

POSSIBLE CLAUSE TYPES IN MURUWARI

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1. INTRODUCTION

Muruwari, a language of north-western New South Wales, was formerly spoken by people living in the environs and west of Bourke, Brewarrina, Lightning Ridge, along the Bokhara River and over the border into Queensland. Few speakers remain and most are well advanced in years.

The source of data for this paper was a series of seventeen language tapes spoken and recorded by Mr. Jimmy Barker of Lightning Ridge during 1968-69. Since then he has recorded several more tapes. I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Barker and Mrs. Janet Mathews who have made these tapes available to me. The terminology and method of analysis used are based on "Beginning Morphology and Syntax". ELSON (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Glendale, California, 1958).

Because there has been no way to check the data or add to any areas where there is lack of information, future data may prove some analyses erroneous. For example, no time slot was found in any imperative or interrogative type clauses. This may be peculiar to Muruwari but it may be that the recordist did not choose to record this particular aspect. Further word lists, sentence, clause and phrase forms have been submitted to Mr. Barker, some of which he has recorded already.

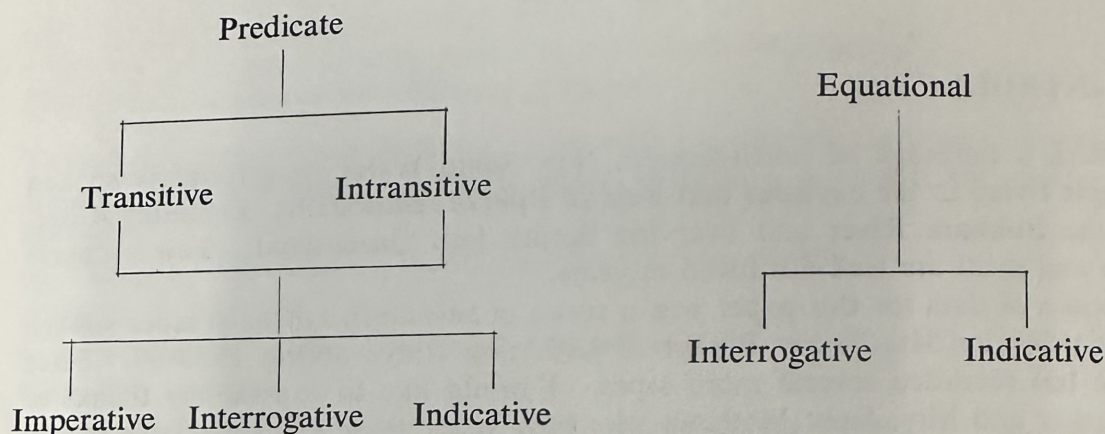
2. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

+	obligatory
±	optional
P	predicate
S	subject
O	object
I.O	indirect object
L	location
Inst.	instrument
Acc.	accompaniment
Pur	purpose
It.	item
C	comment
Neg.	negative
T	time
Int.	interrogative

CLAUSE TYPES

The clause in Muruwari has been found to contain two basic types namely Pre-
cate and Equational. These may be subdivided further as shown in the following
agram.

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Transitive clauses are distinguished from intransitive by the class of verbs found in the Predicate slot and by the obligatory absence of the Object slot in Intransitive clauses.

Equational clauses may contain Item and Comment slots with the equator suffixed to the first nuclear slot.

There would appear to be no rigid ordering of slots and occasionally the informant will give several different orders of the same utterance with no apparent change of meaning. Subject and Object slots show more rigid ordering than lateral slots and in most cases only carry slot suffixes to avoid ambiguity or show emphasis. Lateral slots are seldom found without slot suffixes.

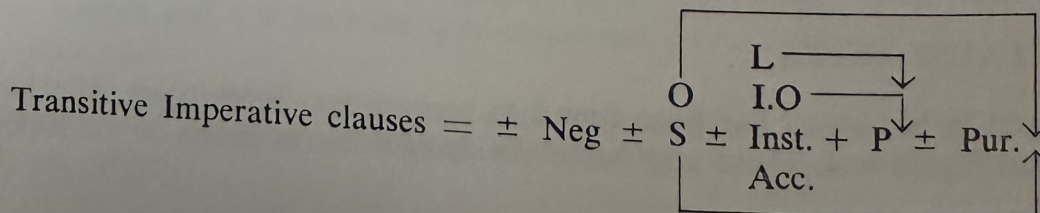
4. PREDICATE-TYPE CLAUSES

4.1 Transitive and Intransitive Imperative

The verb in the imperative clause consists of a stem only and the Predicate is the one obligatory slot although the most common examples were those consisting of two slots. Worthy of note is the fact that, in the examples recorded, Subject and Object slots are in mutual exclusion. No time slot has been recorded and further data has been requested. Negative occurs only in clause initial position. Lateral slots would appear to revolve around the Predicate slot. Likewise, Subject and Object slots also revolve in this manner but outside the lateral slots. The maximum number of slots found in any one clause was four. One example was found of a double location slot.

tan *yena* *bila-ŋga* *tiŋa* "come behind me"
 here go back-on my

Formulae for this clause might be represented thus:—



Intransitive Imperative clause = \pm Neg \pm S \pm Acc. + P \pm Pur.

Negative is filled by a negative particle. Object may be filled by pronoun, noun, noun phrase, proper noun, proper noun phrase or clause.

Subject may be filled by pronoun, noun, noun phrase, proper noun or proper noun phrase.

Locative may be filled by locative, locative phrase, noun, noun phrase or proper noun.

Indirect Object may be filled by pronoun or proper noun phrase.

Instrument may be filled by a noun.

Accompaniment may be filled by a proper noun.

Purpose may be filled by a noun or clause.

Predicate may be filled by verb or verb phrase.

<i>ηαῖῖῖῖ</i> that	<i>wan</i> tree	<i>βαῖῖῖῖ</i> chop		"Chop that tree"
<i>ηυηῖῖῖ</i> this	<i>wan</i> tree	<i>gula</i> climb	<i>weiæn-gu</i> honey-for	"Climb this tree for honey"
<i>ῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ</i> tell	<i>džimi-ga</i> Jimmy-to	<i>mænu-gu</i> bread-object	<i>mara</i> get	"Tell Jimmy to get bread"
<i>meri-gu</i> Mary-to	<i>yena</i> go			"Go to Mary"
<i>kaῖῖῖῖῖῖῖ</i> quickly	<i>mugu</i> move			"Move quickly"
<i>walaῖῖῖῖῖῖ</i> not	<i>ηindu</i> you	<i>gindei</i> laugh		"Don't you laugh"
<i>yaḡibal</i> knife	<i>m-wəna</i> to me-give	<i>yaḡi-guῖῖῖῖῖῖ</i> cut-to	<i>wiki</i> meat	"Give me a knife to cut the meat"

4.2 Transitive and Intransitive Interrogative

The Interrogative clause is characterised by an obligatory Interrogative slot in clause initial position. Here, have been found either interrogative pronouns or interrogative adverbs of location, manner or reason. No temporal has been found in the recorded examples. Further data has been requested to determine whether this is a possibility.

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If a Subject slot is present it follows the Interrogative slot, which in turn may be followed by the Object or Indirect Object slot. Next is the obligatory Predicate. The Object slot has also been found following the Predicate mutually exclusive with Location.

The minimum number of clause slots found was two, the maximum four. No Negative Interrogative was recorded.

Transitive Interrogative clause = + Int. ± S ± $\begin{matrix} \text{O} \\ \text{I.O} \end{matrix}$ + P ± L

Intransitive Interrogative clause = + Int. ± S + P ± L

Interrogative slot may be filled by interrogative pronoun or interrogative adverbs of location, manner or reason.

Subject slot may be filled by pronoun, noun or noun phrase.

Object slot may be filled by noun, noun phrase or proper noun.

Indirect object slot filled by pronoun.

Location slot filled by locative.

Predicate slot filled by verb.

<i>ḡaḡdiḡaḡ</i> how	<i>ḡindu</i> you	<i>munei</i> know	“How do you know?”
<i>tḡaḡḡuḡaḡ</i> where	<i>ḡaḡdu</i> I	<i>tḡaḡḡigu</i> run	“Where will I run?”
<i>miḡyenaḡaḡ</i> what	<i>biḡei-bu</i> stab-he		“What is he spearing?”
<i>miḡyenaḡuḡaḡ</i> what-for	<i>baḡaḡaḡaḡ-du</i> hit-you	<i>dḡimi-ga</i> Jimmy-object	“Why did you hit Jimmy?”
<i>ḡanduḡaḡ</i> who	<i>wiki</i> meat	<i>tḡanna</i> ate	“Who ate the meat?”
<i>ḡinduḡaḡ</i> you	<i>yeraḡaḡ-du</i> horse-on	<i>wandiḡi</i> ride	“Can you ride a horse?”

4.3 Transitive and Intransitive Indicative

Again the Predicate is the only obligatory slot, although two or three slots are more common in a clause. The maximum number found was four. The Subject and Object slots appear to revolve around the Predicate, the Object slot being on the inner circle. Although when it occurs preceding the Predicate it may be

separated from the verb by Location, Purpose or Instrument slots. When it occurs after the Predicate it immediately follows it. Negative most commonly occurs in initial position but examples were found with it in medial positions. Indirect Object and Instrument were not found following the Predicate nor was Accompaniment found preceding it.

Transitive Indicative Clause =
 $\pm \text{Neg}_1 \pm \text{L}_1 \pm \text{Neg}_2 \pm \text{Pur}_1 \pm \text{S}_1 \pm \text{I.O.} \pm \text{Neg}_3 \pm \text{O}_1 \pm \text{Pur}_2 \pm \text{P}$
 $\pm \text{O}_2 \pm \text{Acc} \pm \text{S}_2 \pm \text{T}_3 \pm \text{Inst}_3$
 $\text{T}_2 \text{ Purp}_3$

Intransitive Indicative Clause =
 $\pm \text{Neg}_1 \pm \text{L}_1 \pm \text{Neg}_2 \pm \text{T}_1 \pm \text{S}_1 \pm \text{L}^2 + \text{P} \pm \text{T}_2 \pm \text{S} \pm \text{L}_3$
 $\text{Pur}_1 \text{ Pur}^2 \text{ Acc} \text{ T}_3 \pm \text{Pur}_3$

- NOTE only one of any numbered slot may occur in any one clause.
- Subject may be filled by pronoun, noun, noun phrase, proper noun or proper noun phrase.
 - Object may be filled by pronoun, noun, noun phrase, proper noun, proper noun phrase or clause.
 - Negative may be filled by negative particle.
 - Location may be filled by locative, locative phrase, noun phrase, proper noun or clause.
 - Indirect object may be filled by pronoun.
 - Instrument may be filled by noun.
 - Predicate may be filled by verb or verb phrase.
 - Time may be filled by noun phrase.
 - Purpose may be filled by noun, noun phrase or clause.
 - Accompaniment may be filled by noun phrase.

<i>gaḍa-ḡgaḡḡḡ</i> dark-in	<i>ḡaḍu</i> I	<i>yænmiyu</i> go	"I am going in the dark"
<i>baḡa-ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ</i> lost-I	<i>ḡaḍa-ḡḡu</i> I-possessive	<i>baḡul</i> stone, money	"I have lost my money"
<i>ḡaba-gu ḡḡḡḡ</i> water-for	<i>baḡa-bu</i> come-he		"He came for water"

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ŋaḍu-gu *yænmiyu ŋaḥa* *briwɔḥina-gu* *laitniŋ ridž-ŋa*
 I subject go Brewarrina-to Lightning Ridge-from
 "I went to Brewarrina from Lightning Ridge"

ŋuḥuŋ *ŋarəŋguŋaḥa* *ḥəŋgina* "An emu is running over there"
 emu over there run

ŋaḍu ŋaḥa *gulaŋaḥa bi??geiyu* *gulia-ŋgu*
 I kangaroo stab spear-with
 "I speared a kangaroo with a spear"

walaŋaḥa *balga-bu* "It did not come"
 not come-3rd person

ŋindu ŋaḥa *wala* *midžin* *təḥəŋdu* "You are not telling a lie"
 you no lie tell

5. EQUATIONAL TYPE CLAUSES

In the equational clause, the suffix *-ŋaḥa* acts as an equator being suffixed to either the item or the comment slots depending upon whichever occurs first. Elsewhere *-ŋaḥa* appears to function as a declarative, an auxiliary verb or the verb "to be".

5.1 Equational Interrogative

An item slot filled by an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb occurs in clause initial position. It is the only obligatory slot and may be followed by a comment and location slot. No examples were found to contain a negative.

Equational Interrogative = + It. ± C ± L

Item may be filled by an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb.

Comment may be filled by noun, noun phrase, proper noun or proper noun phrase.

Location may be filled by proper noun.

ŋaŋgu-ŋaḥa "Who is it?"
 who-equator

naŋdu-ŋaḥa *kapenti-ŋaḥa* "Whose hat is this?"
 whose-equator hat

ḥiḥəŋgu-ŋaḥa *guga* "Where is the large tree goanna?"
 where-equator large tree goanna

ḥiḥəŋgu-ŋaḥa *bil smiḥ-ga* *džimi baka-ga* *sidni-ga*
 where-equator Bill Smith-and Jimmy Barker-and Sydney-in
 "Where are Bill Smith and Jimmy Barker in Sydney?"

5.2 Equational Indicative

Both item and comment slots may occur in any one clause or either may occur alone. Negative and Locative were the only other slots found.

$$\text{Equational Indicative} = \pm \text{Neg} + (\pm \text{It.} \downarrow \pm \text{C}) \pm \text{L}$$

↑

- Negative is filled by negative particle.
- Item may be filled by pronoun, noun.
- Comment may be filled by adjective, noun,
- Location may be filled by noun, noun phrase.

<i>mugaṛa-ṛa</i> burr-equator	<i>ṛina-ṛa</i> foot-in	<i>ṛadu-ṛgu</i> I-possessive	"There is a burr in my foot"
<i>ṛiri-ṛa</i> sun-equator	<i>wi-gala</i> fire-like		"The sun is like fire"
<i>bula-ṛa</i> dead-equator	<i>gula</i> kangaroo		"The kangaroo is dead"
<i>ṛinduga-ṛa</i> you-equator	<i>tṛupi</i> clumsy		"You are clumsy"
<i>ṛindu-ṛa</i> you-equator	<i>ṛadu-gu</i> I-possessive	<i>baba</i> sister	"You are my sister"
<i>wala</i> no	<i>ṛadu-ṛa</i> I-equator		"It is not I"