

How the ergative shapes of pronouns and nouns are used will be discussed in Section 4.1.2.

The forms *ngay* and *ngadhu* are amply attested in Adnyamathanha, Wirangu and Kuyani. Hercus (1999: 72) lists a set of Wirangu 1 sg possessive pronoun alternatives that fairly clearly include Barngarla *ngadyi*. The form *ngadyidnirhu* probably contains the common Thura-Yura genitive/allative suffix *-rhu*, with a retroflex rhotic (c.f. Schebeck 1974: 6-7, Hercus 2006a), and so this suffix is represented in this way here and in the paradigms that follow.

### 3.1.2 Pronoun series

Nearly all the languages starting from the southeast of the Northern Territory and extending down around Lake Eyre, and through the centre of South Australia as far as Adelaide, have or had complex and elaborate systems of pronouns. People used different pronouns depending on (1) the relationship between yourself and the person you were talking to, (2) the relationship between the two or more people you were talking about, and (3) the relationship between yourself and the people you were talking about. Bernhard Schebeck (1973) and Luise Hercus & Isobel White (1973) identified ten different series or kinds of pronouns in Adnyamathanha, which were each used with and about different kinds of kinfolk in different situations.

In his grammar of Barngarla, Schürmann identifies four pronoun series, and we will look at each of these as we go along. However the system in Barngarla may have been more complex than this, and could have been closer to the system as it is seen in Adnyamathanha. There are gaps in Schürmann’s description: for example, while *budlanbi* ‘they two’ referred to a husband and wife, we do not know what pronoun referred to two people who were *not* husband and wife; or if perhaps *budlanbi* could have been used to refer to any two people.
3.1.3 1 Dual

The first set of dual pronouns appear to have been used generally; they may have been forms that you could use with people who were not in any particular relationship to you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person dual — general</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngadli</td>
<td>ngadli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadluru</td>
<td>ngadlurhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadlidni</td>
<td>ngadlidni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadlidninge</td>
<td>ngadlidningi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadlidniru</td>
<td>ngadlidnirhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that there is no ergative shape here: non-singular pronouns in ergative, nominative and accusative roles all have the same shape in each person and number category. This situation is discussed below in Section 3.2.

The second set were used by a woman and her children: that is, by a woman and her son or daughter, a woman and her sister’s son or daughter or a man and his sister’s son or daughter. For example, if you were a woman and you wanted to refer to yourself and your son or daughter, you would use ngadlaga ‘we two, us two’. If you were a man and you wanted to refer to yourself and your sister’s son or daughter, you would also use ngadlaga. This is the set that Schebeck (1973: 13) and Hercus & White (1973: 58) call series-5 pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person dual matrilineal — a woman and her child, a man and his sister’s child</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngadlaga</td>
<td>ngadlaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadlagguru</td>
<td>ngadlagurhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadlagadni</td>
<td>ngadlagadni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadlagadninge</td>
<td>ngadlagadningi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngadlagadniru</td>
<td>ngadlagadnirhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A third set was used by a man and his children: that is, a man and his son or daughter, a man and his brother’s son or daughter, or a woman and her brother’s son or daughter. If you were a man and you wanted to refer to yourself and your son or daughter, you would use *ngarinyi* ‘we two, us two’. If you were a woman and you wanted to refer to yourself and your brother’s son or daughter, you would also use *ngarinyi*:

**First person dual patrilineal — a man and his child, a woman and her brother’s child**

| ngarrinye | ngarinyi | we two, us two |
| ngarrinyuru | ngarinyurhu | ours, of us two |
| ngarrinyidni | ngarinyidni | from us |
| ngarrinyidninge | ngarinyidningi | with us |
| ngarrinyidniru | ngarinyidnirhu | to us |

These shapes are clearly comparable with the patrilineal-pair forms found in Kuyani as *ngarinya* ‘we two, father and child’ (Hercus 2006a), and in Adnyamathanha as the series-9 pronoun *ngarinyi* (Schebeck 1973: 15-16, Hercus & White 1973: 59).

### 3.1.4 1 Plural

The 1 pl (we, us) shapes that Schürmann has left us seem to be based on the father-and-child series shown above. We do not know whether in Barngarla they were used only by fathers and their children, or if they were generalised for use by anyone:

**First person plural**

| ngarrinyelbo | ngarinyarblu | we, us |
| ngarrinyelburu | ngarinyarblburhu | our, ours, of us |
| ngarrinyelbudni | ngarinyarblbudni | from us |
| ngarrinyelbudningi | ngarinyarblbudningi | with us |
| ngarrinyelbuniru | ngarinyarblbunirhu | to us |
Clamor Schürmann's Barngarla grammar

The alternative ablative, comitative and allative shapes based on the ablative ending *-urni* are as follows:

- **ngarrinyelburni** *ngarinyarlburni* from us
- **ngarrinyelburninge** *ngarinyarlburningi* with us
- **ngarrinyelburniru** *ngarinyarlburnirhu* to us

Adnyamathanha has *ngarinyurlpa* 'father and children' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 40), clearly showing that the corresponding Barngarla word had a retroflex lateral.

### 3.1.5 2 Singular

Second person singular — general

- **ninna** *nhina* you; NOMINATIVE
- **nunno** *nhurm** you; ERGATIVE
- **nunko** *nhunku* your, yours
- **nunkurni** *nhunkurni* from you
- **nunkurninge** *nhunkurningi* with you
- **nunkurniru** *nhunkurnirhu* towards you

The shape of 2 sg nominative pronoun was almost certainly *nhina*, as this form is widespread in the northern Thura-Yura languages.

In another series, a 2 sg pronoun *nhurru* was used by a man when talking to his child, by a child when talking to his or her father, by a woman when talking to her brother’s child, and by a child when talking to his or her father’s sister. Notice that in this singular pronoun the ergative shape is the same as the nominative:
Schürmann records these pronouns as being used by 'a father and his children addressing each other'. Based on what we know about kinship systems in other northern Thura-Yura languages, it seems likely that these forms could be used by women addressing their brothers' children as well.

Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have 2 pl nhura, so we may assume for the time being that a stem shape nhur- or nhurr- is represented at this point in Schürmann’s grammar. It is common for plural forms to be used with singular reference in respect registers, as was the case in Wirangu at least (Hercus 1999: 79-80). The Western Desert variety Kukarta, spoken to the northwest of Barngarla, has nyurra for the 2 sg pronoun (Platt 1972: 48).

The Western Desert variety I am spelling Kukarta is also spelled Kukata, Kokata, Gugada and so on. Platt (1972: 3, 1967) points out that these terms may actually refer to two distinct Western Desert varieties, one with a label containing a dental stop, as /kukatha/, also written Gugadja or Kokatha, and another, the subject of his grammar, with a label containing an alveolar or retroflex stop: /kukarta/. As Platt notes on his page 3: 'there often seemed to be a tendency towards retroflexion, hence probably such spellings as Koogurda by Daisy Bates'. Being Irish, and so familiar with rhotic varieties of English, Bates frequently heard the rhoticisation in retroflexed consonants with considerable accuracy.

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1 This layout follows Schürmann’s on his p. 11.
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3.1.6

Going by available material, Adnyamathanha and Kuyani allow the rhotic tap \( r \), but not the trill \( rr \), to appear in front of \( k \) (\( g \)). Hercus (1999: 40) does not recognise a \( r/rr+g \) cluster in Wirangu, although it certainly occurs there, as \textit{burgu}/\textit{burku} ‘dew, mist’ demonstrates (Hercus 1999: 159). I suspect that the distinction between the trill and the tap may be neutralised in front of \( k \) in these languages. Nevertheless it is possible, or indeed likely, that a rhotic tap would have had a stop allophone in front of \( g \), which might have made it hard for Schürmann to hear as a rhotic. I will therefore represent the sound he heard in this environment by the trill symbol. And for consistency, I will represent the shape of the root morpheme as also containing a trill, as \textit{nhurru}.

3.1.7

By comparison with the nominative form, the 2 sg general ergative pronoun should be \textit{nhunu}. Kuyani and Adnyamathanha have \textit{nhuntu}, and Kaurna had \textit{ninthu} (although \textit{nhintu}* might be equally plausible, by comparison with the northern form). No ergative shape is recorded for Nhukunu. Wirangu had an early shape \textit{nhurni}* (Hercus 1999: 77), but this was a nominative, not an ergative form. The choice of second nasal, then, boils down to a choice between the Barngarla (\textit{nhina}) and Wirangu (\textit{nhurni}) nominative shapes. Perhaps arbitrarily, I will presume that Barngarla might have patterned with Wirangu in this, and will assume for present purposes that the ergative 2 sg pronoun may have been \textit{nhurnu}.

The shape of the possessive 2 sg pronoun is equally unclear. Adnyamathanha, Nhukunu and Kuyani all have \textit{nhungku} (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 53, Hercus 1992: 26, Hercus 2006a); Wirangu had a traditional (unreconstructed) shape \textit{nhunyuku} (Hercus 1999: 78), and Kaurna had a shape that Teichelmann & Schürmann spelled \textit{ninko}, and which Amery & Simpson (2013: 136) recast as \textit{ninku}. Schürmann’s representations of nasals before \( k \) appear to be consistent and reliable: he has \textit{manka} 'tattoo scars (cicatrices)' where Kuyani has \textit{minka} 'scar' (Hercus 2006c), and \textit{manku-} 'take, receive' where Kuyani also has \textit{manku} 'get, grab' (Hercus 2006a), and where Adnyamathanha has \textit{marnku} 'grab, seize' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 77). Elsewhere his \textit{ngk} sequences agree with those of other Thura-Yura
languages: Barngarla *nhunggu*-'give' compares with Kuyani *yungku* and *nhungku* and with Adnyamathanha *nhungku* (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 53). Hercus & White (1973: 61) recorded the language name as *Banggarla* from Adnyamathanha speakers, which implies that Adnyamathanha *ngk* sequences could in some instances correspond to Barngarla *rng/nk* sequences. With this in mind, I will trust Schürmann’s transcription on this issue and assume that the Barngarla 2 sg possessive shape was *nhunku*, as he indicates. The same considerations will apply to the possessive shape of the interrogative pronoun *nganha* in Chapter nine.

### 3.1.8 2 Dual

**Second person dual — general**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nuwalla</th>
<th>nhuwala</th>
<th>you two</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuwalluru</td>
<td>nhuwalurhu</td>
<td>your two, yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwallidni</td>
<td>nhuwalidni</td>
<td>from you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwallidninge</td>
<td>nhuwalidningi</td>
<td>with you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwallidniru</td>
<td>nhuwalidnirhu</td>
<td>to you two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kuyani has a general-form 2 sg pronoun *nhuwara*, and Adnyamathana has a form *nhuwalla* [sic], and others with stem shapes *nhuwat-* and *nhuwad-* (Hercus & White 1973: 58-9, Schebeck 1973: 12-14). I will on this basis assume that the lateral sound in the Barngarla word is apico-alveolar.

**Second person dual matrilineal — a woman and her child, a man and his sister’s child**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nuwadnaga</th>
<th>nhuwadnaga</th>
<th>you two</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuwadnagguru</td>
<td>nhuwadnagurhu</td>
<td>your two, yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwadnagadni</td>
<td>nhuwadnagadni</td>
<td>from you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwadnagadninge</td>
<td>nhuwadnagadningi</td>
<td>with you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwadnagadniru</td>
<td>nhuwadnagadnirhu</td>
<td>to you two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Both Adnyamathanha (Schebeck 1973: 13) and Kuyani have *nhuwadnaka* with this meaning. Kuyani even has *nhuwadnakarhunha* for the possessive shape.

Second person dual patrilineral — a man and his child,

a woman and her brother’s child

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{nuwarinye} & \text{nuwarinyi} & \text{you two} \\
\text{nuwarinyuru} & \text{nuwarinyinurhu} & \text{your two, yours} \\
\text{nuwarinyidni} & \text{nuwarinyinidni} & \text{from you two} \\
\text{nuwarinyinidninge} & \text{nuwarinyinidningi} & \text{with you two} \\
\text{nuwarinyinidniru} & \text{nuwarinyinidnirhu} & \text{to you two} \\
\end{array}
\]

Shapes with the ending -rinyi also mark the first person dual pronouns with father-and-child meaning (see above), and Adnyamathanha has *nhuwadnanyi* for this 2 dual meaning.

### 3.1.9 2 Plural

Second person plural

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{nuralli} & \text{nhurali} & \text{you all} \\
\text{nuralluru} & \text{nhuralurhu} & \text{your, yours} \\
\text{nurallidni} & \text{nhuralidni} & \text{from you all} \\
\text{nurallidninge} & \text{nhuralidningi} & \text{with you all} \\
\text{nurallidniru} & \text{nhuralidnirhu} & \text{to you all} \\
\end{array}
\]

Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have 2 pl *nhura*, and we may assume that the following lateral consonant is apico-alveolar, by analogy with that of the general 2 dual pronoun *nhuwala* (see above).
3.1.10 3 Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third person singular</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| panna                                                      | banha | *he, him, she, her, it; NOMINATIVE*
| padlo                                                      | badlu  | *he, she; ERGATIVE*
| parnūntyuru                                               | barnundyurhu | *his, hers*
| parnūntyudni                                               | barnundyudni | *of, from him/her*
| parnūntyudninge                                            | barnundyudningi | *with him/her*
| parnūntyudniru                                            | barnundyudnirhu | *to him/her*

Kuyani has *panha* 'this', Wirangu has *banha* 'he, she' (Hercus 1999: 83), and Kaurna had ergative *padlu* 'he, she' and possessive *parmu* 'his, hers' (Amery & Simpson 2013: 135). From these forms we can safely reconstruct the Barngarla shapes.

3.1.11 3 Dual

A fourth set of dual pronouns referred to two people who were husband and wife: *budlanbi* 'they two, them two' is, as Schürmann says, 'more especially used for husband and wife':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third person dual</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| pudlanbi                                               | budlanbi | *they two, them two*
| pudlanbiru                                             | budlanbirhu | *their*
| pudlanbidni                                             | budlanbidni | *from them two*
| pudlanbidninge                                          | budlanbidningi | *with them two*
| pudlanbidniru                                           | budlanbidnirhu | *to them two*

These shapes are unproblematic; the form *pula* is used for third person dual meaning widely in Australia, and Barngarla uses this shape with prestopping on the lateral.

Schürmann's vocabulary shows a 3 dual pronoun *pannalbelli/banhalbili* 'they two', which could most likely be used for any two people, regardless of kin
relationships. This pronoun contains the dual suffix -lbili used also on nouns (see Section 7.2 below).

3.1.12 3 Plural

Third person plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yardna</td>
<td>yardna</td>
<td>they, them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yardinakkuru</td>
<td>yardenagurhu</td>
<td>their, theirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yardenakudni</td>
<td>yardenagudni</td>
<td>from them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yardenakudninge</td>
<td>yardenagudningi</td>
<td>with them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yardenakudniru</td>
<td>yardenagudnirhu</td>
<td>to them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this pronoun Kuyani has thadna, and Adnyamathanha has yadna. There is no apparent reason not to trust Schürmann’s perception of retroflexion in the Barngarla form. This set of pronouns features a segment -rdnagu that is reminiscent of the segments -dlaga and -dnaga, which we saw in the first and second person dual mother-and-child pronouns above. However there is no suggestion in Schürmann’s text that these shapes are restricted to groups of mothers and their children or to uncles and their nephews and nieces.

3.2 Case marking

In these pronouns you will have noticed a pattern of endings, something like what follows, shown here with their technical labels:

- **-dhu, -nu, -ru, -dlu** | **ERGATIVE**
- **no ending** | **NOMINATIVE**
- **-rhu** | **POSSESSIVE**
- **-dni** | **ABLATIVE**
- **-dningi** | **COMITATIVE**
- **-dnirhu** | **ALLATIVE**
Mark Clendon

The ending -dni or -rdni by itself means 'from': Schürmann says it 'differ[s] from [-rhu] by indicating the origin of a thing rather than the possession of it'. As an example he gives the sentence below:

(3.1) paru  kattika  ngappardni
(g5) barhu  gadiga  Ngabardni
      barhu  gadi-ga  Ngaba-rdni
      meat    bring-IMP   NAME-from

*fetch* meat of Ngapa

This was how this kind of sentence was expressed in English in the early nineteenth century: we would now say *get some meat from Ngapa*, without using the preposition *of*.

Kuyani has both *parlu* and *paaru* for 'meat/animal/game' (Hercus 2006a), Nhukunu has *partu* and *paru* (Hercus 1992: 26), Harry Crawford had *partu* (O'Grady 2001: 298), Wirangu has *batu* (Miller et al. 2010: 7) and Adnyamathanha has *vaarlu* (Tunstill 2004: 425). Three out of these six words have a retroflex sonorant (*rl, rh*), two have the alveolar obstruent *r*, and two occurrences have the retroflex obstruent *rt*. Hercus (1999: 10-13) makes a case for a close link between Wirangu and Barngarla, especially in the south. For these reasons, then, I will tentatively suppose that the Barngarla word that Schürmann spells *paru* 'meat' had a retroflex rhotic as its second consonant, and I will spell it here accordingly as *barhu*.

We can note that the possessive ending *-rhu* appears also in the allative ending *-dnirhu*: this is common in the Thura-Yura languages, and in Australia generally. We can also note that the segment *-dni* is part of the construction of the comitative and allative endings, as well as being on its own the ablative ending. We will look at this shape again in Sections 7.5.3 & 7.5.4.

With regard to the core cases, usually in Australia ergative, nominative and accusative, the Barngarla system of pronoun marking appears to be somewhat unusual. While being closest to Dixon’s Stage A (as discussed in Dixon 2002: 299-315, 515-20), it shows significant differences. It is certainly different from the Adnyamathanha system, which is claimed to show ergative alignment exclusively in its nouns and pronouns (Dixon 2002: 519). Schürmann makes it clear that Barngarla non-singular pronouns display no core case-marking at all: he states that
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

‘the nominative or first case of the above pronouns answers also for the dative and accusative cases’, and his verb paradigms and sentence examples bear this out.

Most singular pronouns, however, show ergative alignment — to recapitulate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nominative</th>
<th>ergative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td>ngadhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>nhina</td>
<td>nhurnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>banha</td>
<td>badlu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exception to be seen in Schürmann’s grammar is the 2 sg patrilineal pronoun nhurryu, which patterns like the non-singular pronouns in showing no core case-marking morphology. The upshot of this is that while intransitive and transitive verbs require distinct shapes for their singular subject pronouns (nominative and ergative respectively), there is no such requirement for non-singular pronouns: the same shapes are used as subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs, as well as as objects of transitive verbs.

A second pattern to be observed again involves the singular pronouns only. This pattern sees a distinction between the shapes of the core cases (ergative and nominative) on the one hand, and those of the oblique cases (all the rest) on the other. In these pronouns the oblique case stems are all based on the possessive shape, which is different from the core case stems. Also seen here are suggested forms for the dative case of singular pronouns, based on the nominative stem, and on the one attested example we have ngayini ‘to me’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nominative</th>
<th>ergative</th>
<th>possessive/oblique</th>
<th>dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td>ngadhu</td>
<td>ngadyi</td>
<td>ngayini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>nhina</td>
<td>nhurnu</td>
<td>nhunku</td>
<td>(nhinani)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg patrilineal</td>
<td>nhurryu</td>
<td>nhurryu</td>
<td>nhurgu</td>
<td>(nhurruni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>banha</td>
<td>badlu</td>
<td>barnu-ndyu-</td>
<td>(banhani)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 1 sg and in both 2 sg forms the possessive shape serves as a stem for the further inflection of the oblique cases ablative, comitative and allative.
The 3 sg shape is exceptional here, in that the possessive form is *barnundyurhu*: this word being composed of an historical root *barnu-* with a stem -*ndyu-* to which are then attached the possessive and ablative shapes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-oblique</th>
<th>possessive/oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>yardna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3 pl shape follows the 3 sg pronoun, in that the oblique stem is composed of the non-oblique root *yardna* followed by a stem element -*gu-* , to which are then attached the possessive and ablative endings:

As mentioned above, a third pattern to be observed is that while for singular pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>NON-SINGULAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem 1</td>
<td>stem 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive shape</td>
<td>possessive+ablative shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. ngadyi</td>
<td>ngadyidni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative attachment</td>
<td>comitative, allative attachment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


the ablative, comitative and allative cases use the possessive shape as a stem, for all pronouns the comitative and allative cases in turn use the ablative shape as a stem. This pattern can be summarised as follows:

The stem-2 and stem-3 shapes are able to host other suffixes as well, such as associative -*lyga*: *ngadyidnilyga* ’with me, on my account’. The 3 sg and 3 pl pronouns display a variation on the singular pattern, as noted.
4 Intransitive verbs

4.1 Introduction

Barngarla verbs are composed of a base or root, to which are added various endings or suffixes that show when and sometimes how the event or act portrayed by the verb is being performed. Barngarla verb roots that are not derived from other words (such as nouns or adjectives) usually, or at least very often, contain two syllables. Verbs will be cited either as Schürmann cites them, in a non-past (present and future) tense shape such as ngugadha ‘go’, or as a root, like nguga- ‘go’.

4.1.1 Verb roots

A few apparently underived verbs discussed in this commentary show trisyllabic roots, such as: babmandi- ‘come’, yurrulbu- ‘accompany’, gurrugu- ‘be giddy’, barlaga- ‘rise’, wandhaga- ‘leave behind’ and iridni- ‘separate’. There may, however, be explanations for some of these. The segment ndi on the end of babmandi- looks like a Thura-Yura present-tense ending frozen onto the root of this verb. The segments bu and ga on the ends of yurrulbu-, wandhaga- and barlaga- look like Pama-Nyungan verb formatives likewise frozen onto these root shapes. They may be relics from a time when as verb formatives those shapes were productive in Barngarla, or they may have been borrowed more recently. The fact that the Kuyani equivalent of Barngarla wandhaga- is wantha- would tend to support the supposition that these are augmentations of what were originally disyllabic roots. The root gurrugu- is probably ideophonic. In the dictionary four underived, trisyllabic roots end in the segment mbi-, two in bma- and one in mba-, as if these shapes, too, could be, or could have been, formatives of some
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sort. A full review of Schürmann’s vocabulary would doubtless reveal more multisyllabic roots, and may suggest other explanations for their occurrence. For example, the four-syllable root *garradyugu-* ‘hold up to the wind, winnow’ is composed of the adjective *garra* 'high' prefixed to a bisyllabic root *dyugu-* . A further suggestion is offered at Section 10.5.2.

4.1.2 Transitivity

The difference between transitive and intransitive verbs is essential and basic to Barngarla grammar, and it is a point of grammar you will need to know about. Most English verbs can be given or forced into transitive expressions, although there are a few that are always, or nearly always, intransitive, such as chatter, giggle, die, sleep and snore. A transitive verb is one that has an object, as has the verb saw in *I saw the light*, where *I* is the subject and the *light* is the object. An intransitive verb is one that has no object, such as the verb chatter in *they won’t stop chattering*, where *they* is the subject and there is no object. In Barngarla you need to make nominative-case nouns and singular pronouns (such as *ngayi* ‘I’) the subjects of intransitive verbs. And you need to make ergative-case nouns and singular pronouns (such as *ngadhu* ‘I’) the subjects of transitive verbs. The terms nominative and ergative are discussed in Section 3.1.1. Schürmann refers to transitive verbs as active verbs, and to intransitive verbs as neuter verbs; these are the terms you will see in his vocabulary.

4.2 Present-tense verbs

4.2.1

In this section we will look at the Barngarla intransitive verb *nguga-* 'go’. The first set of shapes we will look at are those that mark present and future tense. This tense in Barngarla is like the so-called present tense in English, where *I’m going to the shop* can refer to present time (I am now in the act of walking to the shop) or to future time (I will be going to the shop sometime soon).

Schürmann writes the present-tense ending as *-ta, -tta, -tu* and *-ti*. We will look at both the consonant *t/tt* and the vowels *a, i* and *u* in order to make sense of these endings.

Harry Crawford gave present-tense verbs ending in *-tha* (see Chapter 6), so we may assume that this is the shape of the ending that Schürmann recorded. Crawford’s
Iron Knob forms, moreover, can be checked against other records of Thura-Yura languages.

Luise Hercus (1999: 95) provides a summary of Thura-Yura present-tense endings. Where we can discern them, and using Amery & Simpson’s (2013: 123) grammar of Kaurna, the stop consonants involved in this meaning can be sorted out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tag</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ty</td>
<td>Nharangga</td>
<td>-dja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nhukunu</td>
<td>-tya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kuyani</td>
<td>-tya, -ntyα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>Kaurna</td>
<td>-ntth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wirangu</td>
<td>-dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adnyamathanha</td>
<td>-thα, -nthα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Adnyamathanha</td>
<td>-tα, -ntα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kuyani</td>
<td>-tα, -ntα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have no contemporary information about this shape in Nhawu or Ngadjuri. The Wirangu present-tense ending is -rn/-n, but the potential mood uses -dha, a shape which corresponds, as Hercus (1999: 111) points out, to the present-tense shapes in other Thura-Yura languages.

From this list it appears that a laminal or dental consonant (-dy- or -dh-) was most common across the Thura-Yura area. In the far north of the area, north of the Flinders Ranges, Kuyani used both -ty- and -t-. To the south of Kuyani, Adnyamathanha, too, appears to be on the borderline where the -th/-ty- forms and the -t- forms meet, as Adnyamathanha also uses both shapes.

From this comparison across the Thura-Yura area, we can be certain that the Barngarla present-tense ending used -dh-, and in this way patterned like most of the other Thura-Yura languages, particularly those south of the Flinders Ranges. This opinion is more credible when we remember that the variety of Barngarla that
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Schürmann recorded was spoken far to the south, around Port Lincoln at the southern end of the Eyre Peninsula.

4.2.2

Hercus (2006c) states that the two endings recorded in Kuyani do not appear to differ in meaning. Neither is it clear to me whether the use of both -t- and -th- in the Adnyamathanha present-tense ending is (1) lexical, that is, different verbs select different endings, (2) dialectal, that is, different families use different endings, (3) allomorphic, that is, the shape of the verb stem, or some semantic property of the verb root, conditions which ending is used, or (4) in free variation; this appears to be the explanation offered by Andrew Coulthard (Schebeck 1974: 25) and agrees with Hercus’s observation for Kuyani.

4.2.3

Barngarla is unusual for a Thura-Yura language in at least two ways: the first is in showing a phenomenon called vowel harmony: this is when the vowels in one part of a word rhyme or harmonise with the vowels in another part next to it. The Barngarla present-tense ending seems always to have harmonised or rhymed with the final vowel of its verb stem. That is, the ending was -dha, -dhi or -du, depending on the verb it was attached to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANNN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wanggata</td>
<td>wanggadha</td>
<td>speak, talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nungkutu</td>
<td>nhunggudhu</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worniti</td>
<td>warnidhi</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice how the vowel at the end of the word is the same as the vowel at the end of the verb stem.

4.2.4

To say I go/I will go/I’m going, then, you may put the nominative-case pronoun ngayi ‘I’ in front of the present-tense shape of the verb nguga- ‘go’, to make: ngayi ngugadha
'I'm going'. The following list shows how all three persons and all three numbers are formed, for Barngarla present-tense verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngai ngukata</td>
<td>ngayi ngugadha</td>
<td><em>I’m going, I’ll go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ninna ngukata</td>
<td>nhina ngugadha</td>
<td><em>you go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 panna ngukatawo</td>
<td>banha ngugadhawu</td>
<td><em>he or she goes</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 ngadli ngukata</td>
<td>ngadli ngugadhah</td>
<td><em>we two go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuwalla ngukamatta</td>
<td>nhuwala ngugadha</td>
<td><em>you two go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pudlanbi ngukamatta</td>
<td>budlanbi ngugadha</td>
<td><em>they two go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 ngarrinyelbo ngukata</td>
<td>ngarinyarbu ngugadha</td>
<td><em>we go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuralli ngukatanna</td>
<td>nhurali ngugadhanha</td>
<td><em>you all go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yardna ngukatanna</td>
<td>yardna ngugadhanha</td>
<td><em>they go</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barngarla is also unusual for a Thura-Yura language in that the shape of a verb changes in accordance with its subject:

1. the 3 sg subject shape ends in *-wu*; this is extrapolated from Schürmann's *-wo* (see discussion in Section 2.3). Adnyamathanha has a 3 sg nominative ending *-wa* on verbs (Schebeck 1974: 30), comparable to Barngarla *-wu*. In his grammar, Schürmann has the verb:

   (4.1) padnatawudlu

   (g22) badnadhawudlu

   badna-dha-wu-dlu

   go-PRES-3.sg.NOM-DOUBT

   *he/it may go/be*

This clearly shows the 3 sg nominative shape as *-wu* spelled phonemically when it is not at the end of a word.
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2. The 2 dual- and 3 dual-subject verbs have a segment -ma- in front of the tense ending, making a dual ending -ma-dha; note that this ending is not available for 1 dual forms.

3. Schürmann’s 2 pl- and 3 pl-subject forms end in -nna. We have no analogue for this ending in other languages, but the suffix -nha is found in a wide variety of uses in Thura-Yura languages, and it is possible that this shape was used here as well. Note, however, that Kaurna has a plural ending -rna, although this is attached to nouns, not verbs (Amery & Simpson 2013: 123). This shape could conceivably be a truncation of 3 pl yardna, as non-prestopped -rna, but Harry Crawford’s pirdananha (pirdananha) (see Chapter 6) would seem to support the interpretation offered here. Schürmann is usually accurate in recognising and representing the apical (alveolar/post-alveolar) contrast. The ending here transcribed -nha occurs after the tense ending.

4. We will find that the shapes -ma- and -nha regularly mark dual and plural subjects respectively, for second and third persons on Barngarla verbs that do not have pronoun suffixes attached.

4.3 Pronoun suffixes

Schürmann points out that verbal expressions like these may be formed in the same way as they are in other Thura-Yura languages: that is, by putting some form of the subject pronoun after the verb, and joining it to the verb. He states: ‘the natives very commonly pronounce the pronoun after the verb and more or less contract the two into one word’. Here is an example he gives:

ngukatai → ngugadhayi I go or shall go (g22)

This is a contraction of ngugadha ngayi.

Hercus & White (1973: 60) and Schebeck (1974: 30) have discussed this phenomenon in Adnyamathanha, although they are not clear about how much of the pronoun gets knocked off when this happens. Schebeck claims the initial consonant or the first syllable may be dropped, and Hercus & White say that ‘these bound forms [pronouns] are generally identical with the free forms except for the loss of the initial consonant’. As an example using the verb nguka- ‘go’, they offer:

adnyamathanha: ngukardupa they two are going
Mark Clendon

This is a contraction of *nguka* 'go' and *valardupa* 'they two': but we can see that it is not just the first consonant of the pronoun that is lost, but the first two syllables. And we do not know whether the sound *a* in the middle of *ngukardupa* is the *a* at the end of *nguka*, or an *a* from *valardupa*. There is therefore quite a lot of uncertainty as to exactly how pronouns are joined to the ends of verbs, in Thura-Yura languages.

Nevertheless, thanks to Schürmann’s clarity and carefulness, it is possible to make a reasonable assessment of how this system worked in Barngarla:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRDMANN</th>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngukatai or ngukatia</td>
<td>ngugadhayi, ngugadhiya</td>
<td>I'm going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngukatinni</td>
<td>ngugadhini</td>
<td>you go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ngukatao</td>
<td>ngugadhwu</td>
<td>he or she goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 ngukatadli</td>
<td>ngugadhadli</td>
<td>we two go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngukatuwalla</td>
<td>ngugadhuwala</td>
<td>you two go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(ngugamadha)</td>
<td>they two go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 ngukatarrinyelbo</td>
<td>ngugadharinyarblu</td>
<td>we go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngukaturalli</td>
<td>ngugadhurali</td>
<td>you all go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ngukatardna</td>
<td>ngugadhardna</td>
<td>they go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that in these forms the second and third person dual and plural markers -*ma-* and -*nha* do not occur.

Writing about the short forms presented here, Schürmann explains that 'the other tenses [are] to be formed in a similar manner'. And from now on we will have to take him at his word, because he records only a few examples of short-form verbs.

Although Schürmann leaves the 3 dual short-form line blank in his grammar, it is reasonable to suppose that the long-form -*madha* ending could be used with this interpretation (*ngugamadha*), just as the long-form shape with the 3 sg -*wu* ending (*ngugadhwu*) is used for the 3 sg short form.

Note as well that because of Schürmann’s careful recording, we can answer at least one of the questions we asked above. In Barngarla at least, it is the last vowel of
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

the verb, as well as the first consonant of the pronoun, that are lost when a subject pronoun is suffixed to a verb to make a short form:

\[ \text{ngugadha nhina} \rightarrow \text{ngugadhini} \quad \text{you go} \]
\[ \text{ngugadha nhuwala} \rightarrow \text{ngugadhuwala} \quad \text{you two go} \]

The singular shape \text{ngugadhini} has its final vowel \( a \) harmonised to \( i \).

It would seem that any of the subject (nominative and ergative) pronouns we have looked at in Chapter three can be attached to a verb on its right-hand side to show the verb’s subject, not just the ones that Schürmann offers in his lists. For example, Schürmann provides the following sentence, using the 1 dual mother-and-child (matrilineal) pronoun \text{ngadlaga}, shortened to \text{-adlaga}, rather than the general 1 dual pronoun \text{ngadli} (shortened to \text{-adli}) shown above:

\[ \text{(4.2) pappidnuru} \quad \text{ngukat' adlaga,} \quad \text{ngammiá} \]
\[ \text{(g12) babidnurhu} \quad \text{ngugadhadlaga,} \quad \text{ngamiya} \]
\[ \text{babi-dnurhu} \quad \text{nguga-dha-adlaga} \quad \text{ngami-ya} \]
\[ \text{father-toward} \quad \text{go-PRES-1.du.MATR.NOM} \quad \text{mother-VOC} \]

\text{to father let us two go, mother}

This sentence shows the vocative ending \text{-ya} on \text{ngami} ‘mother’. This is an ending you may attach when talking to someone, or calling out to someone; it is found as well in Adnyamathanha (Schebeck 1974: 8).

Not only that, it is likely that pronouns in any grammatical function (subject, object, possessive, etc.) could be suffixed to verbs. Here is a sentence example with a verb that appears to have a suffixed 1 dual pronoun object; no gloss is given, so I have had to provide one:

\[ \text{(4.3) karpanga} \quad \text{iridningutu} \quad \text{adli} \]
\[ \text{(8) garrbanga} \quad \text{iridningudhuwadli} \]
\[ \text{garrba-nga} \quad \text{iridni-ngu-dhu-w-adli} \]
\[ \text{house-ERG} \quad \text{separate-APPL.-PRES-EP-1.du.NOM} \]

\text{the house/room separates us/keeps us apart}
Kuyani has *iri-* 'move, shift, get out of the way, spread out' (Hercus 2006a), and Barngarla has *iridbi* 'move, be moving, shift', which, as a verb of motion, is likely to correspond in part to Barngarla’s intransitive *iridni-* 'separate'. For the derivation of the transitive verb *iridni-ngu-* 'separate', see Section 10.7.

The following example shows a possessive-case sg pronoun marking a first-person recipient object:

(4.4) ma ngaiye pulyo kulakaitye
(g7) mayi ngadyi pulyu gulagadyi
mayi ngadyi pulyu gula-ga-adyi
food 1.sg.POSS little cut-IMP-1.sg.POSS

cut me a little bread pray

Schürmann has *pulyo* 'small' and *kulata* (*guladha*) 'sever, cut, break, tear'. In this sentence the ending -(a)dyi on the verb is a short form of *ngadyi* 'to/for/of me'. In Adnyamathanha both free and bound forms of a pronoun may be found in the same sentence (Schebeck 1974: 31), and this is surely what we see here.

The phenomenon of non-subject pronouns suffixed to verbs is vanishingly rare in Schürmann’s Barngarla vocabulary, but this is likely to be a result of the kinds of sentences he was exposed to, or which he selected to document, rather than being a feature of the language itself. In Kaurna it is possible to have more than one pronoun suffix attached to a verb; that is, both subject and object pronouns are able to be stacked on the end of a verb together. The following Kaurna example is from Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840: 24, grammar section):

KAURNA tidnarla nguiyuatturla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>foot-3.du</th>
<th>warm-1.sg.ERG-3.du.NOM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

the feet, I will warm them

---

1 I am grateful to Clara Stockigt for bringing this Kaurna example to my attention, and to Rob Amery for his help with glossing.
Here we see short forms of the Kaurna 1 sg ergative pronoun *ngathu* and the 3 du nominative pronoun *purla* occurring in sequence after a present optative shape of the verb *nguyu*- ‘warm’. It is likely that this kind of thing was possible in Barngarla, too, although it may not have been all that common.

### 4.4 Other tenses, aspects & moods

#### 4.4.1 Past tense

The following shapes of the verb *nguga*- ‘go’ are used to signal past tense. Schürmann called these shapes ‘imperfect or preterite’, which means that these verb forms signal past time without reference to whether the past event was completed or was ongoing.

As Schürmann recorded only a few short-form verbs for *nguga-*, I will have to reconstruct, hopefully plausibly, the shapes of the short forms for some of the other verbal meanings he offers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ngai ngukanna</td>
<td>ngayi ngugana</td>
<td><em>I went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ninna ngukanna</td>
<td>nhina ngugana</td>
<td><em>you went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 panna ngukannawo</td>
<td>banha nguganawu</td>
<td><em>he or she went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ngadli ngukanna</td>
<td>ngadli ngugana</td>
<td><em>we two went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuwalla ngukamanna</td>
<td>nhuwala ngugamana</td>
<td><em>you two went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pudlanbi ngukamanna</td>
<td>budlanbi ngugamana</td>
<td><em>they two went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ngarrinyelbo ngukanna</td>
<td>ngarinyarlu ngugana</td>
<td><em>we went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuralli ngukanna</td>
<td>nhurali ngugana</td>
<td><em>you all went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yardna ngukananna</td>
<td>yardna ngugananh</td>
<td><em>they went</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wirangu has a past-tense suffix -na (Hercus 1999: 115), Kuyani has a tense suffix -na, which is used for both present and past (Hercus 2006c), and Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have a past-tense suffix -nanta (Schebeck 1974: 25, Hercus 1999: 111). On this basis we may reconstruct a past-tense ending -na for Barngarla. Notice that it is likely that the 2-3 pl ending -nha is placed after the tense marker in the 3 pl shape ngugananha 'they went'.

### 4.4.2 Imperative

Imperative verbs are the forms you use when you are telling someone to do something. The imperative verb-ending in all Thura-Yura languages is -kal-ga (c.f. e.g. Adnyamathanha, Schebeck 1974: 26), and this is what we find when you are telling one person to do something. When you are telling two people to do something, the ending you use is -maga, and when you are telling more than two people to do something, you use the ending -ganha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sg</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ngukanayi, nguganiya</td>
<td><em>I went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nguganini</td>
<td><em>you went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nguganawu</td>
<td><em>he or she went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>du</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ngukanadli</td>
<td><em>we two went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nguganuwala</td>
<td><em>you two went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (ngugamana)</td>
<td><em>they two went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pl</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 nguganarilyarbu</td>
<td><em>we went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nguganurali</td>
<td><em>you all went</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nguganardna</td>
<td><em>they went</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sg</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngukakka</td>
<td><em>go! you can go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngugaga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngukamakka</td>
<td><em>you two go! you can both go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngugamaga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngukakanna</td>
<td><em>you all go! you can all go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngugaganha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.3 Hortative

A set of verbs with a somewhat similar meaning to imperative, seek to allow or enable someone to do something. These forms probably mean something like, *let (someone) do (something); (someone) can or may do (something)*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>ngukai</th>
<th>ngugayi</th>
<th>let me go, I can go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ngukawo</td>
<td>ngugawu</td>
<td>let him go, he can go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>ngukamadli</td>
<td>ngugamadli</td>
<td>let's both go, we can both go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ngukamai</td>
<td>ngugamayi</td>
<td>let them both go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ngukarrinyelbo</td>
<td>ngugarinyarlbu</td>
<td>let's go, we can go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nguka anna</td>
<td>ngugayanha</td>
<td>let them go, they can go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or ngukarna</td>
<td>or ngugarna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that in this list there are no second person (you) forms. Although Schürmann included them in his list, they are in effect imperative forms, and I have put them up into the imperative list above.

These forms are called *hortative*; they allow or encourage or even require someone to do something. The hortative shapes in Barngarla appear to have short-form pronouns suffixed to a bare root, with the sound *y* evident in the 3 dual and 3 pl shapes. When we come to transitive verbs, we will see more evidence for the sound *y* occurring in third person forms. Here are two examples of how hortative verbs are used; note again how the 3 sg nominative short-form pronoun -wu is attached directly onto the root of the verb *yuwa-* 'stand':

(4.5a) pityerki yala yuwao (b) yarru ikkai

(77) bidyirrgi yala yuwawu (44) yarru igayi

bidyirrgi yala yuwa-wu yarru iga-ayi

wood open stand-3.sg.NOM just sit-1.sg.NOM

*let the door stand open* *let me just sit down*

The noun *bidyirrgi* denoted any smooth piece of wood, and may be related to Wirangu *bidyi* 'tree bark, bark dish'; Wirangu also has *yala* 'hole, hollow' (Miller et al. 2010: 7, 90).
Schürmann included two other 2 sg forms in this list: they are as follows, with suggested interpretations:

```plaintext
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2</th>
<th>keep on going along! / yon you can keep on going along</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>ngukannaka</td>
<td>nguganaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngukakkaitye</td>
<td>ngugagadyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

These verbs include two suffixes, -naga and -gadyi, which may have been used with iterative meaning, as *go along while doing something; do something while going along*. In Adnyamathanha Tunbridge (1988: 272) describes the iterative suffix -nangga with this meaning, and in Wirangu Hercus (1999: 129) describes the iterative suffix -gadi, the same as the Western Desert shape -kati, again with the same meaning. It is just possible that Barngarla -naga may correspond to Adnyamathanha -nangga, and Barngarla -gadyi to Wirangu -gadi.

**4.4.5 Desiderative**

Another set of forms Schürmann calls 'intensive future'. Of this set he says: 'I have called this tense the intensive future for want of a more suitable name. The meaning of it is that the person … is willing or resolved to do something'. These forms show a suffix -ng and seem to mean that the subject wants to do something. Schürmann offers mostly short forms only:

```plaintext
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ngukangai</th>
<th>ngugangayi</th>
<th>I want to go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngukanginni</td>
<td>ngugangini</td>
<td>you want to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ngukanggawo</td>
<td>nguganggawu</td>
<td>s/he wants to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1</td>
<td>ngukangadli</td>
<td>ngugangadli</td>
<td>we two want to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nuwalla ngukamangka</td>
<td>nhuwala ngugamangga</td>
<td>you two want to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pudlanbi ngukamangka</td>
<td>budlanbi ngugamangga</td>
<td>they two want to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1</td>
<td>ngukangarinyelbo</td>
<td>ngugangarinyarlbu</td>
<td>we want to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngukangkanuralli</td>
<td>ngugangghanurali</td>
<td>you all want to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ngukangkardna</td>
<td>nguganggardna</td>
<td>they want to go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
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Rather than ‘intensive future’, I will refer to these forms as desiderative, a term more commonly used to signal a verb form with volitional meaning.

4.4.6 Perfect aspect

Barngarla verbs with the ending -ndya signal a verbal aspect that is called ‘perfect’. This meaning describes a state of being: while that state may have come into being in the past, it is still relevant to, important for, or ongoing into the present. For example: the sentence John broke his arm has simply a past-tense meaning; it describes an event that happened in the past. The perfect-aspect sentence John has broken his arm describes not so much an event, as a state of affairs that came into being sometime in the recent or not-so-recent past, and a state that continues into the present: if John has broken his arm, then we had better do something about it. Schürmann’s vocabulary gives examples of this kind of usage:

(4.6a) gadla padluntyao

(50) gardla badlundyawu

   gardla badlu-ndya-wu

   fire die-PERF-3.sg.NOM

   the fire is gone out

(b) padluntyao wibmangkalli?

(g7) badlundyawu wibmanggarli?

   badlu-ndya-wu wibma-nggarli

   die-PERF-3.sg.NOM already-INTER

   has he died already?

Kuyani has padlu- ‘die’ (Hercus 2006a) and Schürmann has wibma ‘already’; although Kuyani has wibma ‘song’ (Hercus 2006a) and Adnyamathanha has wibma ‘history’ (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 122). Kuyani has an historic past-tense marker -ntyu (Hercus 2006c), only formally related to the Barngarla shape.
This kind of sentence describes a present state of affairs that has come into being. The sentence in (4.6a) would normally be used when it is clear that a particular state of affairs (in this case the fire being out) is still important into the present (now we might get cold, now we can't see, now we've got nothing to cook on, etc.).

The perfect-aspect verb forms that Schürmann lists are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngai ngukaintya</td>
<td>ngayi ngugandyaa</td>
<td>I have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ninna ngukaintya</td>
<td>nhina ngugandyaa</td>
<td>you have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 panna ngukaintyawo</td>
<td>banha ngugandyawu</td>
<td>he or she has gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 ngadli ngukaintya</td>
<td>ngadli ngugandyaa</td>
<td>we have both gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuwalla ngukamantya</td>
<td>nhuwala ngugamandyaa</td>
<td>you have both gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pudlanbi ngukamantya</td>
<td>budlanbi ngugamandyaa</td>
<td>they have both gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 ngarrinyelbo ngukaintya</td>
<td>ngarinyarlbu ngugandyaa</td>
<td>we have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuralli ngukaintyanna</td>
<td>nhurali ngugandyanha</td>
<td>you have all gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yardna ngukaintyanna</td>
<td>yardna ngugandyanha</td>
<td>they have gone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngugandiyai, ngugandiyaa</td>
<td>I have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngugandyini</td>
<td>you have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ngugandyawu</td>
<td>he or she has gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 ngugandyadli</td>
<td>we have both gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngugandyuwala</td>
<td>you have both gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (ngugamandyaa)</td>
<td>they have both gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 ngugandyarinyarlbu</td>
<td>we have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngugandyurali</td>
<td>you have all gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ngugandyardna</td>
<td>they have gone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.4.7 Subjunctive present

Another form of intransitive verb Schürmann records, he calls 'subjunctive', with a meaning *I might go, I would go, I could go, I should go*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngai ngukara</td>
<td>ngaiy ngugarha</td>
<td><em>I might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ninna ngukara</td>
<td>nhina ngugarha</td>
<td><em>you might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 panna ngukarawo</td>
<td>banha ngugarhawu</td>
<td><em>he or she might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 ngadli ngukara</td>
<td>ngadli ngugarha</td>
<td><em>we two might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuwalla ngukamara</td>
<td>nhuwala ngugamarha</td>
<td><em>you two might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pudlanbi ngukamara</td>
<td>budlanbi ngugamarha</td>
<td><em>they two might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 ngarrinyelbo ngukara</td>
<td>ngarinyarlu ngugarha</td>
<td><em>we might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuralli ngukaranna or ngukarna</td>
<td>nhurali ngugarhanha or ngugarna</td>
<td><em>you all might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yardna ngukarna</td>
<td>yardna ngugarna</td>
<td><em>they might go</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngugarhayi, ngugarhiya</td>
<td><em>I might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngugarhini</td>
<td><em>you might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ngugarhawu</td>
<td><em>he or she might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 ngugarhadli</td>
<td><em>we two might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngugarhuwala</td>
<td><em>you two might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (ngugamarha)</td>
<td><em>they two might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 ngugarharinaryarlu</td>
<td><em>we might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngugarhurali</td>
<td><em>you all might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ngugarhardna</td>
<td><em>they might go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngugarhayi, ngugarhiya</td>
<td><em>I might go</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adnyamathanha has an irrealis ending -rha, which Tunstill (2004: 429) describes as 'something that did not happen, or could have happened or will never happen', and which Schebeck (1974: 26) presents with a sentence example he translates as you should have hit him. Hercus (2006a) notes the same ending in Kuyani, which he describes as 'may be, potential verbal affix', with a sentence example translated as they might come back, which is entirely congruent with the meaning Schürmann provides for the verb form under consideration here. However, Kuyani has another suffix -ra (Hercus 2006c), described as an irrealis marker, with a sentence example translated as you should [quickly] go. Both these suffixes mark irrealis meaning, and it is not clear to me that they are in fact different. However, it seems that the Kuyani ending -Ra most closely matches the meaning of the Barngarla verbs, and so I will propose that this is the form that Schürmann intended.

### 4.4.8 Subjunctive past

Finally, Schürmann lists past-tense subjunctive forms of the verb nguga-, with the meaning (someone) would have, might have, could have, or should have, done (something). These verb forms use the perfect-aspect suffix -ndya followed by the subjunctive suffix -rha to make an ending -ndyarha. First we will look at the long forms: these may be seen in Table 4.1 at the end of this chapter. And here is how the short forms may have been uttered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1</td>
<td>ngugandyarhayi, ngugandyarhiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngugandyarhini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ngugandyarhawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1</td>
<td>ngugandyarhadli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngugandyarhuwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(ngugamandyarha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1</td>
<td>ngugandyarharininyarlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngugandyarhurali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1: Subjunctive past forms of nguka- ‘go’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 ngai ngukaintyara</td>
<td>ngayi ngugandyarha</td>
<td><em>I would have gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ninna ngukaintyara</td>
<td>nhina ngugandyarha</td>
<td><em>you would have gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 panna ngukaintyarawo</td>
<td>banha ngugandyarhawu</td>
<td><em>he or she would have gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 ngadli ngukaintyara</td>
<td>ngadli ngugandyarha</td>
<td><em>we would have both gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuwalla ngukamantyara</td>
<td>nhuwala ngugamandyarha</td>
<td><em>you would have both gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pudlanbi ngukamantyara</td>
<td>budlanbi ngugamandyarha</td>
<td><em>they would have both gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 ngarrinyelbo ngukaintyara</td>
<td>ngarinyarbulu ngugandyarha</td>
<td><em>we would have gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nuralli ngukaintyaranna</td>
<td>nhurali ngugandyarhanha</td>
<td><em>you would have all gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>or ngukaintyaranna</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yardna ngukaintyaranna</td>
<td>yardna ngugandyarhanha</td>
<td><em>they would have gone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>or ngukaintyaranna</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are those that need an object — typically verbs such as hitting: you need to hit something, to see something, to hear something, to catch something, and so on. Despite that, in English lots of verbs can be both intransitive and transitive: for example, you can eat chips (with an object), or you can just be eating (with no stated object).

With transitive verbs in Barngarla, you need to use the ergative shapes of nouns, or the singular ergative pronouns ngadhu 'I', nhurnu 'you' or badlu 'he, she' with, or in front of the verb.

Schürmann uses a verb that I will transcribe as widi- 'spear, pierce' to illustrate how transitive verbs work in Barngarla. Kuyani has wityi- 'to spear' (Hercus 2006a) and Wirangu has widyinr 'throw a weapon' (Miller et al. 2010: 86). Adnyamathanha has witi- 'to spear' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 120), and also withi- 'spear, stake' (that is, impale with a stick into the ground) (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 121). I will assume that the first Adnyamathanha verb corresponds most closely to the one that Schürmann uses to exemplify the conjugation of transitive verbs.

5.1 Present tense

Here are the long forms of the present/future tense of the verb widi-, showing the ending -dhi harmonising with the last vowel in the verb root.

Note that while the singular pronouns are marked for ergative case, the non-singular pronouns are the same as those used with the intransitive verb nguga-; that is, they do not display case-marking here:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1</td>
<td>ngatto wittiti</td>
<td>ngadhu wididhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nunno wittiti</td>
<td>nhurnu wididhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>padlo wittitarru</td>
<td>badlu wididharu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1</td>
<td>ngadli wittiti</td>
<td>ngadli wididhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nuwalla wittimatta</td>
<td>nhuwala widimadha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>padlanbi wittimatta</td>
<td>budlanbi widimadha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1</td>
<td>ngarrinyelbo wittiti</td>
<td>ngarinyarlbu wididhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nuralli wittitanna</td>
<td>nhurali wididhanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yardna wittitanna</td>
<td>yardna wididhanha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, there are a few things we can note about these forms:

1. Note again the segment -ma- in the 2 dual and 3 dual subject shapes, and the ending -nha in the 2 pl and 3 pl subject shapes, again only in verbs that do NOT have pronoun suffixes attached.

2. The present-tense suffix, which is -dhi on most forms, goes to -dha when it comes in front of -(a)ru and -(a)nha, and also when it comes after -ma-.

3. Instead of the intransitive 3 sg subject ending -wo (-wu), Schürmann has a transitive 3 sg subject ending he spells -rru. The phonemic form of this ending needs some discussion (see Section 5.2 below).

4. Note that for the 3 dual pronoun Schürmann here has padlanbi: this is surely a typo, as this word is pudlanbi in every other transitive list.

Schürmann also gives us the short-form versions of this transitive verb, as shown below. And again, note how the second- and third-person dual and plural subject-marking shapes -ma- and -nha are absent from these short-form verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1</td>
<td>wittitatatto</td>
<td>wididhadhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wittitunno</td>
<td>wididhurnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wittitarru</td>
<td>wididharu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we have seen, Thura-Yura short-form endings work by attaching an abbreviated shape of a (usually subject) pronoun to the end of a verb. The base or root of the Thura-Yura 3 sg pronoun is *pa-*/*ba-* as seen in the 3g nominative shape *banha*, and in the 3 sg ergative shape *badlu*. Adnyamathanha has lightened or lenited the shape *pa*-to *va-* in *vanha* 'he, she nominative ' and *vanbu* 'he, she ergative '; and Barngarla seems to have further lightened it to *wu*, a shape it puts on the ends of intransitive verbs with 3 sg subjects, again as we have seen. If the subject pronoun shape attached to the end of a verb has its initial consonant removed, then we could expect the 3 sg ergative short-form pronoun shape to be *-*adlu, from *badlu*. But this is not what we find; instead we find a shape that Schürmann spells *arru*, a shape that keeps the vowels *a* and *u* from *badlu*, but has turned the *dl* sound in the middle into a rhotic. The sound *dl* is a prestopped apico-alveolar lateral; it is therefore likely that the rhotic that has replaced it is also an apico-alveolar sound. This leaves us with either the tap *r* or the trill *rr*. I would opt for the tap sound *r*, as presented above, as this sound is probably closer to the original consonant *dl* than is the trill: but again, this is only a guess. Luise Hercus has also cautiously noted Kuyani withimiru 'they would spear (?)' and withiniru 'for spearing (?)' (2006a), as well as withini-ru 'they might spear (?)' (2006c). It is just possible that one of these forms might contain the 3 sg ergative subject shape of this verb.

### 5.3 Other tenses, aspects & moods

#### 5.3.1 Past tense

In the past-tense forms of this verb shown below, note how the past-tense ending that we saw as *-na* on the verb nguga- 'go' has now become *-ni* to harmonise with
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

the vowels in *widi-* 'spear'. This is seen in all forms except those with 3 sg -aru, dual -ma- and plural -nha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1</td>
<td>ngatto wittinni</td>
<td>ngadhu widini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nunno wittinni</td>
<td>nhurnu widini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>padlo wittinnarru</td>
<td>badlu widinaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1</td>
<td>ngadli wittinni</td>
<td>ngadli widini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nuwalla wittimanna</td>
<td>nhuwala widimana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pudlanbi wittimanna</td>
<td>budlanbi widimana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1</td>
<td>ngarrinyelbo wittinni</td>
<td>ngarinyarlu widini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nuralli wittinnannya</td>
<td>nhurali widinanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yardna wittinnannya</td>
<td>yardna widinanka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SHORT FORM**

|.sg 1       | widinadhu | *I speared* |
| 2          | widinurnu | *you speared* |
| 3          | widinaru | *he or she speared* |
| du 1       | widinadli | *we two speared* |
| 2          | widinuwala | *you two speared* |
| 3 (widimana) |           | *they two speared* |
| pl 1       | widinarinyarlu | *we speared* |
| 2          | widinurali | *you all speared* |
| 3          | widinardna | *they speared* |

**5.3.2 Imperative**

The transitive imperative forms for *widi-* 'spear' are as follows: notice how in the singular the imperative ending -*ga* harmonises with the *i* sound of the verb root that comes before it, to make -*gi*:
However, the imperative ending harmonises only sporadically with a preceding vowel, as we will see; it often retains its shape -ga after u. This aspect of vowel harmony, like prestopping, appears to have been optional.

5.3.3 Hortative

The transitive hortative verbs, that is, those that mean let (someone) do (something), (someone) can or may do (something) are as follows. Again, the second person (you) shapes of these verbs are the same as — and probably mean much the same as — the imperative forms, and they have been put up into the imperative set above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg</th>
<th>wittiki</th>
<th>widigi</th>
<th>spear it!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>wittimakka</td>
<td>widimaga</td>
<td>you both spear it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>wittikanna</td>
<td>widiganha</td>
<td>you all spear it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, these verbs seem to consist mainly of short-form pronouns attached to a bare verb root. But here we can see the sound y appearing in all third person shapes, and possibly in the 1 sg shape as well. The shape that Schürmann spells wittiadna is probably widiyardna with a retroflex rd sound, because all his other 3 pl short forms show a retroflex stop in this position. A sentence example containing a hortative shape of the transitive verb nhunggu- 'give', with vowel harmony extending into the pronoun ending, is repeated here:

(5.1) ngai kurrumidlantarringe maii nungkurdnu

(g22) ngayi Gurrumidlandarringi mayi nhunggurdnu

ngayi gurru-midla-nda-rri-ngi mayi nhunggu-ardna

I/me stick-spr.thwr-ASSOC-HUM.PL-ERG food give-3.pl

let the Adelaide people give me food
The expression *Gurrumidlandarri* was the Barngarla name for the people who lived on the Adelaide plain (see Section 7.3.3).

### 5.3.4 Desiderative

The desiderative verb forms, meaning *(someone) wants to do (something)* are as follows. Again, Schürmann offers mainly short forms:

- **sg**
  - 1. wittingatto \(\text{widingadhu} \quad \text{I want to spear it} \)
  - 2. wittingunno \(\text{widingumnu} \quad \text{you want to spear it} \)
  - 3. wittingarru \(\text{widingaru} \quad \text{he or she wants to spear it} \)

- **du**
  - 1. wittingadli \(\text{widingadli} \quad \text{we two want to spear it} \)
  - 2. nuwalla wittimangka \(\text{nhuwala widimangga} \quad \text{you two want to spear it} \)
  - 3. pudlanbi wittimangka \(\text{budlanbi widimangga} \quad \text{they two want to spear it} \)

- **pl**
  - 1. wittinggarrinyelbo \(\text{widinggarinyarlu} \quad \text{we want to spear it} \)
  - 2. wittingka nuralli \(\text{widingga nhurali} \quad \text{you all want to spear it} \)
  - 3. wittingardna \(\text{widingardna} \quad \text{they want to spear it} \)

### 5.3.5 Perfect aspect

Here are the perfect-aspect forms of the verb *widi*, with the perfect suffix *-ndya*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜR MAN N</th>
<th>PHON EM IC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sg</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ngatto</td>
<td>ngadhu</td>
<td>I have speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nunno</td>
<td>nhurnu</td>
<td>you have speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. padlo</td>
<td>badlu</td>
<td>he or she has speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>du</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ngadli</td>
<td>ngadli</td>
<td>we have both speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nuwalla</td>
<td>nhuwala</td>
<td>you have both speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pudlanbi</td>
<td>budlanbi</td>
<td>they have both speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pl</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ngarrinyelbo</td>
<td>ngarinyarlu</td>
<td>we have speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nuralli</td>
<td>nhurali</td>
<td>you have all speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. yardna</td>
<td>yardna</td>
<td>they have speared it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Schürmann's vocabulary gives us the following sentence, showing perfect-aspect verb forms:

(5.2) (78)

ngai yalbaintyanna Battara yurarringe mundulturri
ngayi yalbandyanha Badharra yurharringi, Munduldurri
ngayi yalba-ndya-nha Badharra yurha-rri-ngi Mundulu-rri
me hate-PERF-2,3.pl NAME man-HUM.PL.-ERG European-HUM.PL

yauurru kattintyanna
yawurru gadindyanha
yawurru gadi-ndya-nha
at.once bring-PERF-2,3.pl

_the Badharra tribe have declared to kill me, having fetched the Europeans straight_

Schürmann lists a verb *yalbadha* 'hate, destine to death', which is found here. The shape of the last verb, *gadindyanha* with its 2,3 plural suffix -nha, shows that it is the
men from the land named after the eucalypt called Badharra, and not the speaker, who have fetched the Europeans. Schürmann’s *battara* is ‘scrubby gum’, and Kuyani has *patharra* 'box tree' (Hercus 2006a).

### 5.3.6 Subjunctive present

The shapes for the subjunctive meaning of the transitive verb *widi* are as follows. Remember that these shapes mean that someone could, might, would or should do something, and have a subjunctive suffix that may appear as *-rha, -rhi* or *-rhu*, depending on the verb it is attached to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1</td>
<td>ngatto wittiri</td>
<td>ngadhu widirhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>numno wittiri</td>
<td>nhurnu widirhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>padlo wittiri</td>
<td>badlu widirhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1</td>
<td>ngadli wittiri</td>
<td>ngadli widirhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nuwalla wittimara</td>
<td>nhuwala widimarha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pudlanbi wittimara</td>
<td>budlanbi widimarha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1</td>
<td>ngarrinyelbo wittiri</td>
<td>ngarinyaribu widirhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nuralli wittiranna</td>
<td>nhurali widirhanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or wittirma</td>
<td>or widirma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yardna wittiranna</td>
<td>yardna widirhanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or wittirma</td>
<td>or widirma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SHORT FORM**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>I might spear it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>you might spear it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>he or she might spear it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>we two might spear it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>you two might spear it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>they two might spear it</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62
Notice here how the subjunctive ending that we saw as -rha on the verb nguga- 'go', is now -rhi, to harmonise with the vowel in the stem of widi-. In the 3 sg long-form shape, the ending might have been -rha-ru, (subjunctive rha + 3 sg ergative ru), and indeed this is the shape we find in the 3 sg transitive past-tense subjunctive long-form below. Instead, here the ending has been shortened to -rhu, taking just the first and last sounds of the shape -rharu. We can tell that Schürmann intended the retroflex rhotic rh here, and not the flap r, because in these lists he consistently uses the letter r (rh) for the subjunctive suffix, and just as consistently writes -arru (-aru) for the 3 sg ergative short-form ending.

5.3.7 Subjunctive past

The past-tense subjunctive forms of the verb widi- are shown in Table 5.1 at the end of this chapter. And there you may see in the 3 sg form, the suffix spelled out, as it were, with both the subjunctive shape -rha and the 3 sg subject shape -ru put together: widindyarharu.

The short forms of transitive past-tense subjunctive verbs may have looked like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT FORM</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg 1 widindyarhadhu</td>
<td>I would have speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 widindyarhumu</td>
<td>you would have speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 widindyarharu</td>
<td>he or she would have speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du 1 widindyarhadli</td>
<td>we would have both speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 widindyarhuwala</td>
<td>you would have both speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (widimandyarha)</td>
<td>they would have both speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl 1 widindyarharinyarlu</td>
<td>we would have speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 widindyarhurali</td>
<td>you would have all speared it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 widindyarhardna</td>
<td>they would have speared it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.8  *Pluperfect*

Schürmann lists singular shapes of a tense he calls ‘plus perfect’, probably pluperfect. This tense refers to the past in the past, such as in an English sentence like *I had gone*. The shapes he records are as follows:

1. wittinyanna
2. wittinyan
3. wittinyannarru

These are clearly the 1, 2 and 3 sg shapes of the verb *widi- 'spear, pierce'*, with short-form pronoun suffixes. We can see the 3 sg ergative suffix -*aru*, and a 2 sg suffix -*n*. We cannot be sure of the shape of the 1 sg suffix. The tense ending looks like -*nya* in the 2 sg form, and possibly -*yanha* in the other forms. Unfortunately, we cannot say much more about it than this.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg1</td>
<td>ngatto wittinyara</td>
<td>ngadhu widindyarha</td>
<td><em>I would have speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 nunno wittinyara</td>
<td>nhurnu widindyarha</td>
<td><em>you would have speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 padlo wittinyararru</td>
<td>badlu widindyarharu</td>
<td><em>she/he would have speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du1</td>
<td>ngadli wittinyara</td>
<td>ngadli widindyarha</td>
<td><em>we would have both speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 nuwalla wittimantyara</td>
<td>nhuwala widimandyarha</td>
<td><em>you would have both speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 pudlanbi wittimantyara</td>
<td>budlanbi widimandyarha</td>
<td><em>they would have both speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl1</td>
<td>ngarrinyelbo wittinyara</td>
<td>ngarinyarluwidindyarha</td>
<td><em>we would have speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 nuralli wittinyaranna</td>
<td>nhurali widindyarhanha</td>
<td><em>you would have all speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or wittinyarna</td>
<td>or widindyarna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 yardna wittinyaranna</td>
<td>yardna widindyarhanha</td>
<td><em>they would have speared it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or wittinyarna</td>
<td>or widindyarna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the words and phrases that Harry Crawford provided to Ken Hale at Iron Knob in 1960 was a set of verbs (O'Grady 2001). These verb forms provide a useful check on some of Schürmann's material.

Crawford’s responses give evidence of a phonological rule in Northern Barngarla that lenites $g$ to $w$ between two $u$ vowels:

velar lenition: \[ g \rightarrow w / u \_ u \]

Crawford’s verbs are as follows:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imperatives:</td>
<td>nhakuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>nyungkuwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>presents:</td>
<td>yuruwuthu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalkuthu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>kawu yapatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>wangkatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>ikatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>ukatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>pardni ngukatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>miya warnithi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

11 Wirangu presents: ngarna walarin run
12 karra warnikin climb
13 nyirlinyin cry (weep)
14 pasts: padlunu died
15 pirdnanha hit with hand
16 nganhay warninhi ~ child fell from tree wardninhi

All the following references are to Schürmann’s vocabulary (Schürmann 1844).

1. nakkuttu ‘see, understand, know’, phonemic nhagudhu. Note here that the imperative suffix -ga does not harmonise with the proceeding vowel u in this instance, to make a shape *nhagugu (→*nhaguwu).

2. The verb ‘give’ in Thura-Yura languages is either nhunggV- or yunggV-; Crawford’s nyungku- appears to be a Northern Barngarla variant. Schürmann has nhungguga for the imperative of nhunggu- ‘give’ — see sentence example (7.15a) in Section 7.5.1 — although it is clear from his verb paradigms that the imperative suffix -ga could elsewhere harmonise with a preceding vowel. This would yield an expected imperative shape nyunggugu* in Northern Barngarla, which by velar lenition would yield attested nyungkuwu.

3-10 Note vowel harmony in present-tense suffixes

3. yurrukkutu ‘hear’, phonemic yurbugudhu, then with velar lenition yurbwudhu at Iron Knob.
4. ngalgutu ‘to eat’, phonemic ngalgudhu.
5. kauo ‘water’, phonemic gawu. Elsewhere in Crawford’s list ‘water’ is kawi. yappata ‘suck, drink’, phonemic yabadha.
8. ngugadha ‘walk, go’.
9. pardni ‘hither, this way’.
10 meya ‘sleep’, phonemic miya; worniti ‘to fall’, phonemic warnidhi.
Note the Wirangu present-tense ending -n.

14. *badlutu* 'die', phonemic *badludhu*. Crawford’s word here confirms the apico-alveolar shape of the nasal in the past-tense suffix.

15. O’Grady finds no correspondence for this word in Schürmann, when in fact there is: *pitata* 'knock, pelt, stamp, kick', phonemic *pirdadha* (c.f. *badlutu*).

\[
\begin{align*}
(6.1) & \quad \text{kauunga} & \text{pitararru} \\
(58) & \quad \text{gawunga} & \text{pirdadharu} \\
& \quad \text{gawu-nga} & \text{pirda-dha-aru} \\
& \quad \text{water-ERG} & \text{hit-PRES-3.sg.ERG} \\
& \text{the rain is pelting}
\end{align*}
\]

Kuyani *pirda-* 'hit against something'). Schürmann’s sentence example is:

\[
\begin{align*}
(6.2) & \quad \text{pirdananha} \\
& \quad \text{pirda-na-nha} \\
& \quad \text{hit-PAST-2,3.pl} \\
& \text{(you pl/they) hit}
\end{align*}
\]

The shape Hale heard as *pirdananha* is most likely:

16. *nganhay* is almost certainly a variant on the interrogative/indefinite demonstrative *nganha* 'who, what/somebody'. The verb root is *warni-* and prestopped variant *wardni-* 'fall' (*qv*). The difficulty is the apparent past-tense ending -nhi, which should by the reasoning set out above be -ni. The past-tense allomorph may have been laminalised before i: so -na, -mu, -nhi: but on the evidence of a single attestation from a lapsed speaker, this must remain a possibility only.
For lots of the meanings that English conveys by way of prepositions like *to*, *from*, *over*, *under*, *after* and so on, Barngarla uses suffixes. Schürmann provides us with a number of important shapes that are suffixed to nouns, to make meanings for which English uses prepositions.

### 7.1 Markedness

Across Australia a suffix *-nya* or *-nha* is widely used to mark something as being in some way different or special. The Thura-Yura languages are the same; the suffix *-nha* has a wide range of uses here, too. Luise Hercus describes this suffix in Kuyani as:

> [a] nominal clitic with multiple functions: it can be a proper noun marker and is therefore common in placenames … it is used to 'single out' or particularise adjectives and is especially common in possessive adjectives … sometimes also affixed to adverbs … sometimes it is just emphatic. (Hercus 2006a)

This suffix is ubiquitous as well in Adnyamathanha, so much so that Tunstill (2004: 434) can say of it only that it is 'of uncertain/variable meaning', and Schebeck (1974: 4) says that it is 'doubtlessly the most difficult to define'. Because of the ubiquity of this suffix in all Thura-Yura languages, where Schürmann has an ending *-nna* or *-na*, and where I am unable to find a context for such an ending in another language, I will cautiously and rather reluctantly assume that this shape could be phonemic *-nha*, and proceed as if it were.
7.2 Plural & dual

In Australia as elsewhere, it is frequently the case that only human nouns, or nouns that refer to highly animate things, may take marking for non-singular number (dual or plural): usually men, women, dogs and/or children. Schürmann has the following, repeated here with suggested phonemic representations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMANN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yurra</td>
<td>yurha</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurralbelli</td>
<td>yurhalbili</td>
<td>two men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurrarri</td>
<td>yurharri</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pallara</td>
<td>barlarha</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pallalbelli</td>
<td>barlabili</td>
<td>two women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pallarri</td>
<td>barlarri</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Adnyamathanha and Kuyani show two forms of the dual-marking suffix, -alypila and -alpila (Hercus 2006, Tunstill 2004: 428). Schürmann spells the Barngarla equivalent -lbelli, without indication of fronting and raising of a preceding vowel: so, yurralbelli and pallalbelli, not yurrailbelli or pallailbelli. This makes the shape of the Barngarla suffix as -lbili certain. Schürmann says that this suffix is an abbreviation of the number kalbelli 'two', which is phonemic galbili. Nhukunu has paarla 'woman' (Hercus 1992: 26), and I will presume that the rhotic in the Barngarla word copies the place of articulation (retroflex) of the preceding lateral consonant.

Human body parts often come in pairs, and nouns for these could be marked for dual number in Barngarla. In Schürmann's vocabulary we can see the following:

---

1 The widespread distinction between nouns that refer to highly animate entities and those which do not is most frequently discussed in the context of case-marking. The definitive but rather technical explanation of this phenomenon is Silverstein (1976), with a more accessible account appearing in Foley (1997: 209-10), although the feature values under 'C' in the table on p. 210 should read -animate, -discrete (a typo). Another example of pluralisation confined to highly animate nouns in an Australian language may be seen in Clendon (2014: 94-6).
We have no analogue for the Barngarla plural shape that Schürman spells -rri. However the trill \textit{rr} is widely used in Australia to mark plurality: its acoustic shape as a series of taps against the alveolar ridge makes it iconic of plurality. Indeed, as Dixon (2002: 253-6) points out, in Australia the number suffix \textit{-rrV} nearly always marks plurality of some sort. Of the three rhotic sounds available in Barngarla, therefore, the trilled shape -\textit{rri} seems to be the most likely as a marker of plurality on human nouns.

A suffix Schürmann spells -\textit{ilyaranna} signals 'a great number or quantity'. Wirangu has two plural-marking suffixes with very specific applications, -\textit{ilya} and -\textit{ra} (Miller et al. 2010: 49, 75), and it may be that the Barngarla shape is composed of these: -\textit{lya-ra-nha} $\rightarrow$ -\textit{lyaranha}. It is likely to be the case that the lamino-palatal lateral \textit{ly} fronts the vowel \textit{u} to phonetic [y] when it comes in front of this suffix. Schürmann offers the following, based on the nouns \textit{yurha} 'man, person' and \textit{gawu} 'water':

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\text{SCHÜRMANN:} & \text{yurrailyaranna} & \text{kauilyaranna} \\
\text{PHONEMIC:} & \text{yurhalyaranha} & \text{gawulyaranha} \\
\text{TRANSLATION:} & \text{a great number of people} & \text{a great quantity of water} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

### 7.3 Ergative & locative

Another suffix with a number of uses in Barngarla is the ending -\textit{ngV}. This ending may (or may not) harmonise with a preceding vowel.

#### 7.3.1 Ergative -\textit{ngV}

The suffix -\textit{nga} marks a noun as being the subject of a transitive verb: it is the \textit{ergative} suffix on nouns, but does not occur on pronouns. Note that most singular pronouns have their own dedicated ergative shapes: \textit{ngadhu} 'I', \textit{nhurnu} 'you' and \textit{badlu} 'he, she'. Schürmann offers us the following transitive sentences to show how this suffix is used, where the subject of the first sentence is someone's name, Tyilkelli:
Clamor Schürmann's Barngarla grammar

(7.1a) tyilkellinga ngai kündanarru
(g4) Dyilgilinga ngayi gurndanaru
Dyilgili-nga ngayi gurnda-na-aru
NAME-ERG I.NOM hit-PAST-3.sg.ERG

Tyilkili me did beat

(b) kutyu yurarringe iratanna
(7) gudyu yurharringi irradhanha
gudyu yurha-rri-ngi irra-dha-nha
other man-HUM.PL-ERG keep.off-PRES-2,3.pl

the other men keep us off

(c) ngarrungu wittitanna ngarrinyelbo
(47) ngarrungu wididhanha ngarinyarlu
ngarru-ngu widi-dha-nha ngarinyarlu
surround-ERG spear-PRES-2,3.pl we/us

they will surround and spear us

Hercus (2006a) has kurnda- 'hit, kill' for Kuyani; Miller et al. (2010: 46) have gurndarn 'hit' in Wirangu, and McEntee & McKenzie (1992: 27) have urnda- 'kill' in Adnyamathanha. Kuyani also has kutyu 'other, different' (Hercus 2006a). Schürmann records irata 'keep off, defend, protect', while Adnyamathanha has irra-ngu- 'protect, defend' (with applicative suffix -ngu, see Section 10.8) (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 22). Schürmann has an apparent adverb ngarru 'circle, enclosure', which may correspond to the Kuyani verb ngawu- 'round up, encircle' (Hercus 2006a) and to Adnyamathanha ngarr-arhu 'cornered, bailed up' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 41). The Barngarla word ngarru is probably an adverb marked for ergative case.
in agreement with the predicate's transitive subject, as '(they) encircling … '. This kind of syntax is reasonably common in Australia.²

Nouns marked for dual number may also take ergative case marking:

(7.2) maï kaltanyilbellinge ngai yeringumatta

(11) mayi garldanyilbilingi ngayi yaringumadha
    mayi garldanyi-lbili-nga ngayi yari-ngu-ma-dha

food begging-DU-ERG I/me greedy-APPL-2,3.du-PRES

the two beggars ask me for food

Adnyamathanha has arlda- 'call out' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 14), which I will take to correspond in part to Schürmann's kaltanye/garldanyi 'begging'. Schürmann's vocabulary has a derived verb garldiridhi 'be clamorous, beg', with a root garldi/a-, which must have roughly the same meaning: its similarity to garla- 'call out' is noted again in Section 10.8.3. The ending -nyi seen here looks like a gerundive ending, although it is not noted in Schürmann's grammar along with other non-finite verb forms (see Section 11.2). Be that as it may, it appears to enable the root garldi- to accept nominal inflections for number and case, and to serve thus as a substantive adjective. Also in this sentence we see the adjective yari 'greedy' with an applicative suffix (see Section 10.8), used to create a transitive verb with two objects: the thing desired (food) and its source (me). This derived verb now has a meaning something like 'crave, require [object 1] from [object 2]'. The applicative derivation of the adjective yari 'greedy' is noted again in Section 10.8.3.

7.3.2 Instrumental -ngV, -nda

This ending marks something as being an instrument: in effect, some inanimate object or tool that is used to accomplish some action. Schürmann offers us the following sentence, with ganya 'stone' being used as an instrument:

---

² For example, time and manner adverbs in Warlpiri are inflected for ergative case when occurring in transitive clauses (Hale 1982: 279-81).
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

\[(7.3) \text{Marrálinga ngai pittanarrù kányanga} \]
\[(g5) \text{marrálinga ngayi birdanaru ganyanga} \]
\[\text{marralyi-nga ngayi birda-na-aru ganya-nga} \]
\[\text{boy-ERG I/me hit/pelt-PAST-3.sg.ERG stone-INST} \]

The boy me did hit with a stone

Notice here how both the subject (marrilyi 'boy') and the instrument (ganya 'stone') get marked by -nga: ergative and instrumental — human and non-human — in each case. This double or polysemous use of a single suffix for both ergative and instrumental is common in Australian languages (see, e.g., Dixon 2002: 165-6).

Hercus (2006a) has pirda- ‘hit against something’ in Kuyani, with a sentence example ‘a stone might hit us’, and McEntee & McKenzie (1992: 64) for Adnyamathanha have virta- ‘hammer away on’. Hercus (2006a) has kadnya ‘stone’ in Kuyani, McEntee & McKenzie (1992: 2) have adnya ‘stone’ in Adnyamathanha and Nhukunu has katnya (Hercus 1992: 20).

I have not been able to find the word marralyi ‘boy’ in another Thura-Yura language. Schebeck (1973: 27, 42) lists the Adnyamathanha birth-order name marr-anha for a fourth-born child if male, spelled marr-anha by McEntee & McKenzie (1992: 81). Although this is different from the Barngarla equivalent given by Schürmann (munni), it may contain a root that was used for ‘boy’ more generally in Barngarla, so I will assume that the rhotic in Schürmann’s transcription is a trill: marralyi. Schürmann spells this word marralye in his vocabulary, in the phrase purro marralye ‘still a boy’, under the lemma purro ‘still, yet’. He also has an entry marralye ‘fiend, devil’. In this word his e could be phonemic a after lamino-palatal ly, as suggested in Section 2.1.1: marralya, and/or the rhotic could be different (either a flap or a glide).

As in English, an instrument may be an abstract entity, or it may constitute a metaphorical expression, as is seen in the following:
Here a certain way of expressing oneself is described by means of an instrumental metaphor.

Schürmann has another instrumental suffix, \(-nta\) (possibly phonemic \(-nda\)), without correspondence in contemporary Thura-Yura languages. The example he gives is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Midla } & \text{'spearthrower'} \text{ is a common Thura-Yura word (c.f. e.g. Adnyamathanha: McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 84, Kaurna: Amery & Simpson 2013: 220). We may never know how the meanings of the instrumental suffixes } & \text{-nga and -nda } \text{were different, or even if they were different.}
\end{align*}
\]

7.3.3

Schürmann records the name \textit{gurrumidlanda} for people who lived on the Adelaide Plain. This name is constructed as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(7.6) } & \text{gurrumidlanda} \\
& \text{gurru-midla-nda} \\
& \text{stick-spear.thrower-INST/ASSOC} \\
& \text{(people) with/having narrow spear-throwers}
\end{align*}
\]
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

This is probably an exonym: it is not recorded near Adelaide itself. Barngarla *gurru* is ‘stick’ and may describe the kind of spear-throwers Adelaide people used. The word *gurru midla* might refer to a narrow, stick-like spear-thrower, which may have characterised Adelaide people from the point of view of people who used broader implements, although Adelaide spear-throwers do not appear to have been especially narrow (from contemporary illustrations as shown in e.g. Hylton 2012: 84). It is unlikely that *gurru* is being used here as a noun classifier: this would only be to label Adelaide people as ‘(people) with [classifier] spear-throwers’, in a culture where everyone used spear-throwers.

The morpheme *-nda* is almost certainly the instrumental suffix, and it gives evidence of a conflation of instrumental and associative meanings: c.f. English *hit it with the hammer* (instrumental) vs *put it in the box with the hammer* (associative). The suffix *-nda* is not recorded with any word other than *midla*; it may have been specific to that noun: the usual instrumental suffix is *-ngV*, and the usual associative suffix is *-lyga*. Schürmann records the following use of this term:

(7.7) (21)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nantinge</th>
<th>kurrumidlandarri</th>
<th>ngalla</th>
<th>kputarru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nandingi</td>
<td>Gurrumidlandarri</td>
<td>ngarla</td>
<td>gubudharu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandi-ngi</td>
<td>gurru-midla-nda-rrri</td>
<td>ngarla</td>
<td>gubu-dha-aru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NAME-ERG stick-sp.thrwr-INST-HUM.PL many represent-PRES-3.sg.ERG

*Nanti represents the Adelaide natives as very numerous*

Schürmann records *gubudhu* 'state, maintain, represent with vehement gesture'.

7.3.4 Locative -ngV

This meaning indicates that something is on, at, by, in or near something else: something is located by something else. Schürmann offers *wortannanga* 'in the sea', which could be *wardarnanga*. Schürmann has *wortanna* 'sea'; and Wirangu has *warna* (Miller et al. 2010: 84), which is reminiscent of the Barngarla word. He also offers *garngunga* 'in the house'; Schürmann has *karnko* 'hut, house, place of encampment'. Adnyamathanha has *arnku* 'camp' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 6) and Kuyani has
Mark Clendon

*kanku* 'house' (Hercus 2006a), without retroflexion, in the sentence *wiltyalangka thitari ngalpaaku ngatyunhangka kankungka* 'last night some children got into my house'.

Other locative expressions in Schürmann’s vocabulary are:

(7.8a)  kapmarra    innaityinge  ikkat ai
(14)    gabmarra    inhadyingi  igadhayi
        gabmarra    inha-dyi-ngi  iga-dha-ayi
    always   this-TOP-LOC   sit-PRES-1.sg.NOM

*I shall always live here*

(b)    parungu    karitanna  yurarri
(15)   barhunyu    garhidhanha  yurharri
        barhu-ngu    garhi-dha-nha  yurha-rri
    game-LOC   be-PRES-2,3.pl  man-HUM.PL

*the men are still at the game, are hunting still*

(c)    Nillinge    pappi    ngaiye    ikkatao
(39)   Nhirlingi   babi    ngadyi    igadhawu
        nhirli-ngi   babi    ngadyi    iga-dha-wu
    sorrow-LOC   father   my   sit-PRES-3.sg.NOM

*My father is in sorrow*

The use and meanings of the existential intransitive verbs *iga- and garbi-* are addressed in Section 12.3. Again, and as in English, the locative suffix can be used for abstract or metaphorical expressions as seen in (7.8b) and (7.8c). Performing a certain activity (hunting) is denoted by means of a locative metaphor, and the expression of a certain state (sorrow) also employs a locative metaphor.
7.3.5 *Subordinating* -nga

The suffix *-nga* is also used to mark clauses that state the background or reason for some event or action that happens in the main clause. Schürmann offers two Barngarla sentences that have clauses marked in this way. In these examples the background clauses are set off within square brackets:

(7.9) (g5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panna</th>
<th>ngultapanga</th>
<th>mundulturri</th>
<th>babmantinanna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banha</td>
<td>nguldabanga,</td>
<td>munduldurri</td>
<td>babmandinanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[banha nguldaba-nga]</td>
<td>munduldu-rri</td>
<td>babandi-na-nha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[he young.man-LOC]</td>
<td>european-HUM.PL</td>
<td>come/return-PAST-2,3.pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*When he (was) a young man*, the Europeans arrived.

Schürmann has *ngultapa* 'young man'. Teichelmann & Schürmann have *ngulta* 'the cuts on the back & chest of the *wilyuru*' (Amery 2001: 31), and as the *wilyarhu* was an initiation ceremony, Barngarla *ngultapa/nguldaba* may have referred to a young man recently initiated. The word *mundulturri* clearly shows the human plural suffix *-rri* attached to *mundultu/munduldu* 'European'. Schürmann has *babmantiti* 'come, return', which must be phonemic *babmandidhi*, with present-tense ending *-dhi*. Adnyamathanha has *vabma-* 'grow, rise, come up, emerge' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 58), and Kuyani has *papmanta* 'break open' (Hercus 2006c). These words convey metaphorically the semantics of emerging and appearing, and the Kuyani form confirms the shape of the *-nt/-nd-* cluster in the verb *babmandinanha* 'they appeared/arrived'.

This sentence is made up of two parts or clauses: *banha nguldabanga* 'as a young man' and *munduldurri babmandinanha* 'Europeans arrived/appeared'. The first clause gets a locative *-nga* suffix because it sets the scene and timing for the event in the main clause, the arrival of Europeans.

The second sentence of this sort that Schürmann offers is:
Teichelmann & Schürmann have madla 'merely' in Kaurna (Amery 2001: 15), Kuyani has madla meaning 'no, nothing' (Hercus 2006a), and Schürmann has madla 'no, none'. This is another sentence made up of two clauses. The main clause tells us what the speaker is going to do: ngugadhiya 'I'm going away'. The second clause, marked with locative -nga, tells us the background or reason for his going away: mayi madlanga '(because of) no food'.

### 7.4 Possessive, allative & purposive

The suffix -rhu also has a number of uses in Barngarla; firstly, it may mark possession or ownership. In the following sentence you can see this suffix permanently attached to the interrogative possessive pronoun (nganhgurhu 'whose?'), as well as being suffixed to the name Wingalta:

(7.11) inna ngankuru palta? Wingaltaru

(g5) inha nganhgurhu baldha? Wingaldarhu

inha nganhgurhu baldha wingalda-rhu

this whose cloak NAME-POSS

Whose cloak is this? Wingalta's

Wirangu has baldha 'skin cloak' (Miller et al. 2010: 3) and inha 'this' (Hercus 1999: 64). Kuyani and Adnyamathanha have nganha 'who?' and Kuyani has nganharhu 'whose?' (Hercus 2006a).

The suffix -rhu may also be used to mark allative meaning. In this use, -rhu marks direction towards whatever noun or pronoun it is attached to, as the following sentence shows:
The suffix -rhu can be used to mark something as a goal or a purpose: that is, as an end for which someone is aiming. Schürmann offers these sentences to illustrate this usage:

(7.13) kalalta mankut’atto kuyaru
(g5) garlalda mankudhadhu guyarhu
    garlalda manku-dha-adhu guya-rhu
dry.bark take-PRES-1.sg.ERG fish-PURP

I shall take dry bark to fish

Schürmann has mankutu 'take, receive', which is phonemic mankudhu. Schürmann, as well as Miller et al. (2010: 46) for Wirangu, have kuyaguya 'fish'. Schürmann's kalalta is 'torch, dry bark lighted and used in fishing at night'. I cannot find another Thura-Yura word corresponding to kalalta, although Wirangu has garla 'fire' (Miller et al. 2010: 37), and Kuyani has the prestopped variant kardla (Hercus 2006a); O'Grady 2001 also has kardla for 'fire'. I suspect that 'fire' may be a part of Schürmann's kalalta, and that he may not have recognised this, as he has gadla for 'fire', with different spelling and with prestopping.
Note also the shape *nganbarhu* 'what for? why?' with the purposive suffix *-rhu*, as may be seen in sentence example (7.18b) in Section 7.5.4, and in Section 9.3.

7.5 Other grammatical suffixes

Schürmann lists twenty-two other suffixes that go on nouns, with a brief discussion of each. Those words of Schürmann's that I am unable to locate in modern Thura-Yura texts, I will leave much the same as Schürmann wrote them.

7.5.1 Dative *-ni*

Schürmann says that this suffix is 'of an entreating nature', and that it 'may perhaps denote the dative case'. This is almost certainly so, as both his examples employ the verb *nhunggu* - 'give'. Kaurna also has *-ni* marking the dative case (Amery & Simpson 2013: 121).

(7.15a) ngai inni, ngai inni nungkuka pappi

(g7) ngayini, ngayini nhungguga, babi

ngayi-ni ngayi-ni nhunggu-ga babi

I-DAT I-DAT give-IMP father

*to me, to me give (it) father*

(b) innanni nungkukka, innanni

(g7) inhani nhungguga, inhani

inha-ni nhunggu-ga inha-ni

this-DAT give-IMP this-DAT

*give it to this person, to this*

Schürmann states that 'the accusative and dative are identical with the simple nominative'. The dative suffix *-ni*, therefore, was probably used for disambiguation, and/or for other discourse strategies.
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7.5.2 Ablative -ngurni

In Chapter 3 we looked at the use of the ending -dni or -rdni to mark ablative meaning on pronouns; that is, motion or direction away from someone. In Section 8.3 we will see how this suffix is used on other parts of speech. In the meantime, the suffix used on nouns to code a strictly ablative meaning appears to have been -ngurni (Schürmann’s ngunne, c.f. Wirangu and Adnyamathanha -ngurni: Hercus 1999: 52, Tunstill 2004: 428, Schebeck 1974: 7-8), as seen in the following examples:

(7.16a) karnko ngunne
   (g6) garngungurni
       garngu-ngurni
       house-ABL
       from the house
   (b) warra ngunne
       warra-ngurni
       far-ABL
       from far
   (c) wingunne

(73) wiyingurni
    wiyi-ngurni
    this.moment-ABL

   from now, from this moment

Schürmann has warra for ‘out, far away, absent’. I have been unable to find a corresponding word in a contemporary Thura-Yura language, and so have left his spelling as it is. Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have an interjection wiyi meaning ‘yes, well!’, which is probably unrelated to the Barngarla word.

7.5.3 Comitative -dninga, -rdningi

Comitative meaning involves *accompaniment*. In Barngarla the suffixes -dninga and -rdningi are used with proper nouns (the names of people) and with pronouns (that also refer to people) to indicate that someone is in the company of someone else:

(7.17a) Yutalta yarridninga
   (g6) Yudalda Yarridninga

   Yudalda is with Yarri
Schürmann has *kapmarra* 'only, always' and *ikkata* 'sit, dwell, live'; and O’Grady (2001) has *ikatha* 'sit'. Adnyamathanha also has *ika-* 'to sit, stay, remain' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 17).

7.5.4 **Allative -dnurhu, -rdnurhu**

We have seen above the allative (towards something) marker -*dnirhu* on pronouns: on nouns it has a slightly different shape, as -*dnurhu* or -*rdnurhu*. It can only be used on proper nouns and pronouns:

(7.18a)  Mulyadnurhu ngukat’ai

(g6) Mulyadnurhu ngugadhayi
mulya-dnurhu nguga-dha-ayi
name-ALL go-PRES-1.sg.NOM

*I shall go to Mulya*

(b) ngautyidnurhu ninna ngannaru kutta babmantini?

(g6) ngadyidnurhu nhina nganharhu guda babmandini?
ngadyi-dnurhu nhina nganha-rhu guda babmandi-ni
1.sg.stem.1-ALL you what-PURP NEG arrive-PAST

*Why did you not come to me?*

Above we saw the verb *babmandi-* 'emerge, appear, arrive': here it has a past-tense marker -*ni* after the *i*-sound at the end of the verb. We saw the pronoun *ngadyidnurhu* 'to me' pronounced *ngadyidnirhu* above; it could probably be said either way. Kuyani and Adnyamathanha have the question-word stem *nganha-* (Hercus 2006a, McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 38), and Wirangu and Adnyamathanha have the negator *guda* (Miller et al. 2010: 40, Schebeck 1974: 41 as *uta*, with loss of initial consonant).
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

Allative meaning may take on a metaphorical sense as well, having to do with desire or aim at a particular goal, which may not be a goal in spatial terms:

(7.19) (11)
yura kalkaritao pallaradnuru
yurha galgaridhawu parlarhadnurhu
yurha galga-ri-dha-wu parlarha-dnurhu
man tremble//desire-VBLZR-PRES-3.sg.NOM woman-ALL

a man feels desire for a woman

7.5.5 *Perlative* -dhari, -ngVnV

Perlative means going by, along, or through a place. Kaurna has a perlative suffix -tarra (Amery & Simpson 2013: 122), similar to the Barngarla ending. Against this, Adnyamathanha has an allative suffix -thari (Schebeck 1974: 7), similar in meaning and quite possibly with the same shape as the Barngarla suffix:

(7.20a) tallallatarri ngukat’arrinyelbo
(g6) Dhalaladhari ngugadharinyarlbu
     Dhalala-dhari nguga-dha-arinyarlbu
     PLACE-PERL go-PRES-1.pl
     by way of Dalala we shall go
(b) yarto yuwatao yurre, mudla tarri
(g6) yardu yuwadhawu yurri, mudlhadhari
     yardu yuwa-dha-wu yurri mudlha-dhari
     yonder stand-PRES-3.sg.NOM hill nose-PERL
     yonder stands the hill over the point
Kuyani has *yuwa-* ‘stand’ and *mudlha* ‘nose’ (Hercus 2006a). Schürmann has *mudla* ‘nose, point of land’: a word for *nose* is often used to refer to a point of something in Australian languages. While Schürmann has *yurre* ‘ear’, corresponding to Kaurna and Kuyani *yurhi* ‘ear’, Adnyamathanha has *yurru* ‘range of hills’ (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 105), close to the meaning required here. Schürmann has *yartu* ‘there, that one’.

Schürmann has another perlatival suffix, *-nganna, -nginni* or *-ngunnu*, with the vowels subject to harmony with a preceding vowel. I have been unable to find a correspondence for this suffix in another Thura-Yura language, and will take the simplest option for the second nasal phoneme, as *n*. The shape of this suffix is therefore *-ngVnV*, with *V* standing in for its harmonising vowels. Schürmann’s examples are:

(7.21a) kaityarri widlanganna mankukka
(g8) gadyarri widlangana mankuga

gadya-rri widla-ngana manku-ga

*child-HUM.PL* path-*PERL* take-*IMP*

*take the children along the path*

(b) wambiringinni ngukatia

g8) wambiringini ngugadihya

wambiri-ngini nguga-dha-iya

*coast-*PERL* go-*PRES-1.sg.NOM*

*along the coast I shall go*

I have been unable to find correspondences in contemporary Thura-Yura languages for Schürmann’s *kaityarri* ‘children’, *widla* ‘path’ or *wambiri* ‘coast’, and so have left these last two as he wrote them. However *kaityarri* clearly contains the human plural suffix *-rri*, leaving a shape *kaitya/gadya* ‘small, little; infant, child’, which is the same as the Western Desert word *kaja* ‘son’ and the Mantjintja word *katha* ‘child’ (Clendon 2011).
7.5.6 **Directional suffixes**

Schürmann shows a directional suffix -*mba*, and another -*dlal/-dlil/-dlu*, in harmony with a preceding vowel. These are illustrated attached to words that indicate compass directions. Adnyamathanha has -*dlal* (without vowel harmony) in this function (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 7). The following expressions employ Barngarla terms for 'the bearings of their peninsular country':

\[
\begin{align*}
(7.22) & \quad \text{kayallamba} & \quad \text{wailbimba} \\
(g6-7) & \quad \text{gayalamba} & \quad \text{walybimba} \\
& \quad \text{northward} & \quad \text{westward} \\
& \quad \text{iatadla} & \quad \text{wortattidli} \\
& \quad \text{yadadla} & \quad \text{wardadhidli} \\
& \quad \text{north-eastward} & \quad \text{south-eastward}
\end{align*}
\]

The Thura-Yura languages show no common word for 'north': Schürmann's *kayalla* is most like the Western Desert word *kayili* 'north', although the Western Desert borrowing in Wirangu, the Thura-Yura language closest to and most influenced by Western Desert, is *alindhara* 'north' (Miller et al. 2010: 1). Adnyamathanha has *walypi* 'name of group, Blinman-Wilpena area', *walypi wari* 'south west wind' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 116) and *wari* 'wind (old word)' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 114). Adnyamathanha *walypi* is thus clearly 'west' or 'southwest'. I have been unable to find any Thura-Yura correspondences for Schürmann's *iä ta* 'north east country or coast'. Adnyamathanha has *wartathirnka* 'south' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 108), clearly related to the Barngarla word Schürmann uses here.

Another use of the word *iä taliatalyada* 'north-eastern coast' is shown below, this time with the directional suffix -*mba* attached:
As Schürmann has left us no translation of this sentence, I have provided one. Kuyani has a verb *wantha-* 'leave behind' (Hercus 2006a). For comment on the Barngarla form *wandhaga-*, see Section 4.1.1.

### 7.5.7 Reciprocal -bingi

This suffix, which Schürmann spells *-pengi*, most likely indicates reciprocality, that is, something given in return for something else. I have been unable to find correspondences for this suffix in contemporary or recently spoken Thura-Yura languages. Schürmann records:

(7.24) gadla pengi mai nungkunanna

(g7) gardlabangi mayi nhunggunanha
gardla-bingi mayi nhunggu-na-nha
fire-RECP food give-PAST-2,3.pl

*for fire wood they gave the food*

Most Thura-Yura languages have *yungku-* for 'give' (e.g. Kaurna: Amery & Simpson 2013: 125; Kuyani: Hercus 2006a; Nhukunu: *yungka-*, Hercus 1992: 34). However Adnyamathanha has *nhungku-* 'give' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 53), and Hercus (2006a) has one attestation of *nhungku-* as well, in the sentence *Alice Oldfield ngawarla nhungkuta* 'this is the language that Alice Oldfield gives (you)'.

---

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(7.23) (75)

Palta wondakkaintyanna wortannaru ngukananna iatamba
baldha wandhagandyanha, wardarnarhu ngugananka yadamba
baldha wandhaga-ndya-nha wardarna-rhu nguga-na-nha yada-mba
cloak leave.behind-PERF-2,3.pl sea-PURP go-PAST-2,3.pl north.east-DIR

_They have left their cloaks behind, they went northeast to the sea._
7.5.8 Avoidance -yalani

I have been unable to find correspondences for this shape in contemporary or recently spoken Thura-Yura languages. This suffix, which Schürmann spells -yallani, appears to mark something as being an unfortunate cause of something else, perhaps corresponding to the Western Desert avoidance suffix -ngkamarra in this usage, in the sentence Schürmann offers below:

(7.25) warru yallani paitya ngutarritanna
(g7) waruyalani badya ngudharidhanha
waru-yalani badya ngudha-ri-dha-nha

kangaroo-AVOID angry do/argue-VBLZR-PRES-2,3.pl

about a kangaroo they quarrel

Wirangu has waru 'grey kangaroo' (Miller et al. 2010: 85). Adnyamathanha has vatya 'savage, cross' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 55), and Kuyani has patya 'rage, furious anger' (Hercus 2006a). Both Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have a verb ngutha- 'make, do' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 45, Hercus 2006a), but Kuyani also has ngutha-ri- 'get worked up about something', with the verbal intransitivising/reciprocal suffix -ri, which is clearly reflected in the Barngarla sentence.

7.5.9 Associative -lyga, -lyganha

Commonly in Australia possession is indicated by a suffix attached to a noun denoting the thing possessed, and this is what we find in Barngarla.³ Schürmann spells the Barngarla suffix used for this purpose ilka and ilkanna. It is likely that the phonemic shape of this form was -lyga and -lyganha; he offers examples of words bearing this suffix mainly in his vocabulary.

Among sentence examples, Schürmann offers the sentence shown below as (12.8a) and the following:

---

³ Contra Hercus (1999: 56).
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(7.26a) karkuru ilkanna  kauo  wornitao
(15) garrgurrulyganha  gawu  warnidhawu
garrgurrru-lyganha  gawu  warni-dha-wu
whizz-ASSOC  water  fall-PRES-3.sg.NOM

*the rain comes rushing down*

(b) Ngaityidnilka  ngukat’urro
(43) ngadyidnilyga  ngugadhurru
ngadyidni-lyga  nguga-dha-urru
1.sg.STEM.2-ASSOC  go-pres-2.sg.PATR

*On my account or with me dost thou go*

I have presumed that the word *karkuru* is onomatopoeic, with trills: *garrguru*.

Using the words *kaya* 'spear', *kaka* 'head', *karkuru* 'whizzing or rustling noise', *manka* 'cicatrice', *mayi* 'vegetable food', *marraly* 'dry' and the stem-2 shape of the 1 sg pronoun, phonemic *ngadyidni*, Schürmann records the following inflections. First, with the associative morpheme as an orthographic post-position: *kaya ilka* 'with spears, armed', *kaka ilka* 'obstinate', *karkuru ilkanna* 'with a rushing sound', then hyphenated: *mai-ilkanna* 'having food', *kaya-ilka* 'with spears'; and then suffixed: *mankailkanna* 'with cicatrices, kayailka with spears, armed', *kutta marralyilkanna* 'no dry-possessing', and *ngaityidnilka* 'on my account or with me'.

Given the unlikelihood of phonemic diphthongs in Barngarla as discussed in Section 2.4; given Schürmann’s orthographic vacillation in these words (*kaya ilka/kaya-ilka/kayailka* in particular), and given his use of the letter *i* to signal raised vowels before lamino-palatal consonants, an analysis describing the lateral *ly* rather than the vowel *i* at the start of this suffix would be consistent with his recorded material.

7.5.10 Privative -marraba, -waga

Schürmann has two privative suffixes meaning 'not having (something), without (something)', which he spells *wakka* and *marrapa*. Adnyamathanha has privative
Clamor Schürmann’s Barngarla grammar

-waka and -wakanha (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 80 in compound mara-waka 'without end'; Tunstill 2004: 429), and Kuyani has -wakanha (Hercus 2006a). For the other shape, Kuyani has privative -warrampa, which Hercus (2006a) compares to the Barngarla form that she spells marrba, presumably following the pronunciation of an Adnyamathanha or Kuyani speaker. Schürmann offers the following examples:

(7.27a) ngai palta-marraba (b) mena wakka
(28) ngayi baldhamarraba (31) minawaga
ngayi baldha-marraba mina-waga
L.NOM cloak-PRIV eye-PRIV
I have no cloak  honest, not thievish

(c) kakka wakka (d) kuya wakka
(65) gagawaga (65) guyawaga
gaga-waga guya-waga
head-PRIV fish-PRIV
headless, stupid having no fish, or being no fisherman

Schürmann has mena, both 'eye' and 'theft, a word that expresses the idea of hiding in a variety of ways'. 'Eye' is mina in both Adnyamathanha (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 84) and Kuyani (Hercus 2006a). As Schürmann spells both these words the same way, I will assume they are homophones at least, but more likely polysemous, with a common association having to do with visibility or the avoidance of visibility.
Suffixes are used in Barngarla for many purposes, not just for coding relationships between nouns and other parts of a sentence. The following suffixes may be attached to other parts of speech, as Schürmann (1844:8) notes, and are found 'generally with the last word in a sentence'.

### 8.1 Grammatical endings

The suffixes in the following list code grammatical meanings that may involve nouns, or which may involve other parts of speech as well, such as (nominalised) verbs, although Schürmann gives only one example of this.

#### 8.1.1 Goal -lbu

In his grammar section Schürmann shows this ending used on nouns that are the objects of the verb *kanata* 'wait for', which he spells *kannata* in his vocabulary. I have been able to find correspondences for neither this verb nor for the suffix he spells *-lbo* in other Thura-Yura languages. The examples he gives are:

(8.1a) maiilbo kanaturru

(g8) mayilbu ganadhuru

mayi-lbu gana-dhu-(a)ru

food-GOAL await-PRES-3.sg.ERG

*he waits for food*
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(b) paltalbo        kanatarru

(g8) baldhalbu      ganadharu
     baldha-lbu      gana-dha-aru

cloak- GOAL    await-PRES-3.sg.ERG

he expects clothing

In the first example it looks like the vowel of the present-tense suffix -dhu has harmonised with that of the following 3 sg ergative suffix -(a)ru.

8.1.2 Comparative -lV

Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have a comparative suffix -li (Tunstill 2004: 428, Schebeck 1974: 8, Hercus 2006c), and Kaurna has -rli in this function (Amery & Simpson 2013: 123). I will assume that the Barngarla lateral in this suffix is alveolar like its northern counterparts: again the vowel in this suffix harmonises with a preceding vowel. Schürmann offers the following:

(8.2a) yuralla   pony  yerbatunno

(g8) yurhala   pony  yarrbadhurnu
     yurha-la  pony  yarrba-dha-urnu

man-LIKE  pony  talk-PRES-2.sg.ERG

like a man you command the pony, i.e., you speak to him as if he were a man, able to understand you

(b) nurkullu   pony  padnatao

(g8) nhurrgulu   pony  badnadhawu
     nhurrugu-lu  pony  badna-dha-wu

2.sg.POSS-LIKE  pony  go-PRES-3.sg.NOM

a pony like yours is here
Sentence (8.2a) above shows a transitive verb root yerba- (yarrba-?) ‘address, command’, not found in Schürmann’s vocabulary. Sentence (8.2b) shows a verb badna- ‘go’, found also in Kaurna as padni- (Amery & Simpson 2013: 123). Notice how in this context badna- serves an existential meaning, like English be. The verb badna- is one of a set of Barngarla verbs that serve existential functions (see Section 12.3). The sentence in (8.2c) occurs without a translation, so I have provided one that I hope reflects the speaker’s meaning. Schürmann has nureri ‘far away’ and malbu ‘murderer’. The Western Desert dialect Manyjilyjarra has malpu ‘devil’ (Marsh 1992: 38), which may be related to the Barngarla word.

In the sentences above we see the comparative suffix -IV attached to nouns and a pronoun. The following sentence shows this suffix attached to a verb. Unfortunately we can only guess at the verb’s morphology; here are two options:

(c) malbullu pappi ngaitye ikkatao nureri
(g8) malbulu baby ngadyi igadhawu nhuriri
malbu-lu baby ngadyi iga-dha-wu nhuriri
murderer-LIKE father my sit-PRES-3.sg.NOM far

my father lives far away like a murderer

(8.3a) warru yantyinilli yarratyalla ngammatinni
(g8) waru yandyinilli yarradyarla ngamadhini
waru yandyi-ni-li yarradyarla ngama-dha-ini
kangaroo ?hunt-PAST-LIKE quick go-PRES-2.sg.NOM

you run so fast as if hunting a kangaroo

(b) warru yantyinilli yarratyalla ngammatinni
(g8) waruyandyinilli yarradyarla ngamadhini
waru-ya-nnya-ini-li yarradyarla ngama-dha-ini
kangaroo-?chase-PERF-2.sg.NOM-LIKE quick go-PRES-2.sg.NOM

you run so fast as if hunting a kangaroo
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A verb *yantyi-* (option 1 in (8.3a) above) does not appear in another Thura-Yura source, not even in Schürmann’s own Barngarla dictionary. However if we could posit such a verb with a meaning ‘hunt’, the sentence we see could show this verb with a past-tense suffix plus the comparative suffix. Alternatively, Kuyani has a (possibly reduplicated) transitive verb *yaya-* ‘chase, run after’ with exactly the semantics required here (Hercus 2006b). If we could posit an intransitive compound *waru-ya-* ‘chase kangaroos/kangaroo-chasing’ with the stative (perfect aspect, inherently non-agentive) suffix -*ndya*, it could take nominative pronominal suffixes such as that suggested here in option two (8.3b). The advantage of this admittedly more complicated option is that it might get around Schürmann’s otherwise curious omission from his dictionary of such an important and presumably high-frequency verb as our putative *yandyi-* ‘hunt’, as well as avoiding an illegal monosyllabic verb root *ya-. Schürmann does, however, have *yarraityalla* ‘quick’; and Kuyani has *ngama-* ‘go along, travel’.

8.1.3

Schürmann describes a truly comparative sense meaning for this suffix when used on adjectives, as *more__*. He offers just two examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>garrala</th>
<th>higher</th>
<th>FROM</th>
<th>garra</th>
<th>high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barhili</td>
<td>deeper</td>
<td>FROM</td>
<td>barhi</td>
<td>deep, creek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schürmann has *parri* ‘deep, below; river’; this is Kuyani *parhi* (Hercus 2006a) and Adnyamathanha *varhi* (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 60), both ‘creek, river’.

8.1.4 Also -indi, -indu

For this suffix Schürmann offers the following:

(8.4) ngai Munni indo

(g8) ngayi Muniyindu

ngayi Muni-y-indu

1.sg.NOM name-EP-ALSO

*I and Munni, or I (am) also (called) Munni*
8.1.5 *Manner-adverbial -gundu*

Of this ending, Schürmann (1844: 8) says that it 'corresponds with the English final syllable *ly*'. He offers three examples of its use, the first two using the verb *wangga*-'speak':

(8.5a) yalturru kunu  wanggakka

(g8) yaldurrugundu  wfganga
waldurr-gundu  wfganga-ga

**bold-MANNER** speak-IMP

*speak boldly*

(b) Parnkalla kunu  wfgangakka

(g8) Barngarlagundu  wfganga
Barngarla-gundu  wfganga-ga

**LANGUAGE.NAME-MANNER** speak-IMP

*speak Parnkalla*

For the first sentence the adjective *yalturru* is found in Schürmann's vocabulary as 'bold, fearless, brave'. In the second sentence the name Barngarla is turned into an adverb by means of the suffix -gundu, to denote a particular way or manner of speaking, just as 'bold' is turned into an adverb 'boldly', also to denote a particular way of speaking or behaving.

(8.6a) kaity akkuntu  paru  ngai  nungk’urro

(g8) gadyagundu  barhu  ngayi  nhunggurru

gadya-gundu  barhu  ngayi  nhunggu-urru

**small-MANNER** meat **I.NOM** give-2.sg.PATR

*very little meat me give thou =
don’t give me too much meat / you need only give me a little meat*
In sentence example (7.21a) in Section 7.5.5 we saw the word *gadya* used as a noun meaning 'child'. In the sentence above, it is used as an adjective meaning 'small'. The form of the verb *nhunggu-* 'give' (*nungk'urro*), however, needs some discussion. This shape is probably hortative, marked by a 2 sg patrilineal (father and child) short-form pronoun subject (*nhurru*), as indicated by Schürmann’s use of an apostrophe, suffixed straight onto the verb root. A second — dispreferred — option would see this shape as a haplologically reduced subjunctive:

(b)  

*nungk’urro*  

*nhungguhurru*  

*nhunggu-rhu-urr*  

give-SJTV-2.sg.PATR  

*you (patrilineal) might give*

The resulting string *-rhu-urr* (subjunctive *rhu* + 2 sg patrilineal *urr*) would then be reduced to *-rru*, as this process is described in Sections 5.3.6 and 5.3.7 in relation to subjunctive forms with 3 sg ergative subjects. Schürmann’s translation, however, makes this option unlikely.

### 8.2 Discourse-pragmatic markers

A number of endings serve to locate what someone is saying within the context of a particular discourse or situation. These suffixes are not used to code grammatical meaning in a strict sense; rather they serve to signal a speaker’s attitude, assumptions or stance with respect to some event or some unfolding situation. Some of these endings are listed here.

#### 8.2.1 Interrogative -nggarli

This suffix, which Schürmann spells *-ngkalli*, marks questions. I have been unable to find correspondences for this suffix in contemporary or recently spoken Thura-Yura languages. An example of its use may be seen in sentence example (4.6b) in Section 4.4.6.
8.2.2 **Epistemic -ndi and -gu**

These endings affirm or corroborate some opinion; in using them it would seem that a speaker guarantees the truth of his or her statement. Schürmann’s first sentence example, using -ndi, includes as well what appears to be an epistemic adverb, *maitya*, glossed ‘expressing assurance, indeed’:

(8.7) (g7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maitya} & \quad \text{Kungka} & \quad \text{nunko} & \quad \text{yunga?} & \quad \text{ngaiye} & \quad \text{yungandi} \\
\text{madya} & \quad \text{Kungga} & \quad \text{nhunku} & \quad \text{yunga?} & \quad \text{ngadyi} & \quad \text{yungandi} \\
\text{madya} & \quad \text{Kungga} & \quad \text{nhunku} & \quad \text{yunga} & \quad \text{ngadyi} & \quad \text{yunga-ndi}
\end{align*}
\]

EPIST NAME your elder.brother my brother-EPIST

*is Kungka your brother then? my brother certainly*

Kuyani has *yunga ‘elder brother’* (Hercus 2006a). Although further examples of their use would be required before we could be certain that these forms signal an epistemic modal meaning, they are at least good candidates for epistemic status. I have been unable to find correspondences for *maitya ‘epistemic’* in contemporary or recently spoken Thura-Yura languages. In the following example, using -gu, Kuyani has *ngamarna ‘mother’s brother’* (Hercus 2006b):

(8.8) (g7) \[\begin{align*}
\text{Ngulga} & \quad \text{ngaiye} & \quad \text{ngammana,} & \quad \text{ngannako} \\
\text{Ngulga} & \quad \text{ngadyi} & \quad \text{ngamarna,} & \quad \text{nganhagu} \\
\text{Ngulga} & \quad \text{ngadyi} & \quad \text{ngamarna} & \quad \text{nganha-gu}
\end{align*}\]

NAME my mother’s.brother who-EPIST

*Ngulga is my uncle, what else (should he be)*

8.2.3 **Satisfaction or joy -nda**

This suffix Schürmann says expresses satisfaction or joy, probably at finding something you have been looking for, or are pleased with:
8.2.4 **Topic -dyi**

Hercus (2006a) has Kuyani -*tyi* as an emphatic clitic, as does Tunstill for Adnymathanha (2004: 431). But as Hercus lists no less than ten emphatic suffixes altogether in Kuyani, it is likely that some at least of these code something other than emphasis alone. Schürmann has -*itye*, of which he notes 'the meaning of this suffix which is in frequent use is difficult to describe' and offers as an example the following:

(8.10) ngatta yurringutu ngattuityc
(g7) ngadhu yurhingudhu ngadhudyi
ngadhu yurhi-ngu-dhu ngadhu-dyi

**I understand well enough**

By one widely held definition, a topic is something the speaker wants to highlight or bring to the fore in his or her listener’s attention. By another, a topic is a grammatical marking that links a referent across a number of consecutive clauses (Dixon 2002: 520). Although we have no extended texts in Barngarla, both these definitions are consistent with the marking of the pronoun in its second occurrence with the suffix -dyi in the sentence example above. The frequent use of this suffix on demonstrative pronouns likewise makes it likely that topic is what is being marked here; note forms like inhadyi ‘this’, inhadyingi ‘here’ and bardnidyi ‘this here’, all including the suffix -dyi, and one ending in locative -ngi. For further examples see Chapter nine.

The final two discourse-attitudinal markers we will look at are only found attached to the ends of verbs.

### 8.2.5 Doubt -dlV

This verbal ending is used to 'signify the doubtfulness of what one says'. The vowel harmonises with the vowel in whatever comes in front of it: in the examples below it appears as -dla, -dl and -dlu respectively. It probably overlaps considerably with the meaning expressed by subjunctive verb forms. Schüermann offers three examples of its use:

**(8.11a)** ngukaintyannadla  
**(b)** ngukaraiidli

**(g22)** ngugandyanhadla  
**(g22)** ngugarhayidli

nguga-ndya-nha-dla  
nguga-rha-ayi-dli

go-PERF-2,3.pl-DOUBT  
go-SJTV-1.sg.NOM-DOUBT

*perhaps they are gone*  
*I may perhaps go*

**(c)** innaintyinge  pony  padnatawudlu

**(g22)** inhadyingi  pony  badnadhawudlu

inha-dyi-ngi  pony  badna-dha-wu-dlu

this-TOP-LOC  pony  go-PRES-3.sg.NOM-DOUBT

*it may be that the horse is here*
8.2.6 **Emphatic-imperative -lgV**

This ending is suffixed to imperative and hortative verbs to communicate ‘intensive meaning’, which seems to indicate that the speaker believes that some action must be performed. Again, the vowel harmonises with material in front of it. Schürmann lists its vowel-harmonic shapes as -alka, -ilki and -ulku, but it is likely that his initial vowels are part of the preceding verb, not the suffix. Schürmann's examples of its use are both in hortative mood:

(8.12a) ngukaiilki

(g22) ngugayilgi

nguga-ayi-lgi

go-1.sg.NOM-EMPH

*let me go, or, I will certainly go*

(b) kambarrulku

(g22) gambarulgu

gamba-aru-lgu

cook-3.sg.ERG-EMPH

*let him cook, i.e. he shall or must cook*

8.3 **Derivational/relativising**

Barngarla has a number of ways of forming, or deriving, new words from other, more basic words. We will look at suffixes used with verbs to derive other verbs in Chapter ten. In this section we will look at two suffixes, -bidni and -rndu, used to derive adjectives and nouns from other words.

8.3.1

As has been seen, a suffix -dni or -rdni marks ablative meaning on pronouns. This suffix is used as well on nouns, with a somewhat more metaphorical or abstract meaning than that of the ablative suffix -ngurni seen in Section 7.5.2. The full shape of the suffix is -bidni, with the first sound b being dropped 'in most instances', as
Schürmann says. He also states that 'bidni sometimes stands by itself as a distinct word' (1844: 9), that is, it is not always a suffix — which is what we may see in the sentence examples shown here with the full form bidni instead of its reduced shape. When the short form of this suffix is attached to a noun, it appears that (1) if the noun ends in a or i, the suffix will be -idni, and (2) if the nouns ends in u, the suffix will be -udni.

Kuyani has a suffix -pidna ‘elative, from; out of’ (Hercus 2006c), with a meaning that appears to be similar to that of Barngarla -bidni. The use of -bidni (glossed REL) on nouns is shown in this sentence:

(8.13) ngadli kubmanna ngammibidni
(g6) ngadli gubmanha ngamibidni
ngadli [gubmanha ngami]-bidni
we.two [one mother]-REL

we two are of [from] one mother

Adnyamathanha has ngami ‘mother’ (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 39), and Kuyani has both kubma and kubmanha for ‘one’ (Hercus 2006). Although an elative meaning (motion out of something) is certainly indicated in this sentence, there is more than simply motion being referred to here: rather the phrase in question denotes parenthood, by metonymical extension. Nevertheless the meanings of derivational/relativising -bidni and ablative -ngurni are very close: Schürmann allows both in the following examples:

(8.14a) ngai warra bidni (b) warra ngunne
(g6) ngayi warrabidni (g6) warrangurni
ngayi warra-bidni warra-ngurni
l.sg.NOM far-REL far-ABL

I am from far from far

Evidence for the metaphorical use of -bidni is seen in phrases that refer to time; such phrases use passage through space analogically to denote the passage of time:
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(8.15a) ngai yatta bidni (b) ngai paru bidni

(g9) ngayi yadhavidni (g9) ngayi barhubidni
ngayi yadhavidni ngayi barhubidni

I.NOM now-REL I.NOM meat/game-REL

I arrived only just now I have been hunting

Adnyamathanha has *yatha* 'now' (McEntie & McKenzie 1992: 95).

The metaphorical sense of this suffix is also shown in its power to derive nouns and adjectives from other words. As Schürmann puts it: 'when attached to nouns and other parts of speech [-bidni] gives them the power of an adjective'.¹ Here are some more examples of this suffix that Schürmann offers:

(8.16a) karnkurtu bidni yura (b) yerkuludni yura
(3) garngurdubidni yurha (3) yarrguludni yurha

boat-REL man before-REL man

*a man of the boat or ship, a sailor* *an ancient man, ancestor*

(c) nauurri irrabukarri guyabidnarri

(7) Nhawurri irabugarri guyabidnarri
Nhawu-rrri ira-buga-rrri guya-bidna-rrri

NAME-HUM.PL tooth-rotten-HUM.PL fish-REL-HUM.PL

*the Nauo people have an offensive breath, being fish eaters*
Lit: the Nhauu people have bad teeth, (being) associated with fish

(d) wiltyaridni (e) kalkaridni (f) yatanyarudni
(3) wildyarhidni (3) galgarridni (3) yadhanyarudni
wiltyarha-idni galgarra-idni yadhanyara-idni

yesterday-REL long.ago-REL today-REL

*of yesterday of old of today*

---

¹ Schürmann 1844, vocabulary section pp. 2-3.
In these examples Schürmann has *karnkurtu* 'boat', clearly based on *garngu* 'house'. Adnyamathanha has *wiltyardla* 'tomorrow' (McKenty & McKenzie 1992: 123), which I will take to be related functionally and formally to Barngarla *wildyarba* 'yesterday', preserving the retroflexion seen in the Adnyamathanha cluster. Adnyamathanha's *yatba* 'now' reveals the dental consonant in Barngarla *yadhanyaru* 'today'. Kuyani has *kalkathari* (Hercus 2006a) or *kalkathari* (2006b) 'long ago', and even *kalkatharipidna* 'from long ago, of old', a calque of the Barngarla word.

The suffix *-bidni* serves a relativising function, in that it derives adjectival words from other words. The derived words may then be used to qualify or modify some other word, which now serves as the head of the expanded phrase. This process can be seen in *gargurdubidni yurha* 'sailor', where the relativisation *gargurdubidni* serves to modify the head noun *yurha*. The same process may be seen in *yarrguludni yurha* 'ancestor' and even in *gubmanha ngamibidni* '(people) having the same mother'.

Just as the words *gubmanha ngami* 'one mother' are treated as a single expression or phrase, which falls in turn under the scope of *-bidni* in the sentence example given above, so do the words *gaya yaburn* 'spear inside' in the following sentence example. The stem *yaburn-* is not listed in Schürmann's vocabulary, but is clearly based on the adverb *yaburhu* 'in, into, within, inside':

(8.17) bakukku kaya yapurnbidni paru ngarrinyuru, kaitya!
(2) bagugu, gaya yaburnbidni barhu ngarinyurhu, gadya!

bagugu [gaya yaburn]-bidni barhu ngarinyurhu gadya

*behold [spear within]-REL game 1.DU.Poss.PATR child

*behold child! the game is ours, being hit by the spear*

(Lit: with a spear inside it)

The word *bagugu!* 'behold!' looks like an old imperative shape frozen into service as an exclamation.

8.3.2

Schürmann refers to another suffix *-nto* or *-ndo*, which he says is used in a similar manner. In Wirangu this is an emphatic suffix *-(g)a)rdu* (Hercus 1999: 28), used to derive, among others, *marnaardu* 'absolutely huge' from *marna* 'big'. Schürmann records the same pair in his grammar, as seen below. On this basis, the phonemic
Clamor Schürmann's Barngarla grammar

shape of the Barngarla suffix must be -(aa)rndu. The suffix seems to be used to derive adjectives from other adjectives or nouns; he offers only three examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barngarla Suffix</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marnaarndu</td>
<td>very much</td>
<td>marna much, plentiful, large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badyaarndu</td>
<td>fierce</td>
<td>badya angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warlburndu</td>
<td>hard</td>
<td>warlbu bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurrurndu</td>
<td>very large</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wirangu has marna 'a lot, many' and warlbu 'bone' (Miller et al. 2010: 56, 83); Kuyani has walpu 'bone' and marnarta 'big' (both Hercus 2006a); and Adnyamathanha has warlpu 'bone' (McEntie & McKenzie 1992: 117). The ending -(aa)rndu appears to intensify the meaning of the word it is attached to.
The northern Thura-Yura languages have a shape -nha used as a base for a set of frozen prefixes signalling demonstrative and interrogative meanings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Interrogative who? what?</th>
<th>Interrogative locative where? how?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this, here:</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ngu-</td>
<td>nga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that, there:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schürmann lists two demonstrative pronouns which he spells inna 'this' and ngunna 'that', and two interrogative pronouns nganna 'who? what?' and wanna which? It seems fairly clear that in these words at least, Schürmann recognised and recorded the apico-dental nasal nh as nn.

### 9.1 This and that

Wirangu has inha 'this' (Hercus 1999: 64). Kuyani has nganhanha 'who?', ngunha 'that one over there', inha 'this one', wanha 'where?' and -matha 'plural marker' (all Hercus 2006a). Adnyamathanha as well has inha 'this', ngunha 'that over there', nganha 'who', wanha 'where' and -matha 'plural marker for nouns' with a variant -mathanha 'mob, group' (McEntie & McKenzie 1992: 20, 45, 38, 112, 78; Schebeck 1974: 11-13). The singular demonstrative paradigms are as follows:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHÜRMAN</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal demonstrative <em>inha</em> ‘this’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
inna   | inha      | this, NOMINATIVE |
innganga | inhangha   | this, ERGATIVE   |
innraru  | inharhu    | of this, POSSESSIVE |
innrardni | inhardni   | from this, ABLATIVE |
innrardninge | inhardningi | with this, COMITATIVE |
innrardniru | inhardnirhu | to this, ALLATIVE |

| Distal demonstrative *ngunha* ‘that’                     |
ngunna | ngunha     | that, NOMINATIVE |
gunnanga | ngunhanga   | that, ERGATIVE   |
gunnaru  | ngunharhu   | of that, POSSESSIVE |
gunnardni | ngunhardni  | from that, ABLATIVE |
gunnardninge | ngunhardningi | with that, COMITATIVE |
gunnardniru | ngunhardnirhu | to that, ALLATIVE |

All these demonstrative pronouns accept the topic marker *-dyi*, to form pronouns *inhadyi, ngunhadyi* and so on, with the same translations as the forms without topic marking.

These demonstratives may take the dual pronoun marker *-lbili*. Schürmann exemplifies these forms in their nominative case, adding that the rest of the paradigm is ‘declined in the same manner as the singular’ (1844:13):


However when these forms are further inflected, it is not obvious which would come first, the number suffix *-lbili* or the case suffixes.

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The human plural marker -rri may be added to these demonstratives to make plural shapes. Schürmann offers:

\[
\begin{align*}
inna & \text{ matta} & \text{ inhamadha} & \text{ this mob, NOMINATIVE} \\
inna & \text{ mattanga} & \text{ inhamadhanga} & \text{ this mob, ERGATIVE} \\
inna & \text{ mattaru} & \text{ inhamadharhu} & \text{ of this mob, POSSESSIVE ... etc.} \\
ngunna & \text{ matta} & \text{ ngunhamadha} & \text{ that mob, NOMINATIVE} \\
ngunna & \text{ mattanga} & \text{ ngunhamadhanga} & \text{ that mob, ERGATIVE} \\
ngunna & \text{ mattaru} & \text{ ngunhamadharhu} & \text{ of that mob, POSSESSIVE ... etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

But he says it is more usual to add the pluralising suffix matta (-madha 'group'). With this word or suffix at least, we can see that the case inflections come after the number-marking suffix:\(^1\)

9.2 Here and there

Schürmann recorded some demonstrative adverbs in Barngarla, as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
innaityinge & \text{ inhadyingi} & \text{ here} \\
pardni & \text{ bardni} & \text{ hither, this way} \\
pardnitye & \text{ bardnidyi} & \text{ this here} \\
pardnityinge & \text{ bardnidygingi} & \text{ here} \\
patha & \text{ badha} & \text{ there} \\
pathara & \text{ badhara} & \text{ there} \\
patharu & \text{ badharhu} & \text{ thither}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^1\) Note in this 1844 publication an early use of the Aboriginal-English group noun mob, applied to people.
These words are formed from base forms *inha* 'this', *bardni* 'hither' and *badha* 'there', with the addition of the topic-marking suffix *-dyi*, allative *-rhu* and the locative suffix *-ngV*. We could expect that forms without topic-marking would also be legal, such as *inhanga* 'here' and *bardningi* 'here, towards me'.

9.3 Who? What?

The interrogative pronoun *nganha* refers to both people and things (as both *who?* and *what?*). In Adnyamathanha this word has as well an indefinite meaning, as 'someone' (Schebeck 1974: 13), and it is likely to have had this meaning in Barngarla as well. Despite the Kaurna possessive form *ngangu* 'whose?' (Amery & Simpson 2013: 141), the Barngarla possessive shape that Schürmann spelled *ngankuru* 'whose?' is likely to be phonemic *nganhgurhu*, for reasons canvassed in Section 3.1.7, with regard to the shape of the 2 sg pronoun. The formations of the interrogative pronoun are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative <em>nganha</em> ‘who? what?’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nganna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngannunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngankuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngankurni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngankurninge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngankurniru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngannanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngannaru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other nominal suffixes can be attached to *nganha*; we have already seen the shape *nganharhu* | *nganha-rhu* [what-PURP] 'what for? why?' in sentence example (7.18b) in Section 7.5.4. Schürmann records another interrogative pronoun with the same meaning as *nganha*: this is *nhaawi* 'what? who?' and its purposive form *nhaawindi*.
'what for? why?' With reference to comparable words in the Western Desert Language, it is likely that this pronoun had a long first vowel.

Notice how the language is able to distinguish between uses of at least two multi-functional suffixes: the second vowel of the ergative shape nganbunga 'who?' shows a change from a to u; while the locative (place where at) shape retains its original second vowel: nganbangya. As well, the possessive/allative/purposive suffix -rhu is found on both nganbgurhu 'whose?' and nganbarhu 'what for?' These shapes use different stems to encode their different meanings.

The dual and plural numbers of this pronoun are marked by -lbili and -dhanha respectively: this latter shape is probably a truncation of the plural marker found in Adnyamathanha as -mathanha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngannalbelli</td>
<td>nganhalbili</td>
<td>which two?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngannatanna</td>
<td>nganhadhanha</td>
<td>which ones?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.4 Which? Where? How?

The word wanna, which Schürmann translates as 'which', is wanha 'where?' in Adnyamathanha and Kuyani, and probably includes this meaning in Barngarla as well. The southern Thura-Yura languages Kaurna and Nhukunu combine the meanings where? and which? or how? as two senses of the one word; in Kaurna this word is waatha 'where, which?' (Amery & Simpson 2013: 147) and in Nhukunu it is wanbangya 'where, how?' (Hercus 1992: 30). The Barngarla word wanha could almost certainly mean which? or where? according to context. Schürmann claims that only one case ending was available to this pronoun, locative -nga:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wanna</th>
<th>Wanha</th>
<th>Which? Where?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wananga</td>
<td>Wanhangga</td>
<td>Wherein? Where at?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However it is likely that directional affixes would have also been used, such as wanbarnhu 'where to?' and wanbangurni 'where from?' We can assume this because of two other forms meaning 'where?' listed by Schürmann in his vocabulary: wadha 'where?' and wadharhu 'whither.'
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A variant of *wanha* is *wandyi* 'how?' Note the sentence:

(9.1) nunko wantye metye

(68) nhunku wandyi midyi

your how name

*how is your name? [= what is your name?]*
Verbal derivational affixes are suffixes or prefixes that turn words into verbs. For example, in English the shape *en* turns adjectives into verbs, such as when the adjective *large* has *en-* put in front of it to make the verb *enlarge* 'cause (something) to become large', or when the adjective *bright* has *-en* put after it to make *brighten* 'cause (something) to become bright'. So in Barngarla, there are a number of endings that can be used to turn words into verbs, and which can also be used to turn verbs into other verbs. A verb root to which a derivational affix has been added will be referred to as a verb stem.

### 10.1 Continuous derivation

Barngarla verbs may take endings that Schürmann spells *-ntutu* and *-nturrutu*, and which are probably phonemic *-ndhudhu* and *-ndhurudhu*. These endings are made up of continuous shapes *-ndhu-* and *-ndhuru-* plus a present-tense suffix *-dhu*. The shape *-ndhu-* is found on verbs with roots ending in *a* or *i*, and the shape *-ndhuru-* is found on verbs with roots ending in *u*. These endings show us that the action of the verb is going on for some period of time. As we saw in Section 4.2.1, Kuyani has a present-tense suffix *-ntya*, Kaurna has *-nthi* and Adnyamathanha has *-ntha*; it is therefore likely that the shape Barngarla uses to make an ending signalling continuous aspect is *-ndbu*. Here are some examples that Schürmann offers:
There is a verb *yanturrutu* 'catch', but this probably contains a stem *yandu-ru-* and so is not a derived continuous form; it may be reflexive or mediopassive (see below).

The shape *-dhu* at the end of these suffixes is a normal present-tense ending, with a vowel (*u*) that harmonises with the vowel(s) in the shape *-ndhu(ru)* that comes in front of it. The verbs Schürmann presents in his vocabulary are present-tense continuous forms, and their construction is therefore as follows, for verbs with roots ending in *a*, *i* and *u* respectively:

- **roots ending in *a***:
  - ngamadha *go, come*
  - ngamandhudhu *keep going, running*
  - badnadha *go*
  - badnandhudhu *keep walking about*
  - yagadha *seek, look for*
  - yagandhudhu *keep) looking for*
  - igadha *sit, dwell, live*
  - igandhudhu *remain, stay*
  - madadha *pick up*
  - madandhudhu *gather*

- **roots ending in *i***:
  - warnidhi *lie down*
  - warnindhudhu *remain in a lying posture*

- **roots ending in *u***:
  - mankudhu *take, get*
  - mankundhurudhu *keep on taking*
  - nhunggudhu *give*
  - nhunggundhurudhu *keep on giving*
  - nhagudhu *see*
  - nhagundhurudhu *keep on looking*
  - warrudhu *throw about*
  - warrundhurudhu *keep on throwing about*

The continuous shape *-ndhu(ru)*- can be used with other tense suffixes, and not just the present-tense one. Schürmann shows us an example with an imperative suffix, but without a gloss; I have provided the translation shown here:
Here is another example with a past-tense ending, producing a past continuous meaning:

(10.2) patharutyewannintunn’ai

(g22) badharhudiywarnindhunayi
badharhu-diywarni-ndhu-na-ayi
thither-TOPlie-CONT-PAST-1.sg.NOM

*there I remained lying*

Schürmann’s vocabulary has *patha* and *pathar*, both ‘there’, *patharu* ‘thither’ and *patharutyey* ‘thereabout’. This last could be *badha* plus the allative suffix -*rhu* to make an adverb *badharhu* ‘thither, over there’, plus the topic marker -*dyi*.

We could also expect to find verb forms like the following:

(10.3) badnandhunuwarnindhurhu
badna-ndhu-nuwarni-ndhu-rhu
go-CONT-PASTlie/fall-CONT-SITV
*he kept walking about* *he might keep falling*

yagandhundya yagandhuga
yaga-ndhu-ndyayaga-ndhu-ga
seek-CONT-PERF seek-CONT-IMP
*he has been searching* *keep on searching!*  

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Remember that the past-tense suffix \(-nV\) and the subjunctive mood suffix \(-rhV\) harmonise with vowels that come in front of them. The imperative suffix \(-ga\) does not appear to harmonise with a preceding \(u\), only with a preceding \(i\).

10.1.1

A note has been added to Schürmann’s grammar to the effect that the affix \(-ndhuru\) carries middle voice or reciprocal continuous meaning, in that it incorporates the intransitive verbaliser \(-ri\) (see below), which shows up in this environment as \(-ru\): \(-ndbu-ru\). This would be logical and consistent, were it not that the forms \(-ndhu\) and \(-ndhuru\) are in phonological complementary distribution, as noted. Schürmann appears to draw an analogy between the continuous form \(nhunggundhurudhu\) (nungkunturrutu) and reciprocal \(widiridhi\) (wittirriti). However the reciprocal form of the verb \(nhunggu\) ‘give’ which corresponds to reciprocal \(widiridhi\) ‘spear each other’ is both \(nhunggungaridhi\) (nungkungarriti) ‘give to each other, exchange’ and \(nhungguridhi\) (nungkurriti) (see below). Although Schürmann’s analysis is certainly appealing on morphological grounds, without further evidence I would be inclined to reject it on phonological grounds.

10.1.2 Reduplication

An event’s continuous aspect or its repetition, its intense occurrence or energetic performance, may all be signalled by reduplication; that is, the doubling-up of a verb root. There are a number of examples of this in Schürmann’s vocabulary; for example, the root \(bada\) ‘drive away’ may be reduplicated and made intransitive to depict ongoing or multiple acts of driving away: \(bada-bada-ri\) ‘disperse, scatter’ (see 10.2b below). An example of the use of this verb is shown here:

(10.4) nungurruru kundatanna mai mundulturringe
(40) nhungurruru gurndadhanha mayi munduldurri-gi,
    nhungurruru gurnda-dha-nha mayi munduldu-ri-ngi
    careful hit-PRES-2.3.pl food European-HUM.PL.-ERG
The noun *ngubi* 'darkness' may be reduplicated and made into a verb *nguburuburu-ri* meaning 'be pitch black'. This verb's reduplicated stem is probably constructed as follows: \[\text{ngubi}_1\text{-ri-ubi}_2\text{-ri}\] → \[\text{dark}_1\text{-VBLZR-dark}_2\text{-VBLZR}\], with the second occurrence of *ngubi* (*ubi*_2) missing its first consonant, and with vowel harmony extending rightwards from the vowel in the first syllable *ngu*. The use of intransitive verbalisers in Barngarla is discussed in Sections 10.2 and 10.3 below.

Some words are reduplicated simply because they denote messy or scattered things, such as *birrgi-birrgi* 'bits and pieces'.

### 10.2 Intransitive verbalisers with stative meaning

As pointed out in Section 4.1.2, the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is important in Barngarla, although it is not so obviously important in English. Barngarla has one set of derivational suffixes that make intransitive verbs, and another to make transitive verbs. In this section I will look at the endings that make intransitive verbs in Barngarla.

Schürmann records endings he spells *iti* and *nniti*, by means of which 'adjectives … are rendered into verbs' (1844: 14). The last syllable of these shapes is the present-tense suffix *-dhi*. This leaves two endings dedicated to the purpose he states, *-i* and *-ni*. This second shape occurs in his vocabulary spelled *nniti*, *nniti*, and once as *rnniti*; the ending appears to be phonemic *-ni* or *-rni*, and it may be that different words select one or the other of these shapes. There is another intransitive verbalising suffix *-ri*, which he does not mention, but is nonetheless evident in his vocabulary.

Adnyamathanha has intransitive derivational affixes *-i* and *-ri* (Schebeck 1974: 16-18), and Kuyani has intransitive verbalisers *-ni* (Hercus 2006a) and *-ri* (Hercus 2006c). Wirangu has an intransitive verbaliser *-ri*, with stative and inchoative functions (Hercus 1999: 101-2). There is good evidence that Barngarla uses all three of these shapes for this purpose.
10.2.1

When an adjective, a noun or another verb is inflected for one of these suffixes, one or other of two meanings may be signalled. The first meaning is stative: this means that something exists as or in a certain state of being. The following examples show the suffix -(r)ni used for this purpose. The first set I will look at are adjectives that are turned into intransitive verbs:

| adjective: | garnba empty, hungry | irri clean |
| intr. verb: | garnbanidhi | irrinidhi |
|            | garnba-ni-dhi | irri-ni-dhi |
|            | hungry-VBLZR-PRES | clean-VBLZR-PRES |
| being: | empty, hungry | being clean |

| adjective: | gangi self-willed, impetuous, resolute |
| intr. verb: | ganginidhi |
|            | gangi-ni-dhi |
|            | resolute-VBLZR-PRES |
| being: | self-willed, resolute |

Nouns can also be made into intransitive verbs this way:

| noun: | gaga head | gugarha staff, stick |
| intr. verb: | gaganidhi | gugarmidhi |
|            | gaga-ni-dhi | guga-rni-dhi |
|            | head-VBLZR-PRES | staff-VBLZR-PRES |
| rising: | coming up, growing | leaning on (something) |
Mark Clendon

noun: marrga  one day/24 hours

intr verb: marrganidhi

marrga-ni-dhi
day-VBLZR-PRES

*staying for a day, staying overnight*

Wirangu has *gugura* 'long-handled toy throwing stick' (Miller et al. 2010: 40), with a note that this word is widespread around Lake Eyre; Adnyamathanha, however, has *kukurha* 'pointed throwing stick used in games' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 34). I will prefer McEntee & McKenzie's transcription here, as likely being more reliable in this instance.

In Schürmann’s vocabulary, there are two transitive verbs that can be made intransitive with this suffix:

trans verb: garladha *call, hail (someone)*

intrans verb: garlanidhi
garla-ni-dhi
call-VBLZR-PRES

call out

Kuyani has a transitive verb *karlda-* 'call out to someone' (Hercus 2006a), showing that the lateral cluster here is retroflex.

10.2.2

Although the suffix -(r)ni appears to be used more with adjectives and nouns, and with only two verbs, the suffix -ri is found on lots of transitive verbs, making them intransitive. Here are some examples from Schürmann’s vocabulary:
Wirangu has *badabadarn* 'brush off' (Miller et al. 2010: 2), and Adnyamathanha has *ngara-* 'be born, give birth' and *yari-* 'dress, wear clothes' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 40, 98). Barngarla has an idiomatic expression using the derived intransitive verb *yari-ri-* 'be covered':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(10.5) penyinge} & \quad \text{yarririti} \\
\text{(82) binyingi} & \quad \text{yariridhi} \\
\text{binyi-ngi} & \quad \text{yari-ri-dhi} \\
\text{pain-INST} & \quad \text{cover-VBLZR-PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

being covered with pain, feeling pain all over the body

The suffix *-ri* is also used on intransitive verbs to produce other intransitive verbs: it is not always evident how these newly derived verbs are different in meaning from their original underived versions; only access to the way language was used by native speakers with full control of their language would allow us to discover some of the differences in meaning here. Some examples Schürmann has in his vocabulary are the following:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intr. verb</th>
<th>galgudhu <em>be in pain</em></th>
<th>malidhi <em>slip, fall</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>derived intr. verb:</td>
<td>galguridhi</td>
<td>maliridhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>galgu-ri-dhi</td>
<td>mali-ri-dhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pain-VBLZR-PRES</td>
<td>slip-VBLZR-PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>being sick</em></td>
<td><em>dissolving, being powerless</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intr. verb:</th>
<th>iridhi <em>move, shift</em></th>
<th>warnadha <em>abound, be plentiful</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>derived intr. verb:</td>
<td>iriridhi</td>
<td>warnaridhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iri-ri-dhi</td>
<td>wanna-ri-dhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>move-VBLZR-PRES</td>
<td>abound-VBLZR-PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>keep moving, be restless</em></td>
<td><em>abound, be confused</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intr. verb:</th>
<th>marrgadha <em>be stuck, be tight</em></th>
<th>binyidhi <em>be painful, hurt</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>derived intr. verb:</td>
<td>marrgaridhi</td>
<td>binyiridhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marrga¹-ri-dhi</td>
<td>binyi-ri-dhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stick-VBLZR-PRES</td>
<td>pain-VBLZR-PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>adhering, sticking</em></td>
<td><em>feeling pain</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives as well may take the suffix *-ri* to form intransitive verbs:

**adjective:** ganuganu *sheltered, warm* | mawurhu *black*

**intr verb:** ganuganuridhidhi | mawurhuridhidhi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ganuganu-ri-dhi</th>
<th>mawurhu-ri-dhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warm-VBLZR-PRES</td>
<td>black-VBLZR-PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>feeling hot</em></td>
<td><em>being black</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This root is probably homonymous with *marrga* 'day' seen above.
Wirangu has *marhu* 'black' (Miller et al. 2010: 57), Kuyani has *mantha-mantha* 'moist, fresh' (Hercus 2006a) and Adnyamathanha has *mantha* 'fresh (as meat)'.

Just as only two transitive verbs in Schürmann's vocabulary take the intransitive verbalising suffix -(r)ni, so only two nouns take the verbaliser -ri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Intr verb</th>
<th>Intransitive verbaliser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>binyi pain, hurt</td>
<td>binyiridhi</td>
<td>wirrubaridhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirrubu row, line</td>
<td>binyi-ri-dhi</td>
<td>wirruba-ri-dhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line-VBLZR-PRES</td>
<td>pain-VBLZR-PRES</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of adjectives end in the sounds -ra, -rhu or -ru. When the intransitive verbaliser -ri is attached to these adjectives, the -ra, -rhu or -ru sound is usually (but not always) dropped off. This means that sequences that may have started out as -ra-ri, -rhu-ri and -ru-ri all end up as -ri. Some of these adjectives and their corresponding intransitive verbs are shown here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADJECTIVE</th>
<th>DERIVED INTRANSITIVE VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yangara broad, wide</td>
<td>yangaridhi extending, spreading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warluru strong, headstrong</td>
<td>warlburidhi being strong, being persistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirluru long, tall</td>
<td>wirluridhi being long, being tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanybara sad</td>
<td>wanybaridhi feeling sad and lonely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilara sparse</td>
<td>bilaridhi being sparse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mark Clendon

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{manara} & \quad \text{slow, lazy} & \text{manaridhi} & \quad \text{being slow, lazy} \\
\text{barlbara} & \quad \text{dusty} & \text{barlbaridhi} & \quad \text{feel itchy, uncomfortable}
\end{align*}
\]

Adnyamathanha has *mana-mana* 'very slow, lazy' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 78), and *warlburu* 'strong' is from *warlbu* 'bone'.

10.2.3

The third intransitive verbaliser that Barngarla uses is -i: this shape replaces the final vowel of words that end in \(a\) and \(i\). When a word root ends in \(u\), the verbaliser -i changes to -u in harmony with that vowel. Here are some examples in three sets: the first set contains roots ending in \(a\), the second roots ending in \(i\), and the third contains roots ending in \(u\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barngarla</th>
<th>language name</th>
<th>barngarlidhi</th>
<th>speak Barngarla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bagamba</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>bagambidhi</td>
<td>be full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bumbara</td>
<td>plentiful, abundant</td>
<td>bumbaridhi</td>
<td>be plentiful, abound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ildarla</td>
<td>choked</td>
<td>ildarlidhi</td>
<td>be choked, breath heavily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binyi</td>
<td>pain</td>
<td>binyidhi</td>
<td>be painful, hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabmidi</td>
<td>wise, knowing</td>
<td>gabmididhi</td>
<td>become wise, learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurhi mandyarri</td>
<td>glad, merry</td>
<td>yurhi mandyarridhi</td>
<td>be pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumbu</td>
<td>urine</td>
<td>gumbudhu</td>
<td>wet with urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalygu</td>
<td>together, in company</td>
<td>yalygudhu</td>
<td>put together (come together?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marnarndu</td>
<td>very much</td>
<td>marnarndudhu</td>
<td>become large, grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munduldu</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>munduldidhi</td>
<td>live in a European manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course with pairs like *manara* 'slow' and *manaridhi* 'be slow', and *bumbara* 'abundant' and *bumbaridhi* 'abound', it is impossible to tell whether the final \(r\)a has been dropped and the verbaliser -ri added, or if \(a\) has been replaced by the verbaliser -i. But the outcomes are the same either way. The idiom *yurhi mandyarri* 'glad, merry, in good humour' is literally 'ear (= understanding) (yurhi) right (mandyarri)'.

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10.2.4

You may have noticed that some words may be verbalised in more than one way: that is to say that one root may accept (probably up to) two of the verbalisers -i, -ri and -(r)ni. Some of these multiple derivations are shown in Table 10.1 at the end of this chapter, in three columns with the translations given by Schürmann; again, it is often impossible to know what differences in meaning these different derivations signalled, or if any difference in meaning at all was signalled.

From the sentence example Schürmann offers, the core function of the word munu-munu 'at once' seems to have been as an expression of impatience; hence the meaning of the verbalisation seen in Table 10.1. Adnyamathanha has varlpá 'ashes' and vundhu-thi- 'blow dust off' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 62, 73).

10.3 Inchoative

The second meaning able to be conveyed by these suffixes is INCHOATIVE. This signals that some event, act or performance is beginning, or is becoming, or turning into something else: it depicts a state that has not yet been attained, but one which is on the point of being attained, or which is coming into being. We have already seen four derivations with this meaning, in gabmidi 'wise, knowing' → gabmididhi 'become wise, learn', yuga 'black' → yuganidhi 'become black', Munduldu 'European' → munduldidhi 'become (like) a European' and marnaarndu 'very much' → marnaarndudhu 'become large, grow'. This last is based on the adjective marna 'much, plentiful, large', which not only gives the adverb marnaarndu 'very much' and the inchoative verb marnaarndudhu 'increase, grow', but also another inchoative verb marnanidhi 'become plentiful'. Incidentally, Schürmann’s sentence example for this verb shows a derived form inflected for tense and mood endings other than present/future tense:

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2 Expressions denoting quantity, number and size are frequently collapsed; for example, the Latin adjective multus denotes both a large quantity and a large number, while parvus denotes both a small quantity and small size.
Mark Clendon

(10.6) ngai kudlu mannannintyara
(27) ngayi gudlu marnanindyarha
ngayi gudlu marna-ni-ndya-rha
I louse many-VBLZR-PERF-SJTV

*I might have become full of lice*

Kuyani has kudlu 'louse' (Hercus 2006a).

The inchoative verbs gabmididhi, munduldidhi and marnaarndudhu all show derivation by means of the -i/-u verbaliser. Apart from these, there are few inchoative verbs that are formed this way. A few more are formed using the verbaliser -ri:

birrgi-birrgi piecemeal, in pieces birrgi-birrgiridhi fall, crumble to pieces
wagari asunder, in pieces, broken wagariidhi fall asunder, break
mangiri well, healthy mangiridhi become well, convalesce, heal
nhani harmless nhaniridhi become blunt

And by far the most are formed using the verbaliser -(r)ni, which seems to be especially dedicated to signalling inchoative meaning. Important inchoative verbs meaning 'die, go out of existence' are formed from the negative adverbs madla and maga:

madla no, none madlanidhi become no more, die
maga not so, it is not magarnidhi be no more, die
imbanha ashes imbarnidhi become ashy
ganya stone, rock ganyanidhi become stone, harden, be obstinate
marna many marnanidhi become plentiful
mirla bad, wicked mirlanidhi become bad
mingga sore, sick, ill minggarnidhi become sore, ill
murla dry, dry land murlanidhi become dry
badya angry badyanidhi become angry
Wirangu has mirla 'lecherous' (Miller et al. 2010: 60) and Adnyamathanha has murla warru mityi 'chant for stopping rain' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 91), which probably contains murla 'dry'. Adnyamathanha also has imba 'ash' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 21).

10.4 Reflexive & reciprocal verbs

Barngarla has a suffix that Schürmann spells -ngarrri, which signals reflexive and reciprocal meanings. Adnyamathanha has a reflexive suffix -ngkari, and a reciprocal suffix -ngurhi (Schebeck 1974: 19). The Barngarla shape is probably a variant on the Adnyamathanha reflexive suffix, as -ngari, because, as Simpson & Hercus point out (2004: 190), a number of sonorant-stop clusters in Adnyamathanha (such as ngk) correspond sporadically to simple sonorants (such as ng) in Barngarla. Although reflexive and reciprocal meanings each have their own dedicated suffixes in Adnyamathanha, they share the same suffix in Barngarla.

10.4.1 Reflexive meaning in English is often signalled by pronouns ending in -self (myself, herself, themselves and so on) where these pronouns serve as objects of transitive verbs. So for the transitive verb ask, for example, I can ask a shopkeeper, where shopkeeper is the object, or I can ask myself, where myself is the object; and this makes a reflexive expression. However not all reflexive meanings are marked as reflexive. For example, the expression I'm shaving has reflexive meaning, but no reflexive marking. In English we just assume that an expression like I'm shaving means that I am shaving myself: to say I'm shaving myself sounds kind of odd, except in a hospital setting of some sort. We can, of course, always add a non-reflexive object in an expression such as I'm shaving my uncle's whiskers, where my uncle's whiskers is the object of shave.

Languages differ as to what kinds of action get openly marked as being reflexive, and what do not. In English I'm shaving isn’t marked as being reflexive, but in French it is: je me rase has the pronoun me 'myself', in an expression that translates literally as I shave myself. In English the sentence I'm called Jake has no reflexive marking and no reflexive meaning; whereas in French it has reflexive marking (the pronoun spelled m’), but still no reflexive meaning: je m'appelle Jacques; literally I call myself Jake, but with the same meaning as English I'm called Jake.
In English reciprocal meaning is often marked by the expression each other: so, ask each other, hug each other, and so on. Reciprocal expressions always involve plural subjects: you can say they are painting each other, but never *he is painting each other. And there is a difference in meaning between reciprocal they are painting each other and reflexive they are painting themselves. And again, reciprocal meaning is not always marked as such. A verb like fight can be used transitively as in they’re fighting the grassfire, where grassfire is the object, or intransitively and reciprocally as in they’re fighting. An expression like this in English is necessarily understood as being reciprocal: they’re fighting means that they are fighting each other.

What reflexive and reciprocal constructions have in common, is that the subjects of a reflexive or reciprocal verb are the same people as the verb’s objects. So in I ask myself the person doing the asking is the same person as he or she who is being asked. And in they’re hugging each other, the people doing the hugging are the same as those being hugged. While languages like English and Adnyamathanha distinguish between reflexive and reciprocal meanings, many languages, like Barngarla, do not.

**10.4.2**

Just as English has expressions like I’m shaving and they’re fighting, where reflexive and reciprocal meanings are not signalled openly, but are present nonetheless, so in Barngarla some derived intransitive verbs may have reflexive or reciprocal meanings without showing the reflexive/reciprocal suffix -ngari. The ones like this that Schürmann offers in his grammar and vocabulary are all derived with the intransitive verbaliser -ri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE VERB</th>
<th>DERIVED INTRANSITIVE VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reciprocal: yabmidhi scold, abuse</td>
<td>yabmiridhi quarrel, abuse each other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wididhi spear</td>
<td>widiridhi spear each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yalbadha hate</td>
<td>yalbaridhi hate each other, be enemies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflexive: nhambadha cover</td>
<td>nhambaridhi cover oneself, be covered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>budlidhi turn upside down</td>
<td>budliridhi turn oneself over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yalgadha warm up (by a fire)</td>
<td>yalgalaridhi make oneself warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngudhadha loosen, untie</td>
<td>ngudharidhi quarrel, argue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is not clear what the difference in meaning between *yalgadha* and *yalgalbaridhi* might be, but then language is full of redundancies like this. There is likewise no apparent difference in meaning between the derived intransitive verb *widiridhi* ’spear each other’ seen above, and an alternative version *widingaridhi*, without a gloss, but containing the reflexive/reciprocal suffix and which clearly must mean ’spear each other’ as well.

Some of the reciprocal and reflexive verbs found in Schürmann’s vocabulary with the suffix -*ngari* are listed below, with the transitive verbs from which they are derived:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE VERB</th>
<th>REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reflexive:</td>
<td>nhurdudhu fill, press in</td>
<td>nhurdungaridhi rub (oneself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buludhu wipe, brush, sweep</td>
<td>bulungaridhi wipe oneself, wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yarlidhi lay hold, detain</td>
<td>yarlingaridhi hide oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>irradha keep off, defend</td>
<td>irrangaridhi disengage oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>warringaridhi cut oneself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reciprocal:</td>
<td>nhalhadha name, call</td>
<td>nhalhangaridhi fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>garadha pick a fight</td>
<td>garangaridhi fight (each other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>garladha call, hatl</td>
<td>garlangaridhi call to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nhunggudhu give</td>
<td>nhunggungaridhi exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wididhi spear, pierce</td>
<td>widingaridhi spear each other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schürmann has *badya garadha* ‘commence a quarrel’ as an illustration of the transitive verb *garadha*. *Badya* is an adjective ’angry’, and the relationship here is probably the same as that between *nhalhadha* and *nhalhangaridhi* also seen in the above table.

Some of the semantic connections between transitive verbs and their reflexive/reciprocal counterparts may only have been obvious within some discourse context. Occasionally Schürmann offers such a context, as with the non-obvious connection between *nhurdudhu* ’fill, press in’ and *nhurdungaridhi* ’rub (oneself)’.
Again, there is little or no point in trying to translate reflexive/reciprocal meanings from one language to another: 'be named' is a formally reflexive verb in French and Barngarla, but not in English.

As these expressions all contain derived intransitive verbs, we may expect them to require nominative-case subjects, although Schürmann offers no sentence examples containing these verbs with their subjects stated.

10.5 Middle verbs

Many intransitive verbs bear the stem shape -ri in their make-up, without appearing to be derived from any base form to be found in Schürmann’s dictionary. These may represent gaps in Schürmann’s vocabulary, where he simply has not recorded base forms, or they may represent a class of intransitive verbs that are always uttered with the stem shape -ri- appearing after a bi- or even a trisyllabic root. And if this is the case, as it is likely to be, then Barngarla may claim to have a distinct class of middle verbs, that is, a class of verbs that may not occur without a dedicated intransitivising morphology built into their composition. Some examples of this class are mirrgaridhi 'be startled', balgiridhi 'crack, break, become loose', barlagaridhi 'rise, get up, hasten', barlaridhi 'shine, be lighted, enlightened', biyi-biyiridhi 'blush, be shy, ashamed', muwaridhi 'be engaged in' and gudriridhi 'be silent, sullen'. All of these meanings are entirely consistent with their verbs’ middle-voicing morphology.3

10.5.1

Many verbs with reflexive/reciprocal marking in Barngarla also carry mediopassive or middle voice meaning, in which some activity denoted by a verb involves only the

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3. These verbs are analogous to middle verbs in Homeric Greek, such as δύναμαι 'I can', ἵκνεομαι 'I arrive' and ἀμείβομαι 'I answer'.
actor, with no other person or thing being concerned. Note that although these verbs bear reflexive/reciprocal morphology (-ngari), they do not have reflexive/reciprocal meanings. Some of these are listed here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE VERB</th>
<th>MEDIOPASSIVE VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yardadha cover, shut</td>
<td>yardayangaridhi be choked, shut up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milidhi do, make</td>
<td>milingaridhi busy oneself, work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marnidhi smell</td>
<td>marningaridhi smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhagudhu see, understand</td>
<td>nhagungaridhi be of dim sight, be about to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngarragungaridhi be pretty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bidlangaridhi walk slowly, tarry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While we cannot be sure of the difference in meaning between marnidhi and marningaridhi, both meaning ‘smell’, we can easily guess: the transitive verb marnidhi probably means ‘perceive an odour’ (I smell a dead fish), while the mediopassive verb marningaridhi probably means ‘emit an odour’ (that dead fish smells). One of the problems encountered in Schürmann’s vocabulary may be exemplified by the following observation: he lists verbs nunata ‘push’ and nunangarriti ‘lie sleeping’. Because we do not know the shape of the second nasals in these verbs (nh, n or rn) we cannot tell if the intransitive meaning is derived from the transitive, or if they represent two distinct lexical entries (which seems more likely, going by their translations).

Other verbs with reflexive/reciprocal/middle marking have the same, or almost the same, translations as their transitive counterparts: again, we would have to observe the use of these forms in some discourse context to discover their meanings more precisely. Some that Schürmann lists are shown here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE VERB</th>
<th>MEDIOPASSIVE VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhambidhi lick</td>
<td>nhambingaridhi lick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguwendha ask, entreat, pray</td>
<td>nguwangaridhi entreat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurrulbudhu accompany, bring, follow</td>
<td>yurrulbungaridhi follow, accompany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mark Clendon

Just as the French verb 'to be called/named', s'appeller, has reflexive morphology, so has the equivalent verb in Barngarla, barlaningaridhi 'to be named, have the name'. This verb is composed of the following parts:

barla-ni-ngari-dhi

name-VBLZR-RFLX-PRES

is/am/are called

This is one of four verbs in Schürmann’s vocabulary with a form -ni-, -i- or -ri- appearing before the reflexive/reciprocal suffix -ngari. We know that the shape -ni- here is an intransitive verbalising affix because Barngarla verb roots may (usually, at least) contain only two syllables. Another verb more clearly shows two versions, one with an intransitive verbaliser, and the other with both an intransitive verbaliser and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix; these are based on the noun and adjective wayi 'fear, afraid':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASE</th>
<th>DERIVED WITH -ni/i</th>
<th>DERIVED WITH -ni/i/ri-ngari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wayi fear</td>
<td>wayinidhi be afraid</td>
<td>wayiningaridhi be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina eye</td>
<td>minaringaridhi deny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>barlanidhi pronounce, name</td>
<td>barlaningaridhi be named</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurhi mandyarri</td>
<td>yurhi mandyarringaridhi</td>
<td>yurhi mandyarringaridhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>be happy</td>
<td>be happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Going by their English translations, none of the verbs in the right-hand column have reflexive or reciprocal meanings: rather they describe internal psychological states, or situations that refer only to their subjects. Again, there is no apparent difference in meaning between the two verbs based on wayi, nor the two based on yurhi mandyarri. The noun mina 'eye' is used in a number of predicates having to do with hiding, avoiding and concealing, and the verb minaringaridhi clearly shows what must be a verbaliser -ri in front of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix. From its translation, the meaning of the verb barlanidhi would appear to be transitive, yet it is labelled in Schürmann’s vocabulary as v. (verb); this is how he usually labelled intransitive verbs.
Transitive verbs are labelled *v.a.* (active verb), so we may presume that Schürmann could have understood *barlanidhi* to be intransitive. A better translation of this verb may have been 'recite' or 'declaim'.

And again, Schürmann offers no sentence examples that clearly show reflexive/reciprocal verbs with stated subjects, so we have no direct evidence as to what case the subjects of such verbs take. In some Australian languages, such as the Western Desert Language, verbs with reflexive/reciprocal marking require ergative case subjects, but Thura-Yura languages appear to be different. In line with the middle-voice meaning of some reflexive/reciprocal-marked Barngarla verbs, we could expect nominative-case subjects; and this is the situation as well in Wirangu, where reflexive/reciprocal verbs take nominative subjects (Hercus 1999: 109). Schebeck, too, with reference to Adnyamathanha, states that Adnyamathanha verbs with the reflexive suffix *-ngkari* (=Barngarla *-ngari*) are 'always construed intransitively' (Schebeck 1974: 252).

### 10.5.2

Despite what has been suggested in Section 4.1.1, it is possible that the stem *barlagari*- 'rise, hasten' may actually be constructed of a disyllabic root *barla-* and a (possibly archaic) iterative stem *-gari-* (c.f. Section 4.4.4), perhaps frozen onto the root to make a stem *barla-gari*-. Southern varieties of the Western Desert language such as Tjuparn use *-karri-* as an iterative stem (Clendon 2011). Further examination of Schürmann’s vocabulary will be needed to confirm or discredit this suggestion.

### 10.6 Present participles

A property that appears to be confined to derived intransitive verbs, is the capacity to form present participles (verbal adjectives) by way of a suffix that Schürmann spells as both *-ndi* and *-nti*. Although this ending could be a variation upon the ubiquitous Thura-Yura present-tense shape *-ndhi*, we have no evidence for this one way or the other. The only verbs from which such participles may be formed, are those derived by way of the verbalising suffix *-ri*. Examples of these participles found in Schürmann’s vocabulary, along with the derived verbs from which the participles are in their turn derived, are shown below:
The final two items in this list are less than completely certain: *bidnirindi* is questioned in Schürmann’s vocabulary, and while intransitive *garnmiridhi* *be encircled, enclosed* is not found there, it may be confidently predicted on the basis of the adjective *garnmi* *encircled, enclosed* and causative *garnmiringudhu* *encircle, enclose, defend, screen* (see Section 10.7.1 below). The word *mawurhurindi* has no gloss in Schürmann’s vocabulary; the translation provided here is likely. There is as well an adjective *yuwindi* *friendless, without relatives* and a verb *yuwidhi* *ward off?*; these words may or may not be related. Schürmann was unsure of the meaning of this verb, in any case. For Wirangu, Hercus (1999: 119-29) lists a number of verbal participial functions signalled by a number of suffixes, almost any one of which could correspond to the forms under consideration here. Unfortunately, Schürmann offers very few sentence examples of these; the most convincing is:

(10.8) kakkurindinge wappetanna

(10) gagurindingi wabidhanha
gagu-ri-ndi-ngi wabi-dha-nha
intend-VBLZR-PPL-ERG do-PRES-2,3,pl

*they do it intentionally*
Adnyamathanha has *wapi* - 'make up (a song)' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 112) and Schürmann has *wabidhi* 'do, make'.

### 10.7 Causative

As well as having affixes that turn words, including transitive verbs, into *intransitive* verbs, Barngarla also has affixes -*ngu* and -*nggu* that turn *intransitive* verbs into *transitive* verbs. It is also used to enable transitive verbs to take on more than one object. Adnyamathanha and Kuyani, too, have transitive derivational affixes -*ngu* and -*ngku* (Schebeck 1974: 16-18, Hercus 2006a). The form -*ngu* is more common in Barngarla, with -*nggu* being less common. The usual kind of transitive derivation is causativisation: that is, turning a transitive predicate into one that expresses cause or causation.

English has causative verbs, the most common being *make*, as applied to an expression like *he went* to turn it into *I made him go*. Here *made him go* means *caused him to go*. Some verbs have causative meaning built-in: *raise* means *cause (something) to go up*, as in *the flag went up* versus *I raised the flag* (= *I made the flag go up*). Sometimes verbs can be used either intransitively, such as *run* and *sit*, as in *he ran* and *he sat*, or with causative meaning, as in *I ran them down the chute* (= *I caused them to run …*) and *I sat him down* (= *I caused him to sit down/I made him sit down*).

While Barngarla does not have distinct causative verbs like English *make*, the affix -*ngu* does very much the same work. Some Barngarla intransitive verbs and their transitive, causative counterparts are shown in Table 10.2 at the end of this chapter. With reference to this table, Schürmann’s dictionary has *mangalla* 'peaceable, friendly’, the base for *mangarlidhi*, and *murriri* 'well, healthy’, the base for *murriridhi*. The dictionary also lists a verb *wanningutu* 'give', different from the usual verb with this meaning, which is *nhunggudhu*. This may be unrelated to *warnidhi* 'fall'; or it may be a euphemism from the causative derivation *warningudhu* 'drop, let fall’, along the lines, *drop (something) → release possession of it → pass possession to someone else*. Where Schürmann has *puttutu* 'ache, tear’, Kuyani has an intransitive verb *putthurru-ni-* 'break to pieces', which Hercus (2006a) also spells *puturrnu-ni-* , and which may be related to the Barngarla word meaning 'ache'.

For reasons that will become apparent, the causative morpheme will be glossed **appl** (applicative) in sentence examples. Schürmann offers very few sentences to illustrate causative constructions, but one example he does show is the following:
Here we see the intransitive verb *iridhi* 'move' as imperative *iriganha* 'move, you lot', being used next to its causative counterpart, *iringudhu* 'cause to move'. Literally, this sentence reads, 'a man causes women to move/a man makes women move, thus: ...' This sentence may be taken from a ceremonial context in which women are excluded from some part of the proceedings. Schürmann translates *iringudhu* as 'separate', but this is clearly not the sense of the word employed in the sentence above.

10.7.1

Derived intransitive verbs can also be made causative. In this case there is often a base-form noun or adjective, from which is first derived an intransitive verb, then a causative verb from that in turn. Some examples of causative verbs derived from derived intransitive verbs, which may be seen in Schürmann’s vocabulary, are shown in Table 10.3 at the end of this chapter. In relation to this table we may note that Adnyamathanha has *ngarla* 'plenty, much' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 41).

Mediopassive verbs, too, freely form transitive causative versions, as may be seen in Table 10.4 at the end of this chapter.

Sometimes Schürmann’s dictionary offers us an adjective or a transitive verb, and a causative verb clearly derived from an intransitivised version of the original
adjective or transitive verb, but without the intransitivised version itself occurring in the dictionary. We have seen one example of this above, with the adjective garnmi 'encircled, enclosed' and the causative verb garnmiringudhu 'encircle, enclose (= cause to be encircled, enclosed)’. Given these two forms, we may predict the occurrence of a derived intransitive form garnmiridhi* 'be encircled, enclosed'. A couple more series with gaps like this appearing in the dictionary are shown in Table 10.5 at the end of this chapter. In this table the hypothesised derived intransitive forms are marked with asterisks.

In this table, note that many languages have cooking in two versions: intransitive mediopassive, such as the porridge is cooking, and transitive, such as I'm cooking the porridge. The Barngarla causative form seen in Table 10.5 seems to be based on an intransitive version not appearing in Schürmann’s vocabulary.

Occasionally causative affixes could be attached directly to a noun or adjective: based on the noun/adjective wayi 'fear, afraid', for example, Schürmann has wayingudhu 'frighten (cause to be afraid)'.

10.8 Benefactive & applicative

In both Kuyani and Barngarla the causative suffixes -ngu and -ngku/-nggu can signal benefactive as well as causative meanings (see Hercus 2006a for Kuyani). In both languages this suffix allows verbs, both transitive and intransitive, to take an extra object they would not otherwise be able to have.

English can do this, too, but in a different way: English simply adds a benefactive noun or pronoun. Looking at the verb bake, for example, it can be transitive with one object, as in I'm baking a cake. It can also be transitive with two objects, as in I'm baking you a cake, where the objects are both you and a cake, and where you is in a benefactive role: that is, it stands for someone who is benefiting from the event. In Barngarla, on the other hand, no extra pronoun need be added, but the suffix -ngu attached to a verb may signal that the action is being performed for the benefit of someone, stated or unstated.

10.8.1

Many of the verbs in Schürmann’s vocabulary with -ngu added to them start out transitive, but going by their translations clearly do not end up being causative. They
are almost certainly benefactive or applicative, but their meanings, as benefactives, are elusive because of the very few sentence examples Schürmann provides, without which we are unlikely to be able to fully understand how they work. Two sentence examples containing benefactive verbs illustrate the pair *irradha* 'keep off, defend, protect' and *irrangudhu* 'protect, defend, claim'. The difference in meaning here is not causative. For the sake of comparison, two sentences are presented below to illustrate the verb *irradha* as it occurs without benefactive marking:

(10.10) ngarryyelbo ninna iratanna

(7) ngarinyarlbu nhina irradhanha
   ngarinyarlbu nhina irra-dha-nha
   we you protect-PRES-2,3.pl
   we will defend you

In this transitive sentence the object is *nhina* 'you', the person being protected from some threat.

(10.11) kutyu yurarringe iratanna

(7) gudyu yurharringi irradhanha
    gudyu yurha-rri-ngi irra-dha-nha
    other man-HUM.PL.-ERG protect-PRES-2,3.pl

*the other men keep us off*

This sentence is also transitive — we can tell this by the ergative marking on the subject noun — but the object is not stated. Here *us* is apparently an object (we only know this from Schürmann’s translation), but rather than being the person or thing protected, *us* constitutes a threat.

Now look at the same verb, with benefactive (-ngu) marking:

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4 See Section 10.8.3 below.

5 Note that the '2,3.pl' morpheme appearing here with a 1pl subject.
Adnyamathanha has yarta 'ground' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 93). In this sentence the stated object is again the thing being protected, yarda 'land', but benefactive marking tells us that it is being protected for someone's benefit; in this case for the benefit of the people performing acts that constitute 'protection'; that is, keeping others off it. The same consideration applies in the next sentence:

A likely scenario in which this sentence was uttered, is one in which some Barngarla people had formed a relationship with Schürmann, and were keeping the material benefits resulting from that relationship for themselves, that is, away from other people. Again, the beneficiaries of this act of 'protecting' (that is, keeping other people away from Schürmann's house, and hence away from closer association with him and his goods) were those who were doing the protecting.

Some other verbs with possible benefactive derivation are listed below. We have only Schürmann's translations to go by, so this interpretation must be tentative at this stage:
Schürmann has minnata 'walk in a stooping posture' etc., as well as menata 'steal'. These could contain different roots, but as both meanings have to do with visibility or anti-visibility (concealment), it is likely that they are both based on the root mina 'eye', in which case they are different sense meanings of the same verb. On this see also comments in Section 7.5.10.

10.8.2

Note the stem wanga-ngu- 'tell, inform' above, rather than expected *wangga-ngu-. Simpson & Hercus (2004: 190) cite wangu-ngu- 'tell somebody' in Adnyamathanha as an instance of a velar nasal-stop cluster (*ngk) reduced to a nasal under nasal-cluster dissimilation, but the outcome here is assimilation to the nasal in the following syllable, not dissimilation. For Adnyamathanha McEntee & McKenzie (1992: 107-8) have wangka- 'speak, talk', wangka-nga- 'tell', and wangngu-[sic] 'talk, tell'. Schebeck (1974: 17, 28), with indeterminate glossing, has wangkatyu-angu '(he) would say/speak', wangungathu-angu 'I would say/speak', and wangka-angkata 'I have explained'. From this it would appear that Adnyamathanha has both stems wangka-nga- and wangu- for 'tell', and therefore wangu-ngu- with benefactive or other applicative derivation is likely. It is not uncommon in many languages for words or affixes marking causativity to be used as well to signal benefactive and other applicative meanings. On this see e.g. Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002).

10.8.3

While inviting is a kind of telling with a beneficiary (see above), and while informing is a kind of talking with a beneficiary, and while creating could be a kind of making
with a beneficiary, watching a bird or animal could be stalking with a beneficiary (the hunter), or it could be stalking with a victim (the bird or animal). That is to say that verbs marked with -ngu could code someone as either a beneficiary, or as a person affected in some other way by the action of the verb. So minangudhu, 'hide, conceal' could code a beneficiary, the person who is to benefit by concealment, or a victim, someone who is disadvantaged, inconvenienced or threatened by the concealment. This derivational way of signalling the presence of objects involved or affected — for good or ill — by an action, is called applicative; and this is what we could be seeing in some of the transitive verbs derived by -ngu/-ngku in Schürmann’s vocabulary. Other likely candidates for applicative readings are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive Derivation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilgadha</td>
<td>look askance, scowl</td>
<td>ilgaringudhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garldiridhi</td>
<td>be clamorous, beg</td>
<td>garldiringudhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yari (ADJ)</td>
<td>greedy, stingy</td>
<td>yaringudhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb ilgadha has an intransitive meaning, and the transitive derivation ilgaringudhu is based on an intransitive form derived by -ri. Here envying appears to be a kind of scowling directed at a highly salient object (the person envied); and the kind of wanting depicted here by garldiringudhu is begging with respect to a specific goal or objective. Begging (yaringudhu) in Barngarla is being greedy or stingy, also with respect to a specific goal or adjective. The Barngarla verb garldi- 'be clamorous' is clearly related to the verb garla- 'call out' seen in Section 10.2.1.

### 10.8.4

Verbs made transitive by causative or benefactive derivation may now be made intransitive again, apparently in order to add a reflexive or reciprocal meaning to the applicative meanings created so far. We have very little information on these forms, but they appear to have been constructed using the applicative affix -ngu- followed by the intransitive verbaliser -ri-, to make a shape -ngu-ri-. The correspondences that may be observed in Schürmann’s vocabulary are shown in Table 10.6 at the end of this chapter.

With respect to Table 10.6 I may note that the verbs wangganguridhi 'converse' and budnananguridhi 'visit each other' have clearly reciprocal meanings, which motivate their derivation from hypothesised benefactive forms meaning 'tell, inform'
Mark Clendon

and 'come with some particular purpose'. But neither of these derivations is without problems: the attested stem meaning 'tell, inform' is \textit{wanga-ngu-} (see above), not \textit{wangga-ngu-}, although there is likely to have been some variation here. The reciprocal shape meaning 'visit each other' has an extra syllable \textit{-na-}, which I will take to be a variation on the intransitive verbaliser \textit{-ni}. And after two derivations, the originally transitive verb meaning 'call, name' ends up intransitive.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASE</th>
<th>DERIVED WITH (-i/-u)</th>
<th>DERIVED WITH (-ri)</th>
<th>DERIVED WITH (-(r)ni)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>binyi pain</td>
<td>binyidhi be painful</td>
<td>binyiridhi feel pain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalygu together</td>
<td>yalygudhu mixing</td>
<td>yalyguridhi assemble, gather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilburlu remote</td>
<td></td>
<td>wilburlaridhi being distant</td>
<td>wilburlunidhi being distant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munu-munu at once</td>
<td>munu-munidhi be tired of (something)</td>
<td>munu-muniridhi be tired of (something)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngunha yonder</td>
<td>ngunhidhi motion with the hand, beckon</td>
<td>ngunhiridhi show with the hand, count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngubi darkness</td>
<td></td>
<td>nguburubidhi be pitch dark</td>
<td>ngubinidhi be dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barbara dusty</td>
<td></td>
<td>barbaridhi feel itchy</td>
<td>barbanidhi be itchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuga dark, black</td>
<td></td>
<td>yugiridhi to shine black</td>
<td>yuganidhi become black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munduldu European</td>
<td>munduldidhi live in a European manner</td>
<td>mundulduridhi live in a European manner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive verb</td>
<td>Causative counterpart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuwadha  <em>stand</em></td>
<td>yuwangudhu  <em>raise, erect (=cause (someone/something) to stand)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warnidhi  <em>fall</em></td>
<td>warningudhu  <em>let fall, throw down, drop (=cause to fall)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iridhi  <em>move, be moving</em></td>
<td>iringudhu  <em>cause (someone/something) to move</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurrugudhu  <em>be giddy, stupid</em></td>
<td>gurrugungudhu  <em>make giddy, confound (=cause to become giddy)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangarlidhi  <em>be friendly</em></td>
<td>mangarlingudhu  <em>make peace, pacify (=cause to be friendly)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murriridhi  <em>be well</em></td>
<td>murriringudhu  <em>make well, amend (=cause to become well)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngamadha  <em>go, come, run</em></td>
<td>ngamangudhu  <em>make come, fetch (=cause to come)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badnadha  <em>go</em></td>
<td>badnanggudhu  <em>send (=cause to go)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>budhudhu  <em>ache</em></td>
<td>budhunggudhu  <em>make (something) ache</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASE</td>
<td>DERIVED INTRANSITIVE</td>
<td>CAUSATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapara</td>
<td>dirty</td>
<td>maparnidhi <em>be dirty</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birrgi-birrgi</td>
<td>bits &amp; pieces</td>
<td>birrgi-birrgiridhi <em>crumble/fall to pieces</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balbara</td>
<td>dusty</td>
<td>balbaridhi <em>be itchy, uncomfortable</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilara</td>
<td>thin, sparse</td>
<td>bilaridhi <em>be sparse, scattered</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irri</td>
<td>clean</td>
<td>irrinidhi <em>be clean</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaga</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>gaganidhi <em>rise, come up, grow</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagari</td>
<td>asunder, in pieces</td>
<td>wagaridhi <em>break, fall asunder</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galgara</td>
<td>narrow, close</td>
<td>galgaridhi <em>draw close together</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarla</td>
<td>much, many</td>
<td>ngarlanidhi <em>become large, grow</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>maparningudhu <em>(someone/something) to be dirty</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>birrgi-birrgiringudhu <em>(someone) break</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(something) into pieces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>balbaringudhu <em>make dusty, dirty</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bilaringudhu <em>make scarce, consume</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>irriningudhu <em>make clean, purify</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gaganingudhu <em>raise, rear, make grow</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wagaringudhu <em>tear, break</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>galgaringudhu <em>close up, shut in</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarlaningudhu <em>make grow, increase</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.4: Causative verbs from medio-passives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mirrgaridhi be startled</td>
<td>mirrgaringudhu surprise, frighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balgiridhi crack, break, become loose</td>
<td>balgiringudhu crack, break, as an egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barlagaridhi rise, get up, hasten</td>
<td>barlagaringudhu raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barlaridhi shine, be lighted, enlightened</td>
<td>barlaringudhu enlighten, instruct, inform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyi-biyiridhi blush, be shy, ashamed</td>
<td>biyi-biyiringudhu make ashamed, say things to blush at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudliridhi be silent, sullen</td>
<td>gudliringudhu make silent, quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJECTIVE</td>
<td>DERIVED INTRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garnmi</td>
<td><em>be enclosed</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idla</td>
<td><em>be clean, light-coloured</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambadha</td>
<td><em>cook</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.6: Intransitives derived from applicatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>UNDERIVED VERB</td>
<td>INTRANS</td>
<td>APPLICATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wanggadha speak</td>
<td>wangga-ngu-* tell, inform</td>
<td>wangganguridhi converse, talk together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>budnadha come, return budna-ni-*</td>
<td>budna-ni-ngu-*</td>
<td>budnananguridhi visit each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>binkyadha call, name binky-a-ngu-*</td>
<td>binkyanguridhi be named</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derived intransitive and applicative shapes (columns 2 and 3) are not found in the dictionary, but are hypothesised to occur on the basis of material found in columns 1 and 4.
Schürmann presents a set of non-finite verb forms, but with little by way of illustration as to show how they are used. He distinguishes infinitive moods, gerunds and participles as follows, with his spelling and translations:

**infinitive:** ngukayu/ngukayi *to go*  
ngukayuru *for to go*  

**wittiyi *to spear***  
**wittiyuru *for to spear***

**gerunds:** ngukantanga *in going*  
ngukanturlungu *in or during going*  
ngukaintyaranga *for going, on account of going***

**wittintingi *in spearing***  
**wittinturlungu *during spearing***  
**wittintyaranga *for, on account of spearing***

**wittilidni *spearing***

**wittilambo *spearing***

**participle:** ngukanyalla —  

**wittinyalla *spearing***

These forms take no tense endings, which is what is meant by the term 'non-finite'. Some clearly display vowel harmony, while others just as clearly resist it. About most of them we have no information whatsoever: only two of these suffixes are illustrated in any detail in Schürmann’s grammar and vocabulary.
11.1 Infinitives

Although I have not found any verbs ending in -yu or -yi in Schürmann’s grammar or dictionary, some there exhibit an infinitival ending he spells -yuru, which is likely to be phonemic -yurhu, containing the same purposive suffix -rhu that is seen on nouns at Section 7.4. This ending has INTENTION as an important part of its meaning. It is not effected by vowel harmony. It forms verbs with non-finite meanings, such as the following:

(11.1) irkelliyulluru ngalguyurungkalli?
(86) irrgirliyurluru ngalguyurhunggarli?
irrgirli-yurluru ngalguy-yurhu-nggarli
salt-with/as cat-INF-INTER

*is it to be eaten with salt?*

This sentence contains an associative suffix or postposition -yulluru/-yurluru ’as, with’ found in Schürmann’s vocabulary but not referred to in his grammar. The suffix -yurhu enables the verb ngalgu- ’eat’ to occur without tense and without any subject being stated.

Infinitives formed with -yurhu are used in purposive clauses where the subject of the verb marked by -yurhu is not the same person (or people) as those who want the event to occur. Observe the following two sentences:

(11.2) (g19)
ngannaru ngai kapmarra ngukayuru, ninna ngukakka
nganharhu ngayi gabmarra ngugayurhu, nhina ngugaga
nganha-rhu ngayi gabmarra ngug-a-yurhu nhina nguga-ga
what-PURP I always go-INF you go-IMP

*why am I always to go, do thou go*

In the first clause of this sentence the speaker is clearly not the person who wants to go, even though he or she is the only candidate for subject status — other people, the addressee in particular, are the ones saying he or she should go.
In this sentence *ngami* 'mother' is the subject of the verb *manku-* 'take', as is shown by her ergative case-marking. However she is not the person wanting or intending to take the child: if she were, desiderative morphology is available more clearly to signal this meaning (see Section 5.3.4), as *ngamingi mankungaru* 'the mother wants to take it'. The suffix *-yurhu* in both the above sentences is present when an act or event is being intended by someone other than the person who is to perform the act.

A third use of the suffix *-yurhu* is to mark purposive clauses; that is subordinate clauses that have the same subject as a previous clause. In effect this means that someone does something *in order to* do something further. The following two sentences are examples of this use:

(11.4) **pallakarritao**

(51) **barlagaridhawu**

**barlaga-ri-dha-wu**

**rise-VBLZR-PRES-3.sg.NOM**

*yura*  

*yurha*  

*yurha*  

*padnayuru*  

*badnayurhu*  

*badna-yurhu*  

*man*  

*go-INF*

*the man hastens to go*

Here a man (1) rises, (2) in order to go, or rises with the intention of going.

The following example presents some problems in interpretation; Schürmann has left us no gloss for it, so the gloss here is my own. I have added punctuation in an effort to render it coherent:
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(11.5) (75)

Yumbalta kanti wittit atto warma kappariuru
Yumbalda gandhi wididhadhu warna gabariyuru
Yumbalda gandhi widi-dha-adhu warna gaba-ri-yuru

NAME thigh spear-PRES-1.sg.ERG stomach quiet-VBLZR-INF

kutta wittinyanna warna paityannitao
Guda widin(d)yanha. Warna badyanidhawu.
guda widi-n(d)ya-nha warna badya-ni-dha-wu

not spear-PERF-2,3 pl stomach angry-VBLZR-PRES-3.sg.NOM

*I will spear Yumbalta in the thigh in order to be appeased. They have had
not speared him. He is angry.*

This example seems to consist of three distinct predications, each with its own subject: 1 sg in the first sentence, 3 pl in the second and 3 sg in the third. The word that Schürmann here spells wittinyanna may be a misspelling of, or a regional variant upon wittintyanna/widindyanha 'they have speared', or it may be a pluperfect form (see Section 5.3.8). Adnyamathanha has anthi 'thigh' (Tunstill 2004: 420) and warna 'inside' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 109), which may correspond to the Barngarla word for 'stomach'. Like ngali 'liver', warna 'stomach' occurs in a number of predications denoting emotions and sensations. Here we see two: warna gaba-ri- 'be appeased, be reconciled' and warna badya-ni- 'feel anger'. The pattern here is the same as that of the sentence above it: the subject (1) spears someone, (2) in order to be appeased.

11.2 Gerunds

Schürmann lists five gerund shapes, but we have information about only one of them. Two of the shapes show a segment -ntV-, and two show a segment -ngV-. This last is almost certainly a locative suffix with subordinating function, as seen in Section 7.3.5, where locative shapes are used to mark clauses that state the background or reason for some event or action that happens in an associated main clause. The shape -ntV-, in one form or another, is a common Thura-Yura verbal ending. Kuyani has a
verbal ending -nta, which appears to be used to join two verbs occurring together to depict a single event (Hercus 2006c).

The gerund ending we have good sentence examples for is -ndyara-. This shape is in turn always suffixed by either the locative morpheme -nga, or once by a shape -nya, which might function to mark a gerund with rather more participial force than the other form. These endings mark verbs in subordinate clauses: that is, in clauses that tell us the background, the conditions, or the context of some other statement, which constitutes a main clause. The following Barngarla examples show their subordinate clauses within square brackets. Most of Schürmann’s examples offer us subordinate clauses that state a reason for, or a cause of the event depicted in the main clause. These are as follows:

(11.6a) yurti kammirriti gadla kundaintyaranga
(12) yurdi gamiridhi gardla gurndandyaranga
yurdi gami-ri-dhi [gardla gurnd-da-ndyara-nga]
arm ache-VBLZ-R-PRES [fire/wood hit-GER-LOC]
the arm aches [by beating the wood]

(b) innelli yura ngukatao wittintyaranya
(7) inhirli yurha ngugadhawu widhindyaranya
inhirli yurha nguga-dha-wu [widhi-ndyara-nya]
tired man go-PRES-3.sg.NOM [dig/stake-GER-?PPL]
a man becomes tired [by digging]

c) kakka kurrukkutu wanggaintyaranga
(23) gaga gurrugudhu wanggandyaranga
gaga gurrugu-dhu [wangga-ndyara-nga]
head be.giddy-PRES [speak-GER-LOC]
my head becomes giddy [by talking]
In (11.6a) the noun *gardla* 'fire' has an extended meaning as 'piece of wood', that is, 'firewood'. Sentence (11.6b) shows the only instance of the ending -ndyara-nya occurring in Schürmann’s vocabulary. Adnyamathanha has a verb withi- 'spear, stake' (that is, impale with a stick into the ground) (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 121),
and I will presume that this is the verb occurring here, as *widhi*-. Sentence (11.6d) is almost certainly taken from some ceremonial context. In sentence (11.6e) the noun *birnga* 'hip' is reflected in Adnyamathanha *virnkarlpu* 'hip bone' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 65).

As well as depicting reasons for events, subordinate clauses in Barngarla may describe the context or conditions under which the event of a main clause takes place. The following sentence shows us the context as well as the reason for the action in the main clause:

(11.7) ngupurrupurrintyaranga gadla kattitarru
(48) nguburuburindyaranga gardla gadidharu
[nguburubu-ri-ndyara-nga] gardla gadi-dha-aru

*he carries a firestick [because it is pitch dark]*

The verb in the subordinate clause is *nguburuburidhi* 'be pitch dark', based on the noun *ngubi* 'darkness'. The construction of this verb is discussed in Section 10.1.2.

The following sentence is more complicated, as it shows in its subordinate clause not so much a condition, as a context or a goal for the event in the main clause:

(11.8) (54)
ninna Adelaidiru parrakutyungu ngukaintyaranga
nhina Adelaide-rhu barragudyungu ngugandyaranga
[nhina Adelaide-rhu barragudyu-ngu nguga-ndyara-nga]
[you.sg NAME-ALL until-LOC go-GER-LOC]
yalgaltanga kanaru
Yalgaldanga ganaru
Yalgalda-nga gana-aru
NAME-ERG wait-3.sg.ERG

*Yalgalda may wait/let Yalgalda wait [til you go to Adelaide]*
The verb *ganaru* in the main clause is a hortative form marked for a 3 sg ergative subject, which is the person called Yalgalda. As we saw in Section 8.1.1, a noun object of the verb *gana-‘wait’ is usually marked by the goal suffix *-lbu*. In this sentence Yalgalda is not waiting for a person or for a thing, but for an event that is predicted to occur in the future. For this reason the gerundive verb is (probably) suffixed with a locative ending in subordinating function. Note as well that even the conjunction *barragudyu ‘until’* gets locative case-marking in this sentence; that is, in Barngarla the conjunction is part of the subordinate clause, not of the main clause nor interclausal.

Schürmann’s vocabulary includes what looks like a subordinate clause without a main clause. In this clause the gerundive verb is *yarnbaringudhu ‘mention, speak of’*, described below:

(11.9) (84)

\begin{align*}
\text{nunno} & \quad \text{yernbarringuntyaranga} & \quad \text{kauo} & \quad \text{wornta} \\
\text{nhurnu} & \quad \text{yarnbaringundyaranga} & \quad \text{gawu} & \quad \text{warnidhawu} \\
[\text{nhurnu} & \quad \text{yarna-ri-ngu-ndyara-nga}] & \quad \text{gawu} & \quad \text{warni-dha-wu} \\
[\text{you.sg.ERG} & \quad \text{declare-VBLZR-APPL-GER-LOC}] & \quad \text{water} & \quad \text{lie-PRES-3.sg.NOM} \\
\text{[your mentioning of/when you made mention of] water lying there}
\end{align*}

Clearly this utterance is taken out of some context that has not been bequeathed to us.

In one final sentence example Schürmann shows us what appears to be a negative subordinating suffix *-lla/-rla*, attached to a gerund form, as in the following:

(11.10) yura ikkaintyarangalla pony kularabmatato

\begin{align*}
\text{(g23) yurha} & \quad \text{igandyarangarla} & \quad \text{pony} & \quad \text{gurlarhabmadhawu} \\
[yurha & \quad \text{iga-ndyara-nga-ra}] & \quad \text{pony} & \quad \text{gurlarhabma-dha-wu} \\
[\text{person & sit-GER-LOC?-NEG}] & \quad \text{pony} & \quad \text{sweat-PRES-3.sg.NOM} \\
\text{the horse sweats [without anyone riding him]}
\end{align*}

Adnyamathanha has *urlarha ‘shed skin, exuvia’*, (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 32) which meaning is quite close to ‘sweat’, and which must correspond to Barngarla.
kularra/gurlarha 'sweat'. The Barngarla verb root gurlarha-bma- 'sweat' appears to include a possibly derivational and possibly archaic morpheme -bma (c.f. Section 4.1.1). The ending -ndyara-nga-rla may be dedicated to forming negative subordinate clauses of this sort.

Added later to his grammar, Schürmann has written the word ngukamantyaranga, a gerund with coding for a dual subject:

(11.11) ngukamantyaranga

(g19) ngugamandyaranga

nguga-ma-ndyara-nga

go- 2,3.du-GER-LOC

both their going

11.3 Other forms

We have already seen in Section 10.6 present participles built from derived intransitive verbs. In Schürmann's vocabulary there is a single example of a verb with the participial ending -nyalla (possibly phonemic -nyarla), in a verb form given as a synonym for another expression meaning 'commanding, domineering': yarnba-yarntanyarnga. There is another verb yarnbaringudhu 'mention, speak of' ([yarnba-ringudhu-dhu] [declare-vblzr-appl-pres]), and the participle yarnba-yarntanyarnga appears to be built from a reduplication of the root of this causative verb.

There is one occurrence in Schürmann's vocabulary of a sentence example containing a verb suffixed by the gerund ending -nta-nga (-nda-nga):

(11.12) (g22)

patharutye wannintunn’ai nuro kanantanga
badharhudyi warnindhunayi nhuru ganandanga
badharhu-dyi warmi-ndhu-na-ayi [nhuru gana-nda-nga]
thither-TOP lie-CONT-PAST-1.sg.NOM [you.sg.PATR wait-GER2-LOC]

there I remained lying, [waiting for thee]
All we can observe about the verb *ganandanga* 'waiting' here is that (1) it refers to an act occurring at the same time as the event in the main clause, (2) it has the same subject as the verb in the main clause, and (3) it shows a locative suffix in subordinating function.
12 Putting words together

So far we have been able to observe some of Barngarla’s basic morphology, but there is more to language than morphology. The grammar of a language includes most importantly the network of abstract relations that hold between words, which enable them to be assembled into meaningful sequences of sounds. To some extent we have been able to see how some of these networks operate in Barngarla; we have seen how words may be turned into verbs, how verbs may be made intransitive or transitive, how nouns and pronouns code for who is doing what to whom, and how things may be described one in relation to another.

Nineteenth-century linguistics was interested mainly in morphology, as this was the most impressive feature of Latin, Sanskrit and Homeric Greek, which were studied as exemplars of linguistic elaboration and sophistication par excellence. It was not until the late nineteenth century that linguists began to look seriously beyond morphology at the systems of dependencies that constitute syntax.

Nevertheless, Schürmann’s vocabulary offers us examples of Barngarla sentences from which we are able to glimpse some of the syntactic relationships that hold between the different parts of utterances. A few of these phenomena will be surveyed here, not as an exhaustive account of what Schürmann has left us, but rather as a suggestion of what else we may yet be able to discover.

12.1 Using pronouns

Pronouns in Thura-Yura languages were not used nearly as frequently as they are in English (see Hercus 1999: 71 for Wirangu). As in many languages, Barngarla people probably gathered who was doing what to whom most of the time from context:
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that is, from what was happening around them, or from what people had just been talking about. So five-syllable pronouns like budlanbidningi 'with them two' and yardnagudnirhu 'to them' were probably used only when there was ambiguity, and in order to make someone's meaning clear; and this may not have been very often. Likewise, pronouns were used quite differently from the way we use pronouns. So in English we would normally say, go with him, using the third person singular pronoun him. It would probably not be correct to translate this directly into Barngarla:

(12.1) parmundyudningi ngugaga
       with.him go-IMPERATIVE
       go with him

Instead, Barngarla speakers probably used a second person dual ('you two') pronoun:

(12.2) nhuwala ngugamaga
       you.two go.du.IMP
       you two go/go with him

or even more likely, just a verb with dual imperative marking:

(12.3a)

ngugamaga go.du.IMP
you two go /you & him go/go with him
(b) Fred ngugamaga
OR Fred go.du.IMP
you & Fred go/go with Fred

Pronouns that refer specifically to certain types of kinfolk could be used on their own to denote those relationships. For example, the reference of the 3 dual pronoun budlanbi 'they two', or an important part of its reference at least, was to a husband and wife. So a sentence such as the following, using the existential verb badna- 'go' could be used to describe two people as being married:

(12.4) pudlanbi padnamatta

(b13)

budlanbi badnamadha
budlanbi badna-ma-dha
they.two go-2,3.du-PRES
they two are husband and wife
12.2 Verbless sentences

Barngarla has no joining verb like the English verb *be*, although it does have a number of stance verbs. Instead Schürmann records a word *ta* (phonemic *dhaa*) which appears to function existentially in short sentences. He offers only two examples of this word:

(12.5a) innaratā (b) mantyarri ta
(62) inhara dhaa (g14) mandyarri dhaa

*here it is* CONJ *good, fresh* CONJ

*there it is* *it is good or well*

Adnyamathanha has a word *inhari* 'here you are', based on *inha* 'this' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 21, Schebeck 1974: 12), and Schürmann’s sentence example clearly contains the Barngarla equivalent of this word. Adnyamathanha also has the joining word *tha* (Schebeck 1974: 46-7). Adnyamathanha *mandha* 'fresh (of food)' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 79) may relate to Barngarla *mandyarri* 'good'.

Longer sentences can be constructed without verbs, and when this is done the result is an equational sentence, in which something is said to be, or to have the properties of, something else. Two examples Schürmann offers are:

(12.6) mangalla yurarri innamatta
(g10) mangarla yurharri inhamadha

*mangara* yurha-rri inha-madha

*friendly* man-HUM.PL *this-PL*

*friendly men (are) these*

Although I have found no correspondence in other languages to Schürmann’s *mangalla* 'friendly, peaceable', I will suppose that the *ll* indicates retroflexion here, by analogy with his spelling *Parnkalla* of Barngarla. In this sentence *inhamadha* 'these' are said to be friendly men, so that in a sense, 'these = friendly men'. In the next sentence people who spoke Nhawu are described as having certain properties:
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(12.7) Nauurrri irabukarri kadla willuruurrri
(g10) Nhawurrri irabugarri, gadlha wirlurhurrri
Nhawu-rri ira-buga-rri gadlha wirluru-rri
name-HUM.PL tooth-rotten-HUM.PL penis long-HUM.PL

the Nauos (are) teeth rotten and long rumped

Kuyani has ira ‘teeth’ (Hercus 2006a), and Adnyamathanha has wirlurba ‘stripe’ (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 124), which I will take to be related to the Barngarla word meaning ‘long’ which Schürmann spells willuru. Kuyani has kadlha ‘tail’ (Hercus 2006a), and Wirangu has galya ‘tail, penis’ (Miller et al. 2010: 33). Schürmann translated this sentence with some delicacy.

12.3 Existential verbs

Schürmann lists five existential or stance verbs in Barngarla. These verbs describe in general or abstract terms the stance or posture that some entity adopts, or the vector dynamics that some entity engages in. They are used usually where English uses the existential verb be. Adnyamathanha, too, has a set of five existential verbs, with essentially the same meanings (Schebeck 1974: 54). In Barngarla these verbs are as follows:

yuwadha stand used to depict entities in a vertical position or stance,
warnidhi fall, lie used to depict entities in a horizontal position,
igadha sit used to depict compact or dispersed entities,
badnadha go a verb of general existence, with no stance or vector dynamic involved,
garhidhi continue used to depict entities in a state of motion or potential motion.

Kuyani has a verb karbi- ‘get up, stand up, come out, protrude, grow’ (Hercus 2006a, b), with vectorial semantics general enough to make it suitable to be a verb of stance or posture, and with a meaning just possibly reflected in Schürmann’s translation ‘continue, be or exist still’. The Adnyamathanha existential equivalent of Barngarla garbi- is witni-, which Schebeck and McEntee & McKenzie (1992: 121)
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translate as 'go/wander around', and this may be a good translation for Barngarla garbi- also.

We have already seen the verb *badna-* used as an existential verb in three previous sentence examples: (8.2b), (8.11c) and (12.4). In these sentences *badna-* is existential. It does not denote motion; rather it is used where English uses the joining verb *be* (as *is* and *are* in these sentences). Schürmann offers other sentences with existential verbs:

(12.8a) kaya-ilka padnatanna  
(g14) gayalyga badnadhanha  
gaya-lyga badna-dha-nha  
spear-ASSOC go-PRES-2,3.pl

*they have spears*

(b) kutyo yurarri yarlanga padnatanna  
(g14) gudyu yurharri yarlanga badnadhanha  
gudyu yurha-rri yarla-nga badna-dha-nha

other man-HUM.PL hunt-LOC go-PRES-2,3.pl

*the other men are hunting*

(c) ngai kubmanna padnata

(50) ngayi gubmanha badnadha  
ngayi gubmanha badna-dha

I one/alone go-PRES

*I am alone, i.e. I have no relatives*

The word *yarlanga* appears to be an adverb *yarla* 'hunting, chasing' inflected for locative case: in Schürmann’s vocabulary it occurs as *yerla* 'hunt chase', which may be comparable to the Adnyamathanha verb root *yurtli-* 'chase, hunt' (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 101, Tunstill 2004: 427). In his vocabulary the sentence example
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given is paru yerlanga padnata 'to go hunting', which is phonemic barhu yarlanga badnadha 'going hunting', or 'hunting'. It is not uncommon in arid Australia for hunting to be denoted by adverbs: Manyjilyjarra, for example, has karrila 'daytime hunting trip' and wartilpa 'hunting trip'.

\[
\begin{align*}
(12.9) & \quad \text{pallarri} & \text{kangaranga} & \text{karitanna} \\
(g14) & \quad \text{barlarri} & \text{gangarhanga} & \text{garhiddanha} \\
 & \quad \text{barla-rri} & \text{gangarha-nga} & \text{garhi-dha-nha} \\
 & \quad \text{woman-HUM.PL} & \text{grasstree.root-LOC} & \text{continue-PRES-2,3.pl}
\end{align*}
\]

the women are among the kangara or grass-tree roots

Schürmann’s kangara is the edible root of the grass-tree: Wirangu has gangurbu 'grass seeds for making flour' (Miller et al. 2010: 35), and it may be possible to imagine a phonological correspondence between these words.

12.4 Body-part nouns

Many languages, including Australian languages, have a set of nouns that are conceived of as being part of one’s person, and as such, are not able to be alienated from a person. Typically these are nouns that denote things like your name, your shadow, your close kin, your soul and parts of your body. When these nouns occur in a phrase with the 'owner' of the part, or more accurately with the 'whole' to which the part belongs or is attached, the owner does not receive possessive marking. This is the case in Barngarla, as the following sentences show:

\[
\begin{align*}
(12.10a) & \quad \text{ngai} & \text{kakka} & \text{purarriti} \\
(61) & \quad \text{ngayi} & \text{gaga} & \text{burarhidhi} \\
 & \quad \text{ngayi} & \text{gaga} & \text{burarhi-dhi} \\
 & \quad \text{I} & \text{head} & \text{ache-PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

I have [a] head ache

---

Schürmann has *purarra* 'weak, feeble, tired', and Kuyani has *parawarha*-'be crazy, have a bad head, have a headache' (Hercus 2006a). Schürmann also has *tarkalla/dharrgarla* 'hard, swollen, inflamed'. Notice here the phrases *ngayi gaga* 'my head', *yurha gaga* '(a) person’s head' and *ngayi warna* 'my stomach'. Here the owner is in nominative case (*ngayi*, *yurha*) rather than in possessive case or with possessive marking, as could be expected otherwise.

However we can also note, in sentence example (11.6e) in Section 11.2 above, the phrase *ngadyi birngalbili* 'my hips', with the 1 sg possessive pronoun *ngadyi*. It may be that this body-part noun takes a dependent noun (an 'owner' or whole) with possessive marking because here the hips are being metaphorically separated from the owner, in order to pay them special attention.

In many Australian languages kinship relations are seen, at least in some contexts, as being integral parts of one’s person, and so do not receive possessive case-marking. This is not the case in Barngarla: here the ‘owner’ of a kin relation is marked by possessive inflection, as we have seen in *babi ngadyi* 'my father' in sentence example (8.2c), and also in sentences such as the following:
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(12.11) nunko pappi watha

(73) nhunku babi wadha

you.POSS father where

where is your father?

12.5 Complex predication

Compounding, in one definition, occurs when two or more words occur together to make a meaning different from either. In Schürmann’s dictionary we can see a number of instances that look like complex or compounded expressions of this sort. Here we will look briefly at just three.

12.5.1

In Aboriginal culture the stomach is very often the seat of the emotions, just as the heart is in Western culture. Barngarla shows two metaphors of this sort, one based on the stomach, warna, and the other based on the liver, ngali. Schürmann’s ngalli ‘liver’ is phonemic ngali, as Wirangu and Kuyani both have ngalti for this meaning, showing that the lateral is apico-alveolar. The Barngarla word ngali ‘liver’ is involved in no less than ten compound predicates denoting emotions and sensations, and another four are listed without glosses.

It may not be possible at this point in time to know whether such expressions were phonologically compounded as two parts of a single word, or if they were phonologically distinct words that were lexically collocated. Schürmann’s transcriptions are frequently inconsistent in this respect, and I will separate the compounded parts here for clarity and convenience. In the following list the simplex verb or adjective is set in front of the compounded or collocated expression:

yaldadha ?

ngali yaldadha feel dull or sad

ngali yaldadha rejoice, exult

bagambidhi be full

ngali bagambidhi relent, sympathize

murriridhi be well

ngali murriridhi feel well, easy

mirrirradidi ?

ngali mirrirradidi be without feeling, merciless

ngudharidhi quarrel, argue

ngali ngudharidhi grieve, fret
Some of these compounds are likely to be synonymous, such as *waburnidhi* 'be full' and *warna waburnidhi* 'be satiated'. Notice how the verb *bagambidhi* 'be full' is able to contribute two quite distinct meanings, depending upon whether it is collocated with *warna* or *ngali*. Schürmann has no distinct entry for the verb or verbs *yaltata/yaldadha*, but it is likely that the medial lateral-stop cluster occurs at different places of articulation in each predicate, to signal two distinct verbs, as, for example, *yaldadha/yarldadhalyaldhadha*.

**12.5.2**

The verb *nhunggudhu* 'give' appears in a number of complex predicates, preceded by an initial element that is a noun, a verb or an adverb (and presumably adjectives are not barred from such constructions). The verb *nhunggudhu* appears to contribute applicative or at least causative meanings to these expressions. They are reasonably frequent in the dictionary. Some examples are shown in Table 12.1 at the end of this chapter. In relation to this table, note that Adnyamathanha has *wandha- 'leave alone, relinquish'* (McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 112) and *ngarha* 'untruth, lie' (Tunstill 2004: 424).

Expressions like *wayi nhunggudhu* 'frighten' clearly reveal the causative function of *nhunggudhu* in many of these predicates. From this it is reasonable to suppose that the northern Thura-Yura causative affix -ngku/-ngu has developed as an abbreviation of the stem *nhungku-*, with the first consonant and vowel dropped in a manner characteristic of Thura-Yura elision generally.

**12.6 Negation**

Barngarla verbs are negated quite simply, by having the word *guda* set in front of them. We have already encountered examples of this construction in sentence examples
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(7.18b, 10.4, 10.13) and (11.5). A couple more from Schürmann’s vocabulary are shown below:

(12.12) metye yurriingi kutta battarritao

(2) midyi yurhi-ngi guda badha-ri-dha-wu

name car-LOC not remain-VBLZR-PRES-3.sg.NOM

the name remains not in the ear = I have forgot it

Schürmann has transitive battata/badadha 'drive away, scare off,' and intransitive battabattarriti/badabadaridhi 'disperse.' The meaning of the verb root he spells batta-'remain' in the example above clearly has to do with permanence. This root could be homophonous with the root meaning 'drive away,' or it could be a differently-shaped root altogether, either barta- or badha- (as represented here).

Imperative utterances are also negated by having guda set in front of them:

(12.13) kalya kutta kundakka

(12) galya guda gurndaga

INTRJCT NEG hit-IMP

don’t strike, I say

Here the word galya is an interjection of the sort indicated by Schürmann in this example.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngaṛha</th>
<th>error, deception, falsehood</th>
<th>ngaṛha nhunggudhu</th>
<th>deceive, tantalise, promise and not give</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wayi</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>wayi nhunggudhu</td>
<td>frighten, make afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wandhadha</td>
<td>leave alone</td>
<td>wandha nhunggudhu</td>
<td>leave alone, refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganja</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>ganja nhunggudhu</td>
<td>detain by force, prevent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madlu</td>
<td>shade</td>
<td>madlu nhunggudhu</td>
<td>kill, destroy life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maldi</td>
<td>darkness, night</td>
<td>maldi nhunggudhu</td>
<td>kill, send out of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulga</td>
<td>tear, cry, lamentation</td>
<td>mulga nhunggudhu</td>
<td>hold a lamentation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This commentary is just that: it is intended as an exegesis of the first section of Schürmann’s Barngarla vocabulary, and no more. It certainly does not pretend to encompass all that we are able to know or find out about Barngarla grammar.

For example, the vocabulary is full of untranslated sentence examples, added from Schürmann’s manuscript notes by Schürmann himself in or about 1884. As an example of such a sentence, note the following, appearing under a lemma *pulyallana* on page 60, and without a gloss:

```
Pulyallana, Kukata yerkullahdi yura, yakkara mapparrintyarru,ardinopyuryuru parrri yundunyanna kanyannityanna
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The reference appears to be to an old Kukarta man, possibly referred to as Pulyarlanha, in Barngarla country, and to the actions or behaviour of some women; but this is only a guess.

Close examination of the vocabulary section itself would doubtlessly enhance our understanding in a number of ways. Examination of Moonie Davis’ recorded material referred to in Section 1.3 could also advance our knowledge considerably, and complement the information Schürmann has left us.

Just as importantly, a greater understanding of the grammar and lexicon of Adnyamathanha, still a living language, could be of inestimable assistance in clarifying aspects of Barngarla grammar and of the grammar of other Thura-Yura languages, and in extending our knowledge of them. The full and careful documentation of Adnyamathanha must now be an urgent priority in any program of language reclamation envisaged in South Australia.
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Despite its brevity, and despite the ongoing gaps in our knowledge, Schürmann’s grammar, as well as his vocabulary, continues to be an indispensable starting point for the further exploration of the Barngarla language.
Appendix: The name *Barngarla*

The phonological shape of the language name Schürmann transcribed as *Parnkalla* may be checked against recent recordings of this word. In Adnyamathanha the word occurs as *Varngarla* (Mcentee & McKenzie 1992: 56) showing retroflex nasal and lateral, although in 1960 O’Grady spelled the name *Pankarla*, (O’Grady 2001: 292), a representation he must have checked with Hale, who worked with Barngarla man Harry Crawford at Iron Knob on that occasion. Hercus & White (1973: 61) recorded the name as *Bangala*, showing a velar nasal, as do maps drawn by Berndt and Tindale (reproduced in Hercus & Simpson 2001: 268-9), which have *Banggala* and *Bangala* respectively. Tindale appears to have considered that *Banggala* was a valid alternative pronunciation, and Hercus (1999: 12) treats this word as a northern dialect label. In view of Mcentee & McKenzie’s *Varngarla*, and Crawford’s *Pankarla*, a form *Banggarla* or something like it may have been a northern dialectal variant, or even an exonymic pronunciation.

Hercus & Simpson (2001: 271) discuss a possible etymology for the word *Barngarla*, incorporating *kalla* ‘voice, speech’, probably phonemic *garla*, corresponding to archaic Adnymathanha *arlda* ‘language’. The nineteenth-century settler AN Swiss spelled the word *Parnkulta* in a letter to RH Mathews (cited in Hercus & Simpson 2001: 271), supporting both the retroflex place of the nasal, as well as their proposed etymology. The language name was likely to have been phonemic /parnkarla/, at least around Port Lincoln. Swiss’s spelling *Parnkulta* makes it fairly certain that this label variant, as *Barnkarlda*, reflects archaic Adnyamathanha *arlda* ‘language’ and Barngarla *garla*, or reconstructable early Thura-Yura *karlta* ‘language’.

Simpson and Hercus (2001: 271, fn 11) point out that an initial element *parn* would be phonotactically illegal in Barngarla, so we may wish to look for an initial element *parnga* that might have formed *parnga-garla* → *parngarla*. The

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Barngarla word *parnga* probably meant 'hot, heat' or similar. Schürmann lists a verb *parnkata*, phonemic *barngadha*, without a gloss but with a sentence example: *ngalli parnkata/parnkalliti bukarranga* 'to be hot'. The verb *parnkata* occurs under another lemma with another sentence example, *ngalli parnkata*, again without a gloss. Under the lemma *parnkata* it looks as if an original printed sentence example *ngalli parnkata* has been overwritten by hand to read *ngalli parnkalliti bukarranga*. This is problematic in itself, as *parnkalliti* is phonemic *barngarlidhi*, that is, a verb derived by regular process from the noun *barngarla* with the present-tense ending -dhi. This overwriting (probably by Tindale) may have been occasioned by mistaken reference to, or confusion with the preceding lemma, which is *parnkalliti* 'to be Parnkalla, to speak the Parnkalla language'. The original sentence example could possibly be more reliable as an indication of the meaning of the verb *parnkata*. The compounded use of the word *ngali* 'liver' is discussed above in Section 12.5.1. The word *bukarra* is phonemic *bugara* 'fine weather, hot weather', marked for locative case with -nga (c.f. Wirangu *bugara* 'hot weather'; Miller et al. 2010: 12). It appears, then, that the noun *ngali* 'liver' serves to identify or classify verbs as sensation predicates, and the inflected word *bukarranga* 'in hot weather' is given here to indicate the kind of sensation that may be denoted by the predicate as a whole.

Schürmann also lists the word *parnkumbu* as crepitus ventri (= crepitus ventris), literally 'creaking or popping noises of the stomach', but usually denoting flatulence, hence Schürmann’s Latin. Barngarla *gumbu* is 'urine', and a compounded word *parnga-gumbu* → *parngumbu*, literally 'hot urine' would be reasonable for the denotation of the diarrhoea that may accompany stomach infection, and by extension or association to intestinal gas.

If the above conjectures are not fatuous, the etymology of the language name *Barngarla* may be *barnga garla* 'hot/warm voice/speech.' This expression would clearly be a metaphor and as such unfortunately may tell us nothing at all about its social or historical significance.
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