

A GRAMMAR OF WAMBAYA, NORTHERN TERRITORY (AUSTRALIA)

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Ngaba irri ngajbi: “Ahh, yununggu irraji ngarlwi”.

So that (the young people) can look (and say):
“Ahh, so that’s how they used to talk”.

– Molly Grueman

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PREFACE

Wambaya is a non-Pama-Nyungan language originally spoken in the Barkly Tablelands region of the Northern Territory, Australia. There are perhaps 8–10 fluent speakers remaining, most of whom live in Tennant Creek and Elliott in the Northern Territory. The linguistic work which led to this volume was initiated by the Wambaya community (through the Gurungu Council Aboriginal Corporation in Elliott) out of an increasing concern for the fate of their language as these few remaining speakers get older. It is hoped that this (ongoing) work will help younger Wambaya speakers learn something of their language now, and have some access to their language even when it is no longer being spoken around them.

While the main focus of this work has been on Wambaya, substantial reference has also been made throughout the text to the mutually intelligible dialect Gudanji. The close and long-term interaction between the Wambaya and Gudanji communities makes it virtually impossible to work on one dialect without working on the other. Furthermore, the similarly small number of remaining Gudanji speakers makes any work on this dialect equally urgent.

The research for this grammar was conducted during six field trips, totalling over seven months, from February 1991 to August 1994. Work was begun in Elliott, N.T., and then, as many Elliott Wambaya moved to Tennant Creek, was continued there. There was a lot of support for the project from the Wambaya/Gudanji people of both Elliott and Tennant Creek. Although people were not always able to help me with language material, help came in many different forms: from helping with the elicitation and transcription of stories, to providing access to computers and office space, to providing company for the many hours spent driving between Elliott and Tennant Creek.

This grammar is a revised version of my Melbourne University MA thesis (Nordlinger 1993a). The revisions include the reanalysis of some earlier analyses (e.g. the treatment of complex clauses in Chapter 8), and the inclusion of new data collected since the MA thesis was submitted (e.g. the causal suffix in §4.4.9). Unfortunately, the constraints of time have made it impossible to cover all areas of Wambaya grammar in the same amount of detail. Wambaya is a morphologically complex language, and thus these aspects of the grammar have been given the most attention (Chapters 4–6); other areas have been given less coverage than they deserve (e.g. complex sentences); and still others have been left out altogether (e.g. prosody, discourse). Throughout the text I have indicated areas in which more work is needed in the hope that it can be carried out in the future.

This grammar is written as a reference grammar. I have therefore deliberately avoided presenting the data in any particular theoretical framework, or devoting much discussion to the interesting issues raised by aspects of Wambaya grammar for current theoretical research. Instead I have tried to describe this interesting language in its own terms, using a substantial number of naturally occurring examples and texts. My belief is that this will give the grammatical description the best chance of standing the test of time, and readers the best chance of discovering things in the language that I have not, perhaps even inspiring more work on Wambaya before it is too late.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest debt is to the Wambaya people who welcomed me into their community and taught me, so patiently, what I know of their language. In particular I would like to thank my friends and language teachers, Molly Nurlanyma Grueman, Minnie Niyamarrama Nimara, Mavis Bangarinya Hogan and Powder Bangarinji O'Keefe (Gudanji) for their never-ending cooperation, tolerance and patience. They cheerfully shared with me their language and their stories, answered my questions, and corrected my mistakes. For their support and friendship I would also like to thank many other people from Elliott and Tennant Creek, including: Florine Bathern, Ivy Duncan, Amy and Jeffrey Dixon, Billy Hayes, Sandra Hogan, Judy Holt, Ian Hopwood, Michael Neade, Penny Watson, Heather Wilson and Oscar Wilson; all of the people who participated in the Wambaya literacy workshop in Tennant Creek in April 1993; and, especially, Moana Strauss for generously sharing her flat and car during my months of fieldwork. The Gurungu Council in Elliott, who initiated this project, helped enormously in obtaining funding for my visits and was always cooperative, as was the Papulu Apparr-kari language centre in Tennant Creek.

A very special thanks goes to Nick Evans, who was a dedicated and enthusiastic MA supervisor, and who first got me interested in working on Australian languages. Without his invaluable advice, support and encouragement this project might never have got off the ground. Robert Hoogenraad provided general encouragement and help in the field and I was also fortunate enough to spend some time in the field with Luise Hercus, David Nash and Gavan Breen, whose kind support and advice were most appreciated. Many thanks are due also to John Henderson and Robert Hoogenraad, who provided much-needed computer assistance. For insightful comments on various aspects of this grammar I am indebted to Peter Austin, Juliette Blevins, Joan Bresnan, Margaret Carew, Ian Green, John Hajek and Lesley Stirling. In particular, my revisions to this grammar have benefited enormously from the comments and suggestions of my two MA examiners, Bill McGregor and Jane Simpson. Of course, none of these people can be held responsible for any of the remaining flaws or inadequacies.

This project would not have been possible without the financial support of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies grant L91/4100, and the Australian Research Council grant A58930745 (awarded to Nick Evans) entitled 'Non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Northern Australia: descriptive, grammatical, comparative and sociolinguistic investigations'. Funding for an additional field trip in 1994 was provided by the Centre for the Study of Language and Information at Stanford University, with the help of Peter Sells and Stanley Peters. I thank all these people and organisations for their generous support.

My heartfelt thanks go to Dean Robinson, who stood by me throughout this project and put up with my many moods and absences. My family and friends also provided much valued support and encouragement. I thank them all for their patience and understanding.

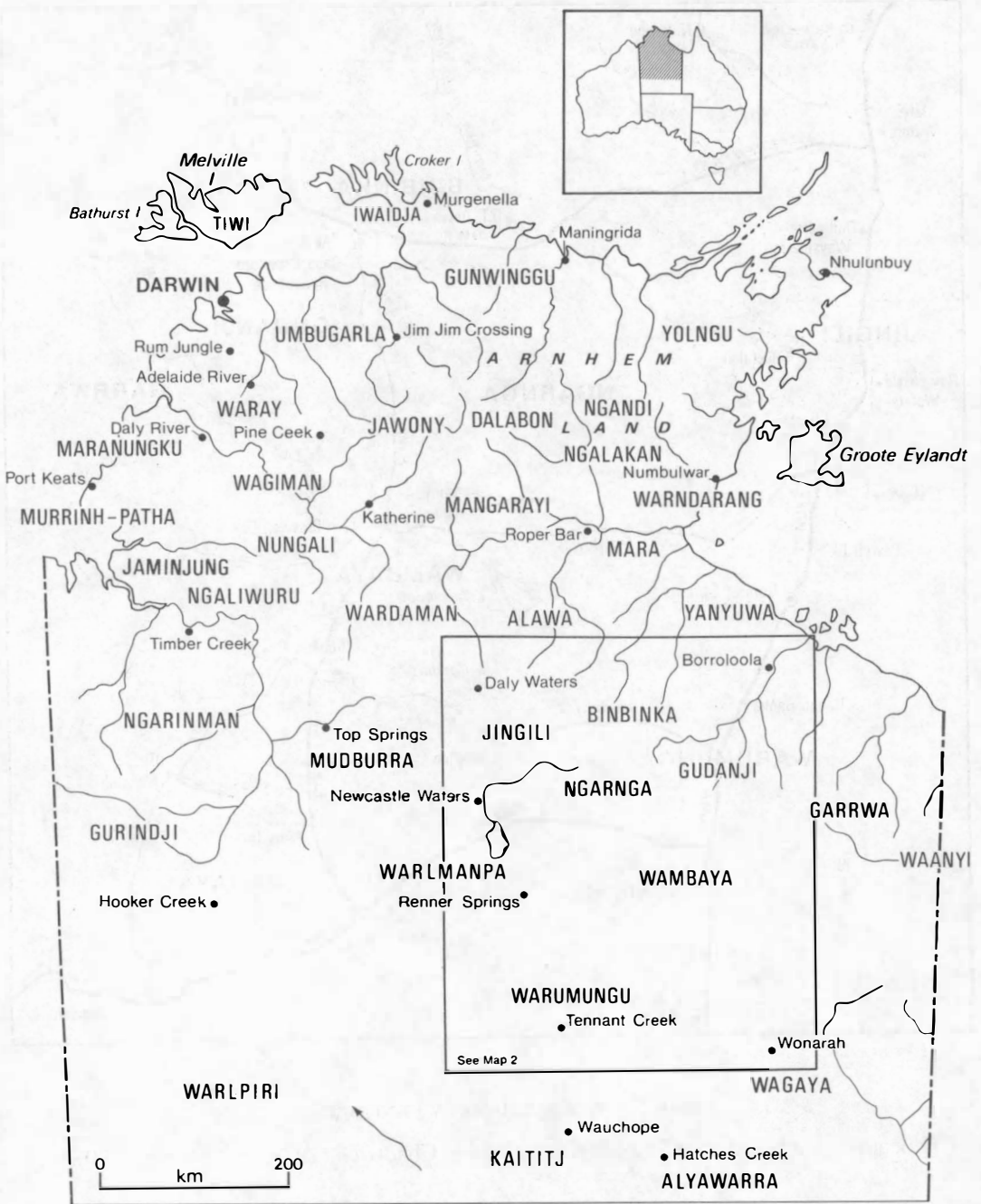
ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS

1	first person	NACT	non-actual (irrealis) mood
2	second person	NEG	negator
3	third person	NF	non-future tense
I	Class I, masculine gender	NM	non-masculine
II	Class II, feminine gender	NOM	nominative case
III	Class III, vegetable gender	NP	noun phrase, non-past tense
IV	Class IV, neuter gender	O	transitive object
A	transitive subject	OBL	oblique case
ABL	ablative case	OP	object-promoting suffix
ABS	absolutive gender suffix	ORIG	origin case
ACC	accusative case	PERL	perlative case
AGNT	agentive nominaliser	PL	plural
ALL	allative case	POSS	possessive
AWY	direction away	PR	present tense
C	consonant	PRIV	privative case
CAUS	causative suffix	PROG	progressive aspect
COMIT	comitative case	PROP	proprietary case
COMP	complement	PST	past tense
DAT	dative case	RDP	reduplicand
DU	dual	REFL	reflexive
DUR	durative aspect	RR	reflexive/reciprocal
DYAD	dyadic suffix	S	intransitive subject
EP	epenthetic vowel	SG	singular
ERG	ergative case	TH	thematic consonant
EXC	exclusive	TRANS	transitivising suffix
EXCLAM	exclamative particle	TWD	directions towards
F	feminine	V	vowel
FAC	factitive suffix		
FUT	future tense	KIN-TERM ABBREVIATIONS	
GEN	genitive case	B	brother, brother's
HAB	habitual aspect	C	child
HYP	hypothetical (irrealis) mood	D	daughter, daughter's
IMP	imperative mood	E, e	elder (sibling)
INC	inclusive	F	father, father's
INCH	inchoative	H	husband, husband's
INF	infinitive	M	mother, mother's
INFER	inferential clitic	S	son, son's
INT	interrogative	W	wife, wife's
IO	indirect object	Y, y	younger (sibling)
LOC	ergative/locative/instrumental case	Z	sister, sister's
M	masculine		
NABS	non-absolutive gender suffix	LANGUAGE-NAME ABBREVIATIONS	
		B	Binbinka
		G	Gudanji
		Gw	Garrwa

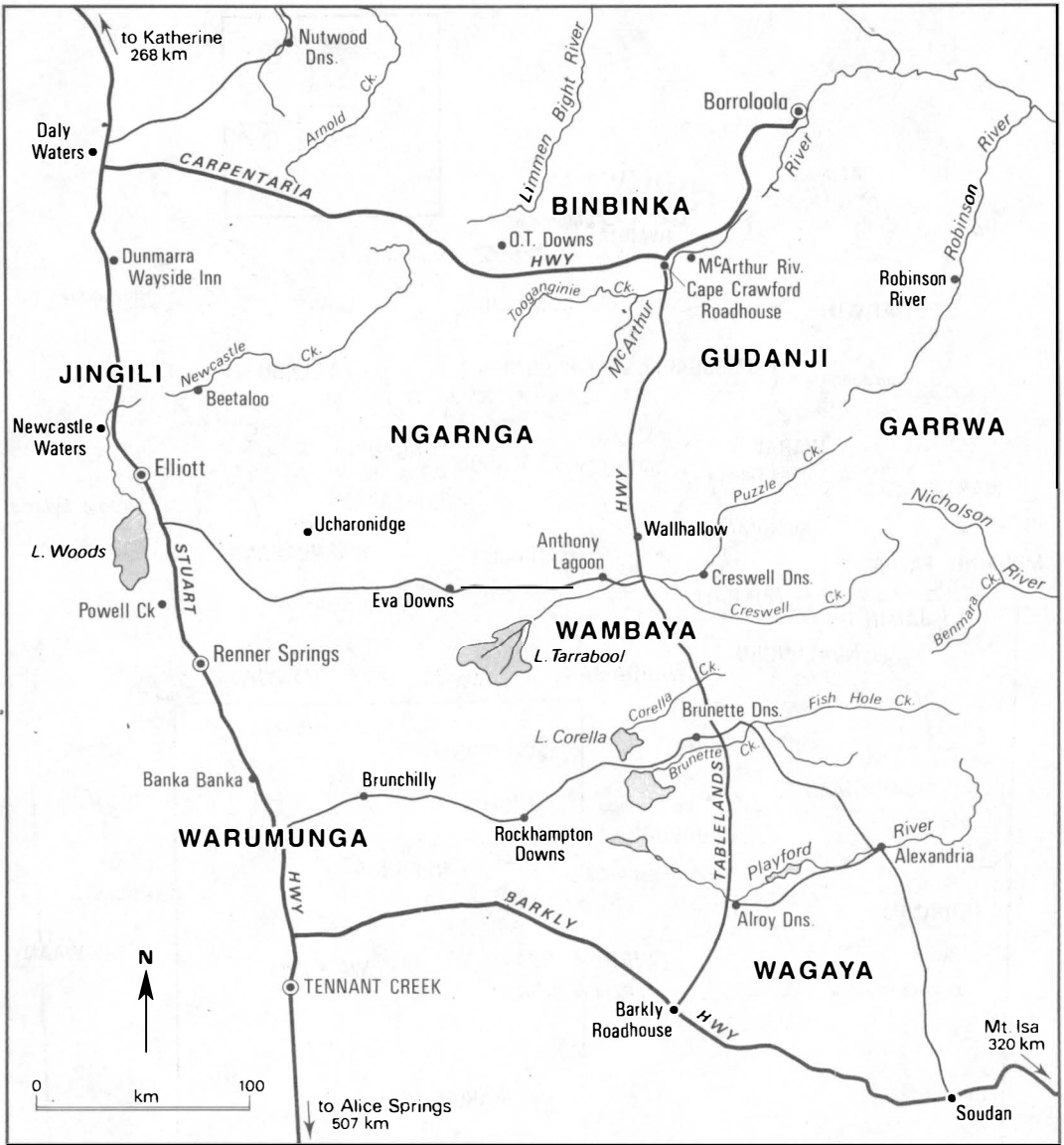
J	Jingili	-	affix boundary
Ng	Ngamga/Ngamji	=	clitic boundary
Nu	Nungali	+	morpheme boundary (affix or clitic)
W	Wambaya	∅	contrastive zero morph
SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS		()	gloss of a zero morpheme not represented in example
'	primary stress	.	links multiple words in the one gloss
,	secondary stress		
//	phonemic transcription		
[]	phonetic transcription (IPA)		

Note on translations

Translations in this work are mostly my own. Those that are not are given in inverted commas. Where English makes distinctions that Wambaya does not (such as definiteness in NPs) I have made these distinctions in the English translations according to context.



MAP 1: THE MIRNDI GROUP AND SOME OF THE SURROUNDING LANGUAGES
[Locations shown are approximate only and are taken from Wurm and Hattori (1983).]



MAP 2: THE WEST BARKLY LANGUAGES

[Locations are based on information contained in Chadwick (1978) and Avery (1990).]

CHAPTER 1

THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 THE LANGUAGE

Wambaya is a non-Pama-Nyungan language from the Barkly Tablelands region in the northern central part of the Northern Territory. It belongs to the West Barkly language family, which occupies an area of the central Northern Territory very roughly bounded by Daly Waters in the north-west, Borroloola in the north-east, Brunette Downs Station in the south-east and Renner Springs in the south-west (see Maps 1 and 2). The West Barkly languages are part of a larger subgroup known as the Mirndi group which also contains the Jaminjungan languages: Jaminjung, Ngaliwuru and Nungali. The location of these languages is shown in Map 1.

Phonologically, Wambaya is fairly typical for an Australian language. The phoneme inventory contains five places of articulation for stops (bilabial, alveolar, postalveolar, palatal and velar), with a nasal corresponding to each stop articulation. Voicing is not phonemically distinctive. There are three laterals corresponding to the three non-peripheral stop articulations (alveolar, postalveolar and palatal), an alveolar tap/trill, three semivowels: /w/, /ɹ/ and /j/, and three vowels: [i], [u] and [a], with no significant phonemic length distinction. In all of the other West Barkly languages there is a sixth stop articulation, a dorso-palatal, described by Chadwick (1978:9) as having an onset near the front of the velum and a palatalised release. This stop does not occur in Wambaya and I have only ever heard one example of it in Gudanji. Wambaya words are mostly disyllabic or longer and, except for the auxiliary, never end in a consonant.

There are seven parts of speech in Wambaya: nominals (including nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, free pronouns and time and locational nominals), verbs, adverbs, the auxiliary (including cross-referencing bound pronouns and tense/aspect/mood/directional suffixes), particles, clitics and interjections.

Pronouns distinguish person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and number (singular, dual and plural). First person non-singular makes an inclusive/exclusive distinction, and a gender distinction is made in the third person singular.

Wambaya nominals generally inflect for case, gender¹ and number. Although there are three numbers – singular, dual and plural – only dual nouns are obligatorily marked for number. All modifiers must agree with the noun that they modify in all of these categories.

There are four genders in Wambaya, marked by suffixes. In this respect Wambaya and the other West Barkly languages are typologically aberrant, as gender in other non-Pama-Nyungan languages, along with much of the verbal morphology, is usually marked by prefix.² In fact, apart from the West Barkly languages, the only other non-Pama-Nyungan

¹ I follow Corbett (1991:5) in using this term for what are more traditionally referred to as ‘noun classes’.

² The Jarrakan languages also have genders marked solely by suffixes (Ian Green, pers.comm.).

languages which are not prefixing in at least the verbal domain are the Tangkic languages, such as Kayardild and Lardil.³

The four genders in Wambaya are masculine (Class I), feminine (Class II), vegetable (Class III) and neuter (Class IV). Class membership is primarily semantically based. There are two series of gender suffixes: those which occur in the nominative and accusative cases (absolute) and those which occur in all other cases (non-absolute).⁴ Gender is marked on nouns, adjectives, demonstratives and some indefinite/interrogatives.

Wambaya is a 'split-ergative' language: nominals (excluding free pronouns) have an ergative-absolute pattern of inflection while the free pronouns have a nominative/accusative declension. Following Goddard (1982), the class of nominals as a whole is analysed as having a three-way case system: ergative (/locative), nominative and accusative (see §4.4).

A second position auxiliary, obligatorily present in most Wambaya clauses, contains bound pronouns representing the subject and object arguments of the clause. This auxiliary also contains most of the tense, aspect and mood information for the clause, and can contain directional affixes indicating movement towards or away from the speaker. Unusually, the auxiliary has no root.

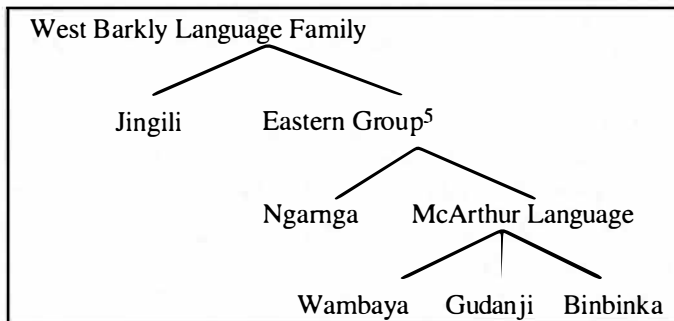
Some further unusual aspects of Wambaya grammar include: a subjective/objective distinction that is made by some adjectives (see §3.1), a suffix found with kinship nominals which appears to have a reflexive possessive function (see §4.5.1.2) and some verbs which alternate in transitivity without changing their form (see §7.2.7).

As is common for Australian languages, Wambaya is morphologically agglutinative and the word order is relatively free.

1.1.1 THE WEST BARKLY LANGUAGES

The West Barkly language family consists of 5 languages/dialects: Jingili, Ngarnga (or Ngarnji), Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka. The structure of this family can be represented as in Table 1.1 (following Chadwick 1978:2).

TABLE 1.1: THE WEST BARKLY LANGUAGE FAMILY



³ Although the Tangkic languages were originally classified by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) as Pama-Nyungan, recent discussions (namely Evans (1985, 1988, 1995a) and Blake (1988, 1990)) have shown them to be clearly non-Pama-Nyungan.

⁴ These gender suffixes are then followed by the appropriate case suffix.

⁵ The terms 'Eastern Group' and 'McArthur' are taken from Chadwick (e.g. 1978).

Thus, the language family contains two groups: Jingili and the Eastern Group. The Eastern Group contains four languages/dialects of which three – Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka – are clearly dialects of the one language. Lexicostatistical data (discussed below) show Ngarnga to be quite closely related to these three dialects, but different enough to be probably best considered a language of its own.⁶ Thus, the Eastern Group is made up of two languages: Ngarnga and the ‘McArthur language’⁷ which has the three dialects Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka.

Chadwick (1978:320, 322) provides a lexicostatistical comparison of the members of the West Barkly language group based on a 100-item word list. His results are given in Table 1.2 (I have collapsed his two tables into one).

TABLE 1.2: LEXICOSTATISTICAL COMPARISON OF WEST BARKLY LANGUAGES (BASED ON 100-ITEM WORD LIST)

	Jingili	Ngarnga	Wambaya	Gudanji
Binbinka	21%	61%	69%	88%
Gudanji	21%	62%	78%	
Wambaya	29%	60%		
Ngarnga	28%			

Thus, Jingili has a fairly low level of shared vocabulary with all of the Eastern Group languages/dialects and is quite clearly a language of a different subgroup. On the other hand, the languages/dialects of the Eastern Group have quite high levels of shared vocabulary, although the dialects of the McArthur language share more vocabulary with each other (between 69% and 88%) than any of them do with Ngarnga (between 60% and 62%). However, the levels of shared vocabulary with Ngarnga are still substantial and suggest a close relationship with the dialects of the McArthur language. The three dialects of the McArthur language form a dialect chain: Wambaya shares a high percentage of vocabulary with Gudanji which shares a high percentage of vocabulary with Binbinka. The percentage of shared vocabulary between Wambaya and Binbinka, however, is significantly less. This pattern is predictable from the (traditional) geographic positions of the three communities: Wambaya country shares its northern border with Gudanji country which shares its northern border with Binbinka country (see Map 2).

The main focus of this description is the Wambaya dialect of the McArthur language. Unfortunately it was not possible to investigate the other Eastern Group languages/dialects in the same amount of detail that I have for Wambaya. This is due not only to time constraints but also to difficulty in finding informants: I have only been able to find one speaker of Ngarnga and only one partial speaker of Binbinka. However, what information I have on these other languages (particularly Gudanji, smatterings of which are found in the speech of

⁶ There has been a fair amount of variation in the literature as to the classification of Ngarnga with respect to the other West Barkly languages. Capell (1979:182) considers it to be very close to Jingili, related “practically at dialect level”. Tindale (1974), on the other hand, gives ‘Ngandji’ (Ngarnji/Ngarnga) as an alternative name for the ‘Kotandji’ (Gudanji) people, thereby suggesting that Ngarnga is very closely related to dialects of the McArthur language. Chadwick (1971:34) describes Ngarnga as “a ‘halfway’ in linguistic content between Djingili in the west and the Wambaja-Gudandji group in the east...” which is a more accurate claim although, as shown in Table 1.1, Ngarnga is closer in relationship to the McArthur dialects than it is to Jingili.

⁷ Note that this language exists only for the purposes of linguistic classification and has no traditional status.

most Wambaya speakers) is included in the discussion wherever possible.⁸ A discussion of Jingili is outside the scope of this work as it is substantially different from the other languages and is also the language which Chadwick has worked on in the most detail (see Chadwick 1975). Jingili will be referred to only for comparative discussion.

1.1.2 WIDER RELATIONSHIPS

As they are among the southernmost non-Pama-Nyungan languages, the West Barkly languages are surrounded on two sides by Pama-Nyungan languages to which they are clearly not genetically related: Wagaya and Warumungu in the south and the Ngumpin languages in the west. Although the non-Pama-Nyungan languages Alawa and Wardaman are adjacent to the West Barkly languages to the north, there is no apparent genetic relationship with these languages either. Nor is there any obvious genetic relationship between the West Barkly languages and Garrwa and Waanyi which lie immediately to the east; although striking similarities in verbal inflections (see §6.1) suggest a history of contact and influence between these two language groups (see also I. Green 1995). Thus, the West Barkly languages are not (closely) related to any of the languages that border them.

Dixon (1980:225) claimed Jingili (and by implication all of the West Barkly languages) to be one of two languages (the other being Tiwi) which could not be genetically linked to other Australian languages at all. However, comparative work done by Chadwick (e.g. 1984) has shown that the West Barkly languages are related to the Jaminjungan languages (Jaminjung (Cleverly 1968), Ngaliwuru (Bolt et al. 1971a) and Nungali (Bolt et al. 1971b)), located in the west of the Northern Territory, towards the West Australian border⁹ (see Map 1). This relationship is interesting as the West Barkly languages and the Jaminjungan languages are physically non-contiguous; they are geographically separated by the Ngumpin languages.

There is (at least) one major typological difference between the Jaminjungan languages and the West Barkly languages: the West Barkly languages are 'suffixing' (employing suffixes rather than prefixes) and the Jaminjungan languages are 'prefixing' (employing both suffixes and prefixes). However, many of the prefixes found in the Jaminjungan languages correspond with suffixes in languages of the West Barkly group (see Appendix B). The existence of residual prefixes in certain lexical items and grammatical elements in West Barkly languages (such as the gender prefixes in Wambaya demonstratives and the pronominal elements in the auxiliary), which correspond to prefixes found in Jaminjungan languages is strong evidence that the West Barkly languages were originally prefixing and have since become suffixing (see I. Green 1995 for detailed discussion).

The most striking similarities between the Jaminjungan and the West Barkly languages, as identified by Chadwick (e.g. 1984), are found among the pronouns (both bound and free) and the gender affixes (at least in Nungali, the only Jaminjungan language with a gender system).¹⁰

⁸ The similarities, at least within the dialects of the McArthur language, are such that it can generally be assumed that much of what is said for Wambaya will be at least similar if not the same for Binbinka and Gudanji. The only major areas of difference between these dialects are the auxiliary (particularly the tense/aspect/mood marking) and the forms of the demonstratives (see Appendix C and §4.6 respectively).

⁹ This group of languages, containing the West Barkly and Jaminjungan languages, is known as the Mirndi group after their shared innovative first person dual inclusive pronouns.

¹⁰ The following discussion is based on information contained in Chadwick (1978, 1979 and 1984).

Among the pronouns there is a large degree of similarity in the function and form of regular pronouns, as well as irregularities in the system which are common to all of the languages. One example of this is the first person dual inclusive pronoun which has a base of the form *mind(i)* or *mirnd(i)* in all the languages, and has been adopted as the name for the whole group. Examples of other similarities among free pronouns include the form of second person singular free pronouns:

<i>nami</i>	Jaminjung and Ngaliwuru
<i>naminju</i>	Nungali
<i>nama/nyama</i>	Jingili
<i>nyami</i>	Gudanji and Binbinka
<i>nyamiriji</i>	Wambaya

and the form of the suffix that occurs on dual and plural non-subject free pronouns:

<i>-ag</i>	Jaminjung	(e.g. <i>mindag</i> 1DU.INC.OBL)
<i>-agu</i>	Jingili	(e.g. <i>mindagu</i> 1DU.INC.OBL)
<i>-(a)ga</i>	Ngarmga and Gudanji	(e.g. <i>mirmdaga</i> 1DU.INC.OBL)

Among the bound pronouns, an example of similarity is the third person singular masculine transitive subject forms:

<i>gan-</i>	Jaminjung and Ngaliwuru (used for feminine too)
<i>ngan-</i>	Nungali
<i>gani-</i>	Gudanji (present tense)
<i>gini-</i>	Wambaya

A significant degree of similarity also exists between Nungali and the West Barkly languages in the area of gender and gender marking. All of these languages have four genders, marked by suffix in the West Barkly languages, and by prefix in Nungali. In all languages there is a distinction made among gender affixes according to case. In the Eastern Group of the West Barkly languages this is a two-way distinction between absolutive gender affixes which appear in the nominative and accusative cases, and those which appear in all other cases, followed by regular nominal case suffixes. In Jingili and Nungali, however, there is a three-way distinction among gender suffixes: absolutive, ergative and dative. Unlike in Wambaya, the ergative and dative gender suffixes in Jingili and Nungali are not supplemented with regular nominal case affixes. There is a significant degree of correspondence in both form and function between the gender suffixes of Nungali and the West Barkly languages. This is discussed in Appendix B.

1.1.3 OTHER SPELLINGS OF LANGUAGE NAMES

Alternative spellings for the Wambaya language name that are found in the literature are Umbia (Lindsay 1887), Wombya (Mathews 1900), Umbaia (Spencer and Gillen 1904), Wombaia (Mathews 1905, Capell 1965), Yumpia (Basedow 1907), Umbai (Eylmann 1908), Wambaia (Hale 1959, Tindale 1974), Wambaja (Capell 1963, Yallop 1969, Chadwick 1971) and Wampaya (Avery 1990).

Gudanji has also been written as Kooringee¹¹ (Stationmaster 1895), Koodangie (Mathews 1900), Godangee (Basedow 1907), Goodanji (Hale 1960), Gudandji (Capell 1963, Aguas 1968, Chadwick 1971, Blake 1990), Kutandji (O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966), Kotandji (Tindale 1974) and Kutanji (Avery 1990).

Alternative spellings for Ngarnga/Ngarngi found in the literature are Gnanji (Spencer and Gillen 1904, Basedow 1907), Angee (and Anga) (Basedow 1907), Ngandji (Tindale 1974) and Ngarndji (Chadwick 1971, Capell 1979, Blake 1990).

Binbinka is found in the literature most commonly as Binbinga (e.g. Spencer and Gillen 1904, Basedow 1907, Capell 1963, Tindale 1974, Chadwick 1978), but also as Bing Binga (Lindsay 1887) and Binbingha (Mathews 1900, 1908).

1.1.4 PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

Ken Hale's unpublished field notes on Wambaya (Wambaia) (63 pages, including a brief sketch grammar)¹² and Gudanji (Goodanji) (28 pages) gathered in 1959 and 1960 respectively constitute the first significant work done on these languages. More recently almost all of the major work on the West Barkly languages has been done by Neil Chadwick. As well as some articles (e.g. Chadwick 1971, 1979, 1984) this work includes a published grammar of Jingili (Chadwick 1975) and his PhD dissertation 'The West Barkly languages, complex morphology' (1978). This thesis is a detailed morphological analysis of the core aspects of the grammars of all the West Barkly languages and probably represents the only detailed work that will ever be done on at least Ngarnga and Binbinka, for which there are almost no full speakers left.

Aside from Hale's and Chadwick's work, there is a recently completed PhD dissertation on Jingili by Rob Pensalfini (1997); an Australian National University honours thesis by Stuart Campbell (no date) which provides a grammatical sketch and short word list based on Hale's field notes and recordings; and a brief grammatical sketch of Gudanji by E.F. Aguas (1968). The rest of the available information consists of a few small word lists (e.g. Hercus 1983, Dymock 1985); a few anthropological articles (mainly concerning the subsection system, see below) written at the turn of the century (e.g. Mathews 1900, 1908); and some brief references in other more general texts and articles (e.g. Lindsay 1887, Spencer and Gillen 1904, Basedow 1907, Capell 1963, Yallop 1969, and Tindale 1974). There is also a report by John Avery (1990) about the Wambaya/Anthony Lagoon land claim which provides useful anthropological, social and historical information about the Wambaya, Gudanji and Ngamga communities.

1.2 ITS SPEAKERS

1.2.1 HISTORY

The West Barkly communities have suffered greatly since European settlement, losing virtually all their traditional land to white pastoralists well over a century ago. Survival by

¹¹ This looks suspiciously like Gurindji, but he claims that the country belonging to these people lies to the east of Powell Creek in the Northern Territory.

¹² Actually, although called Wambaya, the forms of the auxiliary, the negative particles and many of the lexical items contained in these field notes suggest that the dialect Hale recorded is one closer to Gudanji than Wambaya.

hunting and food-gathering was replaced by subsistence primarily on station rations, given in return for work. All the older people that I have worked with, and many of the younger people, have spent a significant amount of time employed on cattle stations; the men as stockmen and the women as housemaids and the like.

Little has been written that gives much information about the history of these communities. The references to them found in the literature are brief and usually mention only their location.¹³ A typical mention is found in Basedow (1907:3):

The Binbinga, a peaceful tribe, occupies the McArthur River district for 40 miles south of Borrooloola.

The Godangee (probably a branch of the Gnanji), adjoins the Binbinga on the east.

The Yumpia (Umbaia) lives in country extending south of the Binbinga, to the tablelands. Both this tribe and the former are noted for cattle-killing.

The Angee and Anga (no doubt branches of the Nganji [*sic*]) are small, hostile tribes, living south and west of the Allaua, at the head of the Wickham River.

Thus, most of the information for the following discussion has come from the Wambaya and Gudanji people that I have worked with, and cannot be supported by information from other sources.

Most of the Wambaya and Gudanji people¹⁴ moved off the stations on their land during the 1960s and 1970s. The reason for this, as explained to me by the people themselves, is that they were forceably moved off the stations by Welfare, who felt that the stations could not provide enough food and health care to support the communities. However, this may not have been the only reason as the movement off the stations appears to coincide with the granting of award (equal) wages and citizenship in 1967, which resulted in the forcible removal of Aboriginal residents from stations to towns in many regions of northern Australia.¹⁵ The majority of these people moved into the towns of Elliott, Tennant Creek and Borrooloola.¹⁶

This shift into country belonging to other people, and the subsequent split-up of their communities, had disastrous effects for the Wambaya and Gudanji people, significantly contributing to the loss of their language and much of their ceremonial life. While living on 'foreign' land they could not practise much of their ceremony and had to use languages such as Kriol to communicate with the other communities, thereby reducing the use of their own languages. John Avery's (1990:5) impression of the circumstances of these communities during the mid 1970s is that they "stood at the end of every queue, whether it was for town employment, housing or other such benefits, and they were dependent on other Aboriginal people for their participation in ceremonial life". My impression is that, at least with respect to the latter point, the current situation is only slightly better than it was at the time of this observation.

¹³ Spencer and Gillen (1904) and Mathews (1900, 1908) also contain some brief discussion of some aspects of ceremonial and social organisation (such as the subsection systems) of the Wambaya and Binbinka communities; see below.

¹⁴ I do not know anything of the history of the Ngarnga and Binbinka communities so cannot include them in this discussion.

¹⁵ I thank Bill McGregor for drawing my attention to this fact.

¹⁶ Elliott is Jingili-Mutpurra country, Tennant Creek is Warumungu country and Borrooloola is Yanyuwa country.

1.2.2 PRESENT SITUATION

The majority of Wambaya and Gudanji people still live in South Camp, Elliott; Wuppa Camp, Tennant Creek; and Mara Camp, Borrooloola. The only communities on their traditional land are a small community of Wambaya who have moved back out to Corella Creek and an even smaller community of elderly Wambaya/Gudanji living at Coolminyini Outstation just out of Borrooloola. There are also a few Wambaya/Gudanji people who live at Murummurula on the South Nicholson River, although this is actually Waanyi country.

The lifestyle of the Wambaya and Gudanji people today (at least, those who live in town) is typical for Aboriginal town communities. Social Security payments and town food supplies have completely replaced hunting and food-gathering as the means of subsistence, and there are alcohol-related problems. Although the kinship and subsection systems are still known and understood by even the youngest members of the community, the marriage laws are often not adhered to by the younger generations, much to the disgust of the older members of the community.

As for the Ngarnga and Binbinka communities, it seems that they have all but disappeared. I met only one old man who claimed to be Ngarnga (and one old woman, who has since died) and no-one who called themselves Binbinka. There are reports that there are some Binbinka people (who can still speak the language) living on Nutwood Downs Station, but this has yet to be confirmed.

The Eastern Group languages are in a critical state. A recent survey of language speakers undertaken by Robert Hoogenraad (pers.comm.) lists 32 people who claim to be full speakers of Wambaya, 10 who claim to be full speakers of Gudanji, only one for Ngarnga and none for Binbinka. Of the 32 people on Hoogenraad's list who claim to speak Wambaya fully, at least 10 received roars of laughter when this list was double-checked with some of the older speakers.¹⁷ My estimates are that there are probably only between 8 and 10 really competent speakers of Wambaya left, and only about 6 or 8 competent speakers of Gudanji. I believe that Hoogenraad's figures for Ngarnga and Binbinka are correct although, as mentioned above, there are claims still needing confirmation that there are some Binbinka speakers living on Nutwood Downs Station.

All of the Wambaya and Gudanji people that I have worked with speak a dialect which is a mixture of Wambaya and Gudanji. The balance of this mix differs greatly – some speakers speak predominantly Wambaya with some Gudanji whereas others speak mostly Gudanji with a bit of Wambaya – but the two dialects are almost always mixed together. In fact most of the older people claim that the two communities and dialects have always been mixed up and that it is not possible, nor appropriate, to try and separate them.¹⁸ Some evidence that

¹⁷ One of the difficulties here which may have helped cause this discrepancy is that people will often differ in their conception of what it means to 'speak' a language (especially with reference to languages which are no longer widely spoken). Thus, someone who is really only a 'half' speaker of a language may claim to speak it fully if they are surrounded by people who hardly speak it at all. Another factor that may have boosted these figures is that some of Hoogenraad's information came from people other than the purported speaker. If these people are not proficient in the language themselves, they may not be able to accurately judge the level of competency that somebody else may have in the language, or they may describe someone as a speaker of a language by virtue of their belonging to the tribe that speaks/owns that language.

¹⁸ This issue caused a great deal of argument at a Wambaya language meeting and literacy course held in Tennant Creek (April 1993) as a couple of (less than fluent) speakers kept insisting that it was possible, and indeed important, that the two dialects be clearly separated. This was to the great frustration of the older people who claimed that it was impossible and inappropriate to do so.

there has been a greater degree of mixing of the two dialects in recent years, however, comes from a 1987 file note from Papulu Apparr-kari, the language centre in Tennant Creek. In this note, one old (now deceased) Wambaya man is reported as claiming that there are only two fluent Wambaya speakers left (of which he was one) as all the other speakers have mixed the language up with Gudanji.

All of the competent speakers of Wambaya and Gudanji are over about 55 years old, and most of them would be over 60. There are a couple of people under 55 (perhaps in their 40s) who have a good command of Wambaya, although in speaking it they tend to substitute a number of grammatical elements from Kriol. Most of the people that I have met over the age of about 40 have a reasonably good to excellent passive knowledge of Wambaya or Gudanji but rarely speak it. None of the younger generations can speak the language at all, apart from the subsection terms, kinship terms and some selected lexical items. Only a few people that I met under about 30 could even understand sentences spoken to them in Wambaya or Gudanji. There is, however, some interest among some of the younger people in learning to read and write Wambaya, with the intention of possibly teaching some to the children in school.¹⁹

The usual language of communication for all of these people, including the older ones, is a variety of Kriol or English ranging from quite a basilectal variety of Kriol among the older speakers to something closer to Aboriginal English among the younger ones. For most of the people this is their first (and only) language.

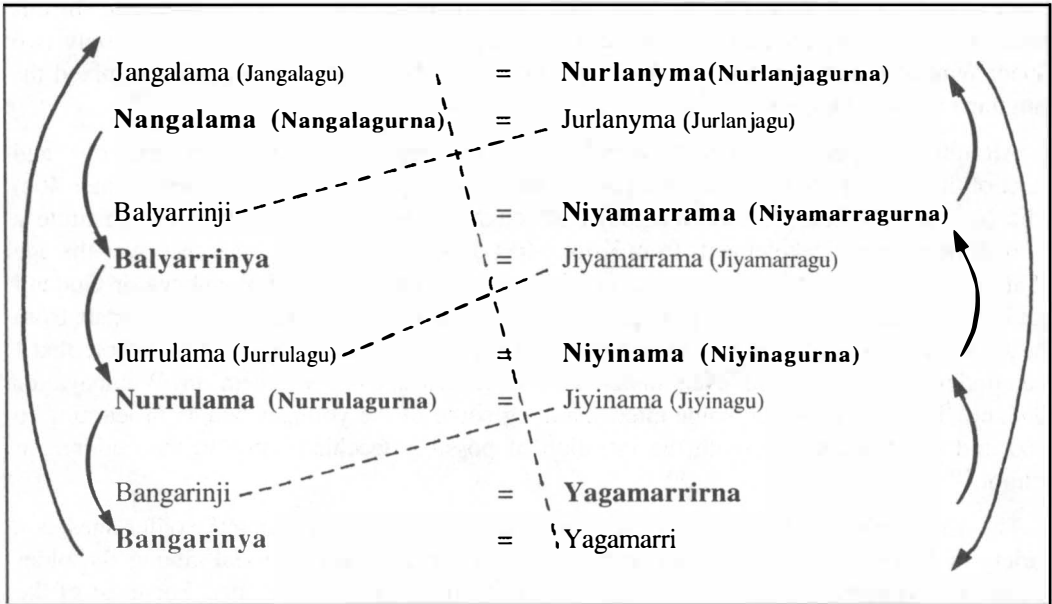
1.2.3 SOCIAL ORGANISATION

1.2.3.1 THE SUBSECTION SYSTEM

Wambaya society is divided into a system of eight subsections, or 'skins', according to which marriage and all other relationships are determined. Brothers and sisters belong to the same subsection, which is determined matrilineally. This system is demonstrated in Table 1.3 below. There are two sets of terms for most subsections; the less common term for each subsection is given in parentheses. The difference between these two sets of terms is discussed below. The subsections have different, although closely related, names for their male and female members; in Table 1.3 female terms are given in bold. An equals sign indicates a first-choice marriage partner, the outside arrows trace matrilineal descent, and the broken lines in the centre show patrilineal descent. An alternative representation of this system is given in Figure 1.1.

¹⁹ The difficulty with this is that the majority of Wambaya children attend school in towns that are on other people's land and where they are, therefore, in a minority. This makes it difficult to argue for the development of a Wambaya language program when the majority of children at the school have a different heritage.

TABLE 1.3: WAMBAYA SUBSECTIONS



Thus, the first-choice marriage partner of someone of the *Jangalama* subsection would be someone from the *Nurlanyama* subsection. Their children would belong to the *Yagamarrirna* (daughters) and *Yagamarri* (sons) subsections, and so on.

Other terms for some of these subsections are commonly in use within the Wambaya community, but are reportedly not Wambaya terms. These are *Jugurdayi* and *Bulanyi* for *Jurlanyama*;²⁰ *Ngabida* for *Nurlanyama* and *Nungarima*²¹ for *Bangarinya*.

²⁰ These are the Warumungu baby-talk term (Heath and Simpson 1982:4) and the Yukulta term (Sharp, cited in McConvell 1985:28) respectively.

²¹ This is possibly from the Yukulta term *nawangarima* (Sharp, cited in McConvell 1985:28).

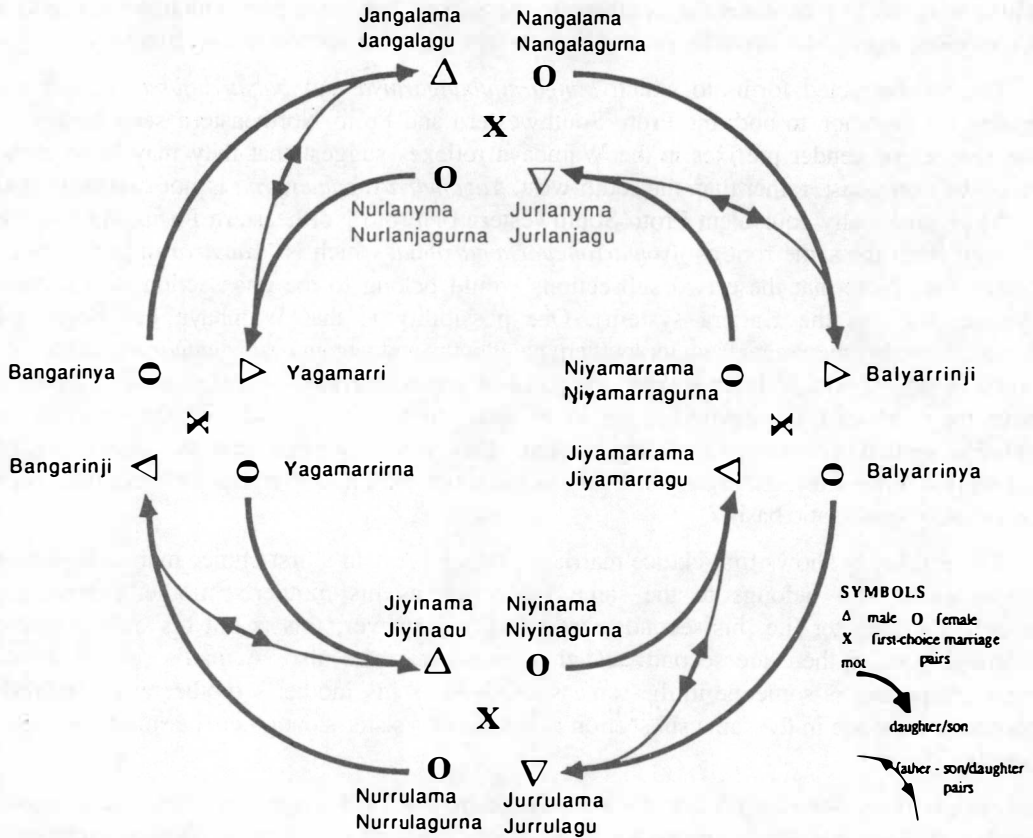


FIGURE 1.1: WAMBAYA SUBSECTIONS (FROM ROBERT HOOGENRAAD)

The terms in Table 1.3 fall into two types: those which mark gender with a prefix (*nV-* for female and *jV-* for male) and have final *-ma*, and those that mark it with a suffix (e.g. *bangarinji/bangarinyma*, *balyarrinji/balyarrinya* and *yagamarri/yagamarrirna*). It is only the terms of the first type that have the alternative forms, which substitute either *-gu* (male) or *-gurna* (female) for *-ma*. In these alternative forms gender is marked both by prefix and by suffix.

The Wambaya subsection terms do not fit neatly with the different sets of terms discussed by McConvell (1985) and appear to be a mix of his Proto-Southwestern and Proto-Northeastern sets of terms.²² As Wambaya is geographically between both groups, that they may have borrowed some terms from each is perhaps not surprising. The gender prefixes *jV-* (male) and *nV-* (female) present in five pairs of forms are clearly related to the gender prefixes in McConvell's (p.29) Proto Southwestern forms: **ja-* and **na-*. Of the five pairs of terms that have these prefixes, four have roots which also appear to be related to the corresponding Proto Southwestern forms reconstructed by McConvell: *jiyinama/niyinama* (**-panangka*), *jurrulama/nurrulama* (**-purrurla*), *jangalama/nangalama* (**-ngala*) and *jiyamarrama/niyamarrama* (**kamarra*). However, one prefixed pair, *jurlanyma/nurlanyma*, is

²² Note that the following discussion is purely impressionistic and should be taken as speculative.

a little puzzling as it contains the Southwestern prefixes, but has a root which is similar to a form belonging to McConvell's Proto-Northeastern set of subsection terms, **purlany*.

The reconstructed forms to which *bangarinji/bangarinya* and *balyarrinji/balyarrinya* are related are common to both the Proto Southwestern and Proto Northeastern sets; however, the absence of gender prefixes in the Wambaya reflexes suggest that they may have come from the north-east, rather than the south-west. *Yagamarri/yagamarrima* is not clearly related to the pragmatically equivalent Proto Southwestern or Proto Northeastern forms but may be derived from the same root as *jiyamarrama/niyamarrama*, which is **kamarra* in both sets of prototerm. Note that these two subsections would belong to the one section in a section system (such as the Kariera system). One possibility is that Wambaya has borrowed *jiyamarrama/niyamarrama* from its southern neighbours and *yagamarri/yagamarrima* from its northern neighbours.²³ Interestingly, the pairs of terms that are suggested here as coming from the north-east, as opposed to the south-west, do not correspond with the structure of either a section system or a moiety system. This would suggest that the borrowing of subsection terms from either the north-east or the south-west into Wambaya has not been on a completely systematic basis.

Table 1.3 only shows first-choice marriage partners. A man's first-choice marriage partner is someone who belongs to the same subsection as his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter (i.e. his second cross-cousin). However, this is not his only possible marriage partner; there are second- and third-choice partners also. A man's second-choice marriage partner is someone in the same subsection as his mother's mother and his third-choice is someone in the same subsection as his father's sister's daughter (i.e. his first cross-cousin).²⁴

For example, *Bangarinji's* first choice is *Yagamarrima* (as his mother is *Nurrulama* whose mother is *Balyarrinya* whose brother is *Balyarrinji* whose daughter is *Nurlanyama* whose daughter is *Yagamarrima*). His second choice is *Balyarrinya* (as his mother is *Nurrulama* whose mother is *Balyarrinya*). His third choice is *Niyamarrama* (as his father is *Jiyinama* whose sister is *Niyinama* whose daughter is *Niyamarrama*).

As noted above, five of the subsections have alternative forms which differ only in the final syllable(s): the first set of forms have final *-ma* for both male and female terms, as opposed to the second set which have final *-gu* (male) or *-gurna* (female). Speakers claim that there is no difference between these two sets and that they are simply alternative Wambaya forms. However, it is the first set that is most frequently used and I suspect that the second set (those in parentheses in Table 1.3) belong to another of the Eastern Group languages/dialects. This is supported by the fact that Spencer and Gillen (1904) give terms similar to these as the subsection terms for 'Gnanji' (Ngarnga). The 'Binbingha' (Binbinka) subsection terms given in Mathews (1908) also appear to be the same forms. These sets of terms are given in Tables 1.4 and 1.5 below, with the corresponding term from Table 1.3 given in italics.

²³ Note that the corresponding Yukulta term has the same form: *yakamarri* (McConvell (1985:29) citing Sharp).

²⁴ I am not completely sure about the order of these two choices; they may go the other way around.

TABLE 1.4: 'GNANJI' SUBSECTION TERMS (SPENCER AND GILLEN 1904:101)

Thungallaku	<i>Jangalagu</i>	Nurlanjukurna	<i>Nurlanjagurna</i>
Nungallakurna	<i>Nangalagurna</i>	Tjulantjuka	<i>Jurlanjagu</i>
Paliarinji	<i>Balyarrinji</i>	Niamaku	<i>Niyamarragurna</i>
Paliarina	<i>Balyarrinya</i>	Tjamuraku	<i>Jiyamarragu</i>
Uralaku	<i>Jurrulagu</i>	Nuanakurna	<i>Niyinagurna</i>
Nuralakurna	<i>Nurrulagurna</i>	Uanaku	<i>Jiyinagu</i>
Pungarinji	<i>Bangarinji</i>	Yakomarina	<i>Yagamarrima</i>
Pungarinia	<i>Bangarinya</i>	Yakomari	<i>Yagamarri</i>

TABLE 1.5: 'BINBINGHA' SUBSECTION TERMS (MALE TERMS ONLY) (MATHEWS 1908:100)

Jungalagoo	<i>Jangalagu</i>
Bullaranjee	<i>Balyarrinji</i>
Jooralagoo	<i>Jurrulagu</i>
Bangaranjee	<i>Bangarinji</i>
Jooanjagoo	<i>Jurlanjagu</i>
Jameragoo	<i>Jiyamarragu</i>
Jinagoo	<i>Jiyinagu</i>
Yukamurra	<i>Yagamarri</i>

Spencer and Gillen also give subsection terms for Wambaya, as does Mathews (1905). What is interesting about these terms is that modern *-ma*-final terms (such as *Niyinama*) correspond in both cases to *-m*-final terms. Modern Wambaya has a phonotactic constraint that all words must have a final vowel; perhaps the terms given by Spencer and Gillen and Mathews reflect a stage of Wambaya when this constraint did not exist. Table 1.6 lists the Spencer and Gillen terms, the Mathews terms and the corresponding modern terms from Table 1.3 (in italics).

TABLE 1.6: WAMBAYA SUBSECTION TERMS

Spencer and Gillen (1904:100)	Mathews (1905:105)	From Table 1.3
Tjulum	Choolum	<i>Jurlanyma</i>
Nulum	Noolum	<i>Nurlanyma</i>
Paliarinji	Palyarin	<i>Balyarrinji</i>
Paliarina	Palyareenya	<i>Balyarrinya</i>
Tjinum	Cheenum	<i>Jiyinama</i>
Ninum	Neenum	<i>Niyinama</i>
Pungarinji	Bungarin	<i>Bangarinji</i>
Pungarinia	Bungareenya	<i>Bangarinya</i>
Thungallum	Chingulum	<i>Jangalama</i>
Nungallum	Ningulum	<i>Nangalama</i>
Tjamerum	Jamerum	<i>Jiyamarrama</i>
Niamarragun	Neomarum	<i>Niyamarrama</i>
Tjurulum	Chooralum	<i>Jurrulama</i>
Nurulum	Nooraluma	<i>Nurrulama</i>
Yakomari	Yacomary	<i>Yagamarri</i>
Yakomarin	Yacomareenya	<i>Yagamarrima</i>

Another interesting feature in Spencer and Gillen's list is that they have divided the subsections into two moieties. This division is shown by the space halfway down the list in Table 1.6. Spencer and Gillen name the first moiety *Illitji* and the second *Liaritji*. I have never heard either of these terms, nor been told anything of moieties within the Wambaya subsection. Avery (1990:41) discusses the existence of moieties and semimoieties in many surrounding communities but says that they do not appear to exist in the Wambaya, Gudanji and Ngarnga subsection systems. Perhaps the knowledge of these moieties has been lost since the time of Spencer and Gillen's research.

1.2.3.2 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Wambaya kinship terms are given in Figures 1.2 (male ego) and 1.3 (female ego). As is common in Aboriginal Australia, this is a classificatory kinship system: these kinship terms are used for anyone in the appropriate category, regardless of whether they are actual consanguineal or affinal relatives. Another characteristic of this system, also common in Australia, is that same-sex siblings are treated alike. For example, a woman calls her sister's children by the same terms that she uses for her own; likewise a man with his brother's children. Similarly, parallel cousins (i.e. the children of same-sex siblings) are treated as siblings. Where there are two terms for a category in the charts below, the first refers to the younger sibling and the second to the elder sibling. One's parents are referred to with the same term as for their younger sibling. Thus:

F
irda
bamangila

means that *irda* is the term for both father and father's younger brother and *bamangila* is the term for father's elder brother.

I have not given any of the synonyms for these kinship terms. Synonyms and near synonyms can be found in the word list in Appendix D.

Note that the cyclical nature of this system means that kin types can be defined in a number of different ways: for example, one's 'mother' (M) could also be one's 'brother's son's wife' (BSW); and one's 'mother's mother' (MM) could also be one's 'cousin's wife' (FZSW). To avoid cluttering, I have not listed every possibility in the charts but leave it to the reader to trace these alternative relationships themselves, if desired, using Table 1.3 above.

It is important to note that only a limited amount of work has been done in the area of Wambaya kinship and that, as indicated by the queries in the following charts, more research is needed.

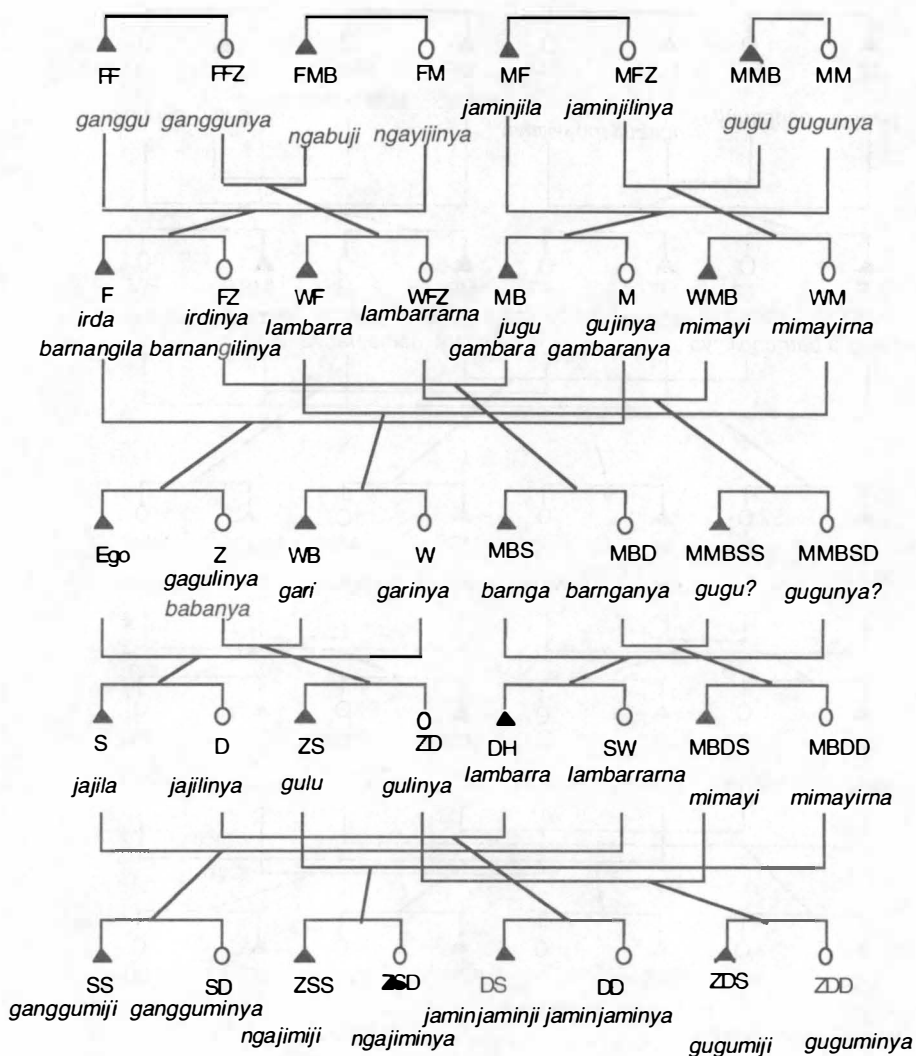


FIGURE 1.2: KINSHIP TERMS – MALE EGO

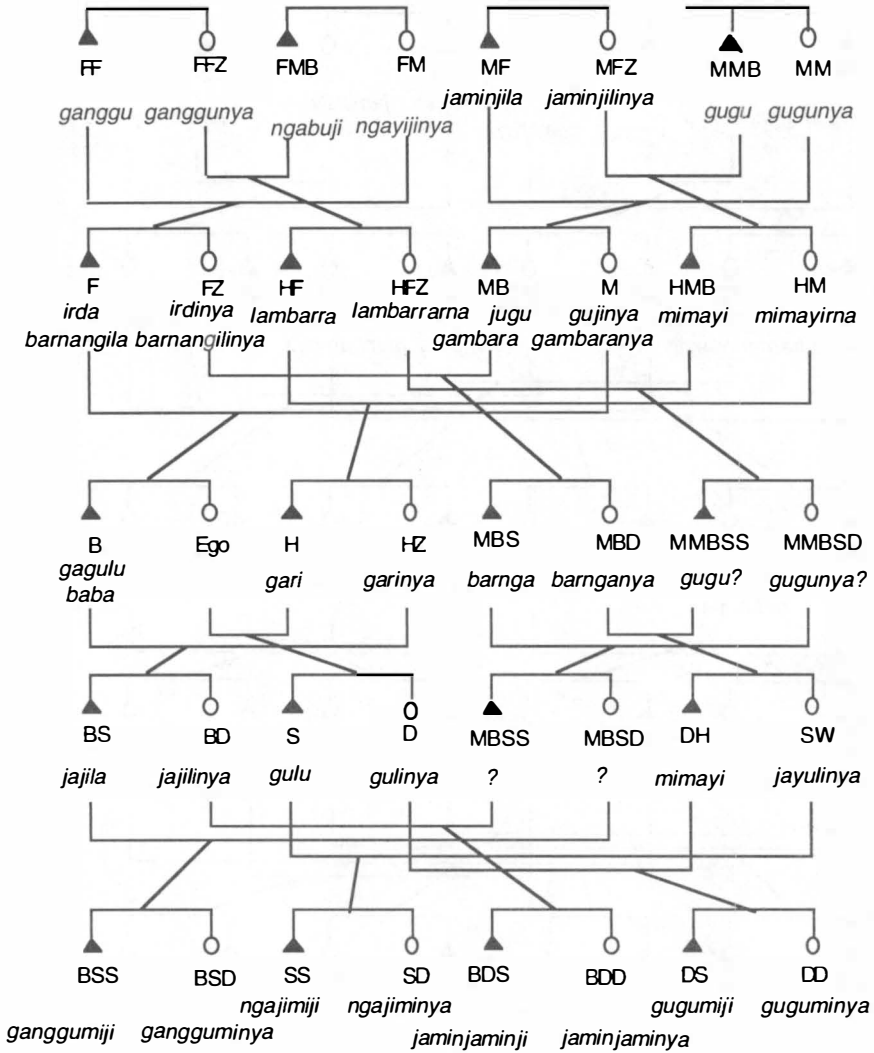


FIGURE 1.3: KINSHIP TERMS – FEMALE EGO

Special gender suffixes are found with many kinship nouns – see §4.2.2. Dyadic kinship terms can be formed with the suffix *-gulanji/-gulanga*, discussed in §4.5.1.3. Kinship terms can also be inflected with the suffix *-liji*, which appears to be a reflexive-possessive suffix indicating that the ‘possessor’ of the kin is the subject (or the topic) of the clause. This suffix is discussed in §4.5.1.2.

CHAPTER 2
PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS

The phonemes for Wambaya are given in Table 2.1 below. The orthographic symbol for each phoneme is given in parentheses following the IPA symbol. Note that, as voicing is not distinctive in Wambaya, the decision to use the voiced IPA stop symbols in Table 2.1 is arbitrary, although it reflects the Wambaya community's choice of orthography. For the rest of this chapter I will use the orthographic symbol to represent the phoneme (e.g. /r/ not /ɽ/). Long vowels are given below in parentheses to indicate their rarity. There are only a handful of words with long vowels in the corpus; these are discussed in §2.1.4.

TABLE 2.1: WAMBAYA PHONEMES

Consonants:	Bilab.	Apico-alv.	Apico-postalv. (retroflex)	Lamino -palatal	Velar
Stop	b (<i>b</i>)	d (<i>d</i>)	ɖ (<i>rd</i>)	ɟ (<i>j</i>)	g (<i>g</i>)
Nasal	m (<i>m</i>)	n (<i>n</i>)	ɳ (<i>rn</i>)	ɲ (<i>ny</i>)	ŋ (<i>ng</i>)
Lateral		l (<i>l</i>)	ɭ (<i>rl</i>)	ʎ (<i>ly</i>)	
Tap/Trill		ɾ/r ¹ (<i>rr</i>)			
Semivowel	w (<i>w</i>)		ɻ (<i>r</i>)	j (<i>y</i>)	
Vowels:	i (<i>i</i>) (i: (<i>ii</i>))				u (<i>u</i>)
		a (<i>a</i>) (a: (<i>aa</i>))			

As shown in Table 2.1, the Wambaya phoneme inventory contains five places of articulation for stops including two apical series and one laminal series. There is a nasal corresponding to each stop articulation and a corresponding lateral at each non-peripheral place of articulation. There is an alveolar tap/trill and three semivowels: labio-velar /w/, retroflex /r/, and lamino-palatal /y/. There is a three-way vowel contrast with a very limited length distinction; long vowels are found in only a handful of words – see §2.1.4.

Although the orthographic symbols for each of the individual phonemes are given above, in order to easily read the examples given throughout this work there are some orthographic conventions that should be understood.²

- (i) The homorganic nasal–stop cluster /ɳɖ/ is written *md*.
- (ii) The homorganic nasal–stop cluster /ɳj/ is written *nj*. As far as I can tell, the sequence /ɳj/ does not occur (but see footnote 31 for a possible exception).

¹ These are two allophones of the one phoneme. I have included the symbols for both allophones, even though this is essentially a phonemic chart.

² This orthography was devised through consultation with members of the Wambaya community at the literacy workshop (taught by Gavan Breen) in Tennant Creek, April 1993 and supersedes an earlier version in which *k* was used instead of *g* and *nj* was written *nyj*.

- (iii) The sequence /ng/ is written *nk* to distinguish it from the phoneme /ŋ/ which is written *ng*. The homorganic nasal–stop sequence /ŋg/ is written *ngg*.
- (iv) The orthographic sequence *mg* represents the phonetic sequence /ŋg/. It **never** represents the phonetic sequence /ɹŋ/ as this is not a possible sequence in the language.
- (v) [i] and /ji/ are in free variation word initially. This initial element is consistently written *i*.
- (vi) [u] and /wu/ are likewise in free variation word initially. This initial element is consistently written *wu*.

Chadwick (1978:9–11) discusses the existence of a dorso-palatal stop (his term is ‘palatovelar’) which he says is found in all of the West Barkly languages apart from Wambaya. In Jingili and Ngarnga he attributes it phonemic status, in Binbinka and Gudanji he claims it is the result of the two-stop sequences /jg/ and /gj/. He mentions the existence of a dorso-palatal nasal only as a member of a homorganic nasal–stop cluster. This stop is absent in Wambaya, which usually has just a lamino-palatal stop corresponding to the dorso-palatal stop in other dialects. Some cognate pairs are given below. The Ngarnga examples are from Chadwick (1971) and the Gudanji one is from Chadwick (1978:11). I have altered Chadwick’s orthography slightly so that the dorso-palatal stop is consistently written *gj* and the tap/trill is written *rr*.

Ngarnga/Gudanji	Wambaya	Gloss
<i>alagji</i> (Ng)	<i>alaji</i>	boy
<i>gurigja</i> (Ng)	<i>gurija</i>	fat (n)
<i>ngigjinama</i> (Ng)	<i>ngijininima</i>	morning (Ng), tomorrow (W)
<i>burriygji</i> (G)	<i>burriji</i>	bird sp.

2.1.1 CONSONANTS

Voicing is not phonemically distinctive – each stop has two realisations, one voiced and one voiceless (unaspirated). The voiced variants are predictably found intervocally and before or after another consonant (i.e. between two voiced sounds). In word-initial position the voiced and voiceless variants are in free variation, although the voiced realisation is probably the most common, especially in fast speech where it is almost always preceded by a vowel. The only exception to this is the velar stop /g/, which is usually voiceless and sometimes slightly aspirated in word-initial position.

Apico-alveolar sounds are made by placing the tongue tip on the alveolar ridge. The apico-postalveolar sounds are made with the tongue tip placed just behind the alveolar ridge, possibly with some curling back of the tongue (hence the term ‘retroflex’).³ The contrast between the two series of apical consonants is most easily perceptible following a stressed

³ In Nordlinger (1993a) I described these sounds as involving the underside of the tongue tip, based simply on impressionistic evidence. However recent phonetic research (e.g. Butcher, forthcoming) has shown that very often in Australian languages such sounds are not sublaminal. Thus in lieu of more detailed research into Wambaya phonetics, I have revised my position, allowing for the possibility that such sounds are not made with the underneath of the tongue. However, in keeping with common Australianist practice, I will still refer to them as retroflexes.

low vowel. Retroflexion is less pronounced following high vowels, and unstressed vowels. A similar pattern of perceptibility of contrast is reported by Chadwick (1978:15).⁴

The distinction between the apico-alveolar and retroflex series is collapsed in word-initial position. The neutralisation of the apical contrast in this environment is very common in Australian languages (e.g. Dixon 1980:167) and the apical variant which occurs in this position is usually described as being retroflex (e.g. Dixon 1980:167, Austin 1981a for Diyari, Evans 1985, 1995a for Kayardild, among others). While it is often hard to tell what the realisation of this initial apical is in Wambaya when the word is uttered in isolation, in continuous speech it is usually heard as a retroflex. This is further supported by evidence from reduplication in which initial apicals are realised as postalveolar when prefixed with the reduplicated sequence: *daguma* reduplicates as *dagu-raguma*, and *labarnga* reduplicates as *laba-rlabarnga*, for example (see §2.3.6). However, I have adopted the standard convention of representing apicals in initial position with the apico-alveolar series of symbols: /d/, /n/ and /l/.⁵

The lamino-palatal stop /j/ has a fricative allophone [ʒ] which occurs in free variation with the stop allophone in intervocalic position, between two unstressed syllables. This fricative allophone is heard only in fast speech. For example:

Phonemic form	Gloss	Phonetic form
/bungmaji/	old man	['buŋmaʒi]
		['buŋmaʒi] (fast speech)

Chadwick (1978:15) also recorded bilabial and velar fricative allophones in free variation with the respective stop allophones. I have not recorded such allophones, but given the existence of a lamino-palatal fricative allophone, their existence is not unlikely. It is possible that such allophonic variation is idiolectal.

The two velar consonants /g/ and /ng/ both have fronted, palatalised allophones [gʲ] and [ŋʲ] before a front vowel, especially in word-initial position.

⁴ Another interesting aspect of the apical contrast is that speakers are less likely to correct me with regard to these sounds than they are with regard to other contrasts in the language. Thus, unless the distinction is crucial in distinguishing one word from another, I have found that speakers will tend to accept my pronunciation of a word regardless of whether I have a retroflex or an apico-alveolar consonant. The reason for this could simply be the increased tolerance of imperfection that there is for beginners in the language, or it could reflect a more interesting fact about the phonology of the language and the relationship between these two series of consonants. Unfortunately there is little more that can be said given my limited data and research in this area. Bill McGregor (pers.comm.) notes that in literacy writers of many languages also appear to be more tolerant of non-representation, or misrepresentation of retroflexion than of other contrasts, particularly when it is marked by means of a diacritic.

⁵ Butcher's (to appear) instrumental analysis of the pronunciation of initial apicals by speakers of a number of different Australian languages yields some interesting results. While his study supports the generally held acoustic impression that the two apical series are neutralised in initial position, he found that the apical sound which does occur is neither the apico-alveolar nor the retroflex version. Rather, he found that the phonetic realisation of the initial apicals is of a 'Mittelding' type – having an articulation somewhere between the unneutralised articulation of the two series (p.13). Thus, he found that initial apicals tended to be non-retroflex but have an articulation further back than the alveolar ridge, "often on the borderline between alveolar and postalveolar zones" (p.13). It is quite possible that this is also the case in Wambaya. However, without a detailed instrumental analysis it is impossible to tell.

Phonemic form	Gloss	Phonetic form
/ginmanji/	this way	[gʲɪnmaɪŋji]
/ngirra/	steal	[ŋʲɪra]

The distinction between the two apical nasals /n/ and /m/ is neutralised before the retroflex stop /rd/. In this environment it is always the retroflex nasal which is found. The distinction between /n/ and the lamino-palatal nasal /ny/ is similarly neutralised before the lamino-palatal stop; in this position it is usually /ny/ that occurs. In contrast, the distinction between /n/ and /ng/ is maintained before /g/. The one exception to this involves the dative suffix *-nka* which can be heard as either [nga] or [ŋga].⁶

The alveolar tap/trill /r/ is usually a tap, but is a trill preconsonantly:

Phonemic	Gloss	Phonetic
/mirra/	sit, be	[ˈmɪra]
/marrgulu/	egg	[ˈmarrgʊlʊ]

The retroflex approximant /r/, rather than being grouped with the alveolar tap/trill under the feature 'rhotic', as is a common analysis for many Australian languages (e.g. see Dixon 1980:144-145), is considered to form a natural class with the semivowels /y/ and /w/ (as reflected in Table 2.1). This analysis was prompted by a similar analysis given by McGregor (1988b) for Gooniyandi and other languages in the north-west of Australia and is supported by the following phonetic and phonotactic evidence which shows /r/ to pattern like /y/ and /w/ and unlike /rr/.

- (i) /r/, like the other semivowels, can be the result of lenition of stops in reduplication or preceding or following /g/. Thus, /b/ can be realised as /w/; /j/ as /y/; and /rd/ (written *d* initially) as /r/. Some examples are:

<i>wugbardi</i>	>	<i>wugwardi</i>	cook
<i>junmi</i>	>	<i>junmi-yunmi</i>	cut
<i>daguma</i>	>	<i>dagu-ragu-ma</i>	hit
<i>bardgu</i>	>	<i>bargu</i>	fall

See §2.3.1 for a discussion of lenition and §2.3.6 for a discussion of reduplication.

- (ii) /r/, like /y/ and /w/, can be elided between two identical vowels, creating a long vowel:

<i>manka-waji</i>	>	<i>mankaaji</i>	deaf
<i>iriyiliji</i>	>	<i>irüiliji</i>	father
<i>baraj-bulu</i>	>	<i>baaj-bulu</i>	old person-DU

See §2.1.4 for a discussion of long vowels.

- (iii) /r/, like /y/ and /w/ but **unlike** /rr/, can never be the initial element in a consonant cluster.

See §2.2.3 for a discussion of consonant clusters.

McGregor argues that in Gooniyandi the alveolar tap /rr/ forms a natural class with the laterals, defined by the feature [liquid] (although distinguished by the feature [lateral]) (1988b:166, 169-171). There is some evidence to suggest that this may also be a possible analysis for Wambaya:

⁶ Hale (1959:i) gives *-nka* as the Wambaya dative suffix, and *-ngga* as the Gudanji version. In my corpus the two appear as variants of each other, without any obvious dialectal difference.

- (i) /rr/, /rl/ and /l/ behave as a class, being the only sounds that can precede /w/ in a consonant cluster (the other lateral /ly/ does not occur in consonant clusters).
- (ii) /rl/ and /rr/ are similar in that they both appear to condition lenition from /b/ to /w/ in the verbal unmarked suffix *-bi* and the infinitive suffix *-barda*. See §6.1 for a discussion of verbal inflection.

<i>garran-bi</i>	stand	BUT	<i>ngirr-wi</i>	growl
<i>ngaj-barda</i>	see-INF	BUT	<i>ngarl-warda</i>	talk-INF

Note that there are no verb roots that end with either of the other laterals: /l/ or /ly/.

However, these two arguments alone are not adequately convincing to support postulating a natural class containing the laterals and /rr/. Thus, I assume that /rr/ is in a class of its own, defined as a non-nasal, non-lateral sonorant.⁷

2.1.2 VOWELS

There is quite a wide range of allophonic variation among the three vowels in Wambaya.⁸ The major vowel allophones tend to be slightly central and become more so in unstressed syllables. Vowels are fronted before palatal consonants and are often lowered or produced with a more back articulation when next to the labio-velar approximant /w/. The various allophones for each vowel phoneme and their environments are listed below:

/a/ has the allophone [æ] / [j, ɲ]__[j] e.g. /jayili/ 'down': [ˈjæjɪli]
 [aⁱ] / __[j, ɲ, ʎ, j] e.g. /danya/ 'clothes': [ˈdaⁱɲa]
 [>a] / [w]__[m] e.g. /wamba/ 'snappy gum': [ˈw>amba]⁹
 / __[w] e.g. /barrawu/ 'house': [ˈba^rawũ]
 [a] elsewhere e.g. /baba/ 'elder brother': [ˈbaba]

⁷ Gavan Breen (pers.comm.) claims that /rr/ is in fact closely related to /d/ (McGregor 1988b also provides evidence for a (historical) relationship between /d/ and /rr/ in other languages of northern Australia). Breen points out that /rr/ and /d/ contrast only in Wambaya when they occur intervocalically after a primary stressed vowel (and perhaps also as the initial member of a consonant cluster), but elsewhere seem to be in complementary distribution. Thus, /d/ is found word-initially and as the second member of a consonant cluster, while /rr/ occurs intervocalically after a non-primary stressed vowel. Although there are a few exceptions to this distribution, most of them can be attributed to factors such as dissimilation and morphological structure. However, as distributional evidence is not enough to be indicative of a natural class (Juliette Blevins, pers.comm.), this does not affect my treatment of /rr/ discussed above.

⁸ The long vowels /aa/ and /ii/ are very unusual and are exemplified below and then discussed in more detail in §2.1.4.

⁹ In the language name, the phonetic realisation of the first /a/ is closer to [ɔ] than [>a]:
 /wambaya/ 'Wambaya' [ˈwɔmbaⁱja]

/i/ has the allophone	[i] / __ [j], #	e.g. /niyinama/ 'female skin name': [ni'juna ¹ ma]
		e.g. /ngajbi/ 'see': [ŋa ¹ jbi]
	[ɔi] / __ [w]	e.g. /maliwa/ 'big' (IV): [mal ¹ ɔiwa]
	[ɪ] elsewhere	e.g. /ngijini/ 'yesterday': [ŋijini] ¹⁰
/u/ has the allophone	[u ¹] / __ [j, ɟ, ɲ, ʎ]	e.g. /lujuluju/ 'coolamon': [lu ¹ ju ¹ lu ¹ ju]
		e.g. /guyala/ 'nothing': [ku ¹ jala]
	[ʊ] / [w] __	e.g. /mawula/ 'play': [m ¹ awʊla]
	[u] elsewhere	eg /jugu/ 'MB': [ju ¹ gu]

Vowels can also be slightly rhoticised before a retroflex consonant. This is especially true of the low central vowel /a/.

In a small number of words a long vowel [a:] is found, and a couple of words have the long vowel [i:]. Such long vowels always carry primary stress. There are no examples of minimal pairs in which these long vowels contrast with the corresponding short vowels. These vowels are written *aa* and *ii* respectively. Some examples are:

<i>jaabi</i>	[ˈja:bi]	wart
<i>barraala</i>	[baˈra:la]	bird sp.
<i>Nganaara</i>	[ŋaˈna:ra]	Brunette Downs Station
<i>ngirmii</i>	[ŋiˈri:ii]	south
<i>burriiji</i>	[buˈri:ji]	bird sp.

The small number of examples of these vowels, and the absence of minimal pairs in which they contrast with the corresponding short vowels, suggests that they are not an original part of the Wambaya phonemic system. These vowels may have derived from an original sequence of vowel–semivowel–vowel, from which the semivowel was dropped (in fact this is known to be the case for *ngirmii*; see below). These vowels are discussed further in §2.1.4.

2.1.3 PHONEMIC OPPOSITIONS

Below are some minimal pairs (or near-minimal pairs) which show the phonemic contrasts for some of the more similar pairs of phonemes. These examples are given in the practical orthography.

Vowels

<i>i/u/a</i>	<i>ngi</i>	1SG.A/S(PR)
	<i>ngu</i>	1SG.A/S.FUT
	<i>nga</i>	1SG.A/S.PST

Apicals

<i>d/rd</i>	<i>guda</i>	stone
	<i>gurda</i>	be sick

¹⁰ The allophones [i] and [ɪ] are in free variation before the lamino-palatal consonants /j/ and /ny/:

/ilijbi/ 'alone' > [ɪlijbi] or [liɟbi]

n/m	<i>ganmami</i>	get close
	<i>gammangga</i>	jaw
l/rl	<i>bulinja</i>	algae
	<i>burlinja</i>	to smoke
r/tr	<i>mira</i>	hip
	<i>mirra</i>	sit, be
d/rr	<i>nguda</i>	1SG.A/S.NACT.PST
	<i>ngurra</i>	1PL.INC.ACC/OBL
rd/rr	<i>gulugbarda</i>	sleep.INF
	<i>gurrbarra</i>	stare
l/rr	<i>bilimbila</i>	flat (IV)
	<i>birrimbirra</i>	plant sp.
rl/rr	<i>ngurluwani</i>	1DU.EXC.NOM/ERG
	<i>ngurruwani</i>	1PL.INC.NOM/ERG
rl/r	<i>warlidaji</i>	magpie goose
	<i>warima</i>	hold on to
l/r	<i>alima</i>	OK, alright, goodbye
	<i>warima</i>	hold on to
Other Nasals		
n/ng	<i>najbi</i>	burn
	<i>ngajbi</i>	see
n/ny	<i>bunmajarda</i>	show-off
	<i>bunyma</i>	arse
ng/ny	<i>ngu</i>	1SG.A/S.FUT
	<i>nyu</i>	2SG.A/S.FUT
Other Laterals		
l/ly	<i>iliga</i>	sore
	<i>ilyirrga</i>	leaf
rl/ly	<i>jarlu</i>	arm
	<i>jalyu</i>	bed

2.1.4 LONG VOWELS AND VOWEL–SEMIVOWEL–VOWEL SEQUENCES

Apart from in a few exceptional words such as *Nganaara* 'Brunette Downs Station', long vowels in Wambaya can generally be shown, at some stage of development, to be a reduction of a vowel-semivowel-vowel sequence (where the two vowels are identical). Wambaya-internal evidence for this can be the morphological structure (as in (a) and (b)), or the fact that the two possibilities exist as alternatives (as in (c) and (d)).

(a)	[ˈmanga,aɪji]	<	/manka+waji/	ear + PRIV (I)
(b)	[ˈdaraŋgu,ulu]	<	/darranggu+wulu/	tree + DU
(c)	[ˈtʃɪtʃɪ], [ˈtʃɪtʃɪ]	<	/iriyiliji/	father
(d)	[ˈbaaɪjɪ,bulu], [ˈba.jaɪjɪ,bulu]	<	/baraj+bulu/	old person + DU

Other evidence comes from the fact that many words having a long vowel in Wambaya contain a semivowel in Gudanji. Some examples (in the practical orthography) are:¹¹

Wambaya	Gudanji	Gloss
ga'maa	'garnawa	long (IV)
ngi'mii	'ngimiwi	south
ga'laa	'galawa	bone
ga'rdaala	'garda,wala	gidgee tree

Stress patterns in Wambaya, however, distinguish two types of long vowels: phonetic and phonemic. Phonemic long vowels are those which occur within morphemes and have no alternative pronunciation in Wambaya. The examples such as *gamaa* and *ngimii* above are phonemic long vowels. Phonemic long vowels always receive primary stress irrespective of their position in the word, as shown in the examples immediately above. The fact that these long vowels can be seen to have derived originally from vowel-semivowel-vowel sequences does not alter their synchronic status in Wambaya.¹² Long vowels as in (a) to (d) above however are phonetic long vowels, deriving from elision of a semivowel in a particular context (see §2.3.2) and do not receive primary stress (unless, as in (d), they are in the first syllable, which regularly receives primary stress anyway). For a discussion of the different treatment of these two types of long vowels by Wambaya stress rules see §2.2.4.

Other vowel-semivowel-vowel sequences can sometimes be heard as diphthongs (when the second part of the sequence does not bear stress):

/ayiguru/	'afternoon'	>	[ˈaɪgʊɾu]
/barrawu/	'house'	>	[ˈbar>aʊ]
/mimayi/	'son-in-law'	>	[ˈmɪmaɪ]

However, it is usually possible to demonstrate that these sequences are disyllabic and phonemically contain a semivowel. With /barrawu/ and /mimayi/ this becomes clear once morphological processes cause the second part of the phonetic diphthong to bear stress:

/mimayima/	'mother-in-law'	>	[ˈmɪmaɪˌjɪtʃa]
/barrawu+ni/	'house + LOC'	>	[ˈbar>aɪwʊni]

With /ayiguru/ this is shown by the fact that the stress patterns for the word behave as if it were four syllables, rather than three (which would be the case were there an initial diphthong). In this example it is sufficient to use a phonemic representation:

/ayiguru/	'afternoon'	>	ˈayiˌgʊɾru
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¹¹ Note that all of these examples involve the semivowel /w/. I have no examples which involve either of the other semivowels, /r/ or /y/. The loss of /w/ in this environment in Wambaya may relate to the loss of initial /w/ before /a/. See §2.2.2 for examples of correspondences between /a/-initial words in Wambaya and /wa/-initial words in Gudanji and Binbinka.

¹² Although it may be tempting to analyse these long vowel sequences as containing an underlying medial glide, this would not allow us to easily capture the generalisation that all these long vowels attract primary stress irrespective of their position in the word.

For a discussion of the stress placement rules in Wambaya see §2.2.4.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

All Wambaya words must contain a minimum of two syllables, can begin with either a vowel or a consonant, and must end with a vowel (see below for a discussion of the auxiliary which is the one exception to this). Although consonants (usually) cannot occur word-finally, they can occur syllable-finally when they are the first element in a consonant cluster. There are a few consonant-final nominal roots (involving /j/, /g/ and /ny/) and many of the verbal stems are consonant-final, ending in either /n/, /rd/, /rl/, /rr/, /j/, /ny/, /g/ or /ng/. Biconsonantal clusters are common, but there are no vowel clusters.

The auxiliary can be both consonant-final and monosyllabic. Examples of monosyllabic auxiliaries include:

(2-1) *Nyagajbi ngi.*
be.tired 1SG.S(PR)
I'm tired.

(2-2) *Gajbi ny-a.*
eat 2SG.A-PST
You ate it.

However, as a monosyllabic auxiliary must encliticise to the preceding word (see §2.2.4), it is monosyllabic only from the grammatical point of view and does not constitute an exception to the rule that all phonological words must be polysyllabic.

That the auxiliary can be consonant-final, however, is an exception to the general phonotactic constraints in Wambaya. The auxiliary can be consonant-final if it contains one of the three consonant-final suffixes: *-any* (direction away, past tense), *-amany* (direction towards, past tense), *-n* (progressive aspect). For example:

(2-3) *Yarru g-any manganymi-nka.*
go 3SG.S-PST.AWY tucker.III-DAT
He went (to get) some tucker.

(2-4) *Marlu-nnga ng-amany yarru.*
far-ABL 1SG.S-PST.TWD go
I came from a long way away.

(2-5) *Mirra irri-n jamba-ni.*
sit 3PL.S(NP)-PROG ground.IV-LOC
They're sitting on the ground.

In non-singular imperative constructions, and transitive imperative constructions with a first person object, the auxiliary can again be consonant-final.

(2-6) *Ngarl-wa gurl!*
talk-FUT DU.IMP
You two talk!

- (2-7) *Duga-j-ba* *girr!*
 sit.down-TH-FUT PL.IMP
 You lot sit down!
- (2-8) *Manganyma* *nyi-ng* *jiya-j-ba!*
 tucker.III(ACC) 2SG.A-IO give-TH-FUT
 Give me (some) tucker!

The full set of final consonants allowed in the auxiliary is: /rr/, /rl/, /n/, /ny/, /ng/. Final consonants are not allowed elsewhere in the language and will not be considered in the rest of this discussion of word and syllable structure.

2.2.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The following syllable types are found in Wambaya. Types (i) and (ii) can occur only word-initially and types (iv) and (v) do not occur word-finally. Type (iii) is the most common syllable type and the only one that is unrestricted in its occurrence.

- | | | | |
|-------|------|--------------------------|---------------|
| (i) | V | e.g. <i>a.ya.ni</i> | look for |
| (ii) | VC | e.g. <i>ang.ba.rdi</i> | build |
| (iii) | CV | e.g. <i>ya.rru</i> | go |
| (iv) | CVC | e.g. <i>garr.ga.lyi</i> | plains lizard |
| (v) | CVCC | e.g. <i>lurrg.ba.nyi</i> | grab, snatch |

Type (v) is highly restricted and is possible only when, as in *lurrgbanyi*, it is part of the tri-consonantal cluster /rrgb/. This cluster is further exemplified in §2.2.3.

As well as constraints on the word position of different syllable types (mentioned above), there are different constraints on the onset of a syllable depending on its position within the word. Thus, while the syllable onset¹³ that follows an open syllable (e.g. CV.CV(C)(C)) can be any consonant, that which follows a closed syllable (e.g. CVC.CV(C)(C)), or which occurs word-initially (CV(C)(C).CV...) is restricted as to the type of consonant that can occur. There are also restrictions on the possible coda of a syllable (e.g. VC. CVC), depending on the consonant that follows it (i.e. the onset of the following syllable). For this reason, word-initial consonants (CV(C)(C).CV...) and consonant clusters ((C)VC.CV...) are discussed separately, in §2.2.2 and §2.2.3 respectively.

However, there are some general things that can be said here about the nature of onsets and codas.¹⁴ The frequency of occurrence for groups of segments as either onsets or codas in Wambaya is largely predicted by the continuum of active articulators proposed by Hamilton (1992, 1995) as a tool for describing the phonotactic constraints in Australian languages:¹⁵

LABIAL DORSAL LAMINAL APICAL

¹³ I am assuming the internal structure of a syllable to consist of an onset and a rhyme, which in turn is divided into a nucleus and a coda (as argued for in Blevins 1995, for example).

¹⁴ It should be noted here that this discussion is concerned only with onsets that belong to either initial syllables, or syllables following a closed syllable. It is not concerned with syllable onsets that follow an open syllable (i.e. those that occur intervocalically), as these are unrestricted.

¹⁵ In fact, there is little support for the distinction between labials and dorsals implied by this continuum (Juliette Blevins, pers.comm.).

The prediction is that permissible syllable onsets in any given Australian language will form a continuum of both frequency and possibility beginning from the left side, while permissible syllable codas form such a continuum beginning on the right side. Thus, according to this continuum, labials are more preferred as onsets than laminals and apicals, but are less preferred as codas (which are preferably apicals). Furthermore, if a language allows laminal onsets then it will allow dorsal and labial onsets; if it allows dorsal codas then it will allow laminal and apical codas, and so on.

As will be seen in the ensuing discussion of word-initial segments and consonant clusters in Wambaya, the frequency of occurrence of segments as syllable onsets conforms to this continuum. Thus, although the constraints differ depending on the position of the syllable in the word, syllable onsets are most commonly peripherals (labials and dorsals). This preference is particularly striking for onsets following a closed syllable (i.e. onsets that are the second element in a consonant cluster; see §2.2.3). Furthermore, the most highly restricted onsets, those which can occur **only** intervocalically, are either apical or laminal: /rr/, /r/, /ly/.

The case of codas in Wambaya is less striking, although it does not contradict the predictions made by Hamilton. Of the five consonants that can occur finally in the auxiliary (/rr/, /r/, /n/, /ny/, /ng/), three are apical, one laminal and one dorsal. Although all types of sounds are found as the coda of non-final syllables, labials in this position are severely restricted (occurring only in one homorganic nasal–stop cluster, which clusters are excluded in Hamilton’s discussion) as, to a slightly lesser extent, are dorsals. Apicals, on the other hand, are the least restricted and clearly the most preferred in this position.

More specific details of onset and coda constraints, and their relationship to both Hamilton’s continuum and the sonority hierarchy, will be discussed in §2.2.2 and §2.2.3 below.

2.2.2 WORD-INITIAL POSITION

Words in Wambaya can begin with any of the three vowels, [a], [i], [u]¹⁶ or with a consonant. Of the seventeen consonants in Wambaya, eleven can occur in word-initial position: /b/, /m/, /d/, /n/, /l/, /j/, /ny/, /y/, /g/, /ng/, and /w/. There are no examples of either the tap/trill /r/ in initial position or of the palatal lateral /ly/. There are also no Wambaya examples of the retroflex semivowel /ɻ/ in initial position, although the corpus contains two Gudanji words with initial /r/ (*rimina* ‘paddle, oar’ and *rawuwanggu* ‘type of shell’) which suggests that this may be possible in Wambaya as well (albeit rare).¹⁷ The other consonants not found in initial position are the three retroflex consonants /rd/, /rl/ and /rm/. However, as discussed in §2.1.1 above, it is not the case that retroflex consonants do not occur initially and apico-alveolar consonants do, but that the distinction is neutralised in this position and that only one series of apicals is found word initially. That this series is represented by the apico-alveolar symbols is an orthographic choice and is not necessarily phonetically motivated.

¹⁶ Although these latter two are actually phonetic realisations of /yi/ and /wu/ respectively; see below.

¹⁷ Note that it is not at all unusual among Australian languages for /r/ and /ly/ to be absent word-initially, and for words with initial /r/ to be small in number (see Dixon 1980:168).

There is no contrast between [wU] and [U] or [jɪ] and [ɪ] in word-initial position. A particular word may be heard with an initial semivowel in one instance, and with an initial vowel in another. Very often the word will be vowel-initial when it is pronounced in isolation, yet have an initial semivowel when it occurs in continuous speech (i.e. following a vowel). Some words are typically heard in isolation with only one of the initial possibilities. For example: *ilyirrga* 'leaf' is always heard with an initial vowel, whereas *irda* 'father' is usually heard with an initial semivowel. Similarly *wujubi* 'tell a lie' usually has an initial semivowel while *wugbardi* 'cook' does not. However, in all of these cases the distinction is not significant and either possibility is acceptable. Thus, I assume that /i/ and /u/ are not found word-initially, and that initial [ɪ] and [U] are simply phonetic realisations of the underlying sequences /yi/ and /wu/ respectively. Note that the orthographic system is inconsistent in this respect: /wu/-initial words are written with *wu* as in *wurluwani* '3DU.NOM/ERG' while /yi/-initial words are written only with *i* as in *irriyani* '3PL.NOM/ERG'.

The occurrence of each initial segment in a sample of just over 1200 words is given as a percentage in Table 2.2 below.

TABLE 2.2: OCCURRENCE OF WORD-INITIAL SEGMENTS

Labials		Apicals		
/b/	13.75%	/d/	5.75%	}
/m/	13.05%	/n/	2.8%	
/w/	7.0%	/ɲ/	3.25%	}
total	33.8%	total	11.8%	
		Peripherals ¹⁸		}
		total 65.1%		
				total 32.8%
Dorsals		Laminals		
/g/	21.0%	/j/	11.7%	}
/ng/	10.3%	/ny/	1.7%	
total	31.1%	/y/	7.6%	}
		total	21.0%	
		Non-Consonantal		
/a/	2.1%	total 2.1%		

A striking feature of this table is the overwhelming predominance of peripherals in word initial position. In this sample of words, almost two thirds have an initial peripheral stop or nasal segment compared with just under a third that have an initial apical or laminal consonant. Aside from the peripherals, the only other segment which occurs in initial position in over ten per cent of the sample is the laminal stop /j/. The apicals are relatively infrequent, /d/ having the highest occurrence rate at just under 6 per cent.

These figures correspond nicely with the predictions borne out by the active articulator continuum proposed by Hamilton (1992, 1995) and mentioned in §2.2.1 above. It is repeated here for convenience.

¹⁸ It is common in Australian linguistics to use the term 'peripheral' to refer to labials and dorsals and 'non-peripheral' to refer to laminals and apicals. Thus, the term 'peripheral' corresponds with the more generally familiar term 'non-coronal'. (Note that 'non-coronal' usually includes (dorso-)palatals as well. However, as palatals in Australian languages are usually laminal, they involve raising the blade of the tongue from its neutral position and are therefore coronal.)

LABIAL DORSAL LAMINAL APICAL

The claim is that the permissible onsets of a language will form a continuum beginning from the left side: labial and dorsal consonants are the most preferred syllable onsets, followed by laminal consonants and apical consonants, which are the least preferred. The strong preference for word-initial peripherals in Wambaya thus corresponds with the predictions of this continuum.

While words with initial high vowels are analysed as having an underlying initial semivowel (as discussed above), it is still possible in Wambaya for a vowel phoneme to occur in word-initial position: the phoneme /a/. It is possible that all of the /a/-initial words in Wambaya result from the dropping of an original initial semivowel, /w/. In some cases the two forms still exist in free variation. For example, the word meaning 'to find' can be heard pronounced either *waliyulu* or *aliyulu*. In other cases, evidence of this initial /w/ comes from its presence in a cognate form from another dialect. Thus, *alima* meaning 'well, OK, goodbye' is *walima* in Gudanji. Some other examples of Wambaya words with initial /a/ corresponding to words with initial /w/ in other McArthur dialects include:¹⁹

Gudanji/Binbinka	Wambaya	Gloss
<i>walaji</i> (G, B)	<i>alaji</i>	boy
<i>wanki</i> (B)	<i>anki</i>	alive (I)
<i>wayani</i> (G)	<i>ayani</i>	look for
<i>wangawanga</i> (G)	<i>angaanga</i>	skin
<i>wayigurrajbi</i> (G)	<i>ayigurrajbi</i>	all day
<i>walalangmi</i> (G)	<i>alalangmi</i>	hunt

2.2.3 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

This section covers the consonant clusters possible in Wambaya. It begins with a discussion of clusters that are found within a morpheme, and then, in §2.2.3.2, covers clusters that occur across morpheme boundaries.

2.2.3.1 INTRAMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS

Word-medial clusters of two consonants are common in Wambaya. The biconsonantal clusters that are found in the corpus are shown in Table 2.3. The initial consonant of the cluster is shown along the vertical axis, and the second consonant is given along the horizontal axis. The consonants are given in the same order as Hamilton's continuum: labials, dorsals, laminals and apicals (alveolars and then retroflexes). Within each group the consonants are given in the order: stop, nasal, liquid, semivowel. Question marks indicate what may be accidental gaps in the table.

¹⁹ Binbinka information is from Chadwick (1978:329), Gudanji information is from Chadwick (1978:329) and from my own field notes.

TABLE 2.3: WAMBAYA CONSONANT CLUSTERS

	b	m	g	ng	w	j	ny	ly	y	d	n	l	rr	rd	rn	rl	r
b																	
m	mb																
g	gb																
ng	ngb	ngm	ngg														
w																	
j	jb		?														
ny	nyb	nym	nyg	?		nj											
ly																	
y																	
d	db		?														
n	nb	nm	nk	nng						nd							
l	lb		lg		lw												
rr	rrb	rrm	rrg	rrng	rrw												
rd	rdb		rdg			?											
rn	rn b	rn m	rn g	rn ng		rn j								rn d			
rl	?		?		rl w												
r																	
	b	m	g	ng	w	j	ny	ly	y	d	n	l	rr	rd	m	rl	r

There is one biconsonantal cluster that exists in the corpus, but is not included in the above table. This cluster is found in only one word and is highly unusual, not only in its combination of consonants, but also in the fact that the cluster occurs initially in the syllable: *jrayijala* 'gooramurra'. The phonotactic aberrance of this word suggests that it may have been borrowed. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of the synonym *mamdardbarla*, which conforms with Wambaya's phonotactic constraints and may be the native Wambaya word.

Examples of each consonant cluster follow. I have indicated those of which there are only a few examples in the corpus.

mb	<i>barlumbarra</i>	lagoon
ngg	<i>langga</i>	north
nj	<i>injani</i>	where
nd	<i>andajarri</i>	hide
rnd	<i>bajijurndu</i>	bring up, raise
gb	<i>wugbardi</i>	cook
ngb	<i>angbardi</i>	build
ngm	<i>bungmaji</i>	old man
jb	<i>jindirrijbirrinya</i>	willy wagtail
nyb	<i>bunybarrimi</i>	open (trans.)
nym	<i>gunymana</i>	straw-necked ibis
nyg (rare)	<i>wanyga</i>	armpit
db (rare)	<i>barlugudba</i>	cup
nb	<i>banbarla</i>	bald
nm	<i>anmurru</i>	cuddle, nurse

nk	<i>anka</i>	life
nng	<i>-nnga</i>	ABL (case suffix)
lb (rare)	<i>gulbalawuji</i>	magpie
lg (rare)	<i>wirrilgarra</i>	cockatiel
lw	<i>dalwarranji</i>	darter
rrb	<i>jurlurrburra</i>	ashes
rrm	<i>darrmanji</i>	broлга
rrg	<i>marrgulu</i>	egg
rrng (rare)	<i>barrnganbi</i>	search for boyfriend/girlfriend
rrw	<i>ngarrwanji</i>	white man
rdb	<i>wardbaji</i>	butterfly
rdg	<i>bardgu</i>	fall
rnb (rare)	<i>durnbu</i>	rubbish
rnm	<i>birnmanma</i>	throat
rng	<i>barnga</i>	cross-cousin
rrng (rare)	<i>warrnganji</i>	fly (n)
rnj (rare)	<i>wajangarnja</i>	swim (v)
rlw	<i>barlwara</i>	outside

As Table 2.3 above clearly demonstrates, consonant clusters in Wambaya are constrained in a fairly systematic way. Except for the homorganic nasal–stop clusters, all of the consonant clusters in Table 2.3 fall within a certain area of the chart: on the left hand side, and particularly in the lower left-hand corner. It is exactly this sort of pattern that is predicted by Hamilton’s (1995) continuum (LABIAL DORSAL LAMINAL APICAL). According to this continuum, labials followed by dorsals are the preferred onsets and apicals (followed by laminals) are the preferred codas. The lower left hand corner of Table 2.3, where most of the Wambaya consonant clusters fall, is that part of the table where apical codas (the first element of the cluster) are coupled with labial and dorsal onsets (the second element of the cluster). Furthermore, labial codas and apical onsets (both of which are least preferred according to the continuum) occur only in homorganic nasal–stop clusters (which are excluded from discussion by Hamilton).

A second claim made by Hamilton, specifically directed at cluster phonotactics, is also supported by the Wambaya data. According to Hamilton, the first consonant in a consonant cluster must have a value further to the right on the continuum than the second consonant in order for the cluster to be licit.²⁰ Thus, a cluster consisting of a dorsal followed by a labial is well-formed (e.g. /gb/) while one consisting of a labial followed by a dorsal is not (e.g. */bg/).

The consonant clusters in Wambaya conform exactly with this constraint: labials never occur as the initial consonant in a cluster (as they are the leftmost member of the continuum), dorsals are followed only by labials, laminals are followed by dorsals and labials, and apicals are followed by all three (although there is only one instance of an apical followed by a laminal: /rnj/).

Cross-cutting these cluster constraints based on active articulators are constraints based on sonority values. Consonant clusters in Wambaya are well-formed only if the second

²⁰ Again, this is excluding homorganic nasal–stop clusters.

consonant has a value that is lower than or equal to that of the first on the sonority hierarchy: OBSTRUENT<NASAL<LIQUID<GLIDE.²¹ This explains, for example, why it is that nasal–stop clusters are possible, but stop–nasal clusters are not. There are three exceptions to this principle, all of which contain a liquid followed by a glide (glides are higher on the sonority hierarchy than liquids). Thus /rrw/, /lw/, /rlw/ all contravene the above-mentioned principle of relative sonority for consonant clusters.

The principles governing well-formed consonant clusters in Wambaya can be formulated as follows ((i)–(iv) are taken from the above discussion, (v)–(vii) are additional constraints evident in Table 2.3):

- (i) All homorganic nasal–stop clusters are well-formed.
- (ii) The first member of a consonant cluster (excluding those in (i)) must be higher than the second member of the cluster on the following hierarchy (from Hamilton 1995):

LABIAL<DORSAL<LAMINAL<APICAL

- (iii) Despite the possibilities predicted by (ii), a laminal can occur only as the second element of a cluster (excluding those in (i)) if it is preceded by a retroflex stop or nasal.
- (iv) The first member of a consonant cluster must have a value higher than or equal to the second member on the following sonority hierarchy (from Clements 1990):

OBSTRUENT<NASAL<LIQUID<GLIDE

- (v) As an exception to (iv), clusters containing a liquid followed by the glide /w/ are well-formed.
- (vi) A lateral can be the initial member in a consonant cluster only if it is followed by a peripheral stop or the glide /w/.
- (vii) Neither /ly/, /y/ nor /r/ can occur in a consonant cluster.

These seven principles account for the well-formedness of all of the clusters contained in Table 2.3 as well as the ill-formedness of those corresponding to empty cells. The only exceptions to this are the cells containing question marks which possibly reflect accidental gaps in the corpus.

This discussion of consonant clusters has so far centred only on clusters containing two consonants. However, there is one tri-consonantal cluster (/rrgb/) found in Wambaya. This cluster is found only in a small number of Wambaya words (in a sample of over 1200 words only 5 contain this tri-consonantal cluster intramorphemically). Examples of this cluster are:

<i>bunjurrgbarra</i>	bend down (towards)
<i>burrgbanju</i>	blow (on)
<i>lurrgbanyi</i>	grab, abduct
<i>milirgbarna</i>	blue tongue lizard
<i>gurrgbarra</i>	stare

²¹ As given in Clements (1990). Note that the Wambaya pattern conforms with the Syllable Contact Law (Murray and Vennemann 1983) stated in Clements (1990:287) as follows: In any sequence C_a \$ C_b there is a preference for C_a to exceed C_b in sonority.

2.2.3.2 INTERMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS

There are significantly fewer consonant clusters that are found across morpheme boundaries in Wambaya than are found within morphemes, and there are none that are found only intermorphemically. There are some very simple reasons for this. Firstly, the phonotactic constraint that all words must end in a vowel means that a lot of stems are vowel-final.

<i>gijilulu</i>	money	<i>gijilulu-ngunya</i>	money-PROP (II)
<i>jamba</i>	ground	<i>jamba-nmanji</i>	ground.IV-ALL

Secondly, although there are some consonant-final nominal and verbal roots which function as stems for the addition of suffixes, in most examples in the corpus the final consonant of the stem is either /j/, /g/, /ny/, /n/, /rd/, /ng/ or /rl/ and the initial consonant of the suffix is /b/ (or /w/ after liquids); all of the clusters are also found morpheme-internally:

<i>bungmaj-</i>	old man	<i>bungmaj-bulu</i>	old man-DU
<i>gulug-</i>	sleep	<i>gulug-baji</i>	sleep-PRIV (I)
<i>jany-</i>	dog	<i>jany-bulu</i>	dog-DU
<i>garran-</i>	stand	<i>garran-barda</i>	stand-INF
<i>agard-</i>	wash	<i>agard-barli</i>	wash-AGNT (I)
<i>mirrang-</i>	sit	<i>mirrang-ba</i>	sit-FUT
<i>ngarl-</i>	talk	<i>ngarl-waji</i>	talk-PRIV (I)

And finally, Wambaya employs a number of devices to reduce or alter illicit consonant clusters (i.e. those that do not conform to the well-formedness principles listed in §2.2.3.1) that arise across morpheme boundaries; see §2.3.5.²²

2.2.4 STRESS PLACEMENT

The stress placement rules for Wambaya are similar to those for Warlpiri as reported in Nash (1986). Stress placement in Wambaya is sensitive to morphological structure; each polysyllabic morpheme constitutes a new domain for the placement of stress. Generally stress falls on the first syllable of the stress domain and on each following alternate syllable, except that the final syllable usually does not carry any stress. Stress placement is also sensitive to syllable weight as heavy syllables (i.e. those containing a phonemic long vowel) are always stressed whether they are in the first or second syllable of the stress domain (the only two positional possibilities for long vowels). Therefore, with the exception of a handful of words with a phonemic long vowel in their second syllable, primary stress falls on the first syllable of the word.²³

Usually there is a one-to-one correspondence between a stress domain and a morpheme. This is not the case for monosyllabic suffixes, however, which cannot constitute a stress domain on their own. Monosyllabic suffixes either combine with a following monosyllabic suffix to form a disyllabic stress domain or, if there is no following monosyllabic suffix, join the stress domain of the root. (This is discussed in more detail below.) Monosyllabic **roots**,

²² Note that the limited number of intermorphemic clusters is attributable to factors other than specific constraints on these clusters; it is possible that more research, and a larger corpus, would reveal other intermorphemic clusters.

²³ In this respect I disagree with Chadwick (e.g. 1978:17) who claims that primary stress in all of the West Barkly languages falls on the penultimate syllable of the word.

however, constitute a stress domain of their own. The auxiliary, although made up of more than one morpheme (see Chapter 5), is only a stress domain of its own if it is polysyllabic. When it is monosyllabic it must attach to the word to its left for the purposes of stress placement:

'bung.ma.nya ga > 'bung.ma. + ,nya. = ga old woman + II = 3SG.S.PST

The examples in Table 2.4 demonstrate the interaction between stress placement and morphological structure.

TABLE 2.4: EXAMPLES OF STRESS PLACEMENT

'bu.lyu.ngu	little.IV	>	'bu.lyu.,ngu + rna	little + II
'garn.gu. + ji	many + I	>	'garn.gu.+ ,nyi + ni	many + I+LOC
'ngu.rra.,ram.ba	night-time	>	'ngu.rra.,ram.ba + ni	night-time +LOC
'jam.ba	ground.IV	>	'jam.ba + n.,man.ji	ground.IV +ALL
'da.gu.maj- ²⁴	hit	>	'da.gu.maj. + ,ba.rli	hit + AGNT.I
'bung.ma. + ji	old man +I	>	'bung.ma+ nyi + m.,bi.li	old man + I + COMIT
'ga.gu.wi	fish.I	>	'ga.gu.wi. + ,ni. + ni	fish + I + LOC
'jany.-	dog (ROOT)	>	'jany. + ,bu.lu	dog + DU

From a formal perspective, the stress placement rules in Wambaya can be described with reference to foot structure and principles of metrical phonology.²⁵ I will assume Nespor and Vogel's (1986) definition of 'the foot' (a higher level grouping of syllables below the phonological word), which considers the foot to exist independently of stress placement, and the construction of feet to precede rules of stress placement.

The rules for constructing feet in Wambaya are given below, followed by some explanation and exemplification of their use. These rules account for all the characteristics of Wambaya stress placement mentioned above. As will be clear in the following foot-building rules, feet in Wambaya are left-headed and are sensitive to morphological structure.²⁶

Wambaya rules of foot-formation:

- (i)a. Moving from left to right, assign obligatory branching, left-headed binary feet to each morpheme. If a heavy syllable (i.e. one containing a phonemic long vowel) is morpheme-final, making a binary foot impossible, assign a strong degenerate foot.

²⁴ This stem is segmentable into the verb root *daguma-* and the thematic consonant *j*; see §6.1.

²⁵ The following discussion is based on the discussions of foot and metrical phonology contained in Durand (1990), Goldsmith (1990) and Nespor and Vogel (1986). It has also benefited from some helpful comments from John Hajek and Juliette Blevins. Although I have presented a cyclic, derivational account of stress placement, it would also be possible to reformulate this account within a constraint-based framework such as Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993).

²⁶ Poser (1989) gives an account of the stress patterns in Diyari and Warlpiri without reference to specific morphological structure. In his analysis, stress assignment occurs cyclically and begins by moving from left to right. However, in order to account for the behaviour of successive degenerate feet which join together to make one foot, Poser postulates a rule termed Merger which links degenerate feet into binary feet, this time moving from right to left. Poser's account would also work for Wambaya, but the one given here is preferred as it avoids the need to be multidirectional. Furthermore, as the constraint against stress referring to specific morphological structure does not hold universally – e.g. Mayali (Evans 1995b), Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990) – I do not think that there is a problem with morphologically sensitive stress placement rules.

- b. If there are no heavy syllables, scan again from left to right and assign left-headed binary feet to each morpheme, beginning with the first syllable. If the morpheme is monosyllabic, making a binary foot impossible, assign a strong degenerate foot. Note that at this point there may be syllables as yet unassigned to feet.
- (ii)a. Again moving from left to right, group two successive degenerate feet into one left-headed binary foot.
- b. Group a degenerate foot with a preceding unattached syllable forming a left-headed binary foot.²⁷
- (iii) Non-branching feet that do not carry primary word stress (i.e. those that are not initial and/or do not contain a long vowel) are deleted.
- (iv) Stray syllable adjunction: all unattached syllables are attached directly to the prosodic word.

Rule (i)a accounts for the fact that a long vowel is stressed even when it is not in the initial syllable. Some examples follow; see example A below for a sample derivation:

- 1a. Nga.'naa.rra Brunette Downs Station
- b. ga.'laa bone
- c. ga.'rdaa.la gidgee tree

According to Rule (i)a foot formation will not begin with the first syllable of these words, but with the first heavy syllable (i.e. the second syllable). The first syllable will at this stage remain unassigned, as in example A below.

Rule (i)b applies to morphemes that do not have heavy syllables (note that long vowels are very rare in Wambaya, so this type of morpheme is the most common). According to Rule (i)b, if (i)a cannot apply (because there are no heavy syllables), foot formation begins with the initial syllable of the morpheme. As feet must be binary, the final syllable of a morpheme having an odd number of syllables will remain unassigned. See examples B and C below for sample derivations.

Rules (ii)a and (ii)b account for the behaviour of monosyllabic suffixes which, by virtue of the second part of Rule (i)b, all now belong to degenerate feet. It is important that (ii)a precede (ii)b as monosyllabic suffixes are grouped only with a preceding unattached syllable if there is not another monosyllabic suffix to their right with which they can group. The specification in (ii)b that the resulting foot be left-headed, combined with the fact that all feet are quantity sensitive in Wambaya, ensures that (ii)b will not apply to the second syllable of a word such as *ga.'laa*, which forms a degenerate foot due to (i)a. Sample derivations concerning Rules (ii)a and (ii)b are D and E below.

Rule (iii) is necessary to account for the fact that if a monosyllabic suffix (which belongs to a degenerate foot due to (i)b) is not part of a binary foot after the application of Rules (i) and (ii), it is unattached from foot structure at this stage and is later attached by Rule (iv). An example of the application of Rule (iii) is in example F below.

Rule (iv) attaches all remaining unattached syllables directly to the prosodic word. Examples of the application of this rule are in examples A, B, D, and F below. The feet that

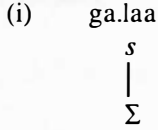
²⁷ Note that, since all feet are quantity sensitive, if the degenerate foot contains a long vowel and is the second syllable of a monomorphemic word (e.g. *garnaa*), (ii)b will not apply.

have been built by rules (i) to (iii) are also grouped into a word-level metrical structure according to the following rule:

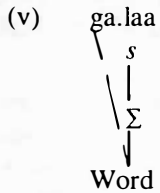
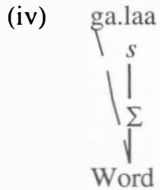
(v) Group feet into a left-branching word tree.

Following are some sample derivations illustrating the application of these foot-building rules. Syllables attached directly to the word level by Rule (iv) are shown with a broken line.

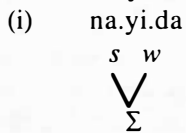
A. **ga.laa** 'bone'



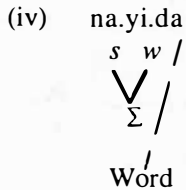
(ii)-(iii) N/A



B. **na.yi.da** 'woman'



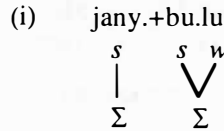
(ii)-(iii) N/A



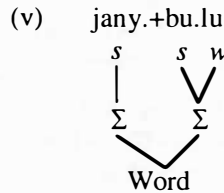
(v) na.yi.da



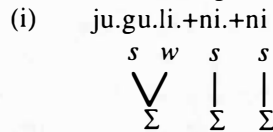
C. **jany.+bu.lu** 'dog+DU'



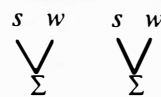
(ii)-(iv) N/A



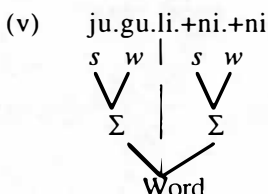
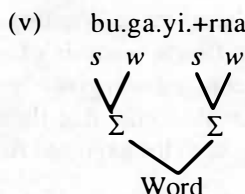
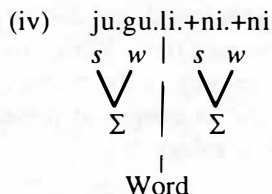
D. **ju.gu.li.+ni.+ni**
'boomerang+I+LOC'



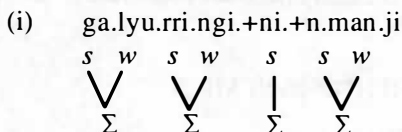
(ii)a. ju.gu.li.+ni.+ni



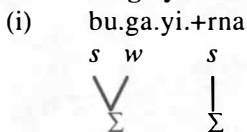
(ii)b.-(iii) N/A



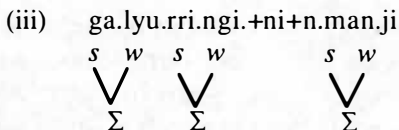
F. **ga.lyu.rri.ngi.+ni+n.man.ji**
 'water+I +ALL'



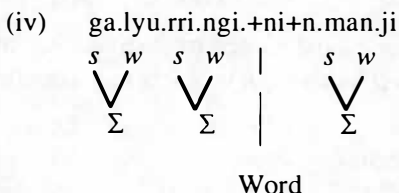
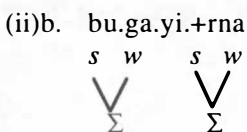
E. **bu.ga.yi.+rna** 'big+II'



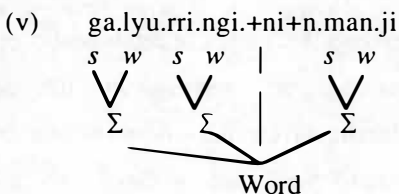
(ii) N/A



(ii)a. N/A



(iii)-(iv) N/A



Note that the stress placement rules, as given above, are sensitive only to **phonemic** long vowels. In §2.1.4 a distinction was made between these long vowels and phonetic long vowels which are derived through regular language-internal processes of elision. An example of a phonetic long vowel is that which is derived from the elision of the semivowel /w/ when the dual suffix is added to the nominal *darranggu*:

darranggu + wulu tree + DU > /darranggu + ulu/ [ˈd̪æɾɛŋɡu ˌulʊ]

Note that the assignment of stress must precede the morphophonemic process of elision as these phonetic long vowels do not have primary stress (as a phonemic long vowel would), and are treated as a sequence of two vowels, with the second carrying stress as it is the initial syllable of a polysyllabic morpheme.

The rules of stress placement in Wambaya are still not yet fully understood and further research may lead to a different analysis of stress placement than presented here. While the rules for foot and word construction given here account for the large majority of the corpus, there are some unpredictable forms that these rules do not account for. A couple of these exceptions follow (along with the expected pattern according to the above rules):

'wug.ba.,rdij.+ba.,rli. + rna (expected: 'wug.ba.rdij.,+ba.rli.+rna) cook+AGNT+II
'na.nga.na.,nga.li (expected: 'na.nga.,na.nga.li) sneak away

There is clearly need for more research in this area.

2.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.3.1 LENITION

The initial /b/ of a suffix will always lenite to /w/ when it is added to a vowel-final stem, or to a stem ending in /r/ or /rr/. Compare:

<i>ngaj-barli</i>	see-AGNT (I)	BUT	<i>yugu-warli</i>	cry-AGNT (I)
<i>gulug-ba</i>	sleep-FUT	BUT	<i>ngarl-wa</i>	talk-FUT
<i>jany-baji</i>	dog-PRIV (I)	BUT	<i>darranggu-waji</i>	stick-PRIV (I)
<i>bungmaj-bulu</i>	old.man-DU	BUT	<i>lagija-wulu</i>	coolaman-DU
<i>ard-bi</i>	call.out-NF	BUT	<i>ngirr-wi</i>	growl-NF ²⁸

In fast or casual speech this lenition can also occur within morphemes, particularly if the bilabial stop follows /g/, or if it is in a reduplicated syllable:

<i>-agba</i>	HYP	~	<i>-agwa</i>
<i>wugbardi</i>	cook	~	<i>wugwardi</i>
<i>bardibardi</i>	poor bugger	~	<i>bardiwardi</i>

There are also a couple of examples in which /j/ lenites to /y/. This occurs in reduplications (see §2.3.6 for a discussion of reduplication):

junmi cut > *junmi-yunmi* RDP-cut

and with the causitive suffix *-jirrimi* after a vowel-final stem:

gannga+jirrimi return+CAUS > *gannga-yirrimi*

See §6.2.1.1 for a discussion of this suffix.

The retroflex stop /rd/ (written *d* word-initially) lenites to /r/ in reduplication:

daguma hit > *dagu-raguma* RDP-hit

This lenition is optional before /g/ intramorphemically:

bardgu fall ~ *bargu*

²⁸ It seems likely that this lenition would also occur after other liquids, given that it occurs after /r/ and /rr/; however, there are no relevant examples in the corpus.

2.3.2 ELISION

When two identical vowels are separated by a semivowel, the semivowel may be elided, resulting in a phonetic long vowel (this process is discussed in more detail in §2.1.4 above). This can occur both within and across morpheme boundaries.

<i>darranggu-wulu</i>	tree-DU	>	/darranggu-ulu/	[ˈdaraŋguːulu]
<i>ngara-waji</i>	drink-PRIV (I)	>	/ngara-aji/	[ŋaːjaːaˈji]
<i>baraj-bulu</i>	old.person-DU	>	/baaj-bulu/	[ˈbaaːjˌbulu]

2.3.3 EPENTHESIS

Epenthesis is one of the strategies used when the concatenation of two different morphemes results in an illicit consonant cluster (see §2.3.5 for a full discussion). Thus, as /n/ cannot occur as the second member in a consonant cluster (see §2.2.3 for a discussion of permissible consonant clusters), an epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted between a consonant-final stem and any suffix beginning with /n/. The examples in the corpus all involve verbs and the suffixes *-nka* ‘DAT’, *-ni* ‘LOC’ and *-nnga* ‘ABL’ (see §6.1 for a discussion of verbal morphology).

<i>mawula-j- + -nka</i>	>	<i>mawula-j-i-nka</i>	play-TH-EP-DAT
<i>gulug- + -nka</i>	>	<i>gulug-i-nka</i>	sleep-EP-DAT
<i>ngirra-j- + -ni</i>	>	<i>ngirra-j-i-ni</i>	steal-TH-EP-LOC
<i>ngarl- + -ni</i>	>	<i>ngarl-i-ni</i>	talk-EP-LOC
<i>alalangmi-j- + nnga</i>	>	<i>alalangmi-j-i-nnga</i>	hunt-TH-EP-ABL

In examples in this work I will generally not segment this epenthetic vowel, but will group it with the preceding morpheme (e.g. *mawula-ji-nka*, *gulugi-nka*).

There is one example in the corpus in which /u/ is the epenthetic vowel. This example involves the addition of the allative suffix *-nmanji* to a placename *Junggurragurr* ‘Tennant Creek’. This placename has been borrowed from Warumungu and does not fit Wambaya phonotactic constraints (by ending in a consonant), hence the need for an epenthetic vowel.

<i>Junggurragurr + -nmanji</i>	>	<i>Junggurragurr-u-nmanji</i>	Tennant.Creek-EP-ALL
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2.3.4 ASSIMILATION

2.3.4.1 /w/ > /y/

An intervocalic /w/ will assimilate to /y/ if it follows the high front vowel /i/. This process affects the dual suffix *-bulu/wulu* and the privative suffix *-baji/waji*.

/juguli-wulu/	>	/juguliyulu/	[ˈjuɡuliːˌjuːlu]	boomerang-DU
/juguli-waji/	>	/juguliyaji/	[ˈjuɡuliːˌjaːji]	boomerang-PRIV (I)

This means that a morpheme which has an initial /b/ underlyingly can be realised with a /y/ (I will use orthography here for clarity):

<i>juguli + bulu</i>	>	<i>juguli-wulu</i>	>	<i>juguli-yulu</i>
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Thus, an initial /b/ lenites to /w/ intervocalically (see §2.3.1), and then the /w/ assimilates to the ‘frontness’ and height of the preceding /i/, becoming /y/.

2.3.4.2 OF STOPS BEFORE /m/

When a root having a final stop is followed by a suffix beginning with the bilabial /m/, the stop assimilates to a nasal. The examples of this involve the Class III gender suffix *-ma* and the factitive suffix *-mi*:

<i>garnguj-</i>	many	+ <i>-ma</i>	Class III	>	<i>garngunyma</i>	many.III
<i>burnarig-</i>	wild.orange	+ <i>-ma</i>	Class III	>	<i>burnaringma</i>	wild.orange.III
<i>gurij-</i>	good	+ <i>-mi</i>	FAC	>	<i>gurinyimi</i>	good.FAC

2.3.4.3 VOWEL HARMONY

Unlike Jingili, Wambaya does not have many instances of vowel harmony. While the process of vowel harmony in Jingili affects many nouns and most verbs (Chadwick 1975:10), systematic vowel harmony in Wambaya is only really found within the auxiliary, although there are a couple of marginal instances restricted to specific morphemes.

The ergative/locative suffix, usually *-ni*, has an allomorph *-nu* when the stem has final /u/. The use of this allomorph is not obligatory; the two allomorphs are in free variation in this environment. Some examples are:

- (2-9) *Mirra ngurru manjunggu-nu/manjunggu-ni.*
 sit IPL.INC.S(NP) shade.IV-LOC
 We'll sit in the shade.
- (2-10) *Daguma ng-a darranggu-nu/darranggu-ni.*
 hit 1SG.A-PST stick.IV-LOC
 I hit him/her/it with a stick.

The other morpheme which is affected by processes of vowel harmony is the suffix *-barli* 'AGNT'. The final vowel of this suffix can optionally be assimilated to /a/ with the addition of the feminine suffix *-ma*.

Daguma-j-barlima/daguma-j-barlama hit-TH-AGNT.II

A discussion of this suffix is provided in §4.5.2.1.

The vowel harmony in the auxiliary is triggered usually by the high vowels /u/ and /i/ and affects any preceding high vowels. (There are no examples with preceding /a/ that would allow us to determine whether it would also be affected by vowel harmony.)

There are two types of vowel harmony in the Wambaya auxiliary: regressive and progressive. Regressive vowel harmony involves the singular and the first person dual inclusive subject bound pronouns (this set of pronouns will be termed 'minimal'; see §5.1.2). The underlying forms of these bound pronouns are as follows:²⁹

<i>ngi</i>	1SG.S/A
<i>nyi</i>	2SG.S/A
<i>gi</i>	3SG.S
<i>gini</i>	3SG.M.A
<i>ngiyi</i>	3SG.NM.A
<i>mimdi</i>	1DU.INC.S/A

²⁹ See Chapter 5 for a full discussion of the auxiliary, the bound pronouns and related affixes.

The past tense suffix *-a* replaces the final vowel of the stem, but does not affect the preceding /*l*/ of the disyllabic stems:

<i>gin-a</i>	3SG.M.A-PST
<i>ngiy-a</i>	3SG.NM.A-PST
<i>mimd-a</i>	1DU.INC.S/A-PST

Nor does it affect the vowel(s) of the subject bound pronoun when it is added to an auxiliary containing an object bound pronoun (in this case the suffix marks non-future tense):

<i>ngi-ny-a</i>	1SG.A-2O-NF
<i>nyi-ng-a</i>	2SG.A-1O-NF
<i>gini-ng-a</i>	3SG.M.A-1O-NF
<i>ngiyi-ny-a</i>	3SG.NM.A-2O-NF

However, when the future tense suffix *-u* is added any preceding vowels within the auxiliary assimilate to the back vowel:

<i>ngu-ny-u</i>	1SG.A-2O-FUT
<i>nyu-ng-u</i>	2SG.A-1O-FUT
<i>gunu-ngg-u</i>	3SG.M.A-RR-FUT
<i>nguyu-ny-u</i>	3SG.NM.A-2O-FUT
<i>murnd-u</i>	1DU.INC.S/A-FUT

Any suffix with initial /*u*/ will also trigger this vowel harmony:

<i>ngu-ny-uda</i>	1SG.A-2O-NACT.PST
<i>murnd-uba</i>	1DU.INC.S/A-NP.AWY

The habitual non-past suffix *-ala* provides the only example of /*a*/ triggering vowel harmony:

<i>nga-ngg-ala</i>	1SG.A-RR-HAB.NP
<i>gana-ng-ala</i>	3SG.M.A-1O-HAB.NP
<i>ngay-ala</i>	3SG.NM.A-HAB.NP

In the above examples a /*u*/ in a tense/aspect/mood/directional suffix triggers regressive vowel harmony affecting the subject (and object) bound pronouns that precede it. However, the situation concerning the non-minimal subject bound pronouns (i.e. all other non-singular subject bound pronouns, see §5.1.2) is exactly the opposite. In the case of these bound pronouns, it is the high vowel of the subject bound pronoun that triggers progressive vowel harmony, affecting any high vowels in the following tense/aspect/mood/directional suffixes.

Each of the non-minimal forms is disyllabic and has the same vowel in each syllable. The underlying forms of the non-minimal subject bound pronouns are as follows:

<i>ngurlu</i>	1DU.EXC.S/A
<i>ngurru</i>	1PL.INC.S/A
<i>ngirri</i>	1PL.EXC.S/A
<i>gurlu</i>	2DU.S/A
<i>girri</i>	2PL.S/A
<i>wurlu</i>	3DU.S/A
<i>irri</i>	3PL.S/A

Consider the following examples, in which suffixes that were triggering regressive vowel harmony in the discussion of the minimal subject pronouns above are themselves affected by progressive vowel harmony triggered by the vowel(s) in the non-minimal subject bound pronoun.

	<i>ngurlu-ny-u</i>	1DU.EXC.A-2O-FUT
BUT	<i>ngirri-ny-i</i>	1PL.EXC.A-2O-FUT
	<i>gurl-uba</i>	2DU.S/A-NP.AWY
BUT	<i>irr-iba</i>	3PL.S/A-NP.AWY
	<i>wurlu-ngg-u</i>	3DU.A-RR-FUT
BUT	<i>girri-ngg-i</i>	2PL.A-RR-FUT

The habitual non-past suffix also does not trigger vowel harmony with these subjects, although it is not affected by vowel harmony itself:

	<i>irr-ala</i>	3PL.S/A-HAB.NP
	<i>girri-ng-ala</i>	2PL.A-IO-HAB.NP

2.3.5 REDUCTION OF NON-PERMISSIBLE CLUSTERS

There are three different strategies employed in Wambaya to deal with the situation in which a morphological process creates a non-permissible consonant cluster: (i) epenthesis, (ii) assimilation of the first consonant to the other, (iii) deletion of the final consonant of the stem. Of these, the first two were discussed in §2.3.3 and §2.3.4.2 respectively. In this section I discuss the cases in which the stem-final consonant is deleted.

The deletion of the stem-final consonant is the usual strategy whenever the addition of a suffix to a consonant-final stem results in an illicit consonant cluster.³⁰ This is the case if the two consonants are different:

<i>alag-</i>	child	+	<i>-ji</i>	Class I	>	<i>alaji</i>	boy.I
<i>alag-</i>	child	+	<i>-nga</i>	Class II	>	<i>alanga</i>	girl.II
<i>bungmaj-</i>	old.person	+	<i>-nyi-</i>	Class I	>	<i>bungmanyi-</i>	old.man.I
<i>murrgun-</i>	three	+	<i>-ma</i>	Class II	>	<i>murrguna</i>	three.II

or if the two consonants are identical:

<i>bungmaj-</i>	old.person	+	<i>-ji</i>	Class I	>	<i>bungmaji</i>	old.man.I
<i>-guny-</i>	PL	+	<i>-nya</i>	Class II	>	<i>-gunya</i>	PL.II

There are two examples in which a consonant-initial suffix is added to a stem with a final consonant cluster, thereby creating a triconsonantal cluster. In both of these examples it remains the final consonant of the stem – the middle consonant of the cluster – which is deleted:

<i>wawunyg-</i>	sugarbag	+	<i>-ji</i>	Class I	>	<i>wawunji</i>	sugarbag.I
<i>ginganj-</i>	drown	+	<i>-bi</i>	Non-future	>	<i>ginganbi</i>	drown ³¹

³⁰ There are two exceptions to this: (i) when the suffix is one of *-ni* 'LOC', *-nka* 'DAT' or *-mga* 'ABL' and the stem is a verb an epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted (see §2.3.3); and (ii) when the suffix begins with /m/ a preceding stem-final stop assimilates to the corresponding nasal (see §2.3.4.2).

2.3.6 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication in Wambaya is found mainly with verbs, with which it is used to indicate iterative or durative aspect, or the intensity of the state described by the verb (see §6.1.7). It is also used with a few nouns, usually marking plurality (see §4.5.3). With neither of these word classes, however, does reduplication seem to be a regular and productive process, being relatively uncommon and found only with a limited number of forms. Although Wambaya is a suffixing language, reduplication generally occurs to the left; that is, the reduplicated element is attached as a prefix. There are two main patterns of reduplication in Wambaya, found with both verbs and nouns. At this stage of the investigation, it is not clear what determines which reduplication pattern a particular form will follow: there are no obvious phonological or morphological properties which characterise the two classes of roots. Clearly, more research is required.

The most common reduplication pattern copies (to the left) the first two syllables of the word (or the whole word if disyllabic). In the following examples, syllable boundaries are indicated by a period.³²

<i>ngaj.bi</i>	see	>	<i>ngaj.bi-ngaj.bi</i>	look around
<i>la.ja.rrri</i>	light fire	>	<i>la.ja-la.ja.rrri</i>	light fire (DUR)
<i>ngun.ju.lu</i>	carry	>	<i>ngun.ju-ngun.ju.lu</i>	carry (DUR)
<i>nya.gaj.bi</i>	be tired	>	<i>nya.ga-nya.gaj.bi</i>	be very tired ³³
<i>lung.gany.mi</i>	make cheeky	>	<i>lung.gu³⁴-lung.gany.mi</i>	make very cheeky
<i>la.barn.ga</i>	branch (of tree)	>	<i>la.ba-rla.barn.ga</i>	branch (of tree)

If the first and second syllables of the word are identical, then only one syllable is copied:

<i>nya.nya.yu</i>	move around	>	<i>nya-nya.nya.yu</i>	move around repeatedly
<i>di.di.ja</i>	carry	>	<i>di-di.di.ja</i>	carry (DUR)

If the word has an initial stop, this will often lenite to a glide in reduplicated forms. Thus, /rd/ (written *d* initially) lenites to /r/, /lj/ lenites to /y/ and /b/ lenites to /w/. There are no examples of lenition of the velar stop /g/.

<i>da.gu.ma</i>	hit	>	<i>da.gu.-ra.gu.ma</i>	keep hitting
<i>du.rra</i>	be frightened (of)	>	<i>du.rra.-ru.rra</i>	be very frightened
<i>jun.mi</i>	cut	>	<i>jun.mi.-yun.mi</i>	keep cutting
<i>bard.gu</i>	fall	>	<i>bard.gu.-ward.gu</i>	keep falling

The second main reduplication pattern in Wambaya is slightly more interesting as the reduplicated part at first appears to be infixal, and does not constitute a single prosodic unit,

³¹ It is interesting that it is the alveolar nasal, rather than the palatal nasal, which appears in this form. This suggests that it is the alveolar nasal that is present before the palatal stop in the root (usually only the palatal nasal occurs in this position).

³² The glosses for the reduplicated forms given here are those that the form had in the context in which it was given. It is possible that a form may also have other meanings in other contexts. For example, *lajalajarri* may be able to have both a durative meaning such as 'spend some time lighting a fire' and an iterative meaning such as 'light many fires'.

³³ Note that in this example, as in the two following, it appears that the final consonant of the second syllable has not been copied in the reduplicand. However, since in all cases this would result in an illicit consonant cluster, meaning that this consonant would be deleted (see §2.3.5), it is not possible to tell whether it has simply been copied and then deleted, or not copied at all.

³⁴ Note that this vowel seems to have assimilated to those on either side of it.

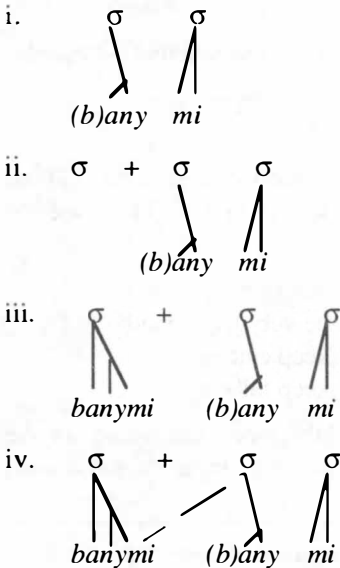
consisting of the rhyme of the first syllable and the onset of the second. This type of reduplication process has been noted in other Australian languages, such as Warumungu (Simpson 1992), Mangarayi (Merlan 1982) and Jingili (Chadwick 1975). Some examples of this type of reduplication are:

<i>banyimi</i>	pass by	>	<i>banymanymi</i>	keep passing by
<i>angbardi</i>	build	>	<i>angbangbardi</i>	build repeatedly
<i>bundurrijbi</i>	get full	>	<i>bundundurrijbi</i>	get very full
<i>bungmaji</i>	old man	>	<i>bungmungmaji</i>	old men

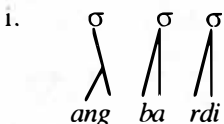
Following accounts by McCarthy and Prince (1986:47) for Mangarayi we can account for this reduplication process in the following way.

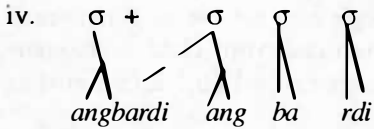
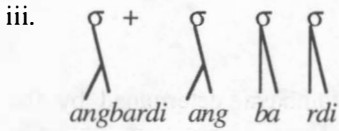
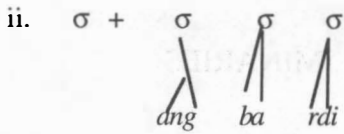
- (i) The initial consonant of the base word is considered extramelodic (i.e. it is detached from the base but is still available for copying).
- (ii) Attach the template of one syllable as a prefix to the base.
- (iii) Given a copy of the base, satisfy the syllable to the fullest.
- (iv) According to the universal Onset Rule, copy the initial consonant of the second syllable of the base as the onset of the second syllable of the reduplicated form.

Thus, if we apply this account to the Wambaya examples, the derivation of a form such as *banymanymi* is as follows:



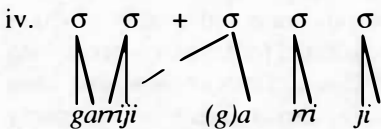
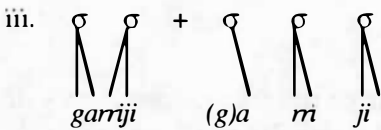
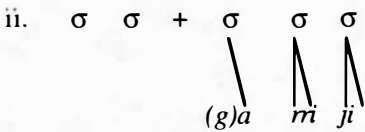
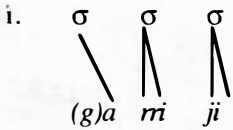
In a form such as *angbardi* there is no initial consonant to be extramelodic, but the rest of the derivation remains the same:





In one Wambaya form, the template appears to be two syllables, rather than one syllable:

garriji 'be cold' > *garrijarriji*



Although these two reduplication patterns account for most of the reduplicated forms in Wambaya, there are a few other forms which are reduplicated in slightly different ways. In a couple of examples the reduplicated form is derived by copying the last two syllables of the word to the right:

ya.rru.bu.rdu walk around > *ya.rru.bu.rdu-bu.rdu* keep walking around
garr.ga.lyi plains lizard > *garr.ga.lyi-ga.lyi* plains lizard

Some other reduplicated forms (of nouns) appear to be unpredictable:

alaji boy > *alajaji* boys
iligerira river > *ililiriri* rivers

PARTS OF SPEECH AND OTHER PRELIMINARIES

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

There are seven parts of speech (or 'word classes') in Wambaya, determined by the inflectional and distributional characteristics of each word. These classes are mutually exclusive:¹ each root belongs to only one word class, although with the use of derivational suffixes, it is possible for a root to move its membership from one word class to another. These derivational suffixes are discussed in §4.5.2 (verb to nominal) and §6.2.2 (nominal to verb). The seven parts of speech in Wambaya are:

- (1) NOMINALS
 - (i) nouns
 - (ii) adjectives
 - (iii) free pronouns
 - (iv) demonstratives
 - (v) locational nominals
 - (vi) temporal nominals
 - (vii) indefinite/interrogatives
- (2) VERBS
- (3) AUXILIARY
- (4) ADVERBS
- (5) PARTICLES
- (6) CLITICS
- (7) INTERJECTIONS

Of these seven word classes, the two largest and most important are the open classes of verbs and nominals. These two classes have quite distinct morphological and syntactic characteristics. Nominals generally inflect for gender, number and case and usually function as the arguments of the clause.² Verbs on the other hand are inflected for tense, co-occur with the auxiliary and typically function as the predicate of the clause. Both classes also have different derivational possibilities. Although word-class membership is determined primarily on grammatical and functional grounds such as these, it is also possible to characterise the difference between these two word classes on semantic grounds: verbs typically describe states, actions and events, and nominals usually denote entities, objects and attributes.³

In the following discussion I divide the word classes into 'inflecting' (nominals, verbs and the auxiliary) and 'non-inflecting' (adverbs, particles, clitics and interjections).

¹ See below for two exceptions to this.

² But see §7.1 for a discussion of clauses in which nominals function as predicates.

³ As word-class membership is not determined on semantic grounds, it is possible that either of these classes will contain members whose semantic characteristics do not comply with these generalisations.

3.1.1 INFLECTING WORD CLASSES

3.1.1.1 NOMINALS

(i) and (ii) Nouns and Adjectives

For the most part, adjectives and nouns in Wambaya can be considered the same. In this respect, Wambaya is typical of Australian languages, in which there is generally little formal distinction between nouns and adjectives (Dixon 1980:272). Both nouns and adjectives are inflected for case, number and gender; can function as the head of a noun phrase or as a modifier qualifying the head; and can function as the predicate of a verbless clause (see §7.1).

However, there are differences between nouns and adjectives that support the treatment of them as two different subclasses even though they are both contained within the larger superordinate class of nominals. These differences are semantic, morphological and syntactic.

Semantically, nouns typically denote objects and entities while adjectives typically denote attributes. Furthermore, while nouns inherently belong to only one gender (or at most two, in the case of some animate and plant nouns), an adjective has no inherent gender, but potentially can be marked for any of the four genders in agreement with the noun that it modifies (or in the case of an adjective functioning as the head of the phrase, in agreement with the referent). For example:

<i>bugayi</i>	<i>alaji</i>	big boy (I)
<i>bugayirma</i>	<i>bayigina</i>	big bag (II)
<i>buguwama</i>	<i>jigama</i>	big yam (III)
<i>buguwa</i>	<i>darrangu</i>	big stick (IV)

Morphologically, most of the inflectional suffixes are identical for both nouns and adjectives. However there is at least one difference, again concerning gender: while Class IV (the neuter gender) is generally not marked on nouns, it is marked on some adjectives by either *-a*, *-ga* or *-ja*:⁴

Nouns:

<i>balamurru</i>	spear (IV)
<i>wunba</i>	wind (IV)
<i>barrawu</i>	house (IV)

Adjectives:

<i>gurijb-a</i>	good-IV
<i>murrgun-ga</i>	three-IV
<i>bagi-ga</i>	bad-IV
<i>gamgu-ja</i>	many-IV

Note that this is simply a difference in the **form** of the marking, not in the number of gender possibilities for nouns and adjectives, which is exactly the same.

The difference between the semantics of nouns and adjectives also leads to different derivational possibilities. For example, the derivational suffix *-mi*, which can be attached to a nominal X to derive a factitive verb with the meaning 'cause to be X, make X' is found only

⁴ However with most adjectives, as with nouns, Class IV is not overtly marked (see §4.2.2).

with adjectives, not with nouns. Thus, *gurijbi* ‘good’ can become *guriny-mi* ‘make good, make better’, but a noun such as *juwa* ‘man’ cannot become **juwami* ‘make into a man’.⁵

Syntactically, while it is possible for nouns to function as modifiers of the head noun, as in *bungmaji barnanggi* ‘old man *barnanggi*’⁶ and *lagurra juruma* ‘deep/sunken stomach’ (literally ‘hole stomach’), this is relatively unusual and it is significantly more common for adjectives to have this function.

Thus, while there are many reasons for considering nouns and adjectives to be members of the same superordinate word class of nominals, there is adequate justification for considering them to be different subclasses of nominals, thereby allowing for them to behave and be treated slightly differently with respect to certain features of the grammar.

There is a slight structural difference for two adjectives, *bagij(b)i* ‘bad, no good (I)’ and *gurijbi* ‘good (I)’, depending on whether they have a ‘subjective’ (or experiential) meaning or an ‘objective’ (or evaluative) meaning. When the adjective occurs as the predicate in a verbless construction (as in examples (3-1) and (3-3)) the meaning must be objective. If the meaning is to be subjective, then the adjective must occur in a verbal construction, usually with either the verb *manku* ‘hear, feel’ (3-2) or the verb *mirra* ‘sit’ (3-4).⁷

(3-1) *Bagijbi ini janji.*
 bad.I(NOM) this.I.SG.NOM dog.I(NOM)
 This dog (male) is no good (i.e. it is nasty).

(3-2) *Manku ngi-ngg-a bagijbi.*
 feel 1SG.A-RR-NF bad.I(NOM)
 I (male) feel no good.

(3-3) *Gurijbirna nawa alanga.*
 good.II(NOM) this.II.SG.NOM girl.II(NOM)
 This girl is good.

(3-4) *Gurijbirna ngi-n mirra.*
 good.II(NOM) 1SG.S(PR)-PROG sit
 I (female) feel good.

However, it is possible for a verbal construction, with *mirra*, to have an objective reading if, for example, the verbal construction is needed for the specification of non-present tense (see §7.1.7):

(3-5) *Gurijbi g-aji mirra.*
 good.I(NOM) 3SG.S-HAB.PST sit
 He used to be a good boy.

The verbless construction (as in examples (3-1) and (3-3) above) can only ever have an objective meaning.

⁵ In dreamtime stories where this sort of a construction is common (e.g. ‘make oneself into a bird’), the verb *yardi* ‘put’ is used reflexively, with the resultant state expressed as a subject complement. Thus:

Ilarrana wurlu-ngg-a yardi bungmaj-bulu.
 eaglehawk.II(ACC) 3DU.A-RR-NF put old.person-DU(ACC)
 The two old women turned themselves into eaglehawks.

⁶ This is a type of bird – see Text 2 in Appendix A.

⁷ Wierzbicka (1988:116-117) discusses such constructions in Japanese. However, in Japanese these experiential sentences are only possible in the first person.

For a more detailed discussion of verbless clauses and the use of *mirra* as a copula-like verb see §7.1.

These adjectives are doubly interesting as they each have a homophonous verb form which has the same meaning as the subjective meaning of the adjective. That these are verbs and not adjectives is shown in the following examples in which the form co-occurs with an auxiliary and takes no gender agreement with the subject NP.⁸

(3-6) *Bagijbi gi juruma.*
 feel.bad 3SG.S(PR) stomach.III(NOM)
 He feels no good in the stomach.

(3-7) *Gurijbi g-u marala ngaji-ni.*
 feel.good 3SG.S-FUT heart.IV(NOM) see-LOC
 She will be happy to see (her). (lit. Her heart will feel good seeing (her).)

(iii) Free Pronouns

Free pronouns form a small, closed class. They are referred to as 'free' to differentiate them from the 'bound' pronouns that form part of the auxiliary (discussed below). Free pronouns distinguish person (first, second and third), number (singular, dual and plural) and make an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular. There are no third person singular subject or object pronouns; demonstratives are used instead.

Free pronouns have a different system of case marking from nouns and adjectives. While nouns and adjectives have an ergative/absolute system of case marking, free pronouns have a nominative/accusative declension with nominative and ergative case forms being homophonous. Free pronouns also have an oblique form which is used in the dative case and as the base for the addition of other case suffixes such as the comitative. In the case of non-singular pronouns, this oblique form is homophonous with the accusative case form.

⁸ It is interesting to consider the possible relationship between the verbs and their corresponding adjectives. The final *jbi* of the adjective *gurijbi* (and also *bagijbi*) is identical to a final sequence that in Wambaya is quite distinctively verbal. There are many verbs that have this form: *ngajbi* 'see', *gajbi* 'eat', *nyagajbi* 'be tired', and it is also found in verbs derived from adjectives with the inchoative suffix *-jbi*: *yarduga* 'strong' (IV) becomes *yarduga-jbi* 'become strong' (see §6.2.2.1). This suggests that the adjective *gurijbi* may be derived from the verb *gurijbi*, thereby accounting for its verb-like form. This theory is supported by the other gender forms of the adjective which are all based on this (verbal) form. The usual case among adjectives is for the Class IV form to be identical to the root, and therefore to serve as the base for the derivation of the other gender forms (see §4.2.2). However with *gurijbi* it is the Class I form (which is identical to the verbal form) from which the other forms are derived. This is shown most clearly by the Class II form *gurijbi-rna* in which the Class II gender suffix is simply added on to the full Class I form. The situation with *bagijbi* is different in at least two respects. Firstly, there is some variation among speakers as to whether the Class I form of the adjective is correctly pronounced *bagijbi* or *bagiji*. For some speakers either form is possible, for others only the latter is possible as the Class I form of the adjective. And secondly, the other gender forms are not derived from the Class I (and verbal) form, as is the case with *gurijbi*, but are clearly all derived (quite regularly) from a common root *bagig-*:

- Class I *bagi-ji/(bagijbi)*
- Class II *bagi-nga*
- Class III *baging-ma*
- Class IV *bagi-ga*

The verbal form *bagijbi* is clearly also derived from this root.

The next question is why, if the Class I form of the adjective is actually *bagiji*, it is often pronounced *bagijbi*, which is the verbal form? It seems quite probable that this could have happened on analogy with *gurijbi*, particularly as it is quite common in fast speech for both *gurijbi* and *bagijbi* to be pronounced *guriiji* and *bagiji* respectively (even for the verbal form).

Singular pronouns have homophonous nominative, accusative and ergative case forms and then a different oblique form. Free pronouns are discussed in §4.8.

(iv) Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Wambaya make a two-way spatial distinction which is roughly comparable to the distinction in English between ‘this’ and ‘that’. Demonstratives must also agree with their referent in case, gender and number. Like nouns and adjectives, demonstratives can occur alone as the head of a NP, or function as a modifier. Demonstratives are discussed in §4.6.

(v) Locational nominals

These nominals are inherently locative and include the compass directionals (*langga* ‘north’, *ngimii* ‘south’, *gagarra* ‘east’, *bayungu* ‘west’), other general directionals (*gayangga* ‘up’, *jangi* ‘down’), locational demonstratives (*gili* ‘here’, *gilyaga* ‘there’) and other locationals such as *murrugu* ‘inside’. Although these locational nominals can be inflected with the allative and ablative cases, they are distinguished from other nominals by not taking the locative case; they occur uninflected in a locative NP:

- (3-8) *Mirra gi-n murrugu.*
 sit 3SG.S(PR)-PROG inside
 She’s sitting inside.

(vi) Temporal nominals

Temporal nominals provide temporal information for the clause and thus tend to have co-occurrence restrictions with the tense of the clause. Temporal nominals are found in the corpus with only the locative and dative nominal case suffixes; for example *ngurraramba-ni* ‘in the night’ (night-LOC) and *ngijinima-nka* ‘until tomorrow’ (tomorrow-DAT).

(vii) Indefinite/interrogatives

Cross-cutting this division of nominals is the subclass of indefinite/interrogatives. These nominals can be used both as interrogatives (e.g. ‘who’) and as indefinites (e.g. ‘someone’). There are indefinite/interrogative pronouns (e.g. *gayini* ‘who, someone/what, something’), quantifiers (e.g. *yangulany-* ‘how many, some amount’), locationals (e.g. *injani* ‘where, somewhere’), and temporals (e.g. *yangulu* ‘when, sometime’). Indefinite/interrogatives tend to occur initially in the clause. These nominals are discussed in §4.7.

3.1.1.2 VERBS

Most of the information that is traditionally associated with verbs, such as tense, aspect and mood, is found in the auxiliary in Wambaya. Verbs themselves have comparatively few inflectional possibilities. In main clauses verbs make a ‘future’/‘non-future’ (or unmarked) distinction with the future form also used in imperative constructions. The inflectional possibilities for verbs are discussed in §6.1. In non-finite subordinate clauses verbs are inflected with either the infinitive suffix *-barda*; or one of three nominal suffixes – the ergative/locative *-ni*, the ablative *-nnga* or the dative *-nka* – which indicate, respectively, whether the action described in the subordinate clause occurs concurrently, occurred previously, or will follow that of the main clause. The use of these suffixes with verbs is discussed in detail in §6.1 and §8.1. There is also a reduplication process which provides some aspectual information (see §6.1.7). There are many derivational possibilities for verbs. Verbs can be made into transitive verbs; causative verbs; and various types of nouns, both

agentive and instrumental. The verb-to-verb derivational processes are discussed in §6.2.1, and the verb-to-nominal processes in §4.5.2.

Verbs in main clauses must always be accompanied by an auxiliary, which registers the main arguments of the clause and often provides the only tense and aspect information. This is in contrast with nominal predicates, which obligatorily occur without the auxiliary. There is a tendency for verbs to occur in initial position in the clause: a survey of texts showed that 61% of verbal clauses were verb-initial.

There is a group of verbs which, although clearly verbs in their own right, have another function as adverbs, modifying the main verb in the clause. This is one case in which the mutual exclusivity of word-class membership appears to be violated. The most common examples of this type of construction involve the verbs *guriny* 'make good' and *ganjimi* 'finish', which can be used as modifiers meaning 'well, properly' and 'all' respectively. In these constructions it is only the main verb that takes the tense inflection; the modifying verb remains unmarked for tense. Some examples of these verbs functioning as adverbs, and also as verbs, are:

(3-9) a. *Guriny-mi ng-u gulug-ba.*
good-FAC 1SG.S-FUT sleep-FUT
I will sleep well.

b. *Guriny-ma ng-u.*
good-FAC.FUT 1SG.A-FUT
I will fix it.

(3-10) a. *Gaj-ba gun-u ganjimi.*
eat-FUT 3SG.M.A-FUT finish
He will eat it all.

b. *Ganjima gun-u.*
finish.FUT 3SG.M.A-FUT
He'll finish it.

Examples of this type of construction with other modifying verbs include:

(3-11) *Barnkala ngi-n mirra.*
have.legs.crossed 1SG.S(PR)-PROG sit
I'm sitting with my legs crossed.

(3-12) *Jirrbali gi-n naniyaga gulugbi.*
lie.on.stomach 3SG.S(PR)-PROG that.II.SG.NOM sleep
She's sleeping on her stomach.

The following examples demonstrate that these modifiers are verbs as well, since they are capable of taking the future tense inflection and appearing alone without another verb:

(3-13) *Barnkali-j-ba giliyaga!*
have.crossed.legs-TH-FUT there
Sit down with your legs crossed over there!

(3-14) *Jirrbali-j-ba!*
lie.on.stomach-TH-FUT
Lie on your stomach!

There is only one form that has doubtful status as a verb. This form, *darridarri* ‘be in a line’, is only ever found in the modifying function. It was not possible to get an example of *darridarri* occurring alone.

(3-15) *Darridarri irri-n mirra.*
 be.in.a.line 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit
 They’re sitting in a line.

(3-16) *Darridarri girr garran-ba!*
 be.in.a.line PL.IMP stand-FUT
 Stand in a line!

However, rather than place *darridarri* in a word class of its own, I will consider it part of the verb word class by analogy with other modifying verbs such as those in examples (3-11) and (3-12) above.

For a more detailed discussion of clauses containing two verbs see §7.4.1.

3.1.1.3 AUXILIARY

The auxiliary is a fundamental constituent of Wambaya grammar. Its presence is obligatory in every main verbal clause⁹ and most finite subordinate clauses. The auxiliary contains most of the important grammatical information for the clause. It contains bound pronouns which represent the core arguments of the clause and affixes which indicate tense, aspect and mood. Although limited tense information is marked on the verb, that contained in the auxiliary is usually more detailed and informative. Furthermore, there is some information (such as habitual aspect and hypothetical mood) which is only ever marked on the auxiliary, never on the verb. The auxiliary can also contain directional suffixes which indicate whether the action described by the verb occurs in a direction away from or towards the speaker. The auxiliary almost always occurs in second position in the clause. A detailed discussion of the auxiliary and its component parts is found in Chapter 5.

Phonologically, the auxiliary has some unusual characteristics. It is the only grammatical word in Wambaya which can be monosyllabic, and the only word which can have a final consonant. For the purposes of stress, a polysyllabic auxiliary constitutes a separate stress domain, while a monosyllabic auxiliary cliticises to the preceding word and does not bear stress (see §2.2.4).

3.1.2 NON-INFLECTING WORD CLASSES

3.1.2.1 ADVERBS

Adverbs in Wambaya typically function to modify the clause. They do not appear to have any positional restrictions. There are demonstrative adverbs such as *yununggu* ‘like this/that’; manner adverbs such as *gajigajirra* ‘fast’ and *walalangarri* ‘a lot, really hard (intensifier)’; and time adverbs such as *bibi* ‘for a little while’, *marndiji* ‘soon’ and *ayigurrajbi* ‘all day’. As discussed in §3.1.1.2, some verbs can also function as adverbs, modifying the action described by the main verb in the clause (see examples (3-9)–(3-16) above).

⁹ The auxiliary does not occur in verbless clauses (see §7.1).

3.1.2.2 PARTICLES

There are only a few particles in Wambaya. Particles have grammatical functions, such as marking yes/no interrogative clauses, marking negation in declarative and imperative clauses, and linking two finite clauses into a single complex clause. They are formally distinguished from adverbs as they have strict positional restrictions: particles almost always occur in initial position. Particles are discussed in §7.7.2.

3.1.2.3 CLITICS

Clitics can be distinguished from other non-inflecting word classes as they are bound forms; they can not stand alone as words.¹⁰ There are three clitics in the corpus: =*miji*, =*nima* and =*minyi*. *Miji* (glossed 'INFER') expresses epistemic mood; it indicates that the speaker considers the proposition to be probable or possible, but does not know for sure whether or not it is actual. It is an unrestricted clitic and is always encliticised to the initial word of the clause. *Nima* (glossed 'JUST') can usually be translated by English words such as 'just', 'only' and 'still', although in some examples it seems to have an emphatic function. It is a restricted clitic which usually occurs with nominals, although it can also occur with verbs and other word classes. The other clitic, =*minyi* (glossed 'AGAIN'), is used only with verbs. It is encliticised to the verb over which it has scope. These three clitics are discussed and exemplified in §7.7.1.

3.1.2.4 INTERJECTIONS

There are only a small number of interjections in Wambaya. Interjections can constitute a complete utterance on their own and are therefore distinguished from word classes such as adverbs and particles. Examples of interjections in Wambaya include *gunku* 'I/we don't know', *guyala* 'no, nothing' and *alima* 'OK, goodbye'.

Note that *guyala* functions both as an interjection meaning 'no, nothing' and as a particle negating a clause, as in *guyalanguda yarru* 'I didn't go'. This is the only other exception to the mutually exclusivity of word class membership. Interestingly Evans (1995a:87) gives *warirra* 'nothing' as the only Kayardild word that may belong to more than one word class, serving both as a nominal and an interjection.¹¹

3.2 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

3.2.1 CORE FUNCTIONS, ADJUNCTS AND COMPLEMENTS

Grammatical relations (or grammatical functions), such as subject, object, indirect object, complement and adjunct, are important in describing many syntactic and morphological

¹⁰ Note that the auxiliary is essentially a bundle of clitics. However, its special status in Wambaya grammar warrants its treatment as a distinct part of speech.

¹¹ Bill McGregor (pers.comm.) points out that the possible use of *guyala* as an interjection does not necessarily justify the claim that it belongs to more than one word class since it is not uncommon in languages for words of other classes to be used as complete utterances of their own, as in the use of 'Man!' in English, for example. However, the two uses of *guyala* have different characteristics – as a particle, for example, *guyala* must co-occur with counter-factual mood marking in the auxiliary (see §7.6.1.1) – and thus are considered members of different word classes here.

processes in Wambaya. While these functions all have close associations with semantic roles, the semantic roles are not necessarily invariant; a particular grammatical function may have one semantic role with one verb, and a different semantic role with another. The role of grammatical functions, therefore, is to provide the link between the surface morphological and/or syntactic structure and the semantic level at which lexical predicates select arguments with specific semantic roles (Bresnan 1982:288).

Distinctions can be made within the grammatical functions according to two main parameters: whether or not the function is subcategorisable by a verb, and whether the function is semantically restricted, or semantically unrestricted.¹² The criterion of subcategorisability separates adjuncts from other types of grammatical relations. Adjuncts are never subcategorised for and can potentially occur with any verb. Adjuncts are semantically transparent in that an adjunct's meaning is consistent and predictable and is not affected by the verb with which it may occur.

Among the subcategorisable functions, namely subject, object, indirect object and complements, a distinction can be made according to whether or not the function is semantically restricted (i.e. is only ever linked to an argument having a particular semantic role) or semantically unrestricted (i.e. can be linked to any type of argument) (Bresnan 1982:293-294). Thus we can distinguish core functions (subject, object, indirect object) from complements on this basis.¹³ Core functions are always subcategorisable and are semantically unrestricted in that their meaning (i.e. their semantic role) is dependent upon the verb of which they are an argument. Thus, the subject of one verb may have the semantic role of agent, but that of another may be a perceiver or an undergoer. Similarly semantic roles such as patient, perceived entity and location may all be paired with the grammatical function of object subcategorised for by different verbs. Complements on the other hand, although subcategorisable,¹⁴ are more closely linked with specific semantic roles and have a consistent and predictable way of contributing to the meaning of the sentence (Andrews 1985:92). Complements, therefore, form the middle ground so to speak, between semantically transparent and non-subcategorisable adjuncts on the one end and semantically non-transparent and subcategorisable core functions on the other.

Some examples and a brief discussion of the types of complements and adjuncts found in Wambaya follow. As the core functions are always subcategorised for, and are directly related to, the verb of which they are an argument, they are discussed in §7.2, which deals with the syntax of simple verbal clauses, and verb argument structures.

Complements have invariant meanings which are related to, and easily characterised in terms of, their case marking. Yet, unlike adjuncts, they can combine with only certain verbs, and would therefore be part of a full dictionary entry for their governing verb. A verb such as

¹² This terminology and the system of classification of grammatical relations is taken from Bresnan (1982:287).

¹³ Note that I use the term 'indirect object' to refer to a type of object that is marked with an oblique case (usually dative). This is in contrast to what I simply refer to as 'objects', which are marked with accusative case. Bresnan (1982) does not make such a distinction; in Bresnan's classification, these are both a type of object.

¹⁴ Note that there is a slight difference here in the use of the word 'subcategorisable'. The subcategorisability of complements is different from that of core functions in that core functions are generally obligatory (i.e. a transitive verb has an obligatory subject and object) while complements are more often optional (i.e. a verb of motion can have an optional ablative or allative complement indicating the source or the direction of the motion).

junmi ‘cut’ can take a complement indicating the instrument used (example (3-17)); and motion verbs such as *bardgu* ‘fall’ and *yarru* ‘go’ can take a complement in the allative case (3-18) or the ablative case (3-19) denoting the direction or source of the movement.

- (3-17) *Junmi wurlu-ngg-a jabarrini-ni.*
cut 3DU.A-RR-NF knife.I-LOC
They cut each other with a knife.
- (3-18) *Bardgu g-a jamba-nmanji.*
fall 3SG.S-PST ground.IV-ALL
He fell to the ground.
- (3-19) *Yarru ng-amany marlu-nnga.*
go 1SG.S-PST.TWD far-ABL
I came from a long way.

Some verbs subcategorise for ‘subject complements’ – secondary predicates subcategorised for by the verb and agreeing in case, number and gender with the subject. An example of this is the verb *manku* in its sense ‘to feel’, which subcategorises for a reflexive object and a subject complement denoting the state of affairs of the subject:

- (3-20) *Manku ngi-ngg-a baginga.*
feel 1SG.A-RR-NF bad.II(NOM)
I feel no good.

Similarly, perception verbs can subcategorise for what could be considered an ‘object complement’ – a secondary predicate which modifies the object, denoting the state in which the object is perceived:¹⁵

- (3-21) *Ngajbi ng-a alaji ilijbi.*
see 1SG.A-PST child.I(ACC) alone.I(ACC)
I saw the boy alone.

Like complements, adjuncts have consistent meanings which remain unaffected by the nature of the verb with which they occur. However, unlike complements, adjuncts are not selected by verbs and can potentially co-occur with any type of verb in a clause. Typical examples of adjuncts include locative phrases (example (3-22)), temporal phrases (3-23), benefactive dative phrases (3-24) and secondary predicates (3-25).

- (3-22) *Ngajbi ngi-ny-a munjungu-nu.*
see 1SG.A-2O-PST shade.IV-LOC
I saw you in the shade.
- (3-23) *Ngijininima irri-ngg-i daguma-j-ba.*
tomorrow 3PL.A-RR-FUT hit-TH-FUT
Tomorrow they will fight (each other).
- (3-24) *Yanybi ng-a marnugujama alag-uli-ja.*
get 1SG.A-PST conkerberry.III(ACC) child-DU-DAT
I got the conkerberries for the two children.

¹⁵ It is actually very difficult to determine whether or not these secondary predicates should be treated as subcategorised object complements or adjuncts.

- (3-25) *Mirra ngi iljibirna.*
 sit 1SG.S(PR) alone.II(NOM)
 I'm sitting alone.

A clause can contain more than one complement (example (3-26)), more than one adjunct (3-27) or a mixture of complements and adjuncts (3-28).¹⁶

- (3-26) *Junku g-a jalyu-nmanji jamba-nkanyi.*
 crawl 3SG.S-PST bed.IV-ALL ground.IV-PERL
 He crawled along the ground to the bed.

- (3-27) *Bungmaji g-a yarru manganyimi-nka ngurra.*
 old.man.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST go tucker.III-DAT 1PL.INC.OBL
 The old man has gone for tucker for us.

- (3-28) *Yabu gama gujiga-nmanji manganyimi-nka!*
 have SG.IMP.AWY mother.II-ALL tucker.III-DAT
 Take him to (his) mother for some tucker!

Because their meanings can be easily described in terms of their case marking, adjuncts and complements are discussed in Chapter 4, which deals with nominals and noun phrases.

3.2.2 DEFINING SUBJECT, OBJECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT

Following are the properties by which subjects, objects and indirect objects can be characterised and identified in Wambaya.

SUBJECT¹⁷

- (i) Subject NPs take either the ergative case (A) or the nominative case (S).
- (ii) In a main verbal clause or a finite subordinate clause, the subject is represented by a bound pronoun in the first position in the auxiliary.
- (iii) In a non-finite subordinate clause the subject is the pivot and is obligatorily omitted, being identical to a core argument of the main clause (see §8.1).
- (iv) In a simultaneous non-finite subordinate clause in which the verb is inflected with the nominal suffix *-ni*, the main-clause subject is that which is co-referential with the (omitted) subordinate-clause subject.
- (v) In a reduced adjoined clause the subject is the pivot and is omitted, being co-referential with the subject of the preceding clause (see §8.2).¹⁸

¹⁶ I have not tested the limits of these combinations. For example, what is the limit on the number of non-core functions that can occur within a clause? And is it possible to have the complete set of dative functions within the one clause? Consider, for example, 'I talked to the woman (indirect object) about language (complement) for money (adjunct)'.

¹⁷ Note that this discussion does not help to identify or define the properties of a subject in a verbless clause. There are often difficulties with formally identifying the subject in such clauses (e.g. see Morphy (1983) on Djapu). Verbless clauses are discussed in §7.1.

¹⁸ In a non-reduced adjoined clause, the subject can be identified from the auxiliary by (ii).

OBJECT

- (i) Object NPs take the accusative case.
- (ii) First and second person objects are represented by a bound pronoun in the **second** position in the auxiliary. (Third person objects are not registered in the auxiliary; see §5.2).
- (iii) The main-clause object is that which is co-referential with the (omitted) subject of a simultaneous non-finite subordinate clause in which the verb is inflected with the infinitive suffix *-barda* (see §8.1).

Some ditransitive verbs subcategorise for two accusative objects, only one of which is registered in the auxiliary (see §7.2). I thus make a distinction between direct objects, to which the above three generalisations apply, and second objects, which are characterised by (i), but not (ii) and (iii).

INDIRECT OBJECT

The evidence for indirect object is considerably weaker than that for subject and object. Indirect objects are marked with the dative case and are never represented in the auxiliary and are thereby distinguished from subjects and objects. Indirect objects can be distinguished from dative adjuncts and complements in that they are subcategorisable and semantically unrestricted, and are thereby core functions. In addition, unlike other complements and adjuncts, some indirect objects can feed reflexive and/or reciprocal constructions, in which case the indirect object argument is registered on the auxiliary with the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun (see examples (3-29) and (3-30)). As shown in (3-31) to (3-34), this is not possible for dative adjuncts.

(3-29) *Ngarlwi irri irra.*
 talk 3PL.S(NP) 3PL.OBL
 They_i're talking to them_j/*_i.

(3-30) *Ngarlwi irri-ngg-a.*
 talk 3PL.A-RR-NF
 They're talking to each other.

(3-31) *Yabu ny-u nganga angarri-nka.*
 have(FUT) 2SG.A-FUT 2SG.OBL corroborree.IV-DAT
 You'll keep it for yourself for a corroborree.

(3-32) **Yabu nyu-ngg-u angarri-nka.*
 have(FUT) 2SG.A-RR-FUT corroborree.IV-DAT
 You'll keep it for yourself for a corroborree.

(3-33) *Wugbardi ng-u gunju alangi-nka.*
 cook 1SG.A-FUT meat.IV(ACC) child.I-DAT
 I will cook meat for the boy.

(3-34) **Wugbardi ngurlu-ngg-u gunju.*
 cook 1DU.EXC.A-RR-FUT meat.IV(ACC)
 We will cook meat for each other.

CHAPTER 4

NOMINALS

4.1 THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOMINAL WORD

The structure of the nominal word is:¹

Root + (deriv) + (adnom) + (number) + gender[#] + ([GEN + gender*]) + (case)

deriv = A derivational suffix (§4.5)

adnom = The proprietive suffix (§4.4.1.1), privative suffix (§4.4.1.2) or 'origin' suffix (§4.4.1.3)

GEN = The genitive suffix (§4.4.10)

The only situation in which this slot is not obligatory is when the dual number suffix is present.

* This gender slot must agree with the gender of the possessed noun.

There are no examples in the corpus in which case marking follows the genitive suffix, although such constructions are accepted by speakers as grammatical. There are also no examples in which a derivational suffix is followed by an adnominal suffix, although it is conceivably possible in a word such as *?yugu-warli-ngunya* 'cry-AGNT.I-PROP.II(NOM)' meaning '(woman) having a crying (child)'.

Although there is not an example in which all of these slots are filled, the following few examples attest to the above ordering and degree of complexity.

ROOT + ADNOM + NUMBER + GENDER + CASE:

(4-1) *gijilulu-nguj-bali-ni-ni*
money-PROP-PL-I-LOC
the men with money (ergative/locative)

ROOT + DERIV + NUMBER + GENDER + CASE:

(4-2) *ngara-barli-mamda-nga-ni*
drink-AGNT-PL-II-LOC
the women drunks (ergative/locative)

ROOT + GENDER + GEN + GENDER:

(4-3) *bungma-nyi-niganka (maga)*
old.man-I-GEN.IV (camp.IV(NOM))
the old man's (camp) (nominative)

Some of the adnominal and number suffixes are inconsistent as to the form of the nominal that they take as their stem. While most suffixes are attached to the root of the nominal, there are some examples in which such suffixes take the citation form of the nominal, including the gender suffix, as their stem. For example the number suffix *-rdarra* 'GROUP' (see §4.3.3.4) always follows gender marking, unlike the other plural suffixes which must precede gender marking (see examples (4-1) and (4-2) above):

¹ This template does not represent the structure of demonstratives or pronouns. These nominal subtypes are discussed in §4.6 and §4.8 respectively.

- (4-4) *gamgu-nya-rdarra*
 many-II-GROUP(NOM)
 a big group (of women) (nominative)

Other suffixes, such as the proprietive suffix, attach to the root of some nominals (example (4-5)) and to the citation form of others (4-6). One possibility is that the root functions as the stem when the gender of the 'base' nominal is unimportant, but that the suffix follows the citation form when the gender of the underived noun is relevant. For example, there may be alternative forms of (4-5) such as *ala-ji-ngunya* 'child-I-PROP.II(NOM)' meaning 'female with **boy** child' and *ala-nga-ngunya* 'child-II-PROP.II(NOM)' meaning 'female with **girl** child'. However, this question will need to be followed up in the field.

- (4-5) *alag-unya*
 child-PROP.II(NOM)
 female with child
- (4-6) *mangany-ma-ngunya*²
 tucker-III-PROP.II(NOM)
 female with tucker

These examples suggest that the above nominal template should include a provision in the root slot for another optional gender marker, with the restriction that it is only filled in some nominals that contain either the proprietive or privative suffix, or when the *-rdarra* number suffix is present. The revised nominal word template would then be as follows:

[Root (+gender)] + (deriv) + (adnom) + (number) + gender + ([Gen + gender]) + (case)

with the same conditions and abbreviations as given above.

4.2 GENDER

Nouns in Wambaya are divided into four grammatical genders³ (or noun classes), marked by suffix. All nominal modifiers must agree with the gender of the noun that they modify although, unlike nouns, they have no inherent gender of their own. This section discusses the different genders in general, and also deals with the gender marking that occurs with most nominals. The marking of gender on some nominals such as demonstratives and pronouns, to the extent that they differ from the marking of gender discussed here, is dealt with in the sections that discuss these modifiers (§4.6 and §4.8 respectively).

The four genders are divided into two animate and two inanimate genders, which are then further divided as follows:

² This is an example of gender stacking. In this, nominal gender is marked twice: the inner gender suffix has scope over the 'base' nominal (*mangany-* 'tucker') and the outer gender suffix has scope over the whole derived nominal. Another example of gender stacking in Wambaya is in the possessive demonstrative forms (see §4.6.1). Gender stacking has also been discussed for Bantu (e.g. Mel'čuk (no date)).

³ The use of this term, for what have more traditionally been referred to as noun classes, follows Corbett (1991).

A. Animate

I. Masculine

II. Feminine

B. Inanimate

III. Vegetable/Non-flesh food

IV. Residue/Neuter

In the following discussion, these will be glossed and referred to as Classes I, II, III and IV respectively.

The principles of gender assignment are primarily semantic, as the above labelling indicates. However, as with most noun-classifying systems, a certain amount of gender assignment seems arbitrary; perhaps being explained by cultural and/or mythological considerations. The assignment of gender is considered in more detail in §4.2.1.

The gender system in Wambaya makes a distinction between ‘absolute’ and ‘non-absolute’ gender suffixes. The ‘absolute’ suffix appears in the nominative and accusative cases and in the citation form of the noun, and the ‘non-absolute’ suffix appears in all other cases, that is before a non-zero case suffix. The most common gender suffixes are given in Table 4.1 (see Table 4.3 for a full list). A more detailed discussion of gender marking is found in §4.2.2.

TABLE 4.1: COMMON GENDER SUFFIXES IN WAMBAYA

	ABS	NABS
Class I	<i>-ji</i>	<i>-nyi</i>
	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-ni</i>
	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-nga</i>
Class II	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-nga</i>
	<i>-nya</i>	<i>-nya</i>
Class III	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-mi</i>
Class IV	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-∅</i>
	<i>-a</i>	<i>-i</i>

4.2.1 GENDER ASSIGNMENT

(a) Animate classes

The membership of Classes I and II is semantically based according to the following criteria:

- (i) **All** nouns with animate referents belong to one of these two classes. There are **no** animate nouns that belong to either of Classes III or IV.
- (ii) **All** nouns referring to male humans belong to Class I and **all** nouns referring to female humans belong to Class II.
- (iii) Where a gender distinction is made for non-human animate nouns, the noun with the male referent will belong to Class I and the one with the female referent will belong to Class II.

Many human nouns have two forms: one belonging to each animate class. As (iii) suggests, this is true for some non-human animate nouns also.⁴ Some examples are:

Class I		Class II	
<i>bungmaji</i>	old man	<i>bungmanya</i>	old woman
<i>daji</i>	boy	<i>alanga</i>	girl
<i>mamdaji</i>	white man	<i>mamdanga</i>	white woman
<i>abajabaji</i>	crazy person (male)	<i>abajabajima</i>	crazy person (female)
<i>marunki</i>	male countryman	<i>marunkima</i>	female countryman
<i>ngarrinybi</i>	male friend	<i>ngarrinybirma</i>	female friend
<i>janji</i>	male dog	<i>janya</i>	female dog
<i>galalarrinji</i>	male dog	<i>galalarrinya</i>	female dog

Most non-human animate nouns, however, have a 'fixed' gender; they are classified consistently as either Class I or Class II regardless of sex. Whether there are cultural and/or mythological explanations for the classification of such animals or whether the choice is semantically arbitrary is unknown. Some examples are:

Class I		Class II	
<i>garrgalyi</i>	plains lizard	<i>gulangunya</i>	blue-tongue lizard
<i>mimarri</i>	snake (generic)	<i>bubuyima</i>	children's python
<i>mamanggi</i>	snail	<i>majigina</i>	crab
<i>gululyi</i>	maggot	<i>mugunjana</i>	louse
<i>bamanggi</i>	bird sp.	<i>wirrilgarra</i>	cockatiel

It is worth noting that the terms for 'wild honey' or 'sugarbag' are included in the animate classes, and a distinction is made according to 'gender'.⁵ These terms do not seem to refer to the bees themselves; *wamnganji* 'fly' (I) is used instead.

<i>wawunji</i>	boy sugarbag (I)
<i>wawunya</i>	girl sugarbag (II)

While all animate nouns have either Class I or Class II gender, not all nouns of either Class I or Class II gender are animate. There is a 'leak' (Corbett 1991:13) from the semantic residue or neuter gender (Class IV) into Classes I and II. Most of these inanimate nouns refer to natural events or celestial bodies:

-
- ⁴ In the case of the non-human nouns, although both gender forms are possible, the Class II form is more marked, and it is the Class I form which is used with general reference, or if the gender is unknown or unimportant.
- ⁵ I asked why it is that one type is considered male and the other female and was told only that the male type is found high up in a tree and the female type is found on the ground. Although this explains how the two types differ, it does not provide any insight into the gender classification.

Class I		Class II	
<i>galyurringi</i>	water	<i>galyurrungurna</i>	rain ⁶
<i>wamami</i>	water	<i>gambada</i>	sun
<i>wardangarri</i>	moon	<i>yandugururna</i>	lightening
<i>jinkiji</i>	star		
<i>nguruji</i>	cloud		

Others are nouns such as *juguli* 'boomerang' (I), *ginguli* 'hook' (I), *bayigina* 'bag' (II) and *mudinya* 'needle, injection' (II).

There are a few body-part terms that belong to Class I. These are *ngaminji* 'body', *marlanganji* 'shoulder', *garlimbaji* 'rib-bone', *wurdalyi* 'ankle', and *ilirri* 'blood'. All other body-part terms belong to the inanimate classes.

There is one example in the corpus of two synonyms having different genders: the two words for 'meat' – *yangaji* and *gunju* – belong to Classes I and IV respectively. This is shown by the following examples:⁷

(4-7) *Yangaji ini bagijbi.*
 meat.I(NOM) this.I.SG.NOM bad.I(NOM)
 This meat is no good.

(4-8) *Bagiga yana gunju.*
 bad.IV(NOM) this.IV.SG.NOM meat.IV(NOM)
 This meat is no good.

(b) Inanimate classes

All of the inanimate nouns apart from the small number discussed above belong to either Class III or Class IV. There are no animate nouns which are members of either of these classes. The assignment of nouns to these two genders is primarily semantically based, to an even greater extent than for the animate classes. Class III is made up largely of nouns referring to non-flesh food such as fruits and bread.⁸ Some examples are:

<i>manganyma</i>	tucker, bread
<i>burnaringma</i>	wild orange
<i>jigama</i>	wild yam
<i>ngamandurruma</i>	wild banana

Certain body-part nouns also have Class III gender (the others are members of either Class I or Class IV). The majority of Class III body-part nouns seem to have in common the fact that their shape is of a rounded nature:

⁶ It is a common feature of all of the West Barkly languages that the word for 'rain' is the feminine form of the word for 'water'. Compare:

	Class I		Class II	
J	<i>ibilga</i>	water	<i>ibilgirmi</i>	rain (Chadwick 1975:123)
Ng	<i>nguwi</i>	water	<i>nguwirna</i>	rain (Chadwick 1971:39)
G/B	<i>nguwi</i>	water	<i>nguwirna</i>	rain (Chadwick 1978:382, 387)

⁷ *Yangaji* is the most commonly used synonym; *gunju* is heard much less frequently. *Gunju* may have been borrowed from Nungali (in which it means 'body' (Bolt et al. 1971a:143)). It is possible that *gunju* has been assigned to Class IV on the basis of its form (Class I nouns are almost always /i/ final, while Class IV nouns are generally either /a/ or /u/ final; see §4.2.2).

⁸ Note however that the terms referring to 'wild honey' belong to the animate classes (see above) and *marrgulu* 'egg' has Class IV gender. Otherwise all nouns referring to non-flesh foods belong to Class III.

<i>bunyma</i>	arse
<i>jamdama</i>	chin, beard
<i>mabuluma</i>	navel
<i>galama</i>	nose
<i>luranyma</i>	testicles
<i>juruma</i>	stomach
<i>gandaniyama</i>	kneecap

For others this characteristic is not so obvious:

<i>banjanganima</i>	tail
<i>banduma</i>	back
<i>birmanma</i>	throat

However, some nouns referring to body parts with a rounded shape do not belong to Class III, such as *ngabulu* 'breast' (IV).

Class III also contains the nouns *gagama* and *ngangma*, both meaning 'faeces, shit'.

Class IV is the semantic residue class; it contains all of the nouns whose gender is not assigned on the basis of a positive semantic criterion (Corbett 1991:13). Therefore, Class IV contains all the inanimate nouns that have not already been mentioned in the discussion of the membership of other genders. For example, all terms referring to and related to non-edible plants, rocks, features of the landscape, fire, most tools, language, European objects and so on belong to Class IV. Some examples are:

<i>darrangu</i>	tree
<i>ilyirrga</i>	leaf
<i>murlurru</i>	turpentine tree
<i>namirra</i>	stone
<i>maga</i>	country, camp
<i>ngangaba</i>	fire
<i>balamurru</i>	spear
<i>ngarlana</i>	language
<i>danya</i>	clothes
<i>narunguja</i>	car, vehicle

There are two examples in the corpus of plants with two forms: one for the fruit (belonging to Class III) and one for the tree (belonging to Class IV):

<i>bumaringma</i>	wild orange (fruit) (III)	<i>bumariga</i>	wild orange (tree) (IV)
<i>marnugujama</i>	conkerberry (fruit) (III)	<i>marnuguja</i>	conkerberry (tree) (IV)

For all other fruit trees I was given the same term that is used to refer to the fruit (and which therefore belongs to Class III).

Table 4.2 gives a brief description of the types of nouns that belong to each gender:

TABLE 4.2: GENDER ASSIGNMENT

Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
male humans	female humans	most non-flesh food	trees, plants
male animals	female animals	some body parts	most body parts
kangaroos		(mostly round)	language
most reptiles	few reptiles	faeces	rocks
some birds	some birds		landscape
most other	few other		fire
creatures	creatures		most tools
honey	honey		European objects
moon	sun		
star	rain		REMAINDER
water	lightning		
cloud	bag		
boomerang	needle		
hook			
few body parts			

The reptiles that are known to belong to Class I are: *bagarrinji* 'goanna sp.', *burrgunji* 'frog', *burrulyi* 'tadpole', *gaburri* 'left-hand lizard', *garrgalyi* 'plains lizard', *gunbil* *mankunyi* 'blanket lizard', *jurrubarri/mangirriji* 'plains goanna', *mardumbarra* 'saltwater crocodile', *mayinanji* 'goanna', *mimarri* 'snake (generic)', *nguluwayi* 'king brown snake' and *warriji* 'freshwater crocodile'. Those that are known to belong to Class II are: *bubuyima* 'python', *gangbirna* 'gecko', *gulangunya/milirrgbama* 'blue-tongue lizard', *jalabanya* '(slippery?) lizard' and *judangunya* 'water snake'.

The birds that are known to belong to Class I are: *bamanggi* 'hobby(?)', *burriji* 'bird sp.', *dalwarranji* 'diver duck', *darrmanji* 'brolga', *danidani* 'dollar bird', *didilayi* 'kite', *dirdibulyi* 'peewee', *galunji* 'black kite', *gaminyanji* 'bush turkey', *garrgarrgayi* 'chicken-hawk', *garrinji* 'jabiru', *gurruguji* 'Boobook owl', *iburraji* 'magpie', *janbalyi* 'bird sp.', *jirrbilijirrbili* 'cuckoo', *ngadijirri* 'budgerigar', *nganyanggali* 'brown goshawk', *nyinimirri* 'finch', *wagalamarri* 'crow', *walanybirri* 'pelican', *warlidaji* 'magpie goose' and *wirringarri* 'barn owl'. Those that are known to belong to Class II are: *barraala* 'white cockatoo', *burrunjuna* 'quail', *danmurrana* 'kingfisher', *ganbagaguna* 'heron', *gamanganjana* 'emu', *gilyinkilyida* 'galah', *guluguguma* 'diamond dove', *gulugulunya* 'tawny frogmouth', *gunawurruna* 'partridge pigeon', *ilarrama* 'eaglehawk', *indilyawurna* 'curlew', *jibilyawuna* 'duck', *jindirrijirrinya* 'willy wagtail', *jugujuguna* 'fantail', *larrana* 'spinifex pigeon', *lirrada* 'black cockatoo', *marrababina* 'peaceful dove', *wirrilgarra* 'cockatiel' and *yagurragurrana* 'native hen'.

Other creatures that are known to belong to Class I are: *dajbidajbi* 'grasshopper', *gaguwi* 'fish', *ganybulanyi* 'cat', *garruji* 'big black spider', *gudingi* 'rat', *gululyi* 'maggot', *jagugayi/nguyiminji* 'freshwater mussel', *magami* 'leech', *mamanggi* 'snail', *marawunji* 'spider', *wardbaji* 'butterfly', *warnnganji* 'fly' and *wurumbumbi* 'dragonfly'. Those that are known to belong to Class II are: *burruburrurna* 'caterpillar', *majigina* 'crab', *mugunjana* 'louse', and *nyilangunya/wayamila* 'echidna'.

Many of these gender classifications are common for Australian languages: 'sun' is often feminine and 'moon' often masculine; 'echidna' is commonly feminine as is 'emu', and 'faeces, shit' commonly belongs to the vegetable class. For discussions of noun classification in other Australian languages see Dixon (1972, 1982), Harvey (no date) and Evans (1995c).

4.2.2 GENDER MARKING

This section covers the marking of gender on nouns and their modifiers in Wambaya. See Appendix B for a comparative discussion of gender marking in the languages of the Mirmd group.

Class III is the only gender which has a single suffix that is consistently present on all members of the gender. For other genders there are a number of different suffixes, both phonologically and lexically determined, so that it is not always possible to tell from the form of the noun what its gender suffix is. Table 4.3 lists all the gender suffixes found on nouns and their modifiers. The conditioning environments of phonologically conditioned allomorphs are given in the table. Suffixes in smaller font are less common and are found with only a small number of forms.⁹

TABLE 4.3: GENDER MARKING IN WAMBAYA

Class I	ABS		NABS	
	<i>-ji</i>	\C__	<i>-nyi-</i>	\j, ny__
			<i>-ngi-</i>	\g, ng__
			<i>-di-</i>	
			<i>-na-#</i>	
	<i>-Ø</i>	\V__ (*)	<i>-rdi-#-</i>	
		\i__ (*)	<i>-ni-</i>	\v__
	<i>-i*</i>	\a, u__		
	<i>-yi*</i>			
Class II	<i>-nya</i>	\j, ny__	<i>-nya-</i>	\j, ny__
	<i>-nga</i>	\g, ng__	<i>-nga-</i>	elsewhere
	<i>-ma</i>	elsewhere		
	<i>-rra*</i>			
	<i>-Ø•</i>			
	<i>-rda#</i>		<i>-ga-#</i>	
Class III	<i>-ma</i>		<i>-mi-</i>	
Class IV	<i>-Ø</i>		<i>-Ø-</i>	
	<i>-a</i>	\i__ (*)	<i>-i-</i>	
	<i>-ja*</i>	\j, ny__ (*)	<i>-ji-*</i>	
	<i>-ga*</i>	after other Cs	<i>-gi-*</i>	
	<i>-wa*</i>		?	

Found with kinship nouns only.

* Found with nominal modifiers and nominal suffixes only.

• Found with nouns only.

The non-absolutive suffix usually replaces the absolutive suffix on a nominal.¹⁰ Thus, comparison of the two forms of a noun is the simplest way of isolating and identifying the gender suffixes.

⁹ In Hale (1959), the gender suffixes for Wambaya are given as: *-Ø* ~ *-(y)i* 'masc', *-ma* 'fem', *-ma* 'vegetable' and *-(w)a* 'neuter'.

¹⁰ The one exception to this is the Class I non-absolutive suffix *-ni-* when it occurs with Class I modifiers. In just this case the non-absolutive suffix is added to the absolutive form of the noun rather than replacing the absolutive suffix:

gunyi-i other-I.ABS > *gunyi-ni-* other-I.NABS-

Absolutive form		Non-absolutive form
<i>yangaji</i>	meat (I)	<i>yangadi-</i>
<i>gaguwi-Ø</i>	fish (I)	<i>gaguwini-</i>
<i>indilyawurna</i>	curlew (II)	<i>indilyawunga-</i>
<i>gulangunya</i>	blue-tongue lizard (II)	<i>gulangunya-</i>
<i>manganyma</i>	food, tucker (III)	<i>manganymi-</i>
<i>maga</i>	camp (IV)	<i>magi-</i>

As shown in Table 4.3, there are a number of different allomorphs for all genders except Class III. As Classes I and II have the largest number of allomorphs, I will discuss them first, and will then discuss the gender marking on Class IV nouns.

The most common Class II absolutive allomorphs and the common non-absolutive allomorphs for both Classes I and II are all phonologically conditioned: the initial nasal of the suffix assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding consonant (i.e. the final consonant of the root). Thus:¹¹

Class II absolutive: UR = *-ma*

- ma* > *-nya* \j, ny _____
- > *-nga* \g, ng _____
- > *-ma* elsewhere

Class I non-absolutive: UR = *-ni-*

- ni-* > *-nyi-* \j, ny _____
- > *-ngi-* \g, ng _____
- > *-ni-* elsewhere

Class II non-absolutive: UR = *-nga-*

- nga-* > *-nya-* \j, ny _____
- > *-nga-* elsewhere

This allomorphic variation is shown in the following examples in which the underlying allomorphs are given between percentage signs.¹²

ROOT ¹³	I.ABS	I.NABS	II.ABS	II.NABS
	-ji, -Ø	%-ni-%	%-rna%	%-nga-%
<i>bungmaj-</i> old person	<i>bungmaji</i>	<i>bungmanyi-</i>	<i>bungmanya</i>	<i>bungmanya-</i>
<i>marndag-</i> white person	<i>marndaji</i>	<i>marndangi-</i>	<i>marndanga</i>	<i>marndanga-</i>
<i>abajabaji-</i> crazy person	<i>abajabaji-Ø</i>	<i>abajabajini-</i>	<i>abajabajirna</i>	<i>abajabajinga-</i>
<i>-guny-</i> PL	<i>-gunji</i>	<i>-gunyi-</i>	<i>-gunya</i>	<i>-gunya</i>
<i>-barli-</i> AGNT	<i>-barli-Ø</i>	<i>-barlini-</i>	<i>-barlirna</i>	<i>-barlinga-</i>

This pattern of allomorphic alternation holds for most of the nominals and nominal suffixes for which there is sufficient data in the corpus. However there are some nouns

¹¹ Note that, interestingly, it is the Class I non-absolutive suffix *-ni-* which is used with foreign (i.e. English) words:

Yaniyawulu narungja-wulu garage-ni-ni.
 that.IV.DU.NOM car.IV-DU(NOM) garage-I.NABS-LOC

Those two cars are in the garage.

¹² For a discussion of the morphophonemic processes by which the final consonant of the root is dropped or nasalised before the gender suffix see §2.3.

¹³ Nominal roots can often be identified from the dual form of the nominal since the dual suffix is usually attached to the form minus the gender suffix: *bungmaj-bulu*, *marndag-bulu*, for example (see 4.3.2).

which have, for example, the Class II suffix *-nya* in their citation form, but for which it is unknown whether the root ends in a palatal consonant (i.e. the root is not present in the current corpus). An example of such a noun is *gulangnya* ‘blue-tongue lizard’ (II). These nouns do not contradict this analysis and so, for the present purposes, I assume them to be consistent with it. There are some Class II nouns that have the *-nya* absolutive suffix, but for which it would seem (on the basis of the Class I counterpart) that the root does not have a final palatal consonant. All of these examples are kinship nouns and, as there are other examples of kinship nouns behaving differently with respect to gender marking (see below), these are not considered to invalidate the rules of distribution of allomorphs outlined above. Some examples of these nouns are:

Class I		Class II	
<i>gugu-Ø</i>	MMB	<i>gugunya</i>	MM
<i>barnga-Ø</i>	male cross-cousin	<i>barnganya</i>	female cross-cousin
<i>ganggu-Ø</i>	FF	<i>ganggunya</i>	FFZ

The Class I absolutive allomorphs are mostly phonologically conditioned also. Class I nouns are inflected with *-ji* after consonant-final roots and *-Ø* after vowel-final roots (see *bungmaji* and *abajabaji* above). Class I modifiers and suffixes have *-Ø* after roots ending in /i/ and usually have *-i* with other vowel-final roots, although there are a couple of adjectives that are inflected with *-yi*. As with nouns, consonant-final adjectival roots are followed by the gender suffix *-ji*. Examples are:

Root		Class I form	Gloss
<i>-barli-</i>	>	<i>-barli-Ø</i>	AGNT
<i>gurijbi-</i>	>	<i>gurijbi-Ø</i>	good
<i>gunya-</i>	>	<i>gunyi</i>	other
<i>munduru-</i>	>	<i>munduri</i>	short, little
<i>garna-</i>	>	<i>garna-yi</i>	long
<i>buga-</i>	>	<i>buga-yi</i>	big
<i>gamguj-</i>	>	<i>gamgu-ji</i>	many
<i>bagig-</i>	>	<i>bagi-ji</i>	bad

Synchronically the three suffixes that appear with vowel final roots – *-Ø*, *-i*, *-yi* – are clearly distinct. However, there is evidence suggesting that the original system had a simple opposition between *-ji* after consonants and *-yi* after vowels (note that lenition of /j/ to /y/ between vowels is common in Wambaya – see §2.3.1), meaning that all three of the above suffix derive from the original allomorph *-yi*. This evidence includes the following:

- (i) Almost all of the nouns and all of the modifiers and suffixes which take the absolutive suffix *-Ø* end in /i/. This suggests that there has been a coalescence of the original gender suffix *-yi* with the root such that the final vowel of the root and the initial semivowel of the suffix were elided, resulting in the /i/-final modern-day forms that now have no overt absolutive gender suffix. Examples include:

<i>burrulyi</i>	tadpole
<i>dirdibulyi</i>	peewee
<i>marunki</i>	male countryman
<i>ngarrinybi</i>	male friend
<i>galyurringi</i>	water
<i>wardangarri</i>	moon

<i>gaguwi</i>	fish
<i>juguli</i>	boomerang
<i>gayini</i>	who/what
<i>-barli</i>	AGNT
<i>gurijbi</i>	good

The same could also be true of the modifiers and suffixes with other final vowels that now take the gender suffix /i/: the final vowel of the root and the semivowel of the suffix elided in the Class I form, leaving /i/ as the gender suffix.

- (ii) There are a few places in which the original form *-yi* has been preserved. The two adjectives *gama-* and *buga-* contain the suffix *-yi* in their Class I forms (see above), and POK preserves it in the Class I noun *mardumbarra* ‘saltwater crocodile’, pronouncing it *mardumbarrayi*. There are also a couple of nouns, such as *wagalamarri* ‘crow’, which are given in Hale (1959:17) as having a final suffix *-yi*: *wagalamarriyi*.

There are a few Class I and Class II gender suffixes which are found only with kinship nouns. These are the Class I non-absolute suffixes *-rdi* and *-na*, the Class II absolute suffix *-rda*, and the Class II non-absolute suffix *-ga*.

The two Class I non-absolute suffixes *-na* and *-rdi*¹⁴ are found with masculine kinship nouns that take the \emptyset absolute suffix. The former of these, along with the Class II non-absolute suffix *-ga* to be discussed below, conditions the irregular ergative/locative suffix *-yi* (see §4.4.3). As far as I can tell, there is no phonological conditioning of these two allomorphs. The kinship nouns with which they are found in the corpus include the following:

Absolute form	Non-absolute form	Gloss
<i>jugu-\emptyset</i>	<i>juguna-</i>	MB
<i>baba-\emptyset</i>	<i>babana-</i>	elder brother
<i>irda-\emptyset</i>	<i>irdina-</i>	father
<i>gagulu-\emptyset</i>	<i>gaguluna-</i>	younger brother
<i>bamga-\emptyset</i>	<i>bamgardi-</i>	male cross-cousin
<i>gari-\emptyset</i>	<i>garirdi-</i>	husband
<i>ganggu-\emptyset</i>	<i>ganggurdi-</i>	FF

Many Class II kinship nouns take the non-absolute suffix *-ga*, which conditions the irregular ergative/locative suffix *-yi* (see §4.4.3). Following is a list of the nouns taking this suffix found in the present corpus.

Absolute form	Non-absolute form	Gloss
<i>gugunya</i>	<i>guguga-</i>	MM
<i>gujinya</i>	<i>gujiga-</i>	mother
<i>babanya</i>	<i>babaga-</i>	elder sister
<i>jajilinya</i>	<i>jajiliga-</i>	D (m ego), BD (f ego)
<i>gulinya</i>	<i>guliga-</i>	D (f ego), ZD (m ego)
<i>ngayijinya</i>	<i>ngayijiga-</i>	FM
<i>irdinya</i>	<i>irdiga-</i>	FZ

¹⁴ This suffix has also been heard with an apico-alveolar consonant: *-di*. Along with the *-rda* absolute suffix found on some Class II kinship nouns (see below), it is presumably related to the widespread kinship affix **-rti* discussed by Nash (1992).

The regular Class II absolutive suffix for kinship nouns is *-nya* (see above). However, a few nouns have alternative forms in which the absolutive suffix is *-rda*:

<i>gugunya</i>	<i>gugurda</i>	MM
<i>ngayijinya</i>	<i>ngayijirda</i>	FM
<i>gambaranya</i>	<i>gambararda</i>	MZ
<i>jaminjilinya</i>	<i>jaminjilirda</i>	MFZ

The remaining few Class I and II gender suffixes are found on only one or two forms. The Class I non-absolutive suffix *-di* is found only with the noun *yangaji* 'meat'. The Class II absolutive suffixes *-rra* and *-∅* are found with nouns such as *gujinganjarra* 'mother' and *nayida* 'woman', respectively. Nouns taking these absolutive suffixes take the non-absolutive suffix *-nga*.

The discussion so far has concentrated on Class I and Class II gender suffixes. The Class III gender suffixes are straightforward as they are consistent on all members of the class, but there is some variation in the gender suffixes for Class IV. For the large part, Class IV nominals are not overtly marked in either the absolutive or the non-absolutive:

Absolutive form	Non-absolutive form	Gloss
<i>darrangu-∅</i>	<i>darrangu-∅-</i>	tree
<i>lagija-∅</i>	<i>lagija-∅-</i>	coolaman
<i>gujarra-∅</i>	<i>gujarra-∅-</i>	two
<i>-baja-∅</i>	<i>-baja-∅-</i>	PRIV

There are a small number of Class IV nominals, however, which appear to have an overt gender suffix *-a*, as shown by the fact that it is replaced in the non-absolutive form with the suffix *-i*:

Absolutive form	Non-absolutive form	Gloss
<i>mag-a</i>	<i>mag-i-</i>	camp
<i>iligirr-a</i>	<i>iligirr-i-</i>	river

However, there is no synchronic evidence for the existence of *mag-* or *iligirr-* as a root. For example, the dual suffix attaches to the absolutive form of the noun:

<i>maga-wulu</i>	camp-DU
<i>iligirra-wulu</i>	river-DU

The absolutive suffix *-a* is also present in the Class IV noun *bumariga* 'wild orange tree', as shown by comparison with the Class III counterpart *bumaringma* 'wild orange (fruit)', and it is the Class IV suffix used with /i/-final modifiers/suffixes:

Root	Class IV form	Gloss
<i>-barli-</i>	<i>-barl-a</i>	AGNT
<i>gayini</i>	<i>gayin-a</i>	who/what
<i>gurijbi-</i>	<i>gurijb-a</i>	good

The other Class IV absolutive gender suffixes: *-ga*, *-ja* and *-wa*, are found only on modifiers and nominal suffixes. The palatal-initial allomorph *-ja* occurs with palatal-final roots and the velar-initial allomorph *-ga* appears with roots ending with any other consonant:

<i>-guny-</i>	PL	<i>-gunja</i>	PL.IV.ABS
<i>gamguj-</i>	many	<i>gamguja</i>	many.IV.ABS

<i>murrgun-</i>	three	<i>murrgunka</i>	three.IV.ABS
<i>bagig-</i>	bad	<i>bagiga</i>	bad.IV.ABS

In the non-absolute case these suffixes become *-ji-* and *-gi-* respectively.

The Class IV absolute suffix *-wa* is found with only two adjectives: *garnawa*¹⁵ 'long.IV.ABS' and *buguwa* 'big.IV.ABS'. These two adjectives are unusual in many respects: they both take an irregular Class I absolute suffix *-yi* (discussed above), the Class II form of each of them is formed by adding the Class II suffix to the Class I form rather than to the root, and the Class III form of each of them is formed by adding the Class III suffix to the Class IV form, rather than to the root.

Root	Gloss	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
<i>garna-</i>	long	<i>garnayi</i>	<i>garnayirna</i>	<i>garnawama</i>	<i>garna(w)a</i>
<i>buga-</i> ¹⁶	big	<i>bugayi</i>	<i>bugayirna</i>	<i>buguwama</i>	<i>buguwa</i>

For the purposes of clarity and simplicity, I will not segment the roots and gender suffixes in the examples in this description. Furthermore, I will not include the glosses 'ABS' and 'NABS', since this information is clear from the form of the case marking (i.e. the non-absolute gender suffix appears only before a non-zero case suffix). Thus, the nominative and ergative/locative forms of the noun *bungma-ji* will be glossed as follows:

<i>bungmaji</i>	old.man.I(NOM)
<i>bungmanyi-ni</i>	old.man.I-LOC

4.2.3 ODD AGREEMENT

The usual case is for a Class I noun to require Class I agreement on a modifier, a Class II noun to require Class II agreement, and so on. However, there are times when the gender of a modifier does not agree with the gender of the noun that it modifies. Examples of this 'odd agreement' can be classified into two different types: 'natural semantic agreement' and 'unmarked gender agreement'.

(i) Natural semantic agreement

This is the less common of the two types of odd agreement. As the name implies, in this type of agreement the gender of the modifier agrees with the natural semantic 'gender' of the noun (Class IV), rather than the grammatical gender to which the noun belongs (Class I or Class II). This agreement, although often found in people's casual speech, is rejected by speakers as ungrammatical when repeated back to them.

Two examples of this type of agreement involve the nouns *wawunji* 'honey, sugarbag' (I) and *bayigina* 'bag' (II). These are inanimate nouns which belong to animate noun classes. In the following examples a Class IV modifier occurs with these nouns, thus agreeing with the inanimate semantics of the noun, rather than the animate grammatical gender.

(4-9)	<i>Aliyulu ng-a</i>	<i>bulyungu</i>	<i>wawunji.</i>
	find	1SG.A-PST	little.IV(ACC) sugarbag.I(ACC)
	I found a little sugarbag.		

¹⁵ In Wambaya this form is actually *garnaa*, although it is *garnawa* in Gudanji. The elision of a semivowel between two identical vowels is common in Wambaya (see §2.3.2) and there are many examples in which a word containing a long vowel in Wambaya has a medial semivowel in Gudanji (see §2.1.4).

¹⁶ Note that the final vowel of this root becomes backed before the /w/ in the Class III and Class IV forms.

- (4-10) *Yany-ba yaniyaga bayigina guguga-nka!*
 get-FUT that.IV.SG.ACC bag.II(ACC) MM.II-DAT
 Get that bag for granny!

When repeated, both of these examples were given with modifiers that agree with the grammatical gender of the noun:

- (4-11) *Aliyulu ng-a bulyingi wawunji.*
 find 1SG.A-PST little.I(ACC) sugarbag.I(ACC)
 I found a little sugarbag.

- (4-12) *Yany-ba naniyaga bayigina guguga-nka!*
 get-FUT that.II.SG.ACC bag.II(ACC) MM.II-DAT
 Get that bag for granny!

ii) Unmarked Gender Agreement

It appears that Class IV is the unmarked inanimate gender and that Class I is the unmarked animate gender. The evidence for this is that Class III nouns often occur with Class IV modifiers, and that Class I is always used to refer to mixed animate groups, or in situations where the sex of the referent is unknown. Thus, these two genders appear to be considered more 'unmarked' or 'basic' than the others and therefore have a wider distribution of concord. Unlike the natural semantic agreement discussed above, these examples are grammatically acceptable (i.e. speakers will accept them when they are repeated back to them). In fact, in the case of the animate classes, the use of Class I agreement in mixed or unknown situations is obligatory. In the case of the inanimate classes, either Class III or Class IV agreement can occur in a given example, although Class III agreement is often said to be more correct.¹⁷

Class IV modifiers can be used to modify both Class III and Class IV nouns. Some examples are:

- (4-13) *Jiya-j-ba yana manganyma naniyaga.*
 give-TH-FUT this.IV.SG.ACC tucker.III(ACC) that.II.SG.ACC
 Give this tucker to that woman.
- (4-14) *Yaniyaga burnaringma ng-a nawu.*
 that.IV.SG.ACC wild.orange.III(ACC) 1SG.A-PST step.on
 I stood on that (wild) orange.

It is even possible for one modifier to have Class III agreement and another Class IV:

- (4-15) *Ngarrga manganyma mamiyaga.*
 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM) tucker.III(NOM) that.III.SG.NOM
 That's my tucker.

These Class III nouns however, can also be modified completely by Class III modifiers:

- (4-16) *Ngarrima manganyma mamiyaga.*
 1SG.POSS.III(NOM) tucker.III(NOM) that.III.SG.NOM
 That's my tucker.

¹⁷ Evans (1991) discusses a similar type of agreement in Mayali. Interestingly however, in Mayali the unmarked inanimate gender is the vegetable class (Class III) instead of the neuter class (Class IV) as in Wambaya (p.110).

- (4-17) *Buguwama mamiyaga burnaringma.*
 big.III(NOM) that.III.SG.NOM wild.orange.III(NOM)
 That's a big orange.

Class I is unmarked for the animate classes and is therefore used when the NP denotes a mixed group of males and females:

- (4-18) *Garguji juwarramba nayirrundurna.*
 many.I(NOM) men.I(NOM) women.II(NOM)
 Lots of men and women.

and when the gender of the referent is unknown:

- (4-19) *Gunyini-nka gi bundurri-jbi.*
 other.I-DAT 3SG.S(PR) full-INCH
 She's pregnant with another (child).

Note, however, that despite its unmarked status, Class I agreement can never occur when the NP refers to females only.

4.3 NUMBER

Wambaya formally distinguishes three numbers: singular, dual and plural. The singular form also marks 'general' number (Corbett 1992:7) in that it can be non-specific for number; used to refer to both dual and plural referents. For simplicity, however, I will consistently refer to it as the 'singular' form, as it is the one that co-occurs with the numeral *gardawuga* 'one' in specifically singular contexts. Examples of the use of the singular form with dual and plural referents are given in §4.3.1 below.

The number of a nominal can be indicated either with the use of a number-marking suffix (dual and plural only), or with a separate numeral modifier; or sometimes both. I will discuss each number in turn, first the suffix and then the free-form numeral.

4.3.1 SINGULAR

Singular number is morphologically unmarked. A singular nominal occurs in its citation form, with any necessary case suffixes simply added.

- (4-20) *Janji gama yabu!*
 dog.I(ACC) SG.IMP.AWY take(FUT)
 Take that dog away!

As mentioned above, this singular form is used also for general number and is thus used in contexts that are unmarked for number (examples (4-21) and (4-22)); with plural referents (4-23); and (less frequently) with dual referents (4-24).

- (4-21) *Gajbi ng-a jigama.*
 eat 1SG.A-PST yam.III(ACC)
 I ate a/some bush yam(s).
- (4-22) *Juwa-ni gan-ala ngarabi jaburru.*
 man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST drink first
 Men always drink first.

(4-23) *Narunguji-ni irri-ng-a-n ngurra banymanymi.*
 car.IV-LOC 3PL.A-1O-NF-PROG 1PL.INC.ACC pass.by.RDP
 Cars were passing us (all night).

(4-24) *Aliyulu ng-a yagama janga ngarrga.*
 find 1SG.A-PST that.IV.SG.ACC foot.IV(ACC) 1SG.POSS.IV(ACC)
 I found my (two) shoes.

There are even examples in which a singular noun co-occurs with number marked modifiers, as in the following example from Hale (1959:42):¹⁸

(4-25) *Wayani ngi-ma ninagiyawulija janyi-nka gubaji-wuli-ja.*
 look.for 1SG.S-PST that.I.DU.DAT dog.I-DAT small-DU-DAT
 I've been looking for those two small dogs.

If it is necessary to specify that a nominal is singular, the free form numeral *gardawuga* 'one' can be used. The use of this numeral ensures that the general reading is not possible:

(4-26) *Gardawuga ngiy-a wankurri marrgulu.*
 one.IV(ACC) 3SG.NM.A-PST lay egg.IV(ACC)
 She laid one egg.

4.3.2 DUAL

4.3.2.1 THE DUAL SUFFIX

Dual marking (either in the form of the dual suffix, or the numeral *gjarra* 'two') is usually obligatory in NPs with dual referents (although in a few rare examples, it is not present on all members of the NP; see example (4-25)). The dual suffix has two main allomorphs: *-bulu* with consonant-final roots and *-wulu* with vowel-final roots. According to the morphophonemic processes of elision and assimilation described in §2.3.2 and §2.3.4.1 respectively, *-wulu* becomes *-yulu* after a final /i/ and *-ulu* (optionally) after a final /u/. The dual suffix usually attaches to the root of both Class I and II nouns – that is, the form excluding the gender suffix – as in examples (4-27), (4-28), thus providing a good test for the identification of the root of these nouns.¹⁹ However, with Class III and IV nouns, it attaches to the citation form, following any gender suffix ((4-29), (4-30)). It attaches to the root of nominal modifiers and suffixes. Gender is not marked with the dual suffix; this is true for both nouns and for their modifiers. If the speaker wants to specify the gender of a dual-inflected noun it is necessary to use modifiers which inherently express gender, such as demonstratives (4-27). Some examples of the dual suffix are:

(4-27) *Naniyawulu bungmaj-bulu wurlu-n yarru.*
 that.II.DU.NOM old.person-DU(NOM) 3DU.S(NP)-PROG go
 Those two old women are coming.

(4-28) *Ngajbi ng-a ilarra-wulu.*
 see 1SG.A-PST eaglehawk-DU(ACC)
 I saw two eaglehawks.

¹⁸ This example, as with all of Hale's examples given in this work, has been transliterated into the orthography used here. Note the presence of the Gudanji past tense marker *-ma* on the auxiliary.

¹⁹ There are a few examples in which it seems to follow the gender suffix, as in *mayinanji-yulu* 'goanna-DU'.

(4-29) *Yany-ba ng-u darranggu-wulu.*
 get-FUT 1SG.A-FUT stick-DU(ACC)
 I'll get two sticks.

(4-30) *Jigama-yulu ny-a aliyulu.*
 yam.III-DU(ACC) 2SG.A-PST find
 You found two yams.

There is one very common and irregular dual form in the corpus: *alag-ulu* 'child-DU'.²⁰ This form is irregular in that the dual allomorph is *-ulu* rather than *-bulu*, which would be the expected form with a consonant-final root. The irregular use of this allomorph is probably due to a simplification of the consonant cluster /gb/ which would be generated with the use of the regular allomorph for consonant final stems (*-bulu*) (although note that this is a licit consonant cluster in Wambaya – see §2.2.3). Chadwick (1978:175) states that the two allomorphs *-bulu* and *-ulu* are in free variation after /g/. I have never heard *alag-bulu*, which suggests that this form may have dropped out of usage since Chadwick did his fieldwork. The only other /g/-final stem in my corpus takes the regular allomorph: *marndag-bulu* 'two white people'.

The dual suffix conditions unique ergative/locative and dative case suffixes: *-ji* and *-ja* respectively. These suffixes attach to the non-absolutive form of the suffix: *-buli/-wuli-* and so on. Two examples are:

(4-31) *Jany-buli-ji wurlu-ng-a nyurrunyurru.*
 dog-DU-LOC 3DU.A-10-NF chase
 Two dogs chased me.

(4-32) *Yanybi ng-a marnugujama bungmaj-buli-ja.*
 get 1SG.A-PST conkerberry.III(ACC) old.person-DU-DAT
 I got all the conkerberries for the two old people.

4.3.2.2 THE NUMERAL *GUJARRA-*

The numeral *gujarra-* 'two' can either be inflected for dual number (and not gender), or inflected for gender (and not number); it can be either alone in a NP or co-occur with the noun it refers to; and the noun that it refers to can be either inflected with the dual-number suffix or be uninflected for number. Thus, there is a reasonable amount of flexibility as to how the numeral *gujarra-* can combine with the dual suffix and with other nominals in a NP.

The use of some form of *gujarra-* in a dual noun phrase is fairly common. The effect of using *gujarra-*, instead of simply a dual-inflected noun on its own, seems to be one of emphasis on the duality of the NP, although the use of *gujarra-* in such cases is not nearly as emphatic and marked as the use of *garnawuga-* 'one' in singular NPs.

There are two 'versions' of *gujarra-*: one which is inflected with the dual suffix (and is used with nouns of all genders), and one which is inflected for gender (agreeing with the gender of the noun it modifies) and is not inflected for dual number. The different forms of *gujarra-* are given in Table 4.4. As can be seen in this table, *gujarra-* takes the regular dual suffix and regular gender suffixes (see §4.2.2).

²⁰ Interestingly, the only irregular dual in Warumungu is also of 'child' (Jane Simpson, pers.comm.).

TABLE 4.4: FORMS OF *gujarra-*

	'dual version'	'gender version'
Class I	<i>gujarrawulu</i>	<i>gujarri</i>
Class II	<i>gujarrawulu</i>	<i>gujarrama</i>
Class III	<i>gujarrawulu</i>	<i>gujarrama</i>
Class IV	<i>gujarrawulu</i>	<i>gujarra</i>

These two 'versions' of *gujarra-* are in free variation to a certain extent (and are described as such by Chadwick (1978:197)), although there is a strong tendency for the 'dual version' to be used when the noun also has dual marking, and for the 'gender version' to be used when the noun does not have dual marking. Some examples are:

(4-33) *Gujarrawulu alag-ulu ngi yabu.*
 two(ACC) child-DU(ACC) 1SG.A(PR) have
 I have two kids.

(4-34) *Gujarrawulu marndag-bulu inuwuliyaga.*
 two(NOM) white.person-DU(NOM) that.I.DU.NOM
 There are two white men.

(4-35) *Gujarrarna nyilangunya ng-a yanybi.*
 two.II(ACC) echidna.II(ACC) 1SG.A-PST get
 I got two echidnas.

(4-36) *Gujarri juguli gini-n yabu.*
 two.I(ACC) boomerang.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG have
 He has two boomerangs.

The above four examples exemplify the two most common cases: either both the numeral and the noun have the dual suffix (examples (4-33), (4-34)), or neither do (4-35), (4-36). However, the other two logical possibilities are possible (although rare). Thus, the numeral can have dual marking while the nominal does not:

(4-37) *Gujarrawulu jigama ng-a yanybi.*
 two(ACC) yam.III(ACC) 1SG.A-PST get
 I got two yams.

Again, the nominal can have dual marking while the numeral does not (although note that this is a slightly different construction in that the nominal has been 'fronted'):

(4-38) *Juguli-yulu, gujarri gini-n yabu.*
 boomerang-DU(ACC) two.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG have
 He has two boomerangs. (or maybe: 'Boomerangs, he has two (of them)').

The numeral can also occur alone in the NP, without the noun that it refers to. Either of the versions can be used in this type of construction:

(4-39) *Gujarrawulu ng-a yabu.*
 two(ACC) 1SG.A-PST have
 I had two (sticks).

(4-40) *Gujarra ng-a aliyulu.*
 two.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-PST find
 I found two (eggs).

4.3.2.3 THE USE OF SINGULAR FOR DUAL

Example (4-24) above shows the use of singular nominals in dual NPs. There are another two similar examples in the corpus in which a dual noun phrase is treated formally as if it were singular. In both of these examples the dual number of the referent of the NP is quite clear from the semantics of the whole phrase. These noun phrases are probably best translated as ‘pair of X’:

(4-41) *Dirdibila iniyaga juguli!*
 clap.FUT that.I.SG.ACC boomerang.I(ACC)
 Clap the (pair of) boomerangs!

(4-42) *Dirdibila yaniyaga danmuga!*
 clap.FUT that.IV.SG.ACC clapping.stick.IV(ACC)
 Clap the (pair of) clapping sticks!

Thus, it would seem that the singular form can be used in dual NPs when the referents of the NP form a natural pair as do shoes (example (4-24)), clapping sticks and boomerangs (in the context of clapping them together).

4.3.3 PLURAL

The marking of plural number is not obligatory; if the plurality of the nominal is not considered important, the nominal can be left unmarked (i.e. left in the singular/general form). Example (4-21), repeated from above, provides an example:

Gajbi ng-a jigama.
 eat 1SG.A-PST yam.III(ACC)
 I ate a/some bush yam(s).

However, there are often situations where the speaker does wish to explicitly mark the NP as having plural number, and in Wambaya this can be done either with the use of a plural suffix, or with the use of a free-form numeral. I will begin with a discussion of the plural suffixes, and will then discuss the use of numerals.

4.3.3.1 THE PLURAL SUFFIXES

There are two plural suffixes that are used with nouns, adjectives and suffixes in the corpus.²¹ The two forms are completely different and appear to be in complementary distribution: in my corpus, *-marda-* occurs with vowel-final roots and *-bala-* with consonant-final roots, although there is no obvious phonological reason why this should be the case. The forms of the two suffixes are given in Table 4.5, and their distribution in the present corpus is given in Table 4.6. Note that, unlike the dual suffix, these plural suffixes indicate gender, using regular gender suffixes (*-i* Class I, *-ma* Class II and \emptyset Class IV). However, there appears to be a gap for Class III: there are no Class III forms in my corpus, nor do Chadwick (1978) or Hale (1959) provide any.²²

²¹ There is also another plural suffix *-guny-* which is used with demonstratives and indefinite/interrogatives and is discussed in §4.6.

²² The few Class III plural NPs that Hale (1959) gives contain the ‘GROUP’ suffix *-darra* rather than either of the plural suffixes discussed here – see §4.3.3.4.

TABLE 4.5: PLURAL SUFFIXES

	<i>-bala-</i>	<i>-marnda-</i>
Class I	<i>-bali</i>	<i>-marndi</i>
Class II	<i>-balarna</i>	<i>-marndarna</i>
Class III	—	—
Class IV	<i>-bala</i>	<i>-marnda</i>

The non-absolute forms of these suffixes are formed regularly (see §4.2.2), being *-bali-ni-* and *marndi-ni-* (Class I), *-bala-nga-* and *-marnda-nga-* (Class II), and *-bala-* and *-marnda-* (Class IV).

Some examples of the use of these suffixes are:

(4-43) *gagulu-marndi*

y.brother-PL.I(NOM)
the brothers

(4-44) *Ngaj-barli-marndarna nanagunya.*

see-AGNT-PL.II(NOM) this.II.PL.NOM
Those women are staring (at me).

(4-45) *jany-bali*

dog-PL.I(NOM)
the (male) dogs

(4-46) *Murrgun-balarna irri-n mirra ngarli-ni.*

three-PL.II(NOM) 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit talk-LOC
The three women are sitting talking.

Table 4.6 shows the distribution of the plural suffixes in my corpus. As the use of these plural suffixes is relatively uncommon (it is more common to indicate plurality with the use of the free-form numeral *garnguj-* 'many', with which the noun can occur just in its unmarked form (see §4.3.3.3)), the list is not extensive. As mentioned above, *-marnda-* occurs after vowels and *-bala-* after consonants.

TABLE 4.6: DISTRIBUTION OF PLURAL SUFFIXES

<i>-marnda-</i>		<i>-bala-</i>	
<i>gagulu</i>	y.brother	<i>garnguj-</i>	many
<i>marunki</i>	countryman	<i>jany-</i>	dog
<i>iriyiliji</i>	father	<i>marndag-</i>	white person
<i>ilijbi</i>	alone	<i>gujiny-</i>	mother
<i>ngarri-</i>	my	<i>ngayang-</i>	her
<i>-baja-</i>	PRIV	<i>-nguj-</i>	PROP
<i>gurijbi-</i>	good	<i>murrgun-</i>	three
<i>gunya-</i>	other	<i>bagig-</i>	bad*
<i>-barli-</i>	AGNT	<i>girriyin-</i>	woman*
<i>marliyi-</i>	big*		
<i>gubaji-</i>	small*		
<i>garanyi-</i>	long*		

*From Hale (1959: pp.38, 40, 44)

Irregular plural forms

There are a few irregular plural forms in the corpus:

Gloss	Singular	Plural
boy	<i>alaji</i>	<i>alangmiminji</i>
girl	<i>alanga</i>	<i>alangmiminya</i>
man	<i>juwa</i>	<i>juwarramba</i> ²³
woman	<i>nayida</i>	<i>nayirrundurna</i>

4.3.3.2 THE NUMERAL *MURRGUN-*

Like *gujarra-* ‘two’, the numeral *murrgun-* ‘three’ has two ‘versions’: one which is marked with the plural suffix, and one which is not. The version which is not marked with the plural suffix has gender marking. *Murrgun-* takes the *-bala-* plural suffix and regular gender suffixes (see §4.2.2), as shown in Table 4.7. Note the absence of a Class III form in the ‘plural version’ paradigm (see the discussion above).

TABLE 4.7: FORMS OF *MURRGUN-*

	‘plural version’	‘gender version’
Class I	<i>murrgunbali</i>	<i>murrgunji</i>
Class II	<i>murrgunbalarna</i>	<i>murrgunma</i>
Class III	—	<i>murrgunma</i>
Class IV	<i>murrgunbala</i>	<i>murrgunka</i>

This numeral is not as common as *gujarra-* ‘two’, so there are no generalisations that can be made about the distribution of the two versions, due to the limited size of the corpus. Examples of its use are:

(4-47) *Yabu ngi murrgunji alaji.*
 have 1SG.A(PR) three.I(ACC) boy.I(ACC)
 I have three boys.

(4-48) *Murrgun-balarna irri-n mirra ngarli-ni.*
 three-PL.II(NOM) 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit talk-LOC
 The three women are sitting talking.

4.3.3.3 THE NUMERAL *GARNGUJ-*

As mentioned above, the most common way to indicate the plurality of a nominal is to use the numeral *garnguj-* ‘many’. Like *gujarra-* ‘two’ and *murrgun-* ‘three’, *garnguj-* has two different versions: one which includes a form of the plural suffix *-bala-*, and one which has just gender marking (using regular gender suffixes, see §4.2.2). These forms are given in the following table. Once again, there is no Class III ‘plural version’ form.

²³ Given as *juwarda* in Hale (1959).

TABLE 4.8: FORMS OF *GARNGUJ-*

	'plural version'	'gender version'
Class I	<i>garngujbali</i>	<i>garnguji</i>
Class II	<i>garngujbalarna</i>	<i>garngunya</i>
Class III	—	<i>garngunyma</i>
Class IV	<i>garngujbala</i>	<i>garnguja</i>

The most usual case is for the 'plural version' to occur with nouns inflected for plural number, and for the 'gender version' to occur with nouns uninflected for number.

- (4-49) *Marndag-bali* *irr-a* *yarru garngujbali*.
 white.person-PL.I(NOM) 3PL.S-PST go many.I(NOM)
 A lot of white men went.

- (4-50) *Garnguji* *nyi-n* *yabu alaji*.
 many.I(ACC) 2SG.A(PR)-PROG have boy.I(ACC)
 You have a lot of kids.

- (4-51) *Aliyulu ng-a* *garnguja* *darranggu*.
 find 1SG.A-PST many.IV(ACC) stick.IV(ACC)
 I found a lot of sticks.

However, there are also examples in which a 'gender version' form occurs with a noun that is inflected for plural number.

- (4-52) *Garngunya* *nayirrundurna* *irr-a* *yarru*.
 many.II(NOM) women.II(NOM) 3PL.S-PST go
 Many women went.

I do not have any examples in which a noun uninflected for number is found with *garnguj-* in a plural marked form.

If *garnguj-* does not co-occur with a noun it often conditions singular, rather than plural, agreement in the auxiliary and with any modifiers:

- (4-53) *Garnguji* *g-a* *ginganbi*.
 many.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST drown
 Many drowned.

- (4-54) *Garnguji* *ini* *gi-n* *yarru*.
 many.I(NOM) this.I.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG go
 Many (of them) are going.

4.3.3.4 *-RDARRA* 'GROUP'

As well as marking plural number, *-rdarra* expresses a notion of collectiveness and is usually best translated into English with the phrases 'all of' or 'a/the group of'. This suffix has just one allomorph which occurs with nominals of all genders. It is found only with nouns and adjectives, and is suffixed to the full citation form of the nominal, following the absolutive gender suffix. Unfortunately, all of the examples that I have of this suffix are in either the nominative or the accusative case so it is not possible to tell whether case marking follows or precedes *-rdarra*. For the purposes of this work I will assume that case marking follows *-rdarra*, as it does with all other number suffixes.

- (4-55) *Gannga ngirr-iba banjani Wambaya-rdarra.*
 return(FUT) 1PL.EXC.S-NP.AWY back wambaya-GROUP(NOM)
 All of us Wambaya people are going to go back (home).
- (4-56) *Yarru irr-aji alaji-rdarra.*
 go 3PL.S-HAB.PST boy.I-GROUP(NOM)
 All the boys used to go.

Hale's (1959) corpus contains examples in which a modifier is also inflected with *-rdarra* in agreement with the noun in modifies (for example, p.39):²⁴

- (4-57) *Yanagunja darrangu-rdarra maliwa-rdarra.*
 this.IV.PL.NOM tree.IV-GROUP(NOM) big.IV-GROUP(NOM)
 These trees are big.

Alternatively, an agreeing modifier can be inflected with a standard plural suffix (example (4-58)) or appear in the unmarked number (4-59).

- (4-58) *Iniyagunji yangaji-rdarra maliyi-marndi.*
 that.I.PL.NOM meat.I-GROUP(NOM) big-PL.I(NOM)
 Those kangaroos are big ones. (Hale 1959:48)
- (4-59) *Gurijbima mamagunyma jigama-rdarra.*
 good.III(NOM) this.III.PL.NOM yam.III-GROUP(NOM)
 These yams are good. (Hale 1959:51)

This suffix can also be used with *garnguj-* to emphasise the fact that it is a big group:

- (4-60) *Garnguji-rdarra irri-n mirra narunguji-nka.*
 many.I-GROUP(NOM) 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit car.IV-DAT
 A big group of people are sitting (waiting) for the bus.
- (4-61) *Yarru irr-aji garngunya-rdarra.*
 go 3PL.S-HAB.PST many.II-GROUP(NOM)
 A big group (of women) used to go.

In Jingili *rdarra* is a free form that can be placed after a noun to mark plurality (Chadwick 1975:16). The fact that it is a free form in Jingili may explain why it follows gender marking in Wambaya, rather than inflecting for gender itself (as number suffixes usually do).

4.4 NOMINAL CASE MORPHOLOGY

The forms of the Wambaya case suffixes are given in Table 4.9. These suffixes occur with all types of nominals except for singular demonstratives and free pronouns; these nominal subtypes inflect slightly differently for case and are discussed in §4.6 and §4.8 respectively. A detailed discussion of the functions of each case and any allomorphic variation follows the table.

Wambaya is a 'split-ergative' language: free pronouns have a nominative/accusative system of case marking and all other nominals have an ergative/absolutive case-marking system. Although there is no nominal which makes a three-way case-marking distinction,

²⁴ It is worth noting, however, that all these examples are of verbless sentences in which the noun and the adjective belong to different NPs.

following Goddard (1982) the system as a whole can be seen to be tripartite on the basis of the interaction between the two case-marking systems. Thus, there are three core cases: (i) that for which the citation form of either a pronoun or an 'other' nominal can be substituted (S), (ii) that for which either the citation form of a pronoun or a marked 'other' nominal can be substituted (A) and (iii) that for which either a marked pronoun or the citation form of an 'other' nominal can be substituted (O). Following Goddard (1982) these cases will be referred to as nominative, ergative and accusative respectively. As can be seen in the following table, the ergative case marker in Wambaya also marks instrumental and locative case.

TABLE 4.9: WAMBAYA CASE SUFFIXES

Case (Gloss)	Forms	Distribution of allomorphs
NOMinative	-Ø	All environments
ACCusative	-Ø	All environments
ERGative/LOCative	-yi -ji -ni -nu	Some kinship nouns The dual number suffix All other environments Optional after <i>u</i> -final stems (in free variation with <i>-ni</i>)
DATive	-ja ~ -janka -nka ~ -ngga	The dual number suffix (in free variation) All other environments (in free variation)
ALLative	-nmanji	All environments
ABLative	-ngani -nnga	Directional/locational nominals All other environments
COMITative	-yili -mbili	Free pronouns (see §4.8) All other environments
PERLative	-nkanyi	All environments
CAUSAL	-nmarndi	All environments
GENitive*	-nigan- -nugan- -nagan-	After <i>i</i> -final stems After <i>u</i> -final stems After <i>a</i> -final stems
PROPriative*	-uj- -nguj-	After <i>g</i> -final stems All other environments
PRIVative*	-aja- -yaja- -waja- -baja-	After <i>a</i> -final stems (in free variation with <i>-waja-</i>) After <i>i</i> -final stems After other vowel-final stems After consonant-final stems
ORIGIN*	-iny-	All environments

*These suffixes inflect for gender. Only the uninflected root is shown here.

4.4.1 NOMINATIVE CASE

The nominative case is always marked with a zero suffix and primarily functions to mark intransitive subject. Some examples are:

- (4-62) *Alaji-Ø gi-n yugu.*
 boy.I-NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG cry
 The little boy is crying.

- (4-63) *Bungmanya-Ø g-a yandu ngang-a.*
 old.woman.II-NOM 3SG.S-PST wait 2SG.OBL
 The old woman waited for you.

The nominative case is also used in vocative function:

- (4-64) *Junmi-j-ba nyu-ng-u, baba-Ø!*
 cut-TH-FUT 2SG.A-IO-FUT brother.I-NOM
 Cut my (hair), brother!

As with all zero suffixes, the nominative zero case suffix is usually not included in the example sentences in this work. Its presence, however, is signalled by its interlinear gloss given in parentheses. Thus, *baba* 'brother.I(NOM)' represents *baba-Ø* 'brother.I-NOM'.

4.4.2 ACCUSATIVE CASE

The accusative case marks transitive object. It is always marked with a zero suffix. Some examples are:

- (4-65) *Ngajbi ng-a lunggaji-Ø gulug-barda.*
 see 1SG.A-PST policeman.I-ACC sleep-INF
 I saw the policeman sleeping.

- (4-66) *Waliyulu irr-a marrgulu-Ø.*
 find 3PL.A-PST egg.IV-ACC
 They found (some) eggs.

As with the nominative case suffix, the accusative case suffix is not usually included in the example sentences in this work, but is represented in the interlinear glosses in parentheses. Thus, *marrgulu* 'egg.IV(ACC)' represents *marrgulu-Ø* 'egg.IV-ACC'.

4.4.3 ERGATIVE/LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL CASE

There is one case that covers all of the ergative, locative and instrumental functions. This case suffix is consistently glossed 'LOC' and is referred to in discussion as the 'ergative/locative' case. 'LOC' has been chosen to gloss this case suffix as the locative function seems more semantically basic: extensions of locative to instrumental (e.g. in Pitjantjatjara (Blake 1977:44)) and of instrumental to ergative (e.g. in Kune (Nick Evans, pers. comm.)) are widely attested, but it seems more unlikely that an ergative suffix would have been extended to cover locative functions.²⁵ Although there is formally just one case, the ergative, locative and instrumental functions can be distinguished from each other on functional and syntactic grounds. This is discussed in more detail below.²⁶

²⁵ Note, however, that this is purely speculative. Further investigation is required in order to substantiate this claim for Wambaya.

²⁶ The Jaminjung languages also have one case morpheme which covers all three of ergative, locative and instrumental functions (Hoddinott and Kofod 1976:397). In Ngaliwuru and Jaminjung the basic form is the same as in Wambaya: *-ni*. In Nungali, in which the situation is a little more complicated, the most common ergative/locative case markers are either the prefix *nyi-* or the suffix *-ni* (Hoddinott and Kofod 1976:397).

Wagaya, a language spoken immediately to the south-east of Wambaya, also has one form which is used for ergative, instrumental and locative cases (Breen 1976:340), although this suffix (*-l*, *-g* or *-dy*) is very

The following examples demonstrate the use of the one ergative/locative case marker in all three case functions:

- (4-67) *Janmajardi wurlu-ng-a darranggu-wuli-ji.*
 trip.up 3DU.A-IO-NF stick-DU-LOC
 The two sticks tripped me up.
- (4-68) *Dagama ng-a wurla darranggu-wuli-ji.*
 hit 1SG.A-PST 3DU.ACC stick-DU-LOC
 I hit them with two sticks.
- (4-69) *Mirra ngi gayangga-ni darranggu-wuli-ji.*
 sit 1SG.S(PR) top-LOC stick-DU-LOC
 I'm sitting on top of two sticks.

a) Form

The ergative/locative suffix has 4 allomorphs with *-ni* being the basic, general form. Of the other three allomorphs one is phonologically conditioned (*-nu*) and two are morphologically conditioned, occurring in very restricted environments.

The allomorph *-nu* follows *u*-final stems. Its occurrence is optional in this environment; it is equally as acceptable to use the regular form *-ni*:

- (4-70) *Ngabulu-nu ngiyi-ng-agba dawu murlu.*
 milk.IV-LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-HYP bite eye.IV(ACC)
 The sap might sting my eyes.
- (4-71) *Darranggu-ni ngiyi-ng-a irrijabi.*
 stick.IV-LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF scratch
 The stick scratched me.

The ergative/locative suffix *-ji* is found only after the dual suffix. There does not seem to be any phonological motivation for the irregular form of this suffix. Examples include (4-67) to (4-69) above, and the following:

- (4-72) *Bungmaj-buli-ji wurl-aji daguma juwarramba.*
 old.person-DU-LOC 3DU.A-HAB.PST hit men.I(ACC)
 The old women had been killing all the men.
- (4-73) *Barraala dunkala wurlu-n baba-wuli-ji.*
 white.cockatoo.II(ACC) chase.away 3DU.A(NP)-PROG sibling-DU-LOC
 The two brothers are disturbing the white cockatoos.

different in form from the Wambaya suffix. And in Warumungu (spoken immediately to the south of Wambaya) the ergative case marks instrumental and locative functions (Heath and Simpson 1982:20). However, as Jane Simpson points out (pers.comm.), the coalescence in these languages is probably due to a collapse of forms rather than the development of one case marker out of another: in Warumungu, complete vowel assimilation causes the collapse of *ngka* 'LOC' and *-ngki*, *-ngku* 'ERG'; and in Wakaya, the neutralisation of the case distinction was brought about by final vowel loss.

Chadwick (1976:393) suggests that in an earlier stage of the West Barkly languages, nouns may not have been marked for ergative function and that the modern ergative (/locative) case suffixes may have developed from a gender marker of a third person element in the noun phrase. The fact that *-ni* is also a common Class I non-absolutive gender suffix in Wambaya may lend some support to this theory, as does the fact that both Jingili (Chadwick 1975:16-17) and Nungali (Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod 1971b:68-69) have portmanteau forms that mark both gender and case. While Wambaya makes a distinction in the gender suffixes between absolutive case and non-absolutive case, in Wambaya, unlike in Jingili and Nungali, it is necessary also to affix a separate case suffix to these gender suffixes.

Two non-absolutive gender suffixes found only with certain kinship nouns condition an irregular ergative/locative allomorph *-yi*. These are the Class I non-absolutive suffix *-na* and the Class II non-absolutive suffix *-ga*.²⁷ Some examples are:²⁸

(4-74) *Guguga-yi ngiy-a wugbardi ngarra.*
MM.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST cook 1SG.OBL
Grandmother cooked (dinner) for me.

(4-75) *Juguna-yi gin-amany yabu.*
MB.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST.TWD bring
Uncle brought him.

In all other environments *-ni* is the only ergative/locative allomorph that occurs.

b) Function

The ergative/locative case covers a large range of functions: from marking the subject of a transitive clause to marking the location of an event. The distinction between ergative, locative and instrumental functions can be made on functional and syntactic grounds. The ergative function always marks the subject of a transitive or ditransitive verb; the instrumental function marks an instrument; and the locative function marks the location or position of an entity or event. Syntactically, a NP in the ergative function is **always** represented in the auxiliary with a bound pronoun, while a NP in either the locative or instrumental functions is **never** represented in the auxiliary. The locative function can be distinguished from the instrumental function on the basis of co-occurrence restrictions: a NP in the locative function can include locational nominals such as *jangi* 'down' (example (4-85)) and can be replaced with locative demonstratives such as *gilyaga* 'there', while a NP in the instrumental function can not.

The ergative function marks the subject of transitive and ditransitive verbs. An example of each is given below.

(4-76) *Gujiga-yi gurlaganga-ni ngiyi-ny-a gurla yagu.*
mother.II-LOC 2DU.POSS.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-2O-NF 2DU.ACC leave
Your mother has left you two.

(4-77) *Bungmanyi-ni gini-ng-a jiyawu.*
old.man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-1O-NF give
The old man gave it to me.

The following examples demonstrate the use of the ergative/locative to mark instrument:

(4-78) *Gujarra-ni labirri-ni nyi jiyawu.*
two.IV-LOC hand.IV-LOC 2SG.A(PR) give
You give it with two hands.

(4-79) *Dudiyarri-j-ba ngu-ny-u balamurru-nu.*
spear-TH-FUT 1SG.A-2O-FUT spear.IV-LOC
I'm going to spear you with a spear.

²⁷ See §4.2.2 for a discussion of non-absolutive gender suffixes and a list of kinship nouns taking irregular forms.

²⁸ It is common for the sequence *-ga-yi* 'II.NABS-LOC' to be reduced to *-gi* in fast speech.

(4-80) *Daguma ng-a wurla darranggu-wuli-ji.*
 hit 1SG.A-PST 3DU.ACC stick-DU-LOC
 I hit them (two) with two sticks.

(4-81) *Wunjugu ny-u nijbi Wambaya-ni?*
 how 2SG.A-FUT sing wambaya-LOC
 How do you say it in Wambaya? (lit. How do you sing (it) with Wambaya?)

The ergative/locative case suffix is used with a range of locative functions. The main locative function is to indicate the place or location of an entity or an event. Thus, it expresses a meaning usually expressed in English with the use of one of the prepositions such as 'in', 'at' or 'on'. If further specification is needed as to orientation (e.g. 'under', 'above') a locational nominal such as *jangi* 'down, below' or *gayangga* 'high, up, above' can be included (example (4-85)), although this is not obligatory (4-86). Some examples of the ergative/locative case in this function follow. Note that in this function, the ergative/locative suffix can be used in both transitive (4-82) and intransitive (4-83) sentences.

(4-82) *Gumayanguni wurl-aji andajarri galaa.*
 cave.IV-LOC 3DU.A-HAB.PST hide bone.IV(ACC)
 They'd been hiding (all) the bones in a cave.

(4-83) *Gulugbi g-a magi-ni.*
 sleep 3SG.S-PST camp.IV-LOC
 He slept at camp.

(4-84) *Mirrang-ba jamba-ni!*
 sit-FUT ground.IV-LOC
 Sit on the ground!

(4-85) *Ngajbi ng-a jangi galyurringini-ni.*
 see 1SG.A-PST down water.I-LOC
 I saw (it) under the water.

(4-86) *Mirra ng-uba gili darranggu-nu manjungu-nu.*
 sit 1SG.S-NP.AWY here tree.IV-LOC shade.IV-LOC
 I'll sit under that tree in the shade.

The ergative/locative case is also used with time nominals:

(4-87) *Ngurraramba-ni ng-u gulug-ba.*
 night-LOC 1SG.S-FUT sleep-FUT
 I will sleep in/during the night.

(4-88) *Gannga ng-ulama garnumba-yarra-ni.*
 return 1SG.S-NP.TWD wet.season-NEXT-LOC
 I will come back next wet season.

In the following example the use of the ergative/locative case expresses the duration of time:

(4-89) *Gujarra-ni ngi-n yandu nanga marndanyi-nka.*
 two.IV-LOC 1SG.S(PR)-PROG wait 3SG.M.OBL white.man.I-DAT
 I've been waiting for the white man for two (days).

The ergative/locative case can also be used to express a comitative meaning. Note that this is possible despite the existence of a separate comitative case suffix (see §4.4.8). At this stage of the investigation, it is not known what the difference in meaning is between the two constructions.

(4-90) *Mirra ng-u ngankagunya-ni.*
 sit 1SG.S-FUT this.II.PL-LOC
 I'll sit with these women.

(4-91) *Mirra ny-uba jajiliga-yi ngangina-ni.*
 sit 2SG.S-NP.AWY D.II-LOC 2SG.POSS.II-LOC
 You'll go and sit with your daughter.

In one example, the ergative/locative is used to indicate a locative source:

(4-92) *Damangga-ni gin-a yidanyi namirra.*
 head.IV-LOC 3SG.M-PST get stone.IV(ACC)
 He took a stone out of (my) head.

Like the dative and ablative suffixes (see §4.4.4 and §4.4.6 respectively), the ergative/locative suffix can be used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses. This use of the suffix indicates that the action/state described by the subordinate clause occurs simultaneously with that referred to by the main clause, and that the subjects of the two clauses are co-referential. One example is given below; for a more detailed discussion see §6.1.5 and §8.1.

(4-93) *Mirra ngirri-n ngarli-ni.*
 sit 1PLEXC.S(NP)-PROG talk-LOC
 We're sitting talking.

If a transitive subject NP is fronted it does not have ergative/locative case marking, but appears in the nominative case. That the NP has been fronted in the following examples is shown not only by the absence of case marking, but also by the position of the auxiliary, which is in third, rather than second position in the clause (see §5.4 for a discussion of the position of the auxiliary in the clause). Unfortunately, due to an absence of relevant examples, it is not known whether other case-marked NPs also lose their case marking when fronted, or whether this is simply a property of the ergative/locative case. Further investigation is required.

(4-94) *Inja darranggu wurarrgbi ngiyi-ny-a?*
 which.IV(NOM) stick.IV(NOM) scrape 3SG.NM.A-20-NF
 Which stick scraped you? (lit. Which stick, it scraped you?)

(4-95) *Gagulinya ngarrima murrgunji ngiyi-n yabu.*
 sister.II(NOM) 1SG.POSS.II(NOM) three.I(ACC) 3SG.NM.A(PR)-PROG have
 My younger sister has three (kids). (lit. My younger sister, she has three (kids).)

4.4.4 DATIVE CASE

The dative case is used in a large variety of functions. It marks the indirect object of intransitive, semitransitive and some ditransitive verbs; the object of derived nominal predicates; purpose; beneficiary; and oblique NPs marked in English with prepositions such as 'about' and 'until' (as in 'they're fighting', 'I'll leave it **until tomorrow**'). The dative suffix can also be used to mark possession, although there is also a separate genitive suffix

(see §4.4.10). A dative NP is never represented in the auxiliary. Thus, indirect objects of semitransitive verbs are not represented:

- (4-96) *Yandu ngi ngarringa-nka gujiga-nka.*
 wait 1SG.S(PR) 1SG.POSS.II-DAT mother.II-DAT
 I'm waiting for my mother.
- (4-97) *Ayani g-a ngangga.*
 look.for 3SG.S-PST 2SG.OBL
 He looked for you.

a) Form

The major allomorph of the dative suffix is *-nka*. This can also be pronounced [ŋga], with the initial nasal having assimilated to the place of articulation of the following velar stop.²⁹ For the use of *-nka* see examples (4-96) and (4-97) above and (4-102) and following below.

The other two dative allomorphs are found only after the dual number suffix. Of these, *-ja* is the most common and is clearly related to the irregular ergative/locative allomorph *-ji* that is also conditioned by the dual suffix: both of these irregular suffixes replace the initial nasal or nasal + stop of the regular suffix with the palatal stop /j/. The other allomorph that occurs with the dual suffix, *-janka*, appears to be a combination of *-ja* and the regular dative allomorph *-nka*. Both *-ja* and *-janka* occur in free variation. Some examples of each allomorph follow.

- (4-98) *Yanybi ng-a marnugujama bungmaj-buli-ja.*
 get 1SG.A-PST conkerberry.III(ACC) old.person-DU-DAT
 I got conkerberries for the two old people.
- (4-99) *Gulug-ba gurl baba-wuli-ja ngarrinybi-yulu.*
 sleep-FUT DU.IMP sibling-DU-DAT mate-DU(NOM)
 You two sleep along with (your) brothers (lit. sleep (as) mates with).
- (4-100) *Angbard-a gurl baba-wuli-janka ngaba wurlu gulug-ba.*
 build-FUT DU.IMP sibling-DU-DAT THEN 3DU.S(NP) sleep-FUT
 Make (a windbreak) for (your) brothers so that they can sleep.
- (4-101) *Gajbi wurlu ganjimi alag-uli-janka.*
 eat 3DU.A(NP) finish child-DU-DAT
 They eat all (the food) for the two children.

b) Function

i) Indirect Object

The dative case is used to mark the indirect object of semitransitive verbs (example (4-102)); the indirect object that occurs optionally with some intransitive verbs (4-103); the indirect object of some ditransitive verbs (4-104) (other ditransitive verbs have two absolutive objects – see §7.2.6); and the optional indirect object of some transitive verbs (4-105). For a detailed discussion of the argument structures of Wambaya verbs and a list of verbs belonging to each type, see §7.2.

²⁹ Hale (1959:i) gives *-nka* as the Wambaya dative suffix, and *-ngga* as the Gudanji version. In my corpus the two appear as variants of each other, without any obvious dialectal difference.

- (4-102) *Juwa-nka gi-n ayani babanya.*
man.I-DAT 3SG.S(PR)-PROG look.for sister.II(NOM)
(My) sister's looking for a man.
- (4-103) *Durra ngi-n (janyi-nka).*
be.frightened 1SG.S(PR)-PROG (dog.I-DAT)
I'm frightened (of the dog).
- (4-104) *Janganja gini-ng-a ngurra yangadi-nka wagalamarrini-ni.*
ask 3SG.M.A-1O-NF 1PL.INC.ACC meat.I-DAT crow.I-LOC
The crow's asking us for meat.
- (4-105) *Andajarri irr-a (alangi-nka).*
hide 3PL.A-PST (boy.I-DAT)
They hid (it) (from the boy).

ii) Object argument of derived nominal predicates

The dative suffix is used to mark the object argument(s) of nominal predicates derived from verbs with suffixes such as the agentive (4-106) and the proprietive (4-107).

- (4-106) *Naniyaga jiya-j-barlima danya-nka (ngurla).*
that.II.SG.NOM give-TH-AGNT.II(NOM) clothes.IV-DAT (1DU.EXC.OBL)
She always gives (us) clothes.
- (4-107) *Bungmanya g-a mirra barla-ngunya ngarra.*
old.woman.II(NOM) 3SG.S-PST sit fight-PROP.II(NOM) 1SG.OBL
(That) old woman was cross with me.

iii) Purpose

- (4-108) *Yarru g-any ngangaba-nka.*
go 3SG.S-PST.AWY wood.IV-DAT
He's gone for firewood.
- (4-109) *Gannga ny-ulama gijilulu-nka.*
return(FUT) 2SG.S-NP.TWD money.IV-DAT
You'll come back for money.

The dative suffix can also be used with verbs to indicate purpose or intended action (see §6.1.4 and §8.1 for a more detailed discussion of the use of the dative suffix with verbs).

- (4-110) *Ngankagunyani irri-ng-a nyurrunyurru daguma-ji-nka.*
this.II.PL.LOC 3PL.A-1O-NF chase hit-TH-DAT
The women chased me to fight (me).

iv) Beneficiary

- (4-111) *Wugbardi-j-ba ng-u manganyma gujiga-nka.*
cook-TH-FUT 1SG.A-FUT tucker.III(ACC) mother.II-DAT
I will cook some dinner for (my) mother.
- (4-112) *Yanybi ng-a marnugujama alag-uli-ja.*
get 1SG.A-PST conkerberry.III(ACC) child-DU-DAT
I got the conkerberries for the two kids.

- (4-113) *Yabu ny-uba nunaga marndanyi-nka.*
 take(FUT) 2SG.A-NP.AWY this.I.SG.DAT white.man.I-DAT
 You'll take it for the white man.

v) 'about'

The dative case is used in Wambaya to express meanings that would be expressed in English by the preposition 'about'. In these examples the dative case is being used to indicate the reason or cause for the action/event.

- (4-114) *Didbidbunga ngirri-ngg-a-n gijilulu-nka bungmanya-nka.*
 argue.with 1PL.EXC.A-RR-NF-PROG money.IV-DAT old.woman.II-DAT
 We're arguing with each other about the old woman's money.
- (4-115) *Ngarlwi irri-n bungmanya-nka.*
 talk 3PL.S(NP)-PROG old.woman.II-DAT
 They're talking about the old woman.
- (4-116) *Manngurru ngi-ngg-a maliwa-nka jarrawaja-nka.*
 be.ashamed 1SG.A-RR-NF big.IV-DAT trousers.IV-DAT
 I'm embarrassed about his big trousers.

vi) 'until'

The dative case is used with some time nominals to express the meaning of 'until':

- (4-117) *Gulug-ba gurl ngijininima-nka.*
 sleep-FUT DU.IMP tomorrow-DAT
 Sleep (here) until tomorrow.
- (4-118) *Yagu ng-a marndiji-nka.*
 leave 1SG.A-PST later-DAT
 I left (it) until later.

vii) Possession

The dative suffix is often used to indicate possession, despite the fact that there is a separate genitive suffix (see §4.4.10). In this function, the dative suffix is affixed to the possessor.

- (4-119) *Alangi-nka yana jalyu.*
 boy.I-DAT this.IV.SG.NOM bed.IV(NOM)
 This is the boy's bed.
- (4-120) *Ngarlwi ngi ngarringa-nka guguga-nka ngarlana.*
 talk 1SG.S(PR) 1SG.POSS.II-DAT MM.II-DAT language.IV(ACC)
 I speak my grandmother's language.

The case of the possessive phrase is marked only on the head noun; case suffixes do not attach to the dative suffix. While this is also the case in examples such as (4-119) above, it is demonstrated more clearly when the possessive phrase is in a non-zero-marked case:

- (4-121) *Mirra ngi gujanganjanga-mbili alangi-nka.*
 sit 1SG.S(PR) mother.II-COMIT boy.I-DAT
 I'm sitting with the boy's mother.

- (4-122) *Mirra ngi jalyu-ni bungmanyi-nka.*
 sit 1SG.S(PR) bed.IV-LOC old.man.I-DAT
 I'm sitting on the old man's bed.

Note that the genitive suffix is also usually not followed by case suffixes (see §4.4.10).

vii) Animate location

The dative suffix can be used to mark animate location or goal (although the allative suffix is more commonly used with this function; see §4.4.5).

- (4-123) *Yarru ngurlu-n ginki garngunyi-nka.*
 go 1DU.EXC.S(NP)-PROG there many.I-DAT
 We're going to that group (of people) over there.

4.4.5 ALLATIVE CASE

The allative case indicates direction towards an object, person or destination. It has only one allomorph: *-nmanji*.³⁰ Some examples are:

- (4-124) *Ngurluwani ngurlu yarru nganggi-nmanji barrawu-nmanji.*
 1DU.EXC.NOM 1DU.EXC.S(NP) go 2SG.POSS.IV-ALL house.IV-ALL
 We two are going to your house.
- (4-125) *Bardgu g-a murlu-nmanji.*
 fall 3SG.S-PST eye.IV-ALL
 It fell into my eye.
- (4-126) *Yarru gama guguga-nmanji!*
 go(FUT) SG.IMP.AWY MM.II-ALL
 Go to grandmother!

Some ditransitive verbs such as *yardi* 'put' and *bulugardi* 'soak' take an allative complement:

- (4-127) *Gamguja ng-a yardi manganyma nganggarri-nmanji.*
 many.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-PST put tucker.III(ACC) mouth.IV-ALL
 I put too much food in my mouth.
- (4-128) *Burlugardi ngi-n galyurringini-nmanji.*
 soak 1SG.A(PR)-PROG water.I-ALL
 I'm soaking in it water.

4.4.6 ABLATIVE CASE

The ablative case has two allomorphs: *-ngani* with directional and locational nominals, and *-nnga* with all other nominals. The ablative case is used to indicate direction away from a location or object.

³⁰ The Gudanji form of the allative suffix is *-nma* as in:
Yarru gi-ma magi-nma.
 go 3SG.S-PST camp.IV-ALL
 He went to the camp.

- (4-129) *Yarru g-amany gagarra-ngani.*
 go 3SG.S-PST.TWD east-ABL
 He came from the east.
- (4-130) *Ilanji gin-a dulanymi jangi-ngani.*
 cooked.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A-PST raise down-ABL
 He took out the cooked one from underneath.
- (4-131) *Yarru ng-amany magi-nnga.*
 go 1SG.S-PST.TWD camp.IV-ABL
 I came from camp.
- (4-132) *Milarra gi-n bardbi murlu-nnga.*
 tears.IV(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG run eye.IV-ABL
 Tears are falling from his eyes.
- (4-133) *Ngirra irr-a ngarrgi-nnga magi-nnga.*
 steal 3PL.A-PST 1SG.POSS.IV-ABL camp.IV-ABL
 They stole it from my camp.

The ablative case is sometimes used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses to indicate that the event/state of the subordinate clause took place or held before the event of the main clause. One example is given below. See §6.1.6 and §8.1 for a more detailed discussion of this use of the ablative suffix.

- (4-134) *Dulanymi nyi-ng-any gulugi-nnga.*
 raise 2SG.A-10-PST.AWY sleep-ABL
 You woke me up (from sleeping).

4.4.7 PERLATIVE CASE

The perlative case expresses the local meanings of ‘across, along, through’. There is only one allomorph: *-nkanyi*.

- (4-135) *Milarra gi-n bardbi wara-nkanyi.*
 tears.IV(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG run face.IV-PERL
 Tears are running down (his) face.
- (4-136) *Galami-nkanyi nyi-n ngarlwi!*
 nose.IV-PERL 2SG.S(PR)-PROG talk
 You’re talking through (your) nose!
- (4-137) *Junku g-a jalyu-nmanji jamba-nkanyi.*
 crawl 3SG.S-PST bed.IV-ALL ground.IV-PERL
 He crawled along the ground to the bed.
- (4-138) *Ginkanyi ngurr-uba garugi-nkanyi yarru.*
 this.way 1PL.INC.S-NP.AWY bush.IV-PERL go(FUT)
 We’ll go this way through the bush.

In a few examples, the perlative suffix appears to have a meaning more like ‘during’ (4-139) or ‘among’ (4-140):

- (4-139) *Ngajirri-nkanyi ny-u gannga!*
 cold-PERL 2SG.S-FUT return(FUT)
 You'll come back during the cold (season)!
- (4-140) *Garranbi g-a warnda-nkanyi.*
 stand 3SG.S-PST grass.IV-PERL
 He stood among the grass.

4.4.8 COMITATIVE CASE

The comitative case expresses accompaniment and has two allomorphs: *-yili*, which is used only with free pronouns and is discussed in §4.8, and *-mbili*, which is used with all other types of nominal. The comitative case is used only with animate nouns (the proprietive suffix (§4.4.11) expresses this meaning with inanimate nouns). Some examples are:

- (4-141) *Mirra ngi-n gujiga-mbili irdina-mbili.*
 sit 1SG.S(PR)-PROG mother.II-COMIT father.I-COMIT
 I'm sitting with my mother and father.
- (4-142) *Gulugbi g-a marndanyi-mbili.*
 sleep 3SG.S-PST white.man.I-COMIT
 She slept with a white man.

Note that the locative case can also be used with this function (see §4.4.3 above). I have not yet been able to determine whether there is a contrast in meaning between this use of the locative case and the use of the comitative case.

- (4-143) *Mirra ng-u ngankagunya-ni.*
 sit 1SG.S-FUT this.II.PL-LOC
 I'll sit with those women.³¹

4.4.9 CAUSAL SUFFIX

This suffix, *-nmarndi*, is used to mark a noun as the cause or reason for the event, and is best translated into English with 'because of'. There are only two examples of this suffix in the corpus:

- (4-144) *Alangi-nmarndi ngiyi-ng-agba ngurra dawu.*
 child.I-CAUSAL 3SG.NM.A-IO-HYP 1PL.INC.ACC bite
 She (the dog) might bite us because of the kids (who are teasing it).
- (4-145) *Gayina-nmarndi gini-ny-a daguma?*
 what.IV-CAUSAL 3SG.M.A-2O-PST hit
 What caused him to hit you?

³¹ The suffix *-mbili* in Jingili is used to mark both locative and comitative case functions (see Chadwick 1975:20).

4.4.10 GENITIVE SUFFIX

The genitive suffix, along with the proprietive (§4.4.11), the privative (§4.4.12) and the origin (§4.4.13) suffixes, is different from the case suffixes discussed above in that it functions adnominally, relating one NP to another within one constituent. In contrast, the case suffixes discussed above function to indicate the role of a NP within a simple clause and therefore have a relational function (Dench and Evans 1988:2). Formally these suffixes differ from other case suffixes in that they are inflected for gender and (except for the genitive) can themselves be inflected for case.

The genitive suffix marks the possessor of a possessive NP and agrees in gender with the possessed (head) noun. More commonly the dative suffix is used to mark possession (see §4.4.4), and there are thus only a limited number of examples of the genitive suffix in the corpus. Almost all of these examples have Class IV agreement, but there are a few with Class I and Class II agreement. The regular forms of the genitive suffix are *niganji* (I), *niganya* (II) and *niganka* (IV);³² irregular allomorphs are found with kinship nouns and are discussed below. The first vowel of the regular suffix assimilates to the preceding vowel of the stem, giving the alternative forms *nuganka* and *naganka*. The genitive suffix is attached to the non-absolutive gender form of the noun. Some examples are:

(4-146) *Nayidanga-ni guyala nguy-udi ngaibi, juwa-niganka.*
 woman.II-LOC NEG 3SG.NM.A-NACT.PR see man.I-GEN.IV
 Women can't see (the dance), (it) belongs to men.

(4-147) *Yana balamurru bungmanyi-niganka.*
 this.IV.SG.NOM spear.IV(NOM) old.man.I-GEN.IV
 This spear belongs to the old man.

(4-148) *murlu-nuganka mijangga*
 eye.IV-GEN.IV medicine.IV(NOM)
 eye medicine

The case suffix of the possessive phrase appears only on the head noun (i.e. on the possessed noun); there is no case marking that follows the regular genitive suffix. This is true whether the head noun precedes or follows the genitive noun. Some examples of genitive phrases with non-zero case suffixes are:

(4-149) *Yarru ngi bungmanya-naganka magi-nmanji.*
 go 1SG.S(PR) old.woman.II-GEN.IV camp.IV-ALL
 I'm going to the old woman's camp.

(4-150) *Ayani ngi magi-nka bungmanya-naganka.*
 look.for 1SG.S(PR) camp.IV-DAT old.woman.II-GEN.IV
 I'm looking for the old woman's camp.

However, speakers will accept as grammatical examples in which both the possessed noun and the genitive noun are inflected for case, although they do not produce such examples themselves:

(4-151) *Mirra ngi alangi-niganka-ni jalyu-ni.*
 sit 1SG.S(PR) boy.I-GEN.IV-LOC bed.IV-LOC
 I'm sitting on the boy's bed.

³² Stress with this suffix is irregular, falling on the second syllable: *ni-ganka*, etc.

A special form of the genitive suffix occurs with kinship nouns: *-nji* (I), *-nya* (II), *-nja* (IV). Note that the Class I and Class II forms are identical to the final segment of the regular suffix demonstrated above, while the Class IV form is a little different: *-nja* rather than *-niganka*. Examples include:

(4-152) *babana-nya jajilinya ngurrugama*
 brother.I-GEN.II daughter.II(NOM) IPL.INC.POSS.II(NOM)
 our brother's daughter

(4-153) *Gujiga-nji iniya janji.*
 M.II-GEN.I that.I.SG.NOM dog.I(NOM)
 That's mother's dog.

The genitive suffix found with kinship nouns differs from the regular genitive suffix in that it is followed by additional case marking, in agreement with the noun it modifies:

(4-154) *Gujinga-nyi-ni janyi-ni gini-ng-a dawu.*
 M.II-GEN.I-LOC dog.I-LOC 3SG.M-IO-PST bite
 Mother's dog bit me.

4.4.11 PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX

The proprietive suffix is used to indicate that one noun 'has' another. Its use in Wambaya is rather restricted and, although it is occasionally used to indicate alienable possession (as in 'I have a spear'), it is most frequently used to indicate the physical characteristics of a person (e.g. 'She is pregnant'), an object (e.g. 'tea with milk') or a place (e.g. 'place with trees').

a) Form

The proprietive suffix agrees in gender with the noun that it modifies:

(4-155) *alaji darranggu-nguji*
 boy.I(NOM) stick-PROP.I(NOM)
 a boy with (a) stick

(4-156) *alanga darranggu-ngunya*
 girl.II(NOM) stick-PROP.II(NOM)
 a girl with (a) stick

(4-157) *maga darranggu-nguja*
 camp.IV(NOM) tree-PROP.IV(NOM)
 a camp with trees

The absolute and non-absolute forms for each gender are given in Table 4.10. The gender marking with the proprietive suffix is regular for nominals (see §4.2.2) and the different gender forms are all derivable from the root *-nguj-*. A noun with the proprietive suffix must also agree with the case (example (4-158)) and number (4-159) of the noun or referent that it modifies.

TABLE 4.10: THE GENDER FORMS OF THE PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX

	Absolutive form	Non-Absolutive form
Class I	- <i>nguji</i>	- <i>ngunyi-</i>
Class II	- <i>ngunya</i>	- <i>ngunya-</i>
Class III	- <i>ngunyma</i>	- <i>ngunymi-</i> (?)
Class IV	- <i>nguja</i>	- <i>nguji-</i>

Number suffixes are added to the root, *-nguj-*. The proprietive suffix takes the *-bala* plural suffix (see §4.3.3.1).

Some examples of the proprietive suffix co-occurring with other suffixes are:

- (4-158) *Wurrudbanyi ngiy-a maganja murlu-ngunya-ni.*
 pull 3SG.NM.A-PST digging.stick.IV(ACC) eye-PROP.II-LOC
 The one that could see got the yam stick.
- (4-159) *Nanawulu nayida-wulu gijilulu-nguj-bulu.*
 this.II.DU.NOM woman-DU(NOM) money-PROP-DU(NOM)
 These two women have money.
- (4-160) *Ngirriyani manganyama-nguj-balarna.*
 1PL.EXC.NOM tucker.III-PROP-PL.II(NOM)
 We've got tucker.

There is some inconsistency in the corpus as to the form of the noun to which the proprietive suffix is affixed. The usual case is simply to add it to the full citation form of the noun (including the gender suffix). Thus:

- (4-161) *manganyama-nguja*
 tucker.III-PROP.IV(NOM)
 tucker-having (IV)
- (4-162) *janji-ngunya*³³
 dog.I-PROP.II(NOM)
 dog-having (II)

However, in other examples it seems that the proprietive suffix is added to a nominal root. In these examples the root ends in /g/ and the initial consonant of the suffix is omitted:

- (4-163) *alag-unya* (citation form of noun: *alaji* (I) or *alanga* (II))
 child-PROP.II(NOM)
 pregnant (II)
- (4-164) *garlangg-uja* (citation form of noun: *garlangga* (IV))
 sand-PROP.IV(NOM)
 sand-having (IV)

For some nouns either alternative is possible. For example, the proprietive form of *mamarrga* 'mud' (IV) (here with Class II agreement) was given in two different ways:

³³ It would be interesting to see whether this form would contrast with a form *janya-ngunya* 'dog.II-PROP.II(NOM)', in which the dog is marked as female and not male. This is something that needs to be checked in the field.

- (4-165) *marrnga-ngunya* AND *marrng-unya*
 mud.IV-PROP.II(NOM) mud-PROP.II(NOM)

Similarly, there are two different ways in which the nouns *iliga* 'sore' (IV) and *wawunji* 'sugarbag' (I) can be inflected with the proprietive suffix:

- (4-166) *iliga-nguji* AND *ilig-uji*
 sore.IV-PROP.I(NOM) sore-PROP.I(NOM)
 sore-having (I)
- (4-167) *wawunji-nguja* AND *wawunyg-uja*
 sugar.bag.I-PROP.IV(NOM) sugar.bag-PROP.IV(NOM)
 sugar bag-having (IV)

If a noun retains an overt gender suffix (example (4-161)) I will represent it in the interlinear glosses. If there is no overt gender suffix, however, I will not represent the gender of the 'base' noun in the gloss. For example, *janji-ngunya* will be glossed 'dog.I-PROP.II' but *darrangu-ngunya* will just be glossed 'stick-PROP.II'.

b) Function

The most common use of the proprietive suffix is to express a physical characteristic or state of a person (examples (4-168) and (4-169)), an object (4-170) and (4-71) or a place (4-172).

- (4-168) *llarra-wulu:* *gunyarna* *murlu-ngunya* *gunyarna*
 eaglehawk-DU(NOM) other.II(NOM) eye-PROP.II(NOM) other.II(NOM)
murlu-wajarna.
 eye-PRIV.II(NOM)
 Two eaglehawks: one with sight, one blind.
- (4-169) *Bardgu g-a* *ilirri-ngunya.*
 fall 3SG.S-PST blood-PROP.II(NOM)
 She fell down bleeding.
- (4-170) *Yana* *gunju* *gurija-nguja.*
 this.IV.SG.NOM meat.IV(NOM) fat-PROP.IV(NOM)
 This meat's fatty.
- (4-171) *Yaniyaga* *darrangu* *manganyma-nguja.*
 that.IV.SG.NOM tree.IV(NOM) tucker.III-PROP.IV(NOM)
 That tree's got fruit.
- (4-172) *Guda-nguja* *maga.*
 stone-PROP.IV(NOM) country.IV(NOM)
 (It's) stony country.

Another use of the proprietive suffix is to express alienable possession:

- (4-173) *Yandu ngi-n* *bungmanya-nka* *gijilulu-ngunya-nka.*
 wait 1SG.S(PR)-PROG old.woman.II-DAT money-PROP.II-DAT
 I'm waiting for the old woman with money.
- (4-174) *Ngajbi ng-a* *buguwa* *narunguja* *garlangg-uja.*
 see 1SG.A-PST big.IV(ACC) car.IV(ACC) sand-PROP.IV(ACC)
 I saw a big truck with sand (in it).

The proprietive suffix can also be used to express accompaniment:

- (4-175) *Bungmaji iniyaga g-uba yarru balamurru-nguji.*
 old.man.I(NOM) that.I.SG.NOM 3SG.S-NP.AWY go(FUT) spear-PROP.I(NOM)
 That old man will go with a spear.

Interestingly, some speakers restrict the proprietive suffix to having word scope, and others use it with phrasal scope, marking the proprietive on all words of the NP. Thus, some speakers (e.g. MH) considered the following examples to be perfectly grammatical (although there are no such spontaneous examples in the corpus):

- (4-176) *Alaji buguwa-nguji darranggu-nguji.*
 boy.I(NOM) big.IV-PROP.I(NOM) stick-PROP.I(NOM)
 The boy has a big stick.

- (4-177) *Yarru ng-a bayigi-ngunya ngarrirna-ngunya.*
 go 1SG.S-PST bag-PROP.II(NOM) 1SG.POSS.II-PROP.II(NOM)
 I went (taking) my bag.

However, one speaker in particular (MG) felt that they were completely ungrammatical and that it was necessary to use a verbal clause instead, such as the following:³⁴

- (4-178) *Yabu gini-n buguwa darranggu.*
 have 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG big.IV(ACC) stick.IV(ACC)
 He has a big stick.

Note that Dench and Evans (1988) give phrasal scope as an essential characteristic of case suffixes, as opposed to derivational suffixes. As the proprietive suffix can have phrasal scope for some speakers it is considered for present purposes to meet this criterion for casehood. However, further investigation is required.

4.4.12 PRIVATIVE SUFFIX

The privative suffix is the converse of the proprietive suffix; it is used to indicate that one nominal 'lacks' or is 'without' the other. The privative suffix is also very commonly used with verbs to derive a nominal meaning 'one who cannot/does not do X'.

a) Form

There are a number of different allomorphs of the privative suffix. Firstly, the form of the privative suffix must agree in gender with the noun or referent that it modifies. Secondly, there are a number of different phonologically conditioned allomorphs in which the initial segment of the suffix changes depending on the final segment of the stem.³⁵ The different absolutive gender forms are listed in Table 4.11.

³⁴ The problem is not with the verbless sentence as MG accepts them as grammatical when the NP contains only one proprietive nominal. For example:

Alaji darranggu-nguji.
 boy.I(NOM) stick-PROP.I(NOM)
 The boy has a stick.

It is possible that this difference may reflect a dialectal difference between Gudanji and Wambaya: MG, who rejects examples in which the proprietive has phrasal scope, is a Wambaya speaker. MH, on the other hand, who accepts such examples, speaks a dialect that is predominantly Gudanji (with some Wambaya mixed in). This will have to be explored further in the field.

³⁵ The morphophonemic processes that generate these forms are discussed in §2.3.

TABLE 4.11: THE ABSOLUTE GENDER FORMS OF THE PRIVATIVE SUFFIX

	C-final stem	u-final stem	a-final stem*	i-final stem
Class I	<i>-baji</i>	<i>-waji</i>	<i>-aji</i>	<i>-yaji</i>
Class II	<i>-bajama</i>	<i>-wajama</i>	<i>-ajama</i>	<i>-yajama</i>
Class III	<i>-bajama</i>	<i>-wajama</i>	<i>-ajama</i>	<i>-yajama</i>
Class IV	<i>-baja</i>	<i>-waja</i>	<i>-aja</i>	<i>-yaja</i>

*These forms are in free variation with *-waji*, *-wajama* and so on in this environment.

The non-absolute forms of the Class I and II suffixes are *-bajini/-wajini-* (etc.) and *-bajanga/-wajanga-* (etc.), respectively. The Class IV non-absolute forms are the same as the Class IV absolute forms given above. For a more detailed discussion of gender marking see §4.2.2.

The root of the privative suffix, used as the stem for the addition of number suffixes, is *-baja/-waja-* (etc.). The privative suffix takes the *-marda-* plural suffix (see §4.3.3.1).

As with the proprietive suffix, there is some inconsistency in the data as to the form of the stem to which the privative suffix is attached. For most nouns (particularly those belonging to either Class III or Class IV) the privative suffix is attached to the citation form of the nominal, including the gender suffix (if present). Some examples are:

- (4-179) *yurula-ajama*
name.IV-PRIV.II(NOM)
without a name (II)
- (4-180) *gijilulu-waji*
money.IV-PRIV.I(NOM)
without any money (I)
- (4-181) *darima-aja*
plum.III-PRIV.IV(NOM)
without any plums (IV)

With other nouns, the privative suffix is attached to the root (minus the gender suffix):

- (4-182) *gurij-baja* (citation form of noun: *gurija* (IV))
fat-PRIV.IV(NOM)
without fat (IV)
- (4-183) *alag-bajama* (citation form of noun: *alaji* (I) or *alanga* (II))
child-PRIV.II(NOM)
without children (II)
- (4-184) *jany-baji* (citation form of noun: *janji* (I) or *janya* (II))
dog-PRIV.I(NOM)
without a dog (I)

However, it seems that some nouns may be able to form the privative in either way. Thus the (Class I) privative form of *iliga* 'sore' (IV) was given in the following two ways:

- (4-185) *ilig-baji* AND *iliga-aji*
sore-PRIV.I(NOM) sore.IV-PRIV.I(NOM)

There is also one example in the corpus in which the (Class I) privative form of *janji* 'dog' (I) is:

(4-186) *janji-yaji*
dog.I-PRIV.I(NOM)

Compare this with (4-184) given above.

There are a number of similarities between the proprietive suffix and the privative suffix with regard to the form of a particular noun that they take as their stem. Firstly, in both cases the suffix usually attaches to the full citation form of Class IV and Class III nouns. Secondly, both suffixes always attach to the root of the nominal *alaji/alanga* 'child' (III) and can attach to either the root or the citation form of the nominal *iliga* 'sore' (IV). Although noteworthy, these observations do not greatly help in arriving at an explanation for the difference in the form of the stem with different nominals, but do suggest that the base form for adnominal inflection is lexically determined and that some forms (such as *iliga* 'sore' (IV)) are undergoing reanalysis.

In glossing, I will follow the same principle as for the proprietive suffix: where there is an overt gender suffix on the base nominal, I will represent it in the interlinear gloss; where there is no overt gender suffix I will not. Thus *manganyma-aji* 'tucker.III-PRIV.I' but *gunju-waji* 'meat-PRIV.I'.

b) Function

The privative suffix has two functions: the first with nominals (i), and the second with verbs (ii).

(i) The privative suffix is used to negate the presence or existence of an entity.

(4-187) *Ngirriyani gijilulu-waja-marndarna.*
1PL.EXC.NOM money-PRIV-PL.II(NOM)
We (women) have no money.

(4-188) *Ngarrima babanya juwa-ajarna.*
1SG.POSS.II(NOM) sister.II(NOM) man-PRIV.II(NOM)
My sister doesn't have a man/My sister is single.

(4-189) *Yarru g-a manganyma-aji.*
go 3SG.S-PST tucker.III-PRIV.I(NOM)
He went off without any tucker.

A privative form can also be used to identify a person or a place:

(4-190) *Yandu ngi-n murlu-wajanga-nka.*
wait 1SG.S(PR)-PROG eye-PRIV.II-DAT
I'm waiting for the blind woman.

(4-191) *Mirra ir-a nguwi-yaja-ni.*
sit 3PL.S-PST water-PRIV.IV-LOC
They lived in the desert.

As with the proprietive suffix, speakers disagree as to whether or not it is grammatically correct for the privative suffix to occur on all words in a NP. Thus, while some speakers (e.g. MH) consider example (4-192) to be a fully grammatical sentence, for at least one other speaker (MG) it is impossible, a verbal clause such as (4-193) being necessary instead.

(4-192) *Alaji buguwa-aji darranggu-waji.*
 boy.I(NOM) big.IV-PRIV.I(NOM) stick-PRIV.I(NOM)
 The boy doesn't have a big stick.

(4-193) *Yangula gini yabu buguwa darranggu.*
 NEG 3SG.M.A(PR) have big.IV(ACC) stick.IV(ACC)
 He doesn't have a big stick.

However, MG does accept verbless sentences in which there is only one nominal in the privative NP:

(4-194) *Alaji darranggu-waji.*
 boy.I(NOM) stick-PRIV.I(NOM)
 The boy doesn't have a big stick.

(ii) The privative suffix has another function in which it is used with any verb X to derive a nominal meaning 'one who cannot/does not do X'. The suffix is attached to either the root of the verb or follows the thematic consonant (depending on the conjugation class of the verb; see §6.1). Some examples of the use of the privative suffix in this function are:

(4-195) *Ngawurniji langan-bajarna.*
 1SG.NOM climb-PRIV.II(NOM)
 I can't climb (that tree) (II).

(4-196) *Iniyaga dawi-j-baji.*
 that.I.SG.NOM bite-TH-PRIV.I(NOM)
 That (dog) won't bite (I).

(4-197) *Aliyulu ng-u gurijbi ngaya, daguma-j-baji.*
 find 1SG.A-FUT good.I(ACC) 3SG.F.OBL hit-TH-PRIV.I(ACC)
 I'm going to find her a good (man), who doesn't hit.

(4-198) *Nananga ngiyi ngarl-wajarna.*
 care.for 3SG.NM.A(PR) talk-PRIV.II(ACC)
 She looks after the mute woman.

(4-199) *Manku-j-baja maga.*
 hear-TH-PRIV.IV(NOM) camp.IV(NOM)
 (It is a) noisy camp.

In one example, the nominal derived with the privative suffix modifies the object of the action, rather than the subject: that is, meaning 'one who can not be/is not Xed' rather than 'one who can not/does not X':

(4-200) *Bardbi gi-n gunya-nkanyi, mardumaj-baji.*
 run 3SG.S(PR)-PROG other-PERL chase-PRIV.I(NOM)
 He runs into another place, (you) can't chase (him).

There are two examples of the privative suffix occurring with the verb *manku* 'hear', each with a different form: one contains the thematic consonant /j/, and in the other the verb is in its citation form.

(4-201) *Manku-j-baji/manku-waji.*
 hear-TH-PRIV.I(NOM)/hear-PRIV.I(NOM)
 (He is) deaf.

4.4.13 ORIGIN SUFFIX

The ‘origin’ suffix marks origin or usual habitat. There are only a limited number of examples of this suffix in the corpus, all of which describe the country of origin of a person or the typical habitat of an animal. The form of the suffix is *-inji* (I), *-inya* (II) and *-inja* (IV); it replaces the final vowel of the citation form of the nominal to which it is affixed. The gender of the suffix agrees with that of the referent. There are no examples of a Class III form, although there is no logical reason why it would not be possible – in the discussion of fruits, for example. In all of the examples in the corpus the nominal inflected with the ‘origin’ suffix is used predicatively, is in the nominative case and is alone in the NP.

(4-202) *Guyala ng-uda ngajbi, manggur-inya ngawurniji.*
 NEG ISG.A-NACT.PST see plains-ORIG.II(NOM) ISG.NOM
 I’ve never seen (that animal), I’m from the plains country.

(4-203) *Murlurr-inji buringi.*
 turpentine.tree-ORIG.I(NOM) witchetty.grub.I(NOM)
 Witchetty grubs (live in) turpentine trees.

(4-204) *Gagarr-inji.*
 east-ORIG.I(NOM)
 (He’s) from the east.

Note that in the following example the particular areas of the country are identified with reference to a salient feature of the landscape:

(4-205) *Ngawurniji manyingil-inya, iniyaga gardaal-inji.*
 ISG.NOM gutta.percha-ORIG.II(NOM) that.I.SG.NOM gidgee-ORIG.I(NOM)
 I’m from Gutta Percha country (Anthony Lagoon), and he’s from Gidgee country (Brunette Downs).³⁶

The word for ‘underneath’: *jayilinji*, is possibly made up of *jayili* ‘down’ and this suffix (with a slight semantic extension).

4.4.13.1 GUYALINY- ‘LACKING’

A suffix identical in form to the origin suffix occurs with the particle *guyala* ‘nothing’ to derive a nominal meaning ‘lacking’. It is difficult to say whether this is actually the same suffix. The semantics are slightly different, although it may be possible to relate them since in these examples the suffix is still serving to identify the referent with a particular characteristic (as the suffix in the above examples identifies the referent with a particular place or object). For the present I will simply gloss the whole *guyala-* nominal as ‘lacking’ and therefore not make any claim as to the nature of the suffix.

The gender forms of the suffix are the same as the origin suffix: *-inji* (I), *-inya* (II) and *-inja* (IV). I have no examples of a Class III form.

³⁶ David Nash (1991:2) observes that the naming of particular tracts of country after distinctive flora is very common in the central Northern Territory. Furthermore, the names of languages or peoples may also be related to flora terms. For example, there is an affiliation between Wambaya country and its *wamba* ‘snappy gum’, and the name of the Jingili people is derived from their term *jingi* ‘bauhinea’, a tree which is dominant in Jingili country.

The most common occurrence of this *guyala-* nominal is as a predicate. For example, if someone were to ask for something (i.e. money), the reply might be:

- (4-206) *Ngawurniji guyalinya!*
 1SG.NOM lacking.II(NOM)
 I don't have (any)/ I've got nothing!

However, it can also function as a secondary predicate on the subject in a more complex clause:

- (4-207) *Guyalinji ngi-n yarru ngawurniji galyurringi-yaji.*
 lacking.I(NOM) 1SG.S(PR)-PROG go 1SG.NOM water-PRIV.I(NOM)
 I'm going with nothing, no water.

The specific entity that is lacking can be expressed with a dative NP:

- (4-208) *Guyalinya gijilulu-nka.*
 lacking.II(NOM) money.IV-DAT
 (She's) got no money.
- (4-209) *Guyalinja darranggu-nka.*
 lacking.IV(NOM) tree.IV-DAT
 (That country) has no trees.

There is one example of the *guyala-* nominal with plural number. In this case the stem of the nominal is *guyaliny-* and it is the *-bala-* plural suffix which occurs.

- (4-210) *Guyaliny-balarna.*
 lacking-PL.II(NOM)
 (Those women) have got nothing.

4.5 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

4.5.1 NOMINAL-TO-NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

4.5.1.1 *-JARRA/-YARRA* 'NEXT, ANOTHER'

This suffix is found with only four words in the corpus. Three of them are time nominals with which the suffix expresses the meaning 'next'. The other is the noun *maga* 'camp, country' (IV) with which the suffix expresses the meaning 'another'. There does not appear to be any phonological conditioning as to the form of the suffix. The allomorph with the initial stop occurs with *maga* 'camp, country' and that with the initial glide is found with the time nominals.³⁷

<i>bulinama</i>	tomorrow	>	<i>bulina-yarra</i>	day after tomorrow
<i>ngijininima</i>	tomorrow	>	<i>ngijini-yarra</i>	day after tomorrow
<i>garumba</i>	wet season	>	<i>garumba-yarra</i>	next wet season
<i>maga</i>	camp	>	<i>maga-jarra</i>	another place

³⁷ This suffix may be related to the Kayardild suffix *-yarrad-* 'another' (Evans 1995a).

4.5.1.2 REFLEXIVE-POSSESSIVE SUFFIX

The form of this suffix is *-liji* and it is found only with masculine kinship nouns.³⁸ The function of this suffix, although not yet fully understood, is apparently to explicitly mark the fact that the ‘possessor’ of the kin is the subject (as opposed to the speaker, for example).³⁹ Thus, there is an alternation among some kinship terms in the corpus between plain forms, as given in §1.2.3.2, and forms suffixed with *-liji*. For example:

(4-211) *Ngajbi gin-a ganggu yarru-warda.*
 see 3SG.M.A-PST FF.I(ACC) go-INF
 He saw grandfather walking (along).

(4-212) *Ngajbi gin-a ganggu-liji yarru-warda.*
 see 3SG.M.A-PST FF.I-REFL.POSS(ACC) go-INF
 He saw his grandfather walking (along).

A sentence such as (4-211) is potentially ambiguous as to whose *ganggu* is in question: the subject’s or the speaker’s (as in ‘He saw (my) Grandfather walking along’). In example (4-212), however, the meaning can only be that the subject saw his **own** *ganggu*. Thus, *-liji* appears to be a reflexive possessive marker, indicating that the possessor of the kin is the subject. Other examples include:

(4-213) *Gamguji juwa iri gulug-ba. Gabi irr-a*
 many.I(NOM) man.I(NOM) 3PL.S(NP) sleep-FUT NEG 3PL.S-PST
manngurru. Gulug-ba barnga-liji, gugu-liji
 be.ashamed sleep-FUT cousin.I-REFL.POSS(NOM) MMB.I-REFL.POSS(NOM)
*barnga-liji.*⁴⁰
 cousin.I-REFL.POSS(NOM)
 They sleep with many men. They don’t have any shame. (They) sleep with their
 cousins, their great-uncles, their cousins.

Importantly, the antecedent for *-liji* must be third person:

(4-214) **Ngaj-ba ny-u baba-liji.*
 see-FUT 2SG.A-FUT brother.I-REFL.POSS(ACC)
 You’ll see your brother.

(4-215) **Ngaj-ba ng-u baba-liji.*
 see-FUT 1SG.A-FUT brother.I-REFL.POSS(ACC)
 I’ll see my brother.

(4-216) *Ngaj-ba g-u baba-liji.*
 see-FUT 3SG.A-FUT brother.I-REFL.POSS(ACC)
 She’ll see her brother.

Note that the use of *-liji* is not obligatory. Thus, example (4-216) could also be expressed as a simple possessive construction:

³⁸ It can presumably occur with feminine nouns too (the expected form would be *-linya*), but there are no examples in the corpus.

³⁹ Note that it is only a question of **explicitness**; it is quite possible to have this meaning without the use of *-liji*.

⁴⁰ The auxiliary in this sentence has been ellipsed.

- (4-217) *Ngaj-ba g-u baba ngayanji.*
 see-FUT 3SG.A-FUT brother.I(ACC) 3SG.F.POSS.I(ACC)
 She'll see her brother.

In fact it is not always the case that *-liji* emphasises the **subject** as possessor (although this is its usual function). In one example *-liji* marks a kinship term as belonging to the **discourse topic** of the clause.⁴¹ In example (4-218) the kin term *gulu-liji* is not governed by the subject of its clause (which is 'I'), but is governed by the 'she' that had been discussed in the previous two clauses and is clearly the topic of the discourse.

- (4-218) *Gurda ngiyi-ngg-a. Yarru=miji g-ulama mardiji.*
 be.sick 3SG.NM.A-RR-NF go(FUT)=INFER 3SG.S-NP.TWD later
Gulu-liji *ng-a didima yarru g-ulama ginmanji.*
 son.I-REFL.POSS(ACC) 1SG.A-PST tell go(FUT) 3SG.S-NP.TWD this.way
 She's sick. She might come later. I told (her) son (to tell her) to come (lit. I told her son (that) she will come).

4.5.1.3 DYADIC SUFFIX

The dyadic suffix, *gulanji* (I)/*gulanga* (II), is added to a kinship term X to derive a noun meaning 'a pair of people one of whom calls the other X'. It is attached to the 'base' form of the kinship term (i.e. the form minus the gender suffix). When the relationship between the people is such that there is no common base term, the term for the senior member of the pair is used. The Class II form of the suffix is used when both members of the pair are female, the Class I form is used in all other cases. Note that the use of the base form (which makes no gender distinction) means that these dyadic terms collapse some of the distinctions that the standard kinship terms make. Some examples involving the kinship terms *barnga/barnjanya* 'male/female cross-cousin', *gugu/gugunya* 'MMB/MM' and *baba/babanya* 'elder brother/sister' are:

<i>barnga-gulanji</i>	two cross-cousins (at least one is male)
<i>barnga-gulanga</i>	two female cross-cousins
<i>gugu-gulanji</i>	MM and DS/MMB and DS/MMB and DD
<i>gugu-gulanga</i>	MM and DD
<i>baba-gulanji</i>	elder brother/sister (?) and younger brother/sister
<i>baba-gulanga</i>	elder sister and younger sister

4.5.2 VERB-TO-NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

There are three derivational suffixes in the corpus which derive a nominal from a verb. One of them, the privative suffix, has already been discussed in §4.4.12 above. The other two – the agentive nominaliser and the instrument nominaliser – are discussed below.

4.5.2.1 AGENTIVE NOMINALISER

The agentive suffix is added to a verb X to derive a nominal with the meaning 'one who/which does X' or 'one who does a lot of X'. It is added to either the verb root or the verb

⁴¹ This is the only morphological process in the language that appears to be sensitive to discourse topic.

root plus thematic consonant, depending on the conjugation class of the verb (see §6.1). The agentive suffix must show gender agreement with the referent of the derived nominal and each gender form has two phonologically conditioned allomorphs: the initial bilabial stop is lenited to /w/ following a vowel or a lateral consonant (see §2.3.1 for a discussion of lenition). The different absolutive gender forms of the agentive suffix are given in Table 4.12. There are no Class III forms in the corpus.

TABLE 4.12: ABSOLUTIVE GENDER FORMS OF THE AGENTIVE SUFFIX

	After vowels and laterals	Elsewhere
Class I	-warli	-barli
Class II	-warlima	-barlima
Class III	—	—
Class IV	-warla	-barla

The non-absolutive Class I and II forms are *-barlini-/warlini-* and *-barlinga-/warlinga-* respectively. There are no examples in the corpus of a Class IV agentive noun inflected for case. The base form of the suffix which is used as the stem for the addition of number suffixes is *-barli-/warli-*. The agentive suffix takes the *-marda-* plural suffix:

- (4-219) *yugu-lumi-j-barli-mardama*
 cry-CAUS-TH-AGNT-PL.II(NOM)
 women who make (him) cry (re a group of drunken women who scared a baby)

This suffix is extremely productive and common. An agentive noun has normal nominal possibilities: it can be used as a nominal predicate (example (4-220)); as the head of a NP (4-221) and (4-222) or as a modifier (4-223).

- (4-220) *Iniyaga wugbardi-j-barli ngurra.*
 that.I.SG.NOM cook-TH-AGNT.I(NOM) 1PL.INC.OBL
 He's a cook for us./He's our cook.

- (4-221) *Daguma-j-barlini-ni gini-ng-a daguma.*
 hit-TH-AGNT.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-1O-NF hit
 The 'cheeky' man hit me.

- (4-222) *Ayani ngi-n ngarl-warlinga-nka.*
 look.for 1SG.S(PR)-PROG talk-AGNT.II-DAT
 I'm looking for the talkative woman.

- (4-223) *Janji ng-a daguma dawi-j-barli.*
 dog.I(ACC) 1SG.A-PST hit bite-TH-AGNT.I(ACC)
 I hit that 'biting' dog. (given as a translation for 'I hit the dog that bit me')

An agentive nominal derived from a transitive, semitransitive or ditransitive verb can take a dative complement expressing what would be the object in a normal verbal clause. This is only possible when the nominal functions as a predicate. The subject in these constructions takes the nominative case:

- (4-224) *Ngawurniji aliyulu-j-barlima mayinanyi-nka.*
 1SG.NOM find-TH-AGNT.II(NOM) goanna.I-DAT
 I found the goanna. (lit. I am the finder of the goanna.)

- (4-225) *Naniyaga jiya-j-barlima danya-nka (ngurla).*
 that.II.SG.NOM give-TH-AGNT.II(NOM) clothes.IV-DAT (1DU.EXC.OBL)
 She always gives (us) clothes.

Note that this dative complement is optional. It is present only if the speaker wants to indicate specifically what the object of the action is. The two examples above could also occur without the complement, in which case they would mean ‘I (always) find (things)’ and ‘She always gives (us) (things)’, respectively.

4.5.2.2 INSTRUMENT NOMINALISER

I have only four examples of this suffix so far in the corpus. The suffix is *-ana* and can be added to a verb *X* to derive a noun with the meaning ‘that by means of which one *Xs*’. These four examples are highly lexicalised and it may be that the suffix is no longer productive.

- mawula-j-* play-TH > *mawula-j-ana* (card) game
ngarag- drink > *ngarag-ana* grog
ngarajag- shape boomerangs > *ngarajag-ana* boomerang-shaping instrument

In the fourth example the form of the verb to which the suffix is added is slightly irregular. The future tense form of this verb (*dumajarri-j-ba*) would suggest that the verb stem (for the purposes of inflection, see §6.1) is *dumajarri-j-*, but it is only part of this stem which functions as the stem for the addition of the suffix:

- dumajarri* cover up > *dumaj-ana* blanket

Since the few examples there are of this suffix are so highly lexicalised, I will not segment this suffix in the examples in this work, and will gloss these nominals using the English translations given for each example above.

4.5.3 NOMINAL REDUPLICATION

There are only a very small number of examples of nominal reduplication in the corpus. In four of the six examples, reduplication is used to indicate plural number (although note that there are other ways to mark plurality as well – see §4.3.3). In the other two examples, the function of the reduplication is not so clear. The four examples of nominal reduplication used to indicate plurality are given in Table 4.13.

TABLE 4.13: EXAMPLES OF NOMINAL REDUPLICATION

Unreduplicated form		Reduplicated form	
<i>bungmaji</i>	old man.I	<i>bungmungmaji</i>	old men.I
<i>bungmanya</i>	old woman.II	<i>bungmungmanya</i>	old women.II
<i>iligirra</i>	river.IV	<i>ililirri</i>	rivers.IV
<i>alaji</i>	boy.I	<i>alajaji</i>	children.I

The first two of these four examples are reduplicated according to a pattern common for Wambaya and described in §2.3.6. The second two examples have reduplicated forms which are unpredictable according to the Wambaya patterns of reduplication.

The other two examples of nominal reduplication involve the noun *labamga* ‘branch’ (IV), which is pronounced by some people as *labarlabamga*, but appears to have the same meaning

in either its reduplicated or its unreduplicated form, and *garrgalyi* 'plains lizard' (I) which is given as *garrgalyigalyi* in Text 7 in Appendix A. Perhaps the reduplication in this last example is for the purposes of emphasis.

4.6 DEMONSTRATIVES

Wambaya has a two-way system of demonstratives roughly comparable to *this* and *that* in English. Like all nominal modifiers, demonstratives must agree with the noun that they modify in terms of gender, number and case, thereby making the number of possible demonstrative forms substantial. The two demonstratives each distinguish the four nominal genders, three numbers (singular, dual, plural), and at least four cases (nominative, accusative, ergative/locative and dative)⁴² although, as with most nominals, the nominative and accusative case forms are homophonous. There are also a couple of examples of plural demonstratives in the comitative case which are discussed later in the section. I have no examples of demonstratives in either the allative or ablative cases. In the attempts to elicit such demonstratives, locational nominals were used instead (as in 'I'm going to (the) tree there' instead of 'I'm going to that tree'). There are also possessive demonstratives which agree in gender with the possessed noun. These are discussed later in the section.

It was said in the discussion of nominal case above that nominals have only one case suffix which marks both the ergative and locative case functions (see §4.4.3). This appears to be the case for demonstratives as well, although I have only one example of the same form being used for both ergative and locative case functions:

(4-226) *Ngankagunyani irri-ng-a nyurrunyurru.*
 this.II.PL.LOC 3PL.A-IO-NF chase
 Those (women) chased me.

(4-227) *Mirra ng-u ngankagunyani.*
 sit 1SG.S-FUT this.II.PL.LOC
 I'll sit with these women.

There are no other examples of demonstratives occurring in locative NPs; locational nominals are generally used instead. However, the above examples suggest that demonstratives do not make a formal distinction between locative and ergative cases, so I will therefore gloss ergative demonstratives as 'LOC' on analogy with nominal case marking.

The forms of the demonstratives in Wambaya are given in Table 4.14. These are discussed in detail in §4.6.1, following the table. The function of these demonstratives is discussed in §4.6.2.

⁴² Not all of the possible combinations are attested in the corpus. In fact, I have been able to get a complete set of these different case forms only for Classes I and II. I have not been able to get ergative/locative or dative forms of Class III or Class IV demonstratives. The main reasons for these gaps are the infrequency with which Class III or Class IV nouns occur in either the ergative/locative or dative cases, and the difficulty in forcing the demonstrative to be present on the rare occasions that these nouns do occur in these cases. In the few examples in which I succeeded in forcing a Class IV demonstrative in a transitive subject NP, the nominative form of the demonstrative was used:

Yana ngangaba-ni ngiyi-ng-a irrijabi.
 this.IV.SG.NOM wood.IV.LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF scratch
 This stick scratched me.

Chadwick (1978) also does not give ergative/locative or dative demonstratives for Classes III and IV, so it is unclear if it is a gap in the data or a gap in the system.

The forms in Table 4.14 are organised with the proximate forms first (singular, dual then plural) followed by the remote forms (singular, dual then plural). For comparison, the demonstratives given in Chadwick (1978) for the other Eastern Group languages/dialects are given following each set of Wambaya forms. As the nominative and accusative forms are always homophonous in all languages, I have listed them together under the heading NOM/ACC.

TABLE 4.14: WAMBAYA DEMONSTRATIVES

Proximate ('this')			
Singular	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	<i>ini</i>	<i>ninki, (nunku)</i> ⁴³	<i>ninaga, (nunaga)</i>
Class II	<i>nana</i>	<i>nganki, (nganku)</i>	<i>nganaga, (nganuga)</i>
Class III	<i>mama</i>	—	—
Class IV	<i>yana</i>	—	—

The proximate singular forms in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects (from Chadwick (1978:203) are:

	NOM/ACC	LOC ⁴⁴	DAT
Class I G	<i>yini</i>	<i>minki</i>	<i>minaga</i>
B	<i>yiniwa, yini</i>	<i>minki</i>	<i>minaga</i>
Ng	<i>ina, inaalu</i>	<i>minka</i>	<i>minaga</i>
Class II G	<i>mana</i>	<i>nganki</i>	<i>nganaga</i>
B	<i>mana</i>	<i>ngankiwa</i>	<i>nganaga</i>
Ng	<i>ama, amaalu, amaala</i>	<i>nganka, ngankaalu</i>	<i>nganagaalu</i>
Class III G	<i>mama</i>	—	—
B	<i>mama</i>	—	—
Ng	<i>ama, amaalu</i>	—	—
Class IV G	<i>yana</i>	—	—
B	<i>yana</i>	—	—
Ng	<i>amaalu</i>	—	—

Dual

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	<i>inuwulu</i>	<i>ninkiwuliji/ninkuliji</i>	<i>ninagawulijalninagulija</i>
Class II	<i>nanawulu</i>	<i>ngankawuliji/ngankuliji</i>	<i>nganagawulijalnganagulija</i>
Class III	<i>mamawulu</i>	—	—
Class IV	<i>yanawulu</i>	—	—

⁴³ These forms in parentheses are less common alternative forms that do not fit in with the structural characteristics outlined in the discussion in §4.6.1 below. They are very similar to the corresponding remote forms in Binbinka: *rnunkuwa* 'that.I.SG.LOC', *ngankuwa* 'that.II.SG.LOC', *rnunaga* 'that.I.SG.DAT' and *nganaguwa* 'that.II.SG.DAT', and may therefore have been borrowed from Binbinka. Note however, that they have a proximate meaning, rather than a remote meaning, in Wambaya.

⁴⁴ I have called this case 'LOC' on analogy with the Wambaya case although it is not exactly the same in all languages/dialects. While all the Eastern Group languages/dialects have one case suffix that is used to mark both ergative and locative case functions (*-ni*), both Gudanji and Ngarnga have an alternative case suffix that can also be used to mark locative case (*-nbi*). Ngarnga also has a separate instrumental case suffix, *-warndu*, unlike the McArthur dialects, which use the ergative/locative case suffix in this function (Chadwick 1978:161).

Note that in the ergative/locative and dative forms the initial /w/ of the dual suffix, along with the preceding vowel, can be elided in fast or casual speech.

The proximate dual forms in Ngarnga given by Chadwick (1978:217) are as follows (Chadwick has no proximate dual forms for Binbinka or Gudanji):

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	Ng <i>miyawula</i>	—	<i>minagawulija, minagawulijanji</i>
Class II	Ng <i>mayawulu</i>	<i>nayawuliji</i>	<i>nganagawulija</i>
Class III	Ng <i>amawulu</i>	—	—
Class IV	Ng <i>amawulu</i>	—	—

Plural

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	<i>inigungji</i>	<i>ninkigungyini</i>	<i>ninagagunyinka</i>
Class II	<i>nanagunya</i>	<i>ngankagunyani</i>	<i>nganagagunyanka</i>
Class III	<i>mamagunyma</i>	—	—
Class IV	<i>yanagunja</i>	—	—

The proximate plural forms for the other Eastern Group languages/dialects that are present in Chadwick (1978:217-218) are:

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	G <i>yigungji</i>	—	—
	Ng <i>inagunja, niyagunja</i>	<i>minkagunyini</i>	<i>minagunyinka</i>
Class II	G —	—	—
	Ng <i>mayagunya</i>	<i>nganagunyani</i>	<i>nganagunyanka</i>

Remote ('that')

Singular

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	<i>iniyaga/inama</i>	<i>ninkiyaga</i>	<i>ninagiyaga</i>
Class II	<i>naniyaga/nanama</i>	<i>ngankiyaga</i>	<i>nganagiyaga</i>
Class III	<i>mamiyaga/mamama</i>	—	—
Class IV	<i>yaniyaga/yanama</i>	—	—

Note the existence of two nominative/accusative forms for each class. There are two remote suffixes: *-yaga* and *-ma*. The form *-ma* is found only with singular nominative/accusative forms, whereas *-yaga* (or its reduced form *-ya*) can occur with all forms. There does not appear to be any semantic distinction between these suffixes.

The remote singular forms in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects (taken from Chadwick (1978:203) are:

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	G <i>yiniya</i>	<i>minkiya</i>	<i>minagiya</i>
	B <i>jirriga</i>	<i>rnunkuwa</i>	<i>munaga</i>
	Ng <i>niyangga, igayi, niyanggala</i>	<i>minkiyangga, munku, minkiyaga</i>	<i>minagiyangga, minagiya</i>
Class II	G <i>maniya</i>	<i>ngankiya</i>	<i>nganagiya</i>
	B <i>maniga</i>	<i>ngankuwa</i>	<i>nganaguwa</i>
	Ng <i>mayangga, mayi</i>	<i>ngankiyangga</i>	<i>nganagiya</i>
Class III	G <i>mamiya</i>	—	—

	B	<i>maniga</i>	—	—
	Ng	<i>mayangga, mayi</i>	—	—
Class IV	G	<i>yaniya, yanaba</i>	—	—
	B	<i>garriga</i>	—	—
	Ng	<i>mayangga, anaaga</i>	—	—

Dual

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	<i>iniyawulu/inuwuliyaga</i>	<i>ninkiyawuliji</i>	<i>ninagiyawulija</i>
Class II	<i>naniyawulu/nanawuliyaga</i>	<i>ngankiyawuliji</i>	<i>nganagiyawulija</i>
Class III	<i>mamiyawulu</i>	—	—
Class IV	<i>yaniyawulu</i>	—	—

Note that the remote suffix *-yaga* shortens to *-ya* when another suffix (either dual or plural) is added, and that there are alternative nominative/accusative forms for Classes I and II that differ from the regular forms only in the order of occurrence of the remote and dual suffixes.

The remote dual forms in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects that are given by Chadwick (1978:216) are:

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	G —	—	—
	B <i>jirrigula</i>	—	<i>munagulija</i>
	Ng <i>igayulu, miyanggawula</i>	<i>igayuliji</i>	—
Class II	G <i>maniyawulu</i>	<i>ngankiyawuliji</i>	—
	B <i>manigula</i>	<i>ngankuwuliji</i>	—
	Ng <i>nayanggawulu</i>	<i>ngankuwuliji</i>	<i>ngankuwulijanji</i>
Class III	G —	—	—
	B <i>manigula</i>	—	—
	Ng <i>mayawulangga</i>	—	—
Class IV	G —	—	—
	B —	—	—
	Ng <i>nayanggawula</i>	—	—

Plural

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	<i>iniyagunji</i>	<i>ninkiyagunyini</i>	<i>ninagiyagunyinka</i>
Class II	<i>naniyagunya</i>	<i>ngankiyagunyani</i>	<i>nganagiyagunyanka</i>
Class III	<i>mamiyagunyma</i>	—	—
Class IV	<i>yaniyagunja</i>	—	—

The remote plural forms for the other Eastern Group languages that are present in Chadwick (1978:217-218) are:

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	G <i>yigigunji</i>	—	—
	B <i>jirrigunja</i>	<i>munkugunyini</i>	<i>munagunyinka</i>
	Ng <i>miyanggagunja</i>	<i>niyanggagunyini</i>	—
Class II	G —	—	—
	B <i>manigunya</i>	<i>ngankugunyani</i>	—
	Ng <i>mayanggagunya</i>	<i>mayanggagunyani</i>	<i>ngankagunyanka</i>

Class III	G	___	___	___
	B	___	___	___
	Ng	<i>mayanggagunyma</i>	___	___
Class IV	G	___	___	___
	B	___	___	___
	Ng	<i>mayanggagunja, mayanggunja</i>	___	___

4.6.1 DETAILS OF FORM

The demonstratives in Wambaya have been morphologically conservative, retaining the original prefixing system. Thus, gender in the demonstratives is indicated by prefixes, most of which correspond with the gender suffixes found on Wambaya nominals (see §4.2.2 and Appendix B for a discussion of gender marking). The following table gives both the gender prefixes found on demonstratives and the main gender suffixes found on other nominals.

TABLE 4.15: GENDER MARKING

	Demonstratives		Other nominals	
	ABS	NABS	ABS	NABS
Class I	<i>i-</i>	<i>ni-</i> [ŋi]	<i>-ji</i> <i>-∅</i>	<i>-nyi, -ngi,</i> <i>-ni</i>
Class II	<i>na-</i> [ŋa]	<i>nga-</i>	<i>-ma</i> <i>-nya</i> <i>-nga</i>	<i>-nga</i> <i>-nya</i> <i>-nga</i>
Class III	<i>ma-</i>	___	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-mi</i>
Class IV	<i>ya-</i>	___	<i>-∅</i> <i>-a</i>	<i>-∅</i> <i>-i</i>

It can be seen in the above table that the Class II prefixes on demonstratives correspond exactly with the first pair of Class II noun suffixes (*-ma* and *-nga*). The Class III absolute prefix also corresponds exactly with the Class III absolute noun suffix. The Class I absolute prefix *-i* and the noun suffix *-ji* are very similar and probably both derive from an original prefix *-ji*, the initial consonant of which has lenited in the present-day forms. That this is the original prefix is supported by the appearance of the prefix *ji-* in some Class I demonstratives in Binbinka, such as *jirriga* 'remote singular nominative/accusative Class I'. The Class IV prefix *-ya* is probably related to the suffix *-a* found on some Class IV nouns and modifiers. The fact that the gender prefixes on demonstratives are similar to the suffixes found on other nominals supports the theory that gender suffixes on nominals may have developed from the reduction of postposed demonstratives (see Appendix B and I. Green 1995 for a comparative discussion of gender marking in the Mirndi languages).

The demonstrative system is easily analysable. All dual and plural forms can be derived from the singular forms, and the singular forms are made up of a gender prefix, a stem and either a proximate or a remote marker. The complete structure of a demonstrative can be schematised as follows:

Gender prefix + Stem + 'Distance' + Number(.Gender) + Case

Notes:

- (i) 'Distance' refers to 'proximate' versus 'remote'.
- (ii) The 'number' slot only contains gender marking in plural number.

- (iii) There are two forms in which the order of the 'number' and the 'distance' suffixes are reversed: *inuwuliyaga* 'remote dual nominative/accusative Class I' and *nanawuliyaga* 'remote dual nominative/accusative Class II'.

The different forms for each of these categories are as follows:

Gender prefixes (ABS; NABS)

- Class I: {*i-*; *ni-*}
 Class II: {*na-*; *nga-*}
 Class III: {*ma-*; ?}
 Class IV: {*ya-*; ?}

Stem

- Nominative, Accusative: {-*ni-* (I); -*na-* (II, IV); -*ma-* (III)}⁴⁵
 Ergative/Locative: {-*nki-* (I, II), -*nka-* (II)}⁴⁶
 Dative: {-*naga-* (I, II)}

When the remote suffix *-yaga* is added to the stem, the final low vowel of the stem becomes high. Thus, *-na-* becomes *-ni-yaga*; *-naga-* becomes *-nagi-yaga*, and so forth.

Evans (1990) discusses the tendency in Australian languages for demonstratives to derive from verbs of stance (i.e. 'sit', 'stand' or 'lie') or verbs of perception (i.e. 'see, look'). Thus, it is possible that the nominative and accusative demonstrative stems in Wambaya, if their underlying form is taken to be *-na-* (see footnote 45), may have developed from the common non-Pama-Nyungan verb *na* meaning 'see, look' (Evans 1990:144).

The dative stem *-naga-* appears to be made up of the nominative/accusative stem *-na-* followed by the suffix *-ga* which occurs with all non-singular object and oblique free pronouns in Ngarnga and Gudanji (Chadwick 1978:51), and appears in Wambaya non-singular oblique pronouns with the addition of the comitative suffix; for example, *mirdigayili* '1DU.INC.OBL-COMIT'.

Distance

- Proximate: {-∅}
 Remote: {-*yagal-ya*; -*ma*}

The remote suffix *-yaga* is reduced to *-ya* when it is followed by either the dual or the plural suffix. The remote suffix *-ma* is found only in the singular nominative/accusative forms.

There are a couple of examples in the corpus in which both remote suffixes are used:

⁴⁵ The variation in the form of the stem can probably be explained in terms of vowel harmony and analogic nasal assimilation. Thus, if the underlying form is taken to be *-na-*, then the Class I form (*-ni-*) could be explained in terms of vowel harmony triggered by the preceding high vowel in the prefix, and the Class III form (*-ma-*) as assimilation of the alveolar nasal in the stem to the bilabial nasal of the prefix. There is no evidence that these assimilation processes are productive synchronically (most vowel harmony is regressive (see §2.3.4.3) and there are no other known instances of such nasal assimilation). However, the presence of the alveolar nasal in the stem of the two Class III Binbinka demonstratives *maniga* 'remote singular nominative/accusative Class III' and *manigula* 'remote dual nominative/accusative Class III' adds support to the theory that the Wambaya Class III stem may have derived from one containing an alveolar nasal.

⁴⁶ Note that this stem becomes *-nka-* in Class II proximate non-singular forms, but elsewhere remains *-nki-*.

*i-na-ma-yaga*⁴⁷ remote singular nominative/accusative Class I
na-na-ma-yaga remote singular nominative/accusative Class II

There does not appear to be any difference in meaning between these forms and the corresponding forms in which only one remote suffix is present.

Number

Singular: { -∅ }
 Dual: { -wulu (ABS), -wuli (NABS) }⁴⁸
 Plural: { -gunji (I, ABS), -gunyi (I, NABS); -gunya (II, ABS and NABS); -gunyima (III, ABS); -gunja (IV, ABS) }⁴⁹

Note that the plural number markers also indicate gender.

Case

Although the stems indicate case, case is also separately marked at the end of the demonstrative. Except with the nominative and accusative cases, the form of the case suffix is dependent on the number of the demonstrative.

Nominative, Accusative:	{ -∅ }
Ergative/Locative:	SG { -∅ }
	DU { -ji }
	PL { -ni }
Dative:	SG { -∅ }
	DU { -ja }
	PL { -nka }

The dual and plural case suffixes are regular for nominals: the regular nominal suffixes are -∅ for both the nominative case and the accusative case, -ni for the ergative/locative case and -nka for the dative case, and nominals inflected with the dual suffix take -ji in the ergative/locative case and -ja in the dative case. The only aspect of case marking that is unusual to demonstratives is that the singular forms have a zero inflection for the ergative/locative case and the dative case. Usually a singular nominal would take the regular ergative/locative and dative case suffixes (see §4.4).

Below are some selected Class I forms illustrating this morphological structure.

47 The high vowel of the Class I nominative/accusative stem is lowered before the remote suffix -ma. This is presumably attributable to vowel harmony. Similarly, when this stem is immediately followed by the dual suffix -wulu, the high front vowel of the stem becomes back, in harmony with the back vowels of the suffix. Thus: *i-ni* 'proximate singular nominative/accusative Class I' but *i-nu-wulu* 'proximate dual nominative/accusative Class I'.

48 Note that gender is not marked with the dual number suffix (see §4.3.2.1).

49 This morpheme can be segmented into a root -guny- followed by the regular gender marking suffixes: -ji (I, ABS), -nyi (I, NABS); -nya (II, ABS and NABS); -ma (III, ABS); -ja (IV, ABS). There is a regular morphophonemic rule which deletes one of two sequential identical consonants (i.e. -guny- 'plural' + -nya 'II (ABS)' > -gunya); see §2.3.5.

	prefix+	stem+	distance+	number+	case	
<i>ini</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	∅	∅	∅	= prox.SG.NOM/ACC
<i>iniyaga</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>yaga</i>	∅	∅	= rem.SG.NOM/ACC
<i>ninagawulija</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>naga</i>	∅	<i>wuli</i>	<i>ja</i>	= prox.DU.DAT
<i>ninkiyawuliji</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nki</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>wuli</i>	<i>ji</i>	= rem.DU.LOC
<i>inigungji</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	∅	<i>gunji</i>	∅	= prox.PL.NOM/ACC
<i>ninkiyagunyini</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nki</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>gunyi</i>	<i>ni</i>	= rem.PL.LOC

For the purposes of simplicity however, I will not segment the demonstratives in the examples in this description. Instead, I will give them in an unsegmented form and simply indicate in the gloss the morphological structure. For example:

naniyaga that.II.SG.NOM, that.II.SG.ACC
ninagawulija this.I.DU.DAT

Other Demonstratives

There are two other types of demonstratives found in the corpus: demonstratives in the comitative case and possessive demonstratives. As there are only a few examples of each type, I have chosen to discuss them separately, instead of including them in the tables and discussion above.

(i) Demonstratives in the comitative case:

In these examples, the regular comitative case suffix (*-mbili*) replaces the ergative/locative suffix in the ergative/locative form of the demonstrative. There are only two examples of this type of demonstrative, both of which have plural number:

(4-228) *Mirrang-ba ng-u ngankagunyambili/ninkigungyimbili.*
 sit-FUT 1SG.S-FUT this.II.PL.COMIT/this.I.PL.COMIT
 I'm going to sit down with these women/men.

The fact that these demonstratives are based on the respective ergative/locative forms suggests that what has been described as the ergative/locative stem may in fact be a more general oblique stem. One argument against this, however, is the fact that it does not occur in the dative forms.

(ii) Possessive demonstratives.

These demonstratives are made up of a non-absolute gender prefix agreeing with the possessor, the nominative/accusative demonstrative stem *-na-*, the possessive suffix *-gan*⁵⁰ (this suffix is also found on possessive pronouns – see §4.8) and a gender suffix agreeing with the possessed noun. Thus, these demonstratives agree in gender with both the possessor and the possessed. In the remote forms, the remote suffix *-yaga* occurs after the gender suffix. The only examples of these demonstratives are in the nominative case, and have both singular possessor and singular possessee nouns. A lot more work is needed in order to obtain all the other forms of these demonstratives. Table 4.16 contains the forms that are present in the corpus:

⁵⁰ The final nasal of this suffix is dropped before another apical nasal (such as in the Class II suffix *-ma*) and assimilates to the place of articulation of a following palatal or velar stop.

TABLE 4.16: POSSESSIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

	POSSESSED NOUN			
	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
Prox. Class I	<i>ni-na-gan-ji</i>	<i>ni-na-ga-ma</i>	—	<i>ni-na-gang-ga</i>
Prox. Class II	—	<i>nga-na-ga-ma</i>	<i>nga-na-gan-ma</i>	
Rem. Class I	<i>ni-na-gan-ji-yaga</i>	—	—	—
Rem. Class II	<i>nga-na-gan-ji-yaga</i>	—	—	—

The gender suffixes are regular and are the same as for possessive pronouns (see §4.8): *-ji* (I), *-ma* (II), *-ma* (III), *-ga* (IV).⁵¹

Some examples of these possessive demonstratives are:

- (4-229) *Ninagarna* *gujunganjarra* *injani?*
 this.I.SG.POSS.II(NOM) mother.II(NOM) where
 Where is this (boy's) mother?
- (4-230) *Irda* *nganaganji* *injani?*
 father.I(NOM) this.II.SG.POSS.I(NOM) where
 Where is this (boy's) father?
- (4-231) *dirdibulyi* *ninangangga* *buwarraja*
 peewee.I(NOM) this.I.SG.POSS.IV(NOM) dreaming.IV(NOM)
 the Peewee dreaming⁵²
- (4-232) *alaji* *nganaganjiyaga*
 boy.I(NOM) that.II.SG.POSS.I(NOM)
 that woman's little boy

4.6.2 FUNCTION

Demonstratives can be used as deictic determiners qualifying a noun (examples (4-233) and (4-234)), or as deictic demonstrative pronouns alone in the NP (4-235) and (4-236).

- (4-233) *Ngankiyaga* *janya-ni* *ngiyi-ng-a* *dawu.*
 that.II.SG.LOC dog.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF bite
 That (female) dog bit me.
- (4-234) *Mama* *bumaringma* *ng-a* *nawu.*
 this.III.SG.ACC wild.orange.III.ACC 1SG.A-PST step.on
 I sat on this orange.
- (4-235) *Daguma* *irri-ngg-a* *inigungji.*
 hit 3PL.A-RR-NF this.I.PL.NOM
 These ones are fighting.

⁵¹ The *-ga* which is found with the dative demonstratives (as in *ninaga* 'this.I.SG.DAT') is different from the *-gan-* which derives possessive pronouns and demonstratives (at least synchronically). This is shown by the fact that the final nasal found with the possessive suffix *-gan-* does not show up in the dative demonstrative suffix *-ga*, even when it is not word-final as in *ni-na-ga-gunyi-nka* 'this.I.PL.DAT'. If these two are the same suffix, it is difficult to explain why a nasal would appear in some circumstances and not in others.

⁵² This example is mysterious: it is not clear why the demonstrative is possessive, as the dreaming (see Appendix A, Text 4) is **about** the Peewee, rather than possessed by him.

- (4-236) *Ngarl-warlirna nanamayaga.*
 talk-AGNT.II(NOM) that.II.SG.NOM
 That woman's a chatterbox.

In this function, the difference between the two types is very similar to the difference between 'this' and 'that' in English. The proximate forms are usually used to refer to things that are close to the speaker, while the remote forms are used for things that are further away from the speaker. The proximate forms can also be used with a presentative function; similar to the use of 'here' in an English sentence such as 'here's something interesting going on'. Thus in the following example, taken from Text A.1, the fire is referred to with the demonstrative *yana* despite the fact that it is a considerable distance from the speaker.

- (4-237) "*Ngangaba yana gi-n najbi.*"
 fire.IV(NOM) this.IV.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG burn
 "There's a fire burning (there)."

Demonstratives also perform an important discourse function: they are used in the organisation of information and tracking of reference. Demonstratives can be used to refer to things previously mentioned or alluded to in discourse. The difference between the proximate and remote demonstratives is metaphorically extended into this function. Proximate forms are used when the antecedent or discourse topic is close (in terms of time of utterance) to the utterance of the demonstrative (generally in either the same or preceding clause, but no more than two clauses back):⁵³

- (4-238) *Indirra wurrudbanyi-j-ba, ngujari-j-ba yana.*
 root.IV(ACC) pull-TH-FUT break-TH-FUT this.IV.SG.ACC
 Pull up the root, (and) break it.
- (4-239) *Gardamdawuga barrawu g-aji mirra. Yana*
 few.IV(NOM) house.IV(NOM) 3SG.S-HAB.PST sit this.IV.SG.ACC
irr-a yardi gamguja.
 3PL.A-PST put many.IV(ACC)
 There used to be a few houses. (Now) they've built lots of them.

The following example is taken from Text 1 (Appendix A). In the clauses leading up to this one, the two eaglehawks are telling their two sons that they should prepare a bed for the two boys who have to leave early in the morning. Then there is one short sentence in which it is said that the two eaglehawks pick up a round stone and a digging stick (by now all four other characters are asleep) and:

- (4-240) *Bunjunymi wurlu-n inuwulu wurlu-n gulugbi.*
 sneak.up 3DU.A(NP)-PROG this.I.DU.NOM 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sleep
 They sneak up on the two boys (who) are sleeping.

When the thing being referred to was uttered more than a couple of clauses away, or if there is another intervening discourse topic between the anaphoric element and its antecedent, a remote demonstrative is used. The following sequence is taken from Text 6 (Appendix A). The remote demonstrative refers to 'the moon', mentioned a few clauses back. As there is an intervening topic (*indilyawurna*), a remote demonstrative is used.

⁵³ This may be an oversimplified representation of the discourse function of Wambaya demonstratives; it is likely that issues of focus, for example, may also be relevant rather than just topic lookback. A more detailed study of Wambaya discourse structure is needed.

(4-241) *Indilyawurna g-a bardbi. Bardbi g-a.*
 curlew.II(NOM) 3SG.S-PST run run 3SG.S-PST
 The curlew ran. She ran.

Ninkiyaga gin-a nyurrunyurru banjangani.
 that.I.SG.LOC 3SG.M.A-PST chase behind
 The (moon) chased after her.

4.6.3 GA SERIES

There is another set of Wambaya forms which complicate the system of demonstratives discussed above: sometimes these forms seem to act like demonstratives, but at other times appear to be more like nouns. When behaving like demonstratives, these *ga* forms⁵⁴ occur in place of the remote forms. The use of these forms is so common that Chadwick (1978) gives the dual and plural forms as the only remote dual and plural Class I and II demonstratives in Wambaya. These forms are as follows:⁵⁵

Class I	NOM/ACC	SG	<i>igima</i>
		DU	<i>iguwulu</i>
		PL	<i>igigunji</i>
	LOC	SG	– ⁵⁶
		DU	<i>iguwuliji</i>
		PL	<i>igigunyini</i>
Class II	NOM/ACC	SG	<i>nagama</i>
		DU	<i>nagawulu</i>
		PL	<i>nagagunya</i>
	LOC	SG	–
		DU	<i>nagawuliji</i>
		PL	<i>nagagunyani</i>
Class IV	NOM/ACC	SG	<i>yagama</i>
		DU	<i>yagawulu</i>
		PL	<i>yagagunja</i>

In form, these appear to be demonstratives: all forms contain the appropriate gender prefix: *i-* (I), *na-* (II) and *ya-* (IV); and the plural suffix that is used (*-gunji/-gunya*) is that which occurs with demonstratives, not with nouns (see §4.3 for a discussion of number marking on nouns). However, *igima* and *nagama*, which are extremely common, are translated by speakers as meaning ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ respectively and often seem to be functioning more like nouns than demonstratives. Consider the examples below.

In examples (4-242) and (4-243) it is not clear whether the forms in question are functioning as nouns or as demonstratives. However, particularly in (4-242) – the opening line of Text 6, in which there is modification by adjectives – they seem to be rather noun-like in function.

⁵⁴ So called as they are characterised by a stem of the form *-gi-* (I) or *-ga* (II, IV).

⁵⁵ There are no Class III forms in the corpus and no other case forms apart from ergative/locative, nominative and accusative. As the latter two case forms are homophonous I have listed them together.

⁵⁶ I was unable to obtain ergative/locative singular forms; a regular ergative/locative demonstrative was always used instead.

(4-242) *Jinkiji-yulu: bulyingi igima, bugayirna nagarna.*
 star-DU(NOM) little.I(NOM) big.II(NOM)
 Two stars: the little one's a man and the big one's a woman.

(4-243) *Munji wurl-a. Ngajbi wurl-a nagawulu duwa.*
 hide 3DU.S-PST see 3DU.A-PST get.up
 They hide. They watch the two (ladies) get up.

Examples (4-244), (4-245) and (4-246), on the other hand, indicate that it may be better to consider these forms demonstratives, as in these examples they are used to modify nouns.

(4-244) *Dirragbi g-a jarlu-nmanji igima burriiji.*
 jump 3SG.S-PST arm.IV-ALL bird.sp.I(NOM)
 The bird jumped on his arm.

(4-245) *Dudiyarri wurl-a nagawulu bungmaj-bulu.*
 spear 3DU.A-PST old.person-DU(ACC)
 They speared the two old ladies.

(4-246) *Aliyulu ng-a yagama janga ngarrga.*
 find 1SG.A-PST shoe.IV(ACC) 1SG.POSS.IV(ACC)
 I found my shoes.

Example (4-247), however, further complicates the situation. In this example there are three elements to the NP: a demonstrative, *nagawulu* and a head noun. As there are no other examples in which two demonstratives appear together in the same NP, this suggests that *nagawulu* can't be a demonstrative, at least in this example.

(4-247) *Naniyawulu nagawulu baraj-bulu duwa wurlu-n.*
 that.II.DU.NOM old.person-DU(NOM) get.up 3DU.S(NP)-PROG
 The two old ladies are getting up.

In the following sequence taken from Text 2 (Appendix A) in which the *barnanggi* is hiding under the water watching the *jabiru*, the use of *igima* indicates a change in subject from *jabiru* to *barnanggi*.

(4-248) *Gannga g-a alalangmi-ji-nnga Jabiru.*
 return 3SG.S-PST hunt-TH-ABL Jabiru
 The *Jabiru* returned from hunting.

Wugbugbardi gin-a yangaji.
 cook.RDP 3SG.M.A-PST meat.I(ACC)
 He cooked some meat.

Gulug-ardi gini-ngg-a.
 sleep-CAUS 3SG.M.A-RR-NF
 He lay down.

Gulugbi g-a,
 sleep 3SG.S-PST
 He slept,

yandu yangaji nanga naj-barda.
 mind meat.I(ACC) 3SG.M.OBL burn-INF
 (and) looked after his meat that was cooking.

Igima *g-a* *yarru*.
 3SG.S-PST go
 (The *Barnanggi*) came (out of the water).

Such examples suggest that *igima* is a remote demonstrative since, as mentioned above, remote demonstratives are used to refer to something mentioned in earlier discourse that is either a substantial distance away, or precedes the intervention of another topic.

Perhaps these are generic nouns, meaning something along the lines of 'male being', 'female being' and 'thing' that can either modify a noun (perhaps for the purposes of emphasis or clarification), or can stand alone in the NP, in which case they are interpreted as third person markers (e.g. remote demonstratives). This would explain the fact that they can modify a head noun in the NP, and themselves be modified by adjectives as the head of an NP and co-occur with both a noun and a demonstrative within the one NP. It does not explain, however, the fact that their form (i.e. the existence of a gender prefix and the demonstrative form of the plural suffix) is more like a demonstrative than a noun. These forms only really differ from true demonstratives in their stem *-gi/-ga-*:

	prefix+	stem+	number+	case	
<i>iguwulu</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>gu</i> ⁵⁷	<i>wulu</i>	∅	I.DU.NOM/ACC
<i>igigunyini</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>gunyi</i>	<i>ni</i>	I.PL.LOC
<i>nagawuliji</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wuli</i>	<i>ji</i>	II.DU.LOC
<i>nagagunya</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gunya</i>	∅	II.PL.LOC
<i>yagagunja</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gunja</i>	∅	IV.PL.NOM/ACC

Due to this similarity of form I will gloss these forms in the same way that I gloss remote demonstratives, except that I will use 'that.one' instead of 'that'. Thus, *igima* is glossed 'that.one.I.SG.NOM/ACC', *nagarna* is glossed 'that.one.II.SG.NOM/ACC', and so on.

4.7 INDEFINITE/INTERROGATIVES⁵⁸

There are five indefinite/interrogative roots in the corpus, which are used to indicate that the (full) identity of the referent is unknown to the speaker. These forms are frequently used in interrogative function, requesting the information about the referent's identity from the addressee. This interrogative function, however, cannot be considered a part of the core meaning of these forms as they can be used contexts that are not compatible with an interrogative meaning, namely those in which they co-occur with the inferential enclitic =*miji* (see below).⁵⁹ When combined with their various inflections, these five roots cover the meanings 'someone, who', 'something, what', 'something, which', 'for something, why', 'somewhere, where', 'from somewhere, where from', 'some amount, how many/how

⁵⁷ The alternation in the vowel of the stem is triggered by the following high back vowel of the dual suffix.

⁵⁸ In Nordlinger 1993a I used the term 'ignorative' for this word class (following Karcevski 1969 and more recently Wierzbicka (e.g. 1980)). However, as Mushin (1991, 1995) has pointed out, there are two components to these words: an ignorative component (which indicates that knowledge is at issue) and an epistemological component (which characterises the **type** of knowledge at issue). For this reason the more neutral term 'indefinite/interrogative' has been chosen. In other discussions of Australian languages these words have been referred to as 'interrogatives' (e.g. Dixon 1972, 1977, Merlan 1994), 'interrogative/indefinite pronouns' (e.g. Austin 1981a, Morphy 1983), 'indefinite pronouns' (Dench 1995), 'indeterminates' (Donaldson 1980) and 'epistememes' (Mushin 1991, 1995).

⁵⁹ This discussion has benefited from McGregor's (1990:146ff) discussion of such forms in Gooniyandi.

much', 'sometime, when' and 'somehow, how'.⁶⁰ There is a strong tendency for indefinite/interrogatives to be initial in the clause.

As indicated by the term used, indefinite/interrogatives are found with two different functions in the corpus: indefinite (4-249) and interrogative (4-250).⁶¹ In the former function, they often co-occur with the enclitic *-miji* 'INFER' (7.7.1.1).

(4-249) *Gayina=miji* *irr-a* *didima*.
 something.IV(ACC)=INFER 3PL.A-PST tell
 They (must have) told him something./I don't know what they told him.

(4-250) *Gayina* *irr-a* *didima*.
 something.IV(ACC) 3PL.A-PST tell
 They told him something./What did they tell him?

Each of these examples expresses the fact that the speaker does not know what it was that the subject told the object. As far as I can tell, the difference between the indefinite meaning of example (4-249) and that of (4-250) is that in the former the speaker is indicating that he/she is only inferring that anything was 'told' at all. Such examples are often translated in Aboriginal English using 'must be', as in 'I don't know what they told him, must be something.'

I will now discuss each of these indefinite/interrogatives individually. A general interrogative particle is discussed in §7.5.1.

4.7.1 GAYINI 'SOMEONE/SOMETHING, WHO/WHAT'

Like any other nominal modifier, this indefinite/interrogative is inflected to agree with its referent in gender, case and number: when it is inflected with an animate gender suffix it is translated 'someone, who' and when it is inflected with an inanimate gender suffix it is translated 'something, what' or 'which'. The forms found in the corpus are given in Table 4.17, followed by a discussion of the form and function of these indefinite/interrogatives, and some examples of their use. As the nominative and accusative case forms are homophonous, I have listed them together in the table.⁶²

TABLE 4.17: GAYINI, SINGULAR FORMS

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	<i>gayini</i>	<i>gayinini-ni</i>	<i>gayinini-nka</i>
Class II	<i>gayinima</i>	<i>gayininga-ni</i>	<i>gayininga-nka</i>
Class III	—	—	—
Class IV	<i>gayina</i>	<i>gayinani</i>	—

Thus, the case suffixes are regular for nominals: \emptyset 'NOM and ACC', *-ni* 'LOC', and *-nka* 'DAT', as are the gender suffixes: \emptyset /*-ni*- 'I ABS/NABS', *-ma/-nga*- 'II ABS/NABS', *-a* 'IV ABS

⁶⁰ For simplicity, in examples in this work I gloss each form according to the meaning it has in the context in which it occurs.

⁶¹ Note that there are many other functions that indefinite/interrogatives commonly have in languages (see for example Karcevski 1969, Wierzbicka 1980 and Mushin 1991, 1995); however these are the only two functions that are found in my corpus for Wambaya.

⁶² The Class I ergative/locative form *gayinini* is often reduced to *gayini* in fast or casual speech.

and NABS'. See §4.4 for a discussion of nominal case suffixes, and §4.2.2 for a discussion of gender suffixes.

The non-singular forms of this indefinite/interrogative are formed regularly with the addition of the number suffixes *-yulu* 'DU' or *-guny-* 'PL'.⁶³ Some examples are:

<i>gayinigungji</i>	plural nominative/accusative Class I
<i>gayiniyulu</i>	dual nominative/accusative ⁶⁴
<i>gayiniyuliji</i>	dual ergative/locative
<i>gayinigunyani</i>	plural ergative/locative Class II

Following are examples of some of these forms in context.⁶⁵

- (4-251) *Gayinini-ni gin-a wurrudbanyi iru giganj-ardi.*
 someone.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST pull 3PL.ACC drown-CAUS
 Someone pulled them down and drowned (them).
- (4-252) *Ngajbi ng-uba irra. Gayina irri ngarra*
 see 1SG.A-NF.AWY 3PL.ACC something.IV(ACC) 3PL.S(NP) 1SG.OBL
ngarl-wa magi-nka.
 talk-FUT camp.IV-DAT
 I'm going to go and see them. They're going to tell me something about my country.
- (4-253) *Darrgulumi irr-a ngarra banjangani gayinini-ni=miji.*
 crack 3PL.A-PST 1SG.OBL behind someone.I-LOC=INFER
 Someone must have let the water out behind me.
- (4-254) *Gayini-yuli-ji alag-uli-ji wurlu-ny-a yurndu?*
 which-DU-LOC child-DU-LOC 3DU.A-2SG-NF hit
 Which two kids hit you?
- (4-255) *Gayina-ni ng-u daguma?*
 what.IV-LOC 1SG.A-FUT hit
 With what will hit (him)?
- (4-256) *Inigungji irr-a gayini-gunji gulugbi?*
 this.I.PL.NOM 3PL.S-PST who-PL.I(NOM) sleep
 Who are these people sleeping (here)?
- (4-257) *Gayinirna ngangirna gujinya?*
 who.II(NOM) 2SG.POSS.II(NOM) mother.II(NOM)
 Who's your mother?
- (4-258) *Gayinini-nka gi-n ayani lunggaji?*
 who.I-DAT 3SG.S(PR)-PROG look.for policeman.I(NOM)
 Which boy is the policeman looking for?

⁶³ This is the same plural suffix that is used with demonstratives. The forms for each gender are: *-gunji* (I), *-gunya* (II), *-gunyma* (III) and *-gunja* (IV).

⁶⁴ Gender is not marked with the dual number suffix.

⁶⁵ Although many of these examples potentially have two interpretations, as indicated in (4-249 to 4-250) above, in the examples here and elsewhere in this work I have provided only the translations that were most relevant in the context in which the particular example was given.

- (4-259) *Gayini-gunji* *g-a* *yarru?*
 which-PL.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST go
 Which mob went?
- (4-260) *Gayina* *yurula* *nyamiriji?*
 what.IV(NOM) name.IV(NOM) 2SG.NOM
 What's your name?

When the referent is unknown, such that it is not possible to determine the gender, the Class I form is used:

- (4-261) *Gayini* *irri-n* *ngarnga?*
 what.I(ACC) 3PL.A(NP)-PROG bark.at
 What are they barking at?

The Class IV form is used to refer to non-nominal entities, such as events or activities:

- (4-262) *Gayina* *ngiyi-ny-a* *didima?*
 what.IV(ACC) 3SG.NM.A-2O-NF tell
 What did she tell you?

Gayini can be inflected with the same possessive-deriving suffix that is used with possessive pronouns and possessive demonstratives (-*gan-*), followed by a gender suffix agreeing with the possessed noun, to derive a possessive indefinite/interrogative meaning 'someone's, whose'. In the following example the final nasal of the suffix -*gan-* has assimilated to the place of articulation of the velar stop of the following Class IV gender suffix -*ga*.

- (4-263) *Yana* *narunguja* *gayinanganga?*⁶⁶
 this.IV.SG.NOM car.IV(NOM) whose.IV(NOM)
 Whose car is this?

See §4.6 and §4.8 for a discussion of this possessive-deriving suffix with demonstratives and free pronouns respectively.

4.7.1.1 GAYINANKA 'FOR SOMETHING, WHY'

Gayini can also be inflected with the dative suffix -*nka* to form the indefinite/interrogative 'for something, why'. This indefinite/interrogative is used both with the meaning 'why, with what purpose' and 'why, what cause', although the latter meaning can also be expressed using the causal suffix – see §4.4.9.⁶⁷

Some examples are:

- (4-264) *Alaji* *gi* *yugu* *gayinanka.*
 boy.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR) cry for.something
 The boy is crying for something.

⁶⁶ Note that in this form, as in the derived form *gayinanka* 'for something, why', the final vowel of the root (*i*) has lowered to *a*. Perhaps this is due to assimilation with the vowel in the following suffix.

⁶⁷ In this respect Wambaya differs from many Australian languages which express these two meanings with different forms. Often the 'what cause' form is derived with the ablative suffix (e.g. Diyari (Austin 1981a) and Bilinara (Nordlinger 1990)).

- (4-265) *Gayinanka gi-n yugu nanana?*
 why 3SG.S(PR)-PROG cry that.II.SG.NOM
 Why is she crying?
- (4-266) *Gayinanka nyi-n gami?*
 why 2SG.S(PR)-PROG laugh
 Why are you laughing?
- (4-267) *Gayinanka irri-ngg-a daguma?*
 why 3PL.A-RR-NF hit
 Why are they fighting?
- (4-268) *Gayinanka=miji g-a yugu.*
 for.something=INFER 3SG.S-PST cry
 I don't know why she cried.

4.7.2 *INJANI* 'SOMEWHERE, WHERE'

Injani is used with the meanings of '(to) somewhere' and 'where (to)'. It does not inflect for either number or gender.

- (4-269) *Injani g-a yarru alaji?*
 where 3SG.S-PST go boy.I(NOM)
 Where did the boy go?
- (4-270) *Injani darrangu ngarra?*
 where stick.IV(NOM) 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM)
 Where is my stick?
- (4-271) *Injani=miji g-a yarru.*
 somewhere=INFER 3SG.S-PST go
 I don't know where she's gone.

This form appears to consist of a root *inja* and the ergative/locative suffix *-ni*. There is one example of this root in the corpus, in which it means 'which':⁶⁸

- (4-272) *Inja darrangu ny-a aliyulu?*
 which.IV(ACC) stick.IV(ACC) 2SG.A-PST find
 Which stick did you find?

This root can also be combined with the ablative suffix *-nga* to mean 'from somewhere, where from'.⁶⁹

- (4-273) *Injanga ini julaji gi-n ngarra bardbi?*
 where.from this.I.SG.NOM bird.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG 1SG.OBL run
 Where is this bird coming (to me) from?

⁶⁸ Note that it is very common in Australian languages for 'which' and 'where' to be expressed with the same root (Mushin 1995).

⁶⁹ There are actually no examples in the corpus in which this item is used in the indefinite function. However, there is no reason to think that it would not be possible given the behaviour of the other members of the subclass.

- (4-274) *Injannga nanawulu nayida-wulu?*
 where.from this.II.DU.NOM woman-DU(NOM)
 Where are these two women from?

4.7.3 YANGULU 'SOMETIME, WHEN'

Yangulu is the indefinite/interrogative meaning 'sometime, when'.⁷⁰ Some examples of its use are:

- (4-275) *Yangulu ny-amany yarru?*
 when 2SG.S-PST.TWD go
 When did you arrive?
- (4-276) *Yangulu g-uba yarru, gujinya?*
 when 3SG.S-NP.AWY go(FUT) mother.II(NOM)
 When will you go, mother?

4.7.4 YANGULANY- 'SOME AMOUNT, HOW MANY'⁷¹

Yangulany- 'some amount, how many' agrees in gender with the noun that it modifies. The different gender forms are *yangulanji* (I), *yangulanya* (II), *yangulanyma* (III) and *yangulanja* (IV). There are only a few examples of this indefinite/interrogative in the corpus. It is likely that further examples will show that it also agrees with the head noun in case, but the only examples I have so far are in the accusative case.⁷²

- (4-277) *Yangulanja ngarlana nyi nyamiriji ngarlwi?*
 how.many.IV(ACC) language.IV(ACC) 2SG.S(PR) 2SG.NOM talk
 How many languages do you speak?
- (4-278) *Yangulanji nyi yabu alaji?*
 how.many.I(ACC) 2SG.A(PR) have boy.I(ACC)
 How many children do you have?

4.7.5 WUNJUGU 'SOMEHOW, HOW'⁷³

The indefinite/interrogative *wunjugu* is used with the meaning 'somehow, how'. There are very few examples of this form in the corpus, including:

- (4-279) *Wunjugu irr-ala ngarlwi?*
 how 3PL.S-HAB.NP talk
 How do they always say it?

⁷⁰ See footnote 69.

⁷¹ Again, see footnote 69.

⁷² Chadwick (1978:201) gives the Class I and Class II forms of this indefinite/interrogative as *wananggalaji* and *wananggalanya* respectively. I have not heard either of these forms. The Class III and Class IV forms that he gives are the same as those that I have given above.

⁷³ Strictly speaking this is an adverb, not a nominal, and does not belong in this chapter. However, it is discussed here along with the other indefinite/interrogatives for completeness and clarity of exposition.

- (4-280) *Wunjugu=miji irr-a ginganbi garnguji-rdarra.*
 somehow=INFER 3PL.S-PST drown many.I-GROUP(NOM)
 Somehow they all drowned (but I don't know how).
- (4-281) *Ngurruwani ngurr-ala nijbi wunjugu?*
 1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.NP sing how
 How do we say it?

4.7.6 INJUGUJA 'WHAT SORT OF'

This indefinite/interrogative is not found in my corpus of Wambaya, but is given by Chadwick (1978:199–201). He gives the following gender forms: *injuguji* (I), *injugujaama* (II), *injugujaama* (III) and *injuguja* (IV). He gives only one example of its use (p. 199):⁷⁴

- (4-282) *Injuguji juwa.*
 what.sort.of.I(NOM) man.I(NOM)
 What sort of man.

It is interesting to note the similarity in form between this indefinite/interrogative and *wunjugu*, discussed in §4.7.5. Further investigation is required.

4.8 FREE PRONOUNS

While nominals generally operate on an ergative-absolutive system of case marking, free pronouns (except for the possessive forms) have a nominative-accusative case marking system; thus, ergative and nominative case forms are homophonous. There is also an oblique pronoun form which is used in the dative case and serves as the base for other case forms. Possessive pronouns, like all other nominals, have homophonous nominative and accusative forms. They agree in gender, number and case with the noun that they modify and are the only pronoun forms that can occur as a modifier in a NP.

As was discussed in §4.4.3 above, there is just one nominal case that covers both ergative and locative case functions. Unfortunately, there are no examples in the corpus of free pronouns in the locative case and thus it is not possible to tell whether pronouns also collapse the two cases, as all other nominals do.⁷⁵ If it is found that pronouns formally distinguish ergative and locative cases, following the line of argument presented in Goddard (1982), this distinction should be extended to the class of nominals as a whole. Thus, the analysis proposed here for all nominals would have to be changed such that there are two distinct cases that simply have homophonous case marking. However, for present purposes I will assume that pronouns behave as other nominals, but will gloss the ergative pronoun forms as 'ERG', rather than 'LOC', since they are not found in locative function in the corpus.

Nominative and ergative free pronouns are relatively uncommon and are largely used for emphatic purposes, as are singular accusative free pronouns. Dual and plural accusative pronouns are used more frequently since object bound pronouns in the auxiliary register only

⁷⁴ The glosses in this example are mine.

⁷⁵ All attempts to elicit pronouns in the locative function produced either examples involving the allative case, or constructions which avoided the use of a pronoun all together. It may be that pronouns are semantically incompatible with the locative case function in Wambaya (as they appear to be with the instrumental case function, for example). Further research is required.

person; the free object pronouns are therefore required to provide information as to the number of the object (this is discussed in greater detail in §5.1).

Table 4.18 contains the non-possessive pronoun forms. The possessive pronouns are given in Table 4.19 below. Note that the language does not have any third person singular non-oblique pronouns; when necessary, demonstratives are used instead (this is quite common in Australian languages; see Dixon (1980)). As ergative and nominative forms are homophonous, I have listed them together in Table 4.18.

TABLE 4.18: FREE PRONOUNS

	NOM/ERG	ACC	OBL(ique)
1SG	<i>ngawurniji, ngawu</i>	<i>ngawurniji, ngawu</i>	<i>ngarra</i>
2SG	<i>nyamiriji, nyami</i>	<i>nyamiriji, nyami</i>	<i>nganga</i>
3SG.M	—	—	<i>nanga</i>
3SG.F	—	—	<i>ngaya</i>
1DU.INC	<i>mirndiyani</i>	<i>mirnda</i>	<i>mirnda</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ngurluwani</i>	<i>ngurla</i>	<i>ngurla</i>
2DU	<i>gurluwani</i>	<i>gurla</i>	<i>gurla</i>
3DU	<i>wurluwani</i>	<i>wurla</i>	<i>wurla</i>
1PL.INC	<i>ngurruwani</i>	<i>ngurra</i>	<i>ngurra</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ngirriyani</i>	<i>ngirra</i>	<i>ngirra</i>
2PL	<i>girriyani</i>	<i>girra</i>	<i>girra</i>
3PL	<i>irriyani</i>	<i>irra</i>	<i>irra</i>

Note that there are no more than two forms for each pronoun. The singular pronouns have homophonous nominative, ergative and accusative forms, and a different form for oblique, while the non-singular pronouns have one form that covers nominative and ergative cases and another one that is used for both accusative and oblique.

The non-singular accusative/oblique forms are clearly derived from the non-singular nominative/ergative forms. The non-singular nominative/ergative forms are made up of a pronoun base followed by either *-wani* (after /u/) or *-yani* (after /i/). The accusative/oblique forms are derived by replacing the final vowel of the pronoun base with /a/. Thus:

	Pronoun Base	NOM/ERG	ACC/OBL
1DU.INC	<i>mirndi-</i>	<i>mirndi-yani</i>	<i>mirnd-a</i>
3DU	<i>wurlu-</i>	<i>wurlu-wani</i>	<i>wurl-a</i>

While the singular nominative, ergative and accusative forms are a little unpredictable, the oblique forms also appear to consist of a pronoun base of which the final vowel is replaced by /a/. This pronoun base is not found in any other non-possessive pronoun forms, but does appear in the possessive pronouns; see below.

	Pronoun Base ⁷⁶	OBLique Form
1SG	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>ngarr-a</i>
2SG	<i>ngangi-</i>	<i>ngang-a</i>
3SG.M	<i>nangi-</i>	<i>nang-a</i>

⁷⁶ Evidence for the existence of the final vowels of these roots comes from the analysis of possessive pronouns and is discussed below.

In the third person singular feminine, which has a consonant-final base, the final consonant of the base is dropped to form the oblique pronoun:

	Pronoun Base	OBLique Form
3SG.F	<i>ngayang-</i>	<i>ngaya</i>

The pronoun forms are basically the same for all three dialects of the McArthur group. However, in Gudanji the non-singular accusative and oblique forms all contain the additional final syllable *-ga*: *mimdaga* '1DU.INC.ACC/OBL', *wurlaga* '3DU.ACC/OBL' and so on. It seems that the Wambaya forms may have originally contained this syllable too, as it appears before the comitative suffix (see below), and is present in the stem of the dative demonstratives (see §4.6.1).

Many examples of the use of these pronouns can be found throughout this volume. Some more follow.

- (4-283) *Ngirriyani ngirri-n mirra.*
 1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC.S(NP)-PROG sit
 We're sitting here.
- (4-284) *Ngajbi ng-a irra.*
 see 1SG.A-PST 3PL.ACC
 I watched them.
- (4-285) *Ardbi irri-n ngarra.*
 call.out 3PL.S(NP)-PROG 1SG.OBL
 They're calling out to me.
- (4-286) *Daguma ng-a igima gurla.*
 hit 1SG.A-PST that.one.I.SG.ACC 2DU.OBL
 I killed him for you (two).

The oblique forms are used in the dative case (as in examples (4-285) and (4-286)) and serve as the base for the comitative case forms. In the comitative case the suffix *-yili* is added to the oblique form of the pronoun. In the singular forms, the final vowel of the oblique pronoun assimilates to the vowel of the suffix:

- (4-287) *Alaji gi-n mirra ngarri-yili.*
 boy.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit 1SG.OBL-COMIT
 The boy lives with me.
- (4-288) *Mirrang-ba ng-u ngangiyili.*
 sit-FUT 1SG.S-FUT 2SG.OBL-COMIT
 I'll sit with you.

In the non-singular forms the *-ga* present in the Gudanji accusative and oblique forms (and presumably originally in Wambaya) appears before the comitative suffix:

- (4-289) *Mawula g-a irriga-yili.*
 play 3SG.S-PST 3PL.OBL-COMIT
 He played with them.
- (4-290) *Yarru g-u mirndiga-yili.*
 go(FUT) 3SG.S-FUT 1DU.INC.OBL-COMIT
 He'll go with us.

Interestingly, the comitative case form serves as the base for other case forms such as the allative:

- (4-291) *Yabu gama irriga-yili-nmanji!*
 take(FUT) SG.IMP.AWY 3PL.OBL-COMIT-ALL
 Take it to them!

Possessive pronouns, like most nominals, have an ergative/absolute case-marking system; nominative and accusative case forms are homophonous. Table 4.19 lists the nominative/accusative forms of the possessive pronouns, which agree in gender, number and case with the noun that they modify (i.e. the possessed noun). A question mark following a form indicates that the form has been inferred on the basis of other members of the paradigm, but is not present in the corpus.

TABLE 4.19: POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS (WITH SINGULAR, NOMINATIVE/ACCUSATIVE AGREEMENT)

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1SG	<i>ngarri, ngarradi</i>	<i>ngarrima</i>	<i>ngarrima</i>	<i>ngarrga</i>
2SG	<i>ngangi, ngangadi</i>	<i>ngangirma</i>	<i>ngangima</i>	<i>ngangga</i>
3SG.M	<i>nangi</i>	<i>nangirma</i>	<i>nangima</i>	<i>nangga</i>
3SG.F	<i>ngayanji</i>	<i>ngayanga</i>	—	<i>ngayangga</i>
1DU.INC	<i>mirmdiganji</i>	<i>mirmdigarna</i>	<i>mirmdigama ?</i>	<i>mirmdigangga</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ngurluganji</i>	<i>ngurlugarna</i>	<i>ngurlugama</i>	<i>ngurlugangga</i>
2DU	<i>gurluganji</i>	<i>gurlugarna</i>	<i>gurlugama ?</i>	<i>gurlugangga</i>
3DU	<i>wurluganji</i>	<i>wurlugarna</i>	<i>wurlugama</i>	<i>wurlugangga</i>
1PL.INC	<i>ngurruganji</i>	<i>ngurrugarna</i>	<i>ngurrugama ?</i>	<i>ngurrugangga</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ngirriganji</i>	<i>ngirrigarna</i>	<i>ngirrigama ?</i>	<i>ngirrigangga</i>
2PL	<i>girriganji</i>	<i>girrigarna</i>	<i>girrigama ?</i>	<i>girrigangga</i>
3PL	<i>irriganji</i>	<i>irrigarna</i>	<i>irrigama ?</i>	<i>irrigangga</i>

The possessive pronouns are derived from the pronoun bases discussed above. With first and second person singular, the forms for Classes I, II and III are formed by adding the appropriate gender suffix: *-Ø/-ni-* 'I ABS/NABS', *-ma/-nga-* 'II ABS/NABS' and *-ma/-mi-* 'III ABS/NABS' respectively. The Class IV gender suffixes *-ga/-gi-* 'IV ABS/NABS' replace the final vowel of the pronoun base. Third person singular masculine behaves in the same way as first and second person singular. Third person singular feminine however, takes the Class I suffix *-ji* (and *-nyi-* in the non-absolute), and the Class II suffix *-nga* (both in the absolute and non-absolute). The final nasal of the pronoun base becomes palatal before the palatal stop of the Class I suffix and is dropped before the nasal of the Class II suffix.

Singular nominative/accusative forms

	Pronoun Base	I	II	III	IV
1SG	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>ngarri-Ø</i>	<i>ngarri-ma</i>	<i>ngarri-ma</i>	<i>ngarr-ga</i>
2SG	<i>ngangi-</i>	<i>ngangi-Ø</i>	<i>ngangi-ma</i>	<i>ngangi-ma</i>	<i>ngang-ga</i>
3SG.M	<i>nangi-</i>	<i>nangi-Ø</i>	<i>nangi-ma</i>	<i>nangi-ma</i>	<i>nang-ga</i>
3SG.F	<i>ngayang-</i>	<i>ngayan-ji</i>	<i>ngaya-nga</i>	—	<i>ngayang-ga</i>

Evidence for the forms of these pronoun bases is the fact that these are the forms to which dual and plural number suffixes are attached (see §4.3 for a discussion of number and number suffixes):

<i>ngarri-yulu</i>	1SG.POSS-DU
<i>ngangi-yulu</i>	2SG.POSS-DU
<i>nangi-marndi</i>	3SG.M.POSS-PL.I(NOM/ACC)
<i>ngayang-bali</i>	3SG.F.POSS-PL.I(NOM/ACC)

Some non-singular nominative/accusative forms

	Pronoun Base I	II	III	IV
1DU.INC	<i>mirndi-</i>	<i>mirndi-gan-ji</i>	<i>mirndi-ga-ma</i>	<i>mirndi-ga-ma mirndi-gang-ga</i>
2DU	<i>gurlu-</i>	<i>gurlu-gan-ji</i>	<i>gurlu-ga-ma</i>	<i>gurlu-ga-ma gurlu-gang-ga</i>
3PL	<i>irri-</i>	<i>irri-gan-ji</i>	<i>irri-ga-ma</i>	<i>irri-ga-ma irri-gang-ga</i>

The non-singular possessive pronouns are derived by adding to the pronoun base the possessive-deriving suffix *-gan-*, inflected for gender: *-ji/-nyi-* 'I ABS/NABS', *-ma/-nga-* 'II ABS/NABS', *-ma* 'III ABS' and *-ga/-gi-* 'IV ABS/NABS'. The final nasal of the suffix *-gan-* assimilates to the place of articulation of the following palatal or velar stop (i.e. with the Class I and Class IV suffixes), and is dropped before an alveolar or bilabial nasal (i.e. before the Class II absolutive suffix and the Class III suffix).⁷⁷

In Wambaya, as in many Australian languages, there is a contrast between two types of possession: alienable possession and inalienable possession. The possessive constructions discussed so far in this work, in the discussion of possessive demonstratives (§4.6.1), the genitive suffix (§4.4.10) and the possessive use of the dative suffix (§4.4.4), have all involved alienable possession; cases in which the possessed item is considered separate and detachable from the possessor. The nature of inalienable possession, on the other hand, is that of a part-whole relationship; the two entities are considered to be inseparable such that what is happening to one nominal (the 'part') is conceived of as simultaneously happening to the other nominal (the 'whole') (see, for example, Hale (1981), McGregor (1985), Chappell and McGregor (1989), Chappell and McGregor, eds (1995) for a discussion of inalienable possession in both Australian languages and more generally). The semantic contrast between these two construction types is shown in the following English examples:

The dog bit me on the hand	=	The dog bit me (inalienable (or part-whole))
The dog ate my dinner	≠	The dog ate me (alienable)

The dative and genitive suffixes and the possessive demonstratives can be used only in constructions of alienable possession, which is also the most usual use of possessive pronouns (see examples (4-292) to (4-295)). However, for purposes of emphasis (4-296) or in verbless clauses (4-297), it is possible to use possessive pronouns in constructions of inalienable possession.

Some examples of the use of possessive pronouns follow. For a discussion of inalienable possession see §4.9.

⁷⁷ This suffix is also used to derive possessive demonstratives. However, in the one example of a Class III possessive demonstrative in the corpus the alveolar nasal of the possessive-deriving suffix is retained before the bilabial nasal of the Class III gender suffix: *nganaganma* 'this.II.SG.POSS.III.NOM/ACC'. Simpson (1990) notes the similarity between the *-ga* accusative/oblique element in Wambaya, and an inversion marker in Warumungu *-ngki* or *-ngku*. As well as having a slight similarity of form, these two morphemes are similar in occurring with non-singular accusative pronouns and possessive pronouns (although whether the form that occurs with possessive pronouns in Wambaya is the same as that on accusative/oblique pronouns is unclear, see the discussion in §4.6). However, the Warumungu morpheme has an additional function of marking inversion of subject and object bound pronouns that the Wambaya element does not have.

- (4-292) *Ngajbi ng-a nangi-marndi alangmiminji*
 see ISG.A-PST 3SG.M-PL.I(ACC) children.I(ACC)
 I saw his children.
- (4-293) *Wugbardi ng-a manganyma ngarringa-nka gujiga-nka.*
 cook ISG.A-PST tucker.III(ACC) ISG.POSS.II-DAT mother.II-DAT
 I cooked tucker for my mother.
- (4-294) *Ngayangani janya-ni ngiyi-ng-a dawu.*
 3SG.F.POSS.II-LOC dog.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF bite
 Her dog (female) bit me.
- (4-295) *Iniyawulu gurlugan-bulu alag-ulu.*
 that.I.DU.NOM 2DU.POSS-DU(NOM) child-DU(NOM)
 There are your (dual) two children.
- (4-296) *Junmi nyi-ng-a ngarrga nyungga!*
 cut 2SG.A-IO-NF ISG.POSS.IV(ACC) hair.IV(ACC)
 You cut my hair!
- (4-297) *Yana ngarrga labirra.*
 this.IV.SG.NOM ISG.POSS.IV(NOM) hand.IV(NOM)
 This is my hand.

It is very common for an oblique pronoun to be used in a context where a possessive pronoun would usually be expected. The examples of this are all in constructions of alienable possession. Some examples are:

- (4-298) *Gajbi gin-a manganyma ngarra.*
 eat 3SG.M.A-PST tucker.III(ACC) ISG.OBL
 He ate my tucker.
- (4-299) *Yarru irr-agba nganga magi-nmanji.*
 go 3PL.S-HYP 2SG.OBL camp.IV-ALL
 They might go to your camp.
- (4-300) *Lurdbi irr-a ngarra barrawu.*
 pound 3PL.A-PST ISG.OBL house.IV(ACC)
 They bashed on my door (lit. house).

The fact that oblique pronouns can be used in possessive constructions parallels the common use of the dative case with nominals in genitive phrases, instead of the genitive suffix (see §4.4.4 and §4.4.10).

4.9 NP STRUCTURE

A Wambaya noun phrase consists of a head and one or more modifiers, all of which are optional (the head can be ellipsed when it is recoverable from previous discourse; see below). All members of the NP must agree in terms of gender, number and case (where morphologically possible). As is common to several Australian languages, elements of NPs in Wambaya need not be contiguous in the clause. This possibility of discontinuous NP constituents has led researchers working on some Australian languages (e.g. Heath 1986 on Nunggubuyu, Blake 1983 on Kalkatungu) to suggest that these languages may not have NP

constituents, and that apparent NPs can just be treated as apposed nominals. I will not review the arguments for this analysis here, but assume that the following two pieces of evidence argue for the existence of a NP constituent in Wambaya, at least in those cases in which the elements are contiguous (see below for more discussion of discontinuous NPs):

- (i) Usually the auxiliary must follow the initial word of a clause. However, it is possible for the auxiliary to follow a complex NP, thereby providing evidence for its existence as a constituent. The position of the auxiliary can then be described as being after the initial constituent of a clause.
- (ii) In possessive phrases in which the possessor is marked with either genitive or dative case, relational case marking is found only on the head of the NP. As relational case marking is not found on the possessor nominal in this situation, the case marking found on the head nominal also refers to the modifying nominal, thereby providing evidence that the two nominals in such phrases form a single NP constituent.

The structure of a Wambaya NP is as follows.⁷⁸ Note that any one of the modifiers listed in the position before the head can be postposed to follow the head.⁷⁹

(MODIFIERS) (HEAD) (MODIFIER)
 (Dem)(POSS)(Num)(Adj) Nom

Dem = Demonstrative

POSS = Possessive pronoun or demonstrative, or possessive NP

Num = Numeral

Adj = Adjective

Nom = Nominal

The head is usually filled by a noun, but can in principle be any type of nominal. An example from Text 1 in Appendix A in which a numeral functions as the head is:

(4-301) *Garnguji=miji irri-n mirra.*
 many.I(NOM)=INFER 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit
 There must be a big group (of people).

The fact that this example occurs at the beginning of the text (i.e. the second line) before there has been any mention of people, suggests that the numeral is functioning as the head, rather than simply modifying an ellipsed head. However, there are a small number of examples in which it may be argued that the head has been ellipsed. Consider the following sequence (lines 62-64) from the same text:⁸⁰

⁷⁸ This is the same structure as in Kayardild (Evans 1995a) and is very similar to the Gooniyandi structure (McGregor 1990).

⁷⁹ In his detailed discussion of Gooniyandi noun phrases, McGregor (1990) makes a distinction between *reference* modification and *referent* modification, and shows that this distinction correlates with a contrast in function between pre-head and post-head modifiers. Thus, an element which precedes the head modifies the *reference* of the head nominal; it selects a subset of the potential referents denoted by the nominal. In contrast, a post-head constituent modifies the head's *referent*, indicating a quality of property of the thing itself, which may be independent of the nominal denoting the entity (p. 267f). Further research is needed to determine whether there is likewise a semantic difference between pre- and post-head modifiers in Wambaya.

⁸⁰ This discussion has benefited greatly from McGregor's (1990) discussion of NPs in Gooniyandi.

(4-302) *Bungmaj-buli-ji ngankawuliji wurl-aji daguma juwarramba.*
 old.person-DU-LOC this.II.DU.LOC 3DU.A-HAB.PST hit men.I(ACC)
 (because) These two old ladies had been killing all the boys.

Daguma wurl-aji giliyaga wurl-aji gajbi juwarramba.
 hit 3DU.A-HAB.PST there 3DU.A-HAB.PST eat men.I(ACC)
 They'd been killing them (and) eating the boys there.

Garguji wurl-aji daguma.
 many.I(ACC) 3DU.A-HAB.PST hit
 They'd been killing a lot of them.

In this example, in contrast to that given in (4-301), *garguji* in the final line appears to be modifying the ellipsed head *juwarramba* which is mentioned in the preceding two clauses. Thus, this is one example in which an NP has no overt constituent corresponding to its head.

A NP can also be made up of a pronoun. A (non-possessive) pronoun is always the head of a phrase, and usually occurs alone (although see below for some possible exceptions to this).

Some example NPs are:

Dem + Noun + POSS

(4-303) *Janganja iniyaga gagulu ngang!*
 ask(FUT) that.I.SG.ACC y.brother.I(ACC) 2SG.POSS.I(ACC)
 Ask your brother!

Dem + Num

(4-304) *Inuwulu gujarrawulu wurl-uba yarru.*
 this.I.DU.NOM two(NOM) 3DU.S-NP.AWY go(FUT)
 These two will go.

Dem + POSS, and then Num + Dem

(4-305) *Nganki ngayanga-ni ngiy-a aliyulu garndawugi*
 this.II.SG.LOC 3SG.F.POSS.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST find one.I(ACC)
iniyaga.
 that.I.SG.ACC
 This (daughter) of hers has that one (son).

Num + Adj + Noun

(4-306) *Garndawugini-ni bugayini-ni galalarrinyi-ni gini-ng-a dawu.*
 one.I-LOC big.I-LOC dog.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-1O-NF bite
 One big dog bit me.

Dem + Noun + Adj

(4-307) *Ayani ngi ninaga galalarrinyi-nka bugayini-nka.*
 look.for 1SG.S(PR) this.I.SG.DAT dog.I-DAT big.I-DAT
 I'm looking for the big dog.

POSS + Num + Noun

(4-308) *Ngarri-yulu gujarrawulu alag-ulu.*
 1SG.POSS-DUAL(NOM) two(NOM) child-DU(NOM)
 My two children.

Num + Noun + Dem

- (4-309) *Ngajbi g-a gujarrawulu marndag-bulu inuwuliyaga.*
 see 3SG.A-PST two(ACC) white.person-DU(ACC) that.I.DU.ACC
 He saw those two white men.

Pro (NOM)

- (4-310) *Ngawurniji ng-uba yarru.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.S-NP.AWY go(FUT)
 I'll go.

Pro (Obl)

- (4-311) *Yandu ngi ngaya.*
 wait 1SG.S(PR) 3SG.F.OBL
 I'm waiting for her.

Although the tendency is for NPs to be contiguous, it is possible for members of a NP to be separated in the clause. In the majority of these examples, one element of the discontinuous NP appears initially in the clause (see examples (4-312)–(4-314)), but this is not always the case (see (4-315)).

Examples of discontinuous NPs are:

- (4-312) *Garngunya gin-aji yabu garirda-rdarra garmdawugini-ni.*
 many.II(ACC) 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST have wife.II-GROUP(ACC) one.I-LOC
 One (man) used to have many wives.
- (4-313) *Ngaragana-nguji ngiy-a gujinganjanga-ni jiyawu ngabulu.*
 grog-PROP.I(ACC) 3SG.NM.A-PST mother.II-LOC give milk.IV(ACC)
 (His) mother gave (him) milk with grog in it.
- (4-314) *Dirdibulyini-nmanji g-amany magi-nmanji yarru.*
 peewee.I-ALL 3SG.S-P.TWD camp.IV-ALL go
 She came to Peewee's camp.
- (4-315) *Babaga-yi nyi-n jundurra mirnda bajbaga yardi.*
 sister.II-LOC 2SG.A(PR)-PROG dust.IV(ACC) 1DU.INC.OBL big.IV(ACC) put
 Sister you're making lots of dust for us.

A great deal more work is needed on discontinuous constituents in Wambaya and the discourse conditions under which they are possible.

A small set of nouns can also be used as modifiers, modifying a head noun. The most common examples of this involve the noun *bungmaji* 'old man' (I):

- (4-316) *Garidi-ni bungmanyi-ni gin-amany yanybi.*
 husband.I-LOC old.man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-P.TWD get
 (Her) old man husband came and got (her).
- (4-317) *Ngarri bungmaji jugu g-a yarru*
 1SG.POSS.I(NOM) old.man.I(NOM) MBI(NOM) 3SG.S-PST go
mawula-ji-nka.
 play-TH-DAT
 My old man uncle came to play (cards).

Another example involves the noun *lagurra* 'hole'. Note that despite the fact that it belongs to a different gender, *lagurra* shows no gender agreement with the head noun in this example:

- (4-318) *Yabu ng-aji lagurra juruma.*
 have 1SG.A-HAB.PST hole.IV(ACC) stomach.III(ACC)
 I used to have a deep stomach (i.e. I was very thin).

In a couple of examples an oblique pronoun co-occurs with a noun. In these examples it is difficult to determine whether the two belong to one NP or to different NPs. However, the fact that pronouns usually occur alone in a NP, and that there is usually (but not always) a pause between the pronoun and the noun, suggests that it may be better to treat these examples as containing two apposed NPs, as in the English translations.

- (4-319) *Yandu irri ngaya bulungunga-nka.*
 wait 3PL.S(NP) 3SG.F.OBL young.woman.II-DAT
 They wait for her, the young woman.
- (4-320) *Yangula g-a yarru naniyaga mujuju-ngunya*
 NEG 3SG.S-PST go that.II.SG.NOM menstruation-PROP.II(NOM)
irriga-yili-nmanji juwa-nmanji.
 3PL.OBL-COMIT-ALL man.I-ALL
 That menstruating woman can't go near them, the men.

However, in at least one example in the corpus, a pronoun appears between a modifier and a noun, making the apposition analysis harder to justify:

- (4-321) *Jawaranya ng-u yidanyi ngaba ng-u yardi*
 billycan.II(ACC) 1SG.A-FUT get THEN 1SG.A-FUT put
yaniya cool drink ninaka nanga jugini-nka.
 that.IV.SG.ACC cool drink this.I.SG.DAT 3SG.M.OBL boy.I-DAT
 I'm going to get the billycan and put that cold drink (in it) for this boy.

Further investigation is required. In particular, it is necessary to test whether a pronoun + noun combination can appear before the auxiliary before it can be determined whether they can together make up a single NP.

INALIENABLE POSSESSION

As mentioned in §4.8, Wambaya makes a formal distinction between two types of possessive constructions: alienable and inalienable. In constructions of alienable possession the possessor is expressed by either a possessive pronoun or demonstrative, or by a nominal inflected with either the dative or genitive case. In constructions of inalienable possession, however, there is no special marking on the possessor nominal and the two nominals occur in juxtaposition. Examples of constructions of alienable possession are found in §4.8, §4.6, §4.4.4 and §4.4.10. A discussion of inalienable possession follows.

Constructions of inalienable possession are the most common type of what are commonly referred to as part-whole constructions.⁸¹ These constructions are thus in contrast to those of alienable possession, which encode two entities as being associated, but easily separable.

⁸¹ Although, as pointed out by Chappell and McGregor (1989:28), constructions of inalienable possession encode not so much a part-whole relation, but rather one in which two entities are seen to be inextricably linked. See also Hale (1981), McGregor (1985) and Chappell and McGregor, eds (1995) for a discussion of inalienability and part-whole relations in other languages.

Inalienable possession in Wambaya is most commonly used with body parts (4-323) to (4-325), but is also used with other entities such as tracks (example (4-326)) and names (4-327).

As mentioned above, the construction of inalienable possession differs from that of alienable possession in that the two nominals are simply juxtaposed without any special morphological marking. These two constructions also differ in the way that they are registered in the auxiliary. In alienable constructions, it is the possessed noun (the head of the phrase) which is registered in the auxiliary. In inalienable constructions, however, it is the 'possessor' nominal which is registered. This difference is shown in the following two examples, of which the first is an alienable construction and the second is one of inalienable possession.

(4-322) *Daguma ng-a ngangi janji.*
 hit 1SG.A-PST 2SG.POSS.I(ACC) dog.I(ACC)
 I hit your dog.

(4-323) *Nyami ngi-ny-a daguma labirra.*
 2SG.ACC 1SG.A-2O-NF hit hand.IV(ACC)
 I hit your hand.

If the inalienable construction is considered to be made up of 2 NPs: one which contains the 'possessor' nominal and bears the grammatical relation, and another which contains the 'possessed' entity and is a complement of the first NP, then this difference in the cross-referencing behaviour of the two possessive constructions is easily explained. Under this analysis it is simply the head of the NP bearing the grammatical relation which is registered: *janji* 'dog' (I) in example (4-322) and *nyami* 'you.ACC' in (4-323). The nominal *labirra* in (4-323) cannot be registered as it belongs to a NP which does **not** bear the grammatical relation (but is simply a complement); and the possessor nominal in (4-322) cannot be registered as it is not the head of the NP in which it occurs.⁸²

The behaviour of inalienable constructions in reflexive/reciprocal clauses also supports the analysis that treats the 'possessed' entity as a complement to the 'possessor' NP. Usually a reflexive/reciprocal construction contains no overt object NP, only the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun in the auxiliary. However, in constructions of inalienable possession, it is possible to have an overt NP representing the object:

(4-324) *Langanjardi-j-ba ngu-ngg-u janga.*
 hang.up-TH-FUT 1SG.A-RR-FUT foot.IV(NOM)
 I'll put my feet up (on the back of the chair).

This suggests that the overt NP, here *janga*, is not the object (as the object is represented by the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun), but a complement to the object.

A few other examples of inalienable constructions are:

(4-325) *Warima gini-ng-a labirra.*
 hold 3SG.M.A-IO-NF hand.IV(ACC)
 He held my hand.

⁸² Note that this makes predictions about auxiliary placement in inalienable constructions: if the 'possessor' and the 'possessed' belong to different NPs one would expect that it is not possible for both to precede the auxiliary in one clause. Unfortunately the corpus does not contain the relevant data to check this.

(4-326) *Janga ng-a ngajbi yarru-warda mayinanyi.*
foot.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-PST see go-INF goanna.I(ACC)
I saw the goanna's tracks going along.

(4-327) *Gayina nyamirniyi yurula?*
what.IV(NOM) 2SG.NOM name.IV(NOM)
What's your name?

CHAPTER 5

THE AUXILIARY

The auxiliary in Wambaya contains bound pronouns that represent the subject and object (if present) of the clause, as well as affixes that provide tense, aspect, mood and directional information. The auxiliary occurs in second position and is usually obligatory in every main verbal clause; it can be omitted only under highly restricted conditions (see §5.4). The basic structure of the auxiliary is as follows:

Subject + (Object) + Tense/aspect/mood/directional

A maximum of two arguments can be registered in the auxiliary: the subject and the direct object.¹ With ditransitive verbs it is the recipient which is registered. In all examples in the corpus, this argument is animate while the other argument that is not registered is inanimate.² Some examples are:

(5-1) *Didima ngiyi-ng-a marranya.*
tell 3SG.NM.A-1O-NF yarn.IV(ACC)
She told me a yarn.

(5-2) *Jiyawu ngi-ny-a danya.*
give 1SG.A-2O-NF clothes.IV(ACC)
I gave you clothes.

Only direct objects can be registered in the auxiliary. Indirect objects of semitransitive verbs, for example, are not registered:

(5-3) *Yandu ng-a nganga.*
wait 1SG.S-PST 2SG.OBL
I waited for you.

As evident in the above structural template, the auxiliary in Wambaya contains no verbal root (at least synchronically). Although it is sometimes claimed that an auxiliary by definition must be verbal, Schachter (1985:41) argues that it is possible for the class of auxiliaries to include non-verbs, as in languages such as Hausa. I thereby follow the arguments of Schachter in describing the Wambaya part of speech as an auxiliary despite the fact that it is synchronically non-verbal. Following are some examples of auxiliaries in Wambaya.

¹ For the moment I will postpone discussion of the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun, which behaves a little differently from the other object bound pronouns. The reflexive/reciprocal pronoun is discussed in §5.1.1.

² Unfortunately, there are no examples in the corpus in which both objects are animate (e.g. *They gave him that woman as a wife*), so it is not possible to tell whether it is grammatical/semantic role or animacy which determines which argument will be registered in the auxiliary. I suspect, however, that it is the recipient that is consistently marked, providing evidence that it is the direct object of these verbs.

- (5-4) *Dagama ng-a.*
hit 1SG.A-PST
I hit him.
- (5-5) *Yarru ng-uba.*
go(FUT) 1SG.S-NP.AWY
I will go.
- (5-6) *Yarru ng-amany.*
go 1SG.S-P.TWD
I came.
- (5-7) *Mirra ny-ala.*
sit 2SG.S-HAB.NP
You always sit.
- (5-8) *Ngajbi ngi-ny-a.*
see 1SG.A-2O-NF
I saw you.

The absence of a verbal root makes the structure of the auxiliary a little difficult to characterise: are the bound pronouns prefixed to the tense markers, or are the tense markers suffixed to the bound pronouns? Historically, it appears that the bound pronouns were prefixed to an auxiliary verb which has since been reduced, or lost completely, and is now represented only by the tense/aspect/mood and directional markers. However, strictly speaking, it is no longer valid to say that the bound pronouns are prefixes in Wambaya, as there is no verbal root to which they are prefixed.³

In this work, I will call the pronominal elements 'bound pronouns' and will refer to the tense/aspect/mood and directional markers as 'suffixes', while acknowledging this term's slight inaccuracy.

In this chapter I begin with a discussion of the bound pronouns in the auxiliary (§5.1), then discuss the tense, aspect and mood marking (§5.2) and the directional suffixes (§5.3). At the end of this chapter I deal with syntactic and functional aspects of the auxiliary: its position in, or absence from, the clause (§5.4) and its behaviour in imperative constructions (§5.5).

³ In this respect I disagree with Blake (1990), who argues that the West Barkly languages can be reanalysed as prefixing on the basis of the fact that bound pronouns are prefixed in the auxiliary to what he calls a verbal stem (p.54). This analysis is based on examples from Chadwick (1979:681) such as the following from Wambaya (I have retained Blake's glosses):

- (a) *Nguba.*
I:go:FUT
I shall go.
- (b) *Ngajbi nguba*
see I:go:FUT
I'll go and see.

Blake (p.54) claims that (a) contains a verb prefixed with a bound pronoun which in (b) functions as a grammatical verb governing a non-finite lexical verb. According to my corpus the form in (a) is not a verb but the auxiliary, and can be a complete utterance only in a context where it is clearly understood which verb has been ellipsed. Thus, the more correct version of (a) would be *yarru nguba* in which the auxiliary occurs with the verb *yarru* meaning 'go'. The form *nguba* is made up of the bound pronoun *ng(i)*- representing first person singular subject, and the suffix *-uba* which indicates that the tense is non-past and the action/event involves movement in a direction away from the speaker (see below).

Appendix C gives the forms of the auxiliaries in the other Eastern Group languages (from Chadwick 1978).

5.1 BOUND PRONOUNS

Every auxiliary (except for some directional imperative auxiliaries – see §5.3) must contain a bound pronoun that registers the subject of the clause, and if there is a first or second person object, then the auxiliary must also contain a bound pronoun registering the object of the clause. (Third person objects are not registered in the auxiliary. This is discussed in more detail in §5.2.1.) The presence of bound pronouns in the auxiliary means that it is possible, and indeed usual, to omit the overt NP if all the necessary information is included in the bound pronoun itself, or if it is evident from context or previous discourse.

The bound pronoun system as a whole makes a three-way distinction between transitive subject (A), intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) (Table 5.1), although it is only in the third person singular that all three core functions are formally distinguished; all other bound pronouns have homophonous A and S forms. While the subject bound pronouns register person and number, object bound pronouns register person only. When the object is non-singular, the appropriate accusative free pronoun is used to indicate the number of the object (see below).

TABLE 5.1: SUBJECT AND OBJECT BOUND PRONOUNS

	A	S	O
1SG	<i>ngi-</i>	<i>ngi-</i>	<i>-ng-</i>
2SG	<i>nyi-</i>	<i>nyi-</i>	<i>-ny-</i>
3SG.M	<i>gini-</i>	<i>gi-</i>	
3SG.NM	<i>ngiyi-</i>	<i>gi-</i>	
1DU.INC	<i>mimdi-</i>	<i>mimdi-</i>	<i>-ng-</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ngurlu-</i>	<i>ngurlu-</i>	<i>-ng-</i>
2DU	<i>gurlu-</i>	<i>gurlu-</i>	<i>-ny-</i>
3DU	<i>wurlu-</i>	<i>wurlu-</i>	
1PL.INC	<i>ngurru-</i>	<i>ngurru-</i>	<i>-ng-</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ngirri-</i>	<i>ngirri-</i>	<i>-ng-</i>
2PL	<i>girri-</i>	<i>girri-</i>	<i>-ny-</i>
3PL	<i>irri-</i>	<i>irri-</i>	

Note that a gender distinction is made only in the third person transitive subject forms. This distinction is between masculine (M), which only refers to Class I nominals, and non-masculine (NM), which refers to nominals belonging to the feminine gender, Class II, as well as nominals belonging to the two inanimate genders, Classes III and IV:

- (5-9) *Darranggu-nu ngiyi-ng-a irrijabi.*
 stick.IV-LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF scratch
 The stick scratched me.

As mentioned above, object bound pronouns distinguish only person, not number, and are based on the singular subject forms. When the object is singular it is enough to have just the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary (example (5-10)). When the object is non-singular, however, the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary must be accompanied by a noun phrase containing the appropriate accusative free pronoun (5-11), (5-12):

- (5-10) *Jiya-j-ba ngu-ny-u gijilulu.*
 give-TH-FUT 1SG.A-2SG-FUT money.IV(ACC)
 I will give you (sing.) money.
- (5-11) *Jiya-j-ba ngu-ny-u gurla gijilulu.*
 give-TH-FUT 1SG.A-2O-FUT 2DU.ACC money.IV(ACC)
 I will give you two some money.
- (5-12) *Dagama gini-ng-a ngirra.*
 hit 3SG.M.A-1O-NF 1PL.EXC.ACC
 He hit us.

When the object is third person non-singular it is not represented in the auxiliary (see §5.2.1), and must be expressed by either an accusative free pronoun (example (5-13)), a noun-headed NP (5-14), or both (5-15), (5-16):

- (5-13) *Ngajbi ng-a wurla.*
 see 1SG.A-PST 3DU.ACC
 I saw them (two).
- (5-14) *Ngajbi ng-a alag-ulu.*
 see 1SG.A-PST child-DU(ACC)
 I saw the two children.
- (5-15) *Alag-ulu ngi-n yandu wurla.*
 child-DU(ACC) 1SG.A(PR)-PROG mind 3DU.ACC
 I'm minding the two children.
- (5-16) *Baraj-bali gun-uba irra yabu.*
 old.man-PL.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A-NP.AWY 3PL.ACC take
 He takes all the old men.

Note that the object free pronoun does not have to follow the auxiliary immediately; see example (5-15) and the following:

- (5-17) *Guyala ngurr-uji ngajbi irra.*
 NEG 1PL.INC.A-NACT.PR see 3PL.ACC
 We've never seen them.

As indicated in Table 5.1, third person objects are not registered in the auxiliary. While a more typical analysis of the data would be to analyse the third person object morpheme to be zero, a common situation in both Australian languages and other languages of the world, the behaviour of auxiliaries of clauses with third person objects with respect to tense marking indicates that they are best analysed as containing no object bound pronoun at all. The arguments for this are given in Nordlinger (1993b) and in the discussion of tense marking in §5.2.1.

There are a few examples in which a plural bound pronoun is used with dual reference, with no obvious difference in meaning. The following extract is taken from Text 1 (Appendix A), in which other examples can also be found (e.g. lines 7-10, 14 and so on). The subject of this extract is two boys and it begins with one of them talking to the other:

- (5-18) "Ngajbi ngurr-uba yana ngangaba najbi
 see 1PL.INC.A-NP.AWY this.IV.SG.ACC fire.IV(ACC) burn

gi-n.”

3SG.S(PR)-PROG

“Let’s go and look at the fire that’s burning.”

Yarru irr-a ngaj-bi nanawulu ilarra-wulu
 go 3PL.S-PST see this.II.DU.ACC eaglehawk-DU(ACC)
 They went and (they) saw the two eaglehawks

buyunku-nu wurlu-n mirra.
 middle-LOC 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sit
 (who) were sitting in the middle (of their camp).

There are also examples in which a singular bound pronoun is used with general plural reference:

- (5-19) *Bungmanyi-ni gun-u nij-ba, nayida g-u gajurra.*
 old.man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-FUT sing-FUT woman.II(NOM) 3SG.S-FUT dance.FUT
 The men will sing (while) the women dance.

However, in other examples the third person plural form *irri* is used with non-specific or general reference, as is ‘one’ or ‘they’ in English:

- (5-20) *Ngarringga irr-a narunguja.*
 take.from 3PL.A-PST car.IV(ACC)
 They’ve taken (her) car. (when explaining that my car had been sent on a truck to Adelaide)

5.1.1 THE REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL PRONOUN

In reflexive and reciprocal constructions, the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun (glossed ‘RR’) occurs in the object position in the auxiliary. The form of this bound pronoun is *-ngg-⁴* and it is followed by regular tense/aspect/mood suffixes (see §5.2.1). Some examples are:

- (5-21) *Gurda ngiyi-ngg-a.*
 be.sick 3SG.NM.A-RR-NF
 She is sick.
- (5-22) *Dagama-j-ba irri-ngg-i.*
 hit-TH-FUT 3PL.A-RR-FUT
 They all will fight.
- (5-23) *Dagama-j-ba wurlu-ngg-u.*
 hit-TH-FUT 3DU.A-RR-FUT
 They two will fight.

Note that, although the transitive forms of the subject bound pronouns are used in these constructions, a subject NP takes nominative case marking, rather than ergative/locative case marking (as would usually be expected of a transitive subject; see §4.4.3). Thus, the

⁴ Note that the Gudanji form of this pronoun is *-ngga* as in:

Ngajbi wurlu-ngga-ma.

see 3DU.A-RR-PST

They saw each other.

This is presumably the underlying form of the Wambaya suffix also; the tense suffix replacing the final vowel.

reflexive/reciprocal marker appears to detransitivise a transitive verb, as evidenced by the subject's change in case marking.

(5-24) *Janji gini-ngg-a wagardbi.*
 dog.I(NOM) 3SG.M.A-RR-NF wash
 The dog is washing himself.

(5-25) *Alag-bulu wurlu-ngg-a nyurrunyurru.*
 child-DU(NOM) 3DU.A-RR-NF chase
 The two children are chasing each other.

This is the only situation in which there is a mismatch between transitive subject bound pronouns and ergative/locative case marking. In all other types of constructions, a NP represented by a transitive subject bound pronoun must have ergative/locative case marking.

While indirect objects of verbs such as *ayani* 'look (for)' and *yandu* 'wait (for)' are not cross-referenced in the auxiliary with ordinary object bound pronouns (see example (5-3) above), they can be cross-referenced by the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun.

(5-26) *Ayani ngurlu-ngg-a.*
 look.for 1DU.EXC.A-RR-NF
 We're looking for each other.

(5-27) **Ayani ngi-ny-a.*
 look.for 1SG.A-2O-NF
 I'm looking for you.

(5-28) *Ayani ngi nganga.*
 look.for 1SG.S(PR) 2SG.OBL
 I'm looking for you.

This is, therefore, one way in which indirect objects (marked with dative case) can be distinguished from dative adjuncts: the latter cannot be cross-referenced by the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun:

(5-29) **Wugbardi ngurlu-ngg-u gunju.*
 cook 1DU.EXC.A-RR-FUT meat.IV(ACC)
 We will cook meat for each other.

(5-30) *Wugbardi ng-u gunju alangi-nka.*
 cook 1SG.A-FUT meat.IV(ACC) boy.I-DAT
 I will cook meat for the boy.

5.1.2 FIRST PERSON DUAL INCLUSIVE AS AN AMBIGUOUS CATEGORY

The category of first person dual inclusive in Wambaya is interesting as it patterns both with non-singular forms and with singular forms. In terms of object marking in the auxiliary, first dual inclusive is treated like all other non-singular forms (see examples (5-11), (5-12)), requiring that the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary be accompanied by the free form

accusative pronoun (5-31). This is in contrast to singular categories, which require only the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary (5-32).⁵

- (5-31) *Ngajbi gini-ng-a-n mimda.*
 see 3SG.M.A-10-NF-PROG 1DU.INC.ACC
 He's watching us two.

- (5-32) *Ngajbi gini-ng-a-n.*
 see 3SG.M.A-10-NF-PROG
 He's watching me.

In other respects, however, first dual inclusive patterns with the singular categories. *Mimdi*, like singular subject bound pronouns, is affected by regressive vowel harmony triggered by /u/-initial suffixes: *mimdi*- '1DU.INC.S/A' + *-uba* 'NP.AWY' > *murmduba*. Non-singular subject bound pronouns, however, themselves trigger **progressive** vowel harmony, affecting the vowel of the suffix: *irri*- '3PL.S/A' + *-uba* 'NP.AWY' > *irriba*.⁶

Mimdi also patterns like singular bound pronouns with respect to tense marking (this is discussed in more detail in §5.2.1). When the auxiliary has no object, *mimdi*, like the singular subject forms, makes a three-way tense distinction:

- (5-33) a. *Bardbi mirmd-a/ng-a.*
 run 1DU.INC.S-PST/1SG.S-PST
 We/I ran.
- b. *Bardbi mirmdi/ngi.*
 run 1DU.INC.S(PR)/1SG.S(PR)
 We/I run.
- c. *Bard-ba murmd-u/ng-u.*
 run-FUT 1DU.INC.S-FUT/1SG.S-FUT
 We/I will run.

Other non-singular forms (such as the first dual **exclusive**), however, make only a two-way tense distinction, between past tense and non-past tense:

- (5-34) a. *Bardbi/bard-ba ngurlu.*
 run/run-FUT 1DU.EXC.S(NP)
 We run/we will run.
- b. *Bardbi ngurl-a.*
 run 1DU.EXC.S-PST
 We ran.

The category of first person dual inclusive is thus ambiguous in Wambaya between treatment as a dual category (patterning with non-singular forms) and treatment as a minimal category (patterning with singular forms). This ambiguity of first person dual inclusive is not uncommon in other languages and is discussed by Greenberg (1988) and then by McGregor (1989) and Greenberg (1989).

⁵ Note also that the first dual inclusive **free** pronouns pattern consistently with the other non-singular forms (see §4.8).

⁶ See §2.3.4.3 for a detailed discussion of vowel harmony in the auxiliary.

As the system of number in Wambaya as a whole distinguishes singular, dual and plural number, *mimdi* is considered essentially a dual category. In the discussion of the instances in which it patterns with the singular forms, I will use the term 'minimal' to refer to the group containing the singular bound pronouns and *mimdi*, and 'non-minimal' to refer to the group consisting of the other non-singular forms. For a discussion of 'minimal' in pronominal systems see Conklin (1962) and McKay (1975, 1978), among others.

5.2 TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD

The auxiliary has another important role, apart from registering the subject and object NPs of the clause: it also provides tense, aspect and mood information. As there is very little inflection found on the verb (see §6.1), the auxiliary often provides the only tense, aspect and mood information for the clause. I will begin by discussing the marking of 'simple' tense⁷ in the auxiliary (§5.2.1) and will then discuss the aspect and mood suffixes (§5.2.2–§5.2.4).

5.2.1 SIMPLE TENSE

The marking of tense in the auxiliary is a little complicated as different types of auxiliaries mark tense slightly differently. Auxiliaries of intransitive clauses that have a minimal subject (i.e. those that have either a singular subject or a first person dual inclusive subject; see §5.1.2) have a three-way tense system, distinguishing present tense (-Ø), past tense (-a) and future tense (-u) (5-35). Intransitive auxiliaries that have a non-minimal subject (i.e. those that have any other non-singular subject; see §5.1.2) have a two-way tense system, distinguishing past tense (-a) from non-past tense (-Ø) (example (5-36)).

- (5-35) a. *Bardgu gi-Ø*.
 fall 3SG.S-PR
 He/she/it is falling.
- b. *Bardgu g-a*.
 fall 3SG.S-PST
 He/she/it fell.
- c. *Bardgu-j-ba g-u*.
 fall-TH-FUT 3SG.S-FUT
 He/she/it will fall.

- (5-36) a. *Bardbi ngurr-a*.
 run 1PL.INC.S-PST
 We ran.
- b. *Bardbi ngurru-Ø*.
 run 1PL.INC.S-NP
 We're running.
- c. *Bard-ba ngurru-Ø*.
 run-FUT 1PL.INC.S-NP
 We will run.

⁷ By this I mean tense marking that has no extra aspect or mood information. The interaction of tense marking with aspect and mood marking will be discussed separately for each type of aspect/mood suffix.

Auxiliaries with first or second person objects or containing the reflexive/reciprocal object pronoun also have a two-way system of tense marking; however, in this case the distinction is between future tense (-*u*, -*i*) and non-future tense (-*a*). The future tense allomorph -*i* appears when the subject bound pronoun is *ngirri*- '1PLEX', *girri*- '2PL' or *irri*- '3PL'.

- (5-37) a. *Ngaj-ba nguyu-ny-u/nguyu-ngg-u*.⁸
 see-FUT 3SG.NM.A-2O-FUT/3SG.NM.A-RR-FUT
 She will see you/herself.
- b. *Ngajbi ngiyi-ny-a/ngiyi-ngg-a*.
 see 3SG.NM.A-2O-NF/3SG.NM.A-RR-NF
 She is looking at you/herself./She saw you/herself.
- (5-38) a. *Bardganyi-j-ba irri-ng-i*.
 follow-TH-FUT 3PL.A-1O-FUT
 They will follow me.
- b. *Bardganyi irri-ng-a*.
 follow 3PL.A-1O-NF
 They are following me./They followed me.

Auxiliaries of clauses with a third person object pattern in the same way as objectless auxiliaries: when the subject is minimal there is a three-way tense distinction (example (5-39)) and when the subject is non-minimal there is a two-way tense distinction between past tense and non-past tense (5-40).

- (5-39) a. *Wugbardi gini-Ø*.
 cook 3SG.M.A-PR
 He is cooking it.
- b. *Wugbardi gin-a*.
 cook 3SG.M.A-PST
 He cooked it.
- c. *Wugbardi-j-ba gun-u*.
 cook-TH-FUT 3SG.M.A-FUT
 He will cook it.
- (5-40) a. *Ngarabi ngurr-a*.
 drink 1PL.INC.A-PST
 We drank it.
- b. *Ngarabi ngurru-Ø*.
 drink 1PL.INC.A-NP
 We're drinking it.
- c. *Ngara-ba ngurru-Ø*.
 drink-FUT 1PL.INC.A-NP
 We will drink it.

These different patterns of tense marking are summarised in Table 5.2.

⁸ Note that all tense/aspect/mood suffixes with initial /u/ trigger regressive vowel harmony in minimal subject bound pronouns. For a full discussion of vowel harmony in the auxiliary see §2.3.4.3.

TABLE 5.2: TENSE DISTINCTIONS IN THE AUXILIARY

	Past	Present	Future
Transitive 1, 2 & RR obj	<i>-a</i>		<i>-u</i>
With 3 obj min. subj	<i>-a</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-u</i>
Intransitive min. subj	<i>-a</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-u</i>
With 3 obj non-min. subj	<i>-a</i>	<i>-∅</i>	
Intransitive non-min. subj	<i>-a</i>	<i>-∅</i>	

The fact that auxiliaries with a third person object behave in the same way as intransitive auxiliaries suggests that, rather than third person object being marked in the auxiliary with a zero morpheme (as might be a more standard analysis), it is actually not marked in the auxiliary at all (Nordlinger 1993b). This being the case, it is unproblematic to account for why it is that auxiliaries with a third person object behave in the same way as intransitive auxiliaries: they are the same in that they do not contain an object bound pronoun. Thus, the tense-marking system in the auxiliary is based not on whether the clause is transitive or intransitive, but on whether or not the auxiliary contains an object bound pronoun. Table 5.3 is the revised table of tense distinctions in the auxiliary.⁹

TABLE 5.3: TENSE DISTINCTIONS IN THE AUXILIARY (REVISED)¹⁰

	Past	Present	Future
With Obj	<i>-a</i>		<i>-u</i>
Without Obj min. subj	<i>-a</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-u</i>
Without Obj non-min. subj	<i>-a</i>	<i>-∅</i>	

It is interesting that the same three inflections are used in slightly different ways to differentiate the three tense marking systems. While *-u*, if it occurs, is always future tense, *-a* can be either past or non-future, and *-∅* can be either present or non-past. If the three-way system (see Table 5.3) is taken to be basic this can be described in the following way. If two tense categories are to be collapsed (as happens with auxiliaries with objects, and auxiliaries with non-minimal subjects and without objects) then the inflection that marks the most anterior tense (i.e. that which would occur furthest to the left on a time scale going from past tense to future tense) is generalised to mark the new tense category. For example, when the auxiliary contains an object, the tense categories of 'past' and 'present' are collapsed into 'non-future'. The inflection for this new 'collapsed' category is that which is used for the most anterior of the two collapsed categories, that is 'past', and is therefore *-a*. When the categories of 'present' and 'future' are collapsed, as they are when an auxiliary contains a

⁹ Note that I am **not** claiming that transitive clauses with third person objects have no object. I am claiming only that there is no object represented in the auxiliary (i.e. as opposed to the marking being zero). Thus, the terms 'With Obj' and 'Without Obj' in Table 5.3 refer to the absence or presence of an object marker in the auxiliary and **not** to the presence or absence of an object in the clause.

A possible alternative analysis, suggested by Jane Simpson (pers.comm.), is to treat the system as completely tripartite such that the present tense suffix has two allomorphs: *-a* after consonant-final clitics (i.e. after the two object bound pronouns), and *-∅* elsewhere. However, note that consonant final suffixes are possible in the auxiliary, in the directional suffixes (§5.3), and the progressive suffix (§5.2.3). Furthermore, there are other suffixes that also have two-way, rather than three-way, tense distinctions such as the habitual suffixes (§5.2.2) and the directional suffixes (§5.3). Analysing all of these as having a tripartite system would lead to an enormous amount of homophony, thus I prefer the analysis presented here.

¹⁰ Table 6.5 shows the interaction between these and verbal tense categories.

non-minimal subject and no object, the inflection that would ordinarily mark present tense (-Ø) is generalised to mark the new category, non-past tense. This explains why it is that the future tense inflection is never used to mark anything except for future tense, as 'future' can never be the most anterior of two tense categories.

5.2.2 HABITUAL ASPECT

Habitual aspect is marked only in portmanteaux with tense: one marking past tense and the other marking non-past tense. The two forms are *-aji* and *-ala* respectively. Some examples of the two follow (note that the non-past suffix triggers regressive vowel harmony when the subject is minimal; see §2.3.4.3):

- (5-41) *Mamdija ngiyi-ng-aji nyurrunyurru.*
 long.ago 3SG.NM.A-IO-HAB.PST chase
 She used to chase me a long time ago.
- (5-42) *Jiyawu ngirr-aji mamdanga nyanyalu.*
 give 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST white.woman.II(ACC) tea.IV(ACC)
 We'd give tea to the white lady.
- (5-43) *Janganja girri-ng-ala.*
 ask 2PL.A-IO-HAB.NP
 You always ask me (for tobacco).
- (5-44) *Manku nga-ny-ala girra.*
 hear 1SG.A-2O-HAB.NP 2PL.ACC
 I will always be thinking about you.

The past tense form, *-aji*, is probably made up of the regular past tense marker *-a* and a habitual aspect suffix *-ji*. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in Gudanji the habitual past tense form of the auxiliary is formed using the regular past tense suffix as a base:

ngirri-ma '1PL.EXC.S/A-PST' > *ngirri-ma-ji* '1PL.EXC.S/A-PST-HAB'

However, as the non-past form can not be further segmented into tense and habitual aspect marking, and as the habitual aspect suffix *-ji* is found only in the past tense form, I will treat the habitual past tense marker as if it were a portmanteau, and gloss it 'HAB.PST'.

5.2.3 THE PROGRESSIVE SUFFIX

The function of this suffix, *-n*, is a little difficult to determine. Chadwick (1978:63) describes it as a progressive aspect marker that can follow present tense or past tense suffixes. While this is the case for some of the examples in my corpus (5-45) and (5-46), in some examples it appears to have a more durative or iterative function (5-47), (5-48).¹¹

- (5-45) *Bardbi irri-n.*
 run 3PL.S(NP)-PROG
 They're running.

¹¹ It is not uncommon for a marker of progressive aspect also to indicate other events of the same type which occur during a period of time. See, for example, Chung and Timberlake (1985:213ff.).

- (5-46) *Gajbi gini-n.*
eat 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG
He's eating.
- (5-47) *Bardganyi gini-ny-a-n nganybulanyini-ni.*
follow 3SG.M.A-2O-NF-PROG cat.I-LOC
The cat keeps following you.
- (5-48) *Banymanymi irri-ng-a-n ngurra narunguji-ni.*
pass.by.RDP 3PL.A-IO-NF-PROG IPL.INC.ACC car.IV-LOC
Cars were passing by us (all night).

The conditions of use of this suffix seem to differ from speaker to speaker. One speaker for example (MG), includes it in the present tense forms of all auxiliaries that do not have an object bound pronoun. Thus for this speaker it seems to simply mark present tense in auxiliaries without objects (see examples (5-49) and (5-50)).

- (5-49) *Mirra irri-n jamba-ni.* (not *irri*)
sit 3PL.S(NP)-PROG ground.IV-LOC
They're sitting on the ground.
- (5-50) *Girundajbi nyi-n.* (not *nyi*)
sweat 2SG.S(PR)-PROG
You're sweating.

Other speakers (e.g. MH) however, do not use this suffix in this way, and restrict its use to constructions such as examples (5-45) to (5-48) above.¹² Note however, that this suffix does not appear in all progressive constructions, and it is in fact more common for it to be absent (especially when the auxiliary contains an object):

- (5-51) *Nyurrunyurru ngiyi-ng-a.*
chase 3SG.M.A-IO-NF
She's chasing me.
- (5-52) *Daguma irri-ngg-a.*
fight 3PL.A-RR-NF
They're fighting.

More work is needed in order to properly determine the meaning and function of this suffix. For the purposes of this work I will refer to it as a progressive marker (and gloss it 'PROG'), although this may not turn out to be the best characterisation of its meaning and function.

5.2.4 IRREALIS MOOD

There are three suffixes that are used in the auxiliary to encode different types of irrealis mood. The 'non-actual' suffixes are used to express irrealis events in the past and present tenses and are discussed in §5.2.4.1. The 'hypothetical' suffix marks hypothetical future tense constructions; events that are conceivable or possible, but not certain. This suffix is discussed in §5.2.4.2.

¹² It is possibly significant that MH speaks a variety with a greater mix of Gudanji than MG does. Further investigation is required.

5.2.4.1 THE ‘NON-ACTUAL’ SUFFIXES

There are two ‘non-actual’ suffixes: *-udi/-uji* marks ‘non-actual present tense’ (glossed ‘NACT.PR’) and *-uda/-uja* ‘non-actual past tense’ (glossed ‘NACT.PST’). These suffixes are used to mark non-future tense irrealis events: events that are not occurring or did not occur, although it is conceivable, and probably expected, that they might have. In some contexts there is an associated implicature that the actuality of the event would have been preferable (example (5-54)).

These suffixes each have two allomorphs, conditioned by the number of the subject bound pronoun in the auxiliary in which they occur. The allomorphs with the alveolar stop (*-udi* ‘non-actual present tense’ and *-uda* ‘non-actual past tense’) occur when the subject pronoun is singular (examples (5-53), (5-54), (5-55)). The other allomorphs occur when the subject is non-singular (5-56), (5-57).

(5-53) *Guyala ngu-ngg-udi gurda.*
 NEG 1SG.A-RR-NACT.PR be.sick
 I never get sick.

(5-54) *Didima nyu-ng-uda.*
 tell 2SG.A-1O-NACT.PST
 You should have told me.

(5-55) *Guyala g-udi nagarna mirra magi-ni.*
 NEG 3SG.S-NACT.PR that.one.II.SG.NOM sit camp.IV-LOC
 She can’t sit at the camp.

(5-56) *Durnajarri irri-ng-uja ngurra durnajana-ni.*
 cover 3PL.A-1O-NACT.PST 1PL.INC.ACC blanket.IV-LOC
 They would have covered us with a blanket.

(5-57) *Guyala wurlu-ngg-uji daguma.*
 NEG 3DU.A-RR-NACT.PR hit
 They never fight with each other.

The third person singular masculine transitive bound pronoun can occur with either form:

(5-58) *Guyala gunu-ny-udi manku.*
 NEG 3SG.M.A-2O-NACT.PR hear
 He isn’t listening to you.

(5-59) *Wugbardi gun-uja manganyma gujanganjanga-nka.*
 cook 3SG.M.A-NACT.PST tucker.III(ACC) mother.II-DAT
 He should have cooked some tucker for his mother.

When attached directly to one of the plural subject bound pronouns *ngirri* ‘1PL.EXC’, *girri* ‘2PL’ or *irri* ‘3PL’, the non-actual suffixes have the forms *-iji* and *-ija* respectively:

ngirriji 1PL.EXC.S/A-NACT.PR
girrija 2PL.S/A-NACT.PST
irriji 3PL.S/A-NACT.PR

These non-actual suffixes (*-udi/-uji*, *-uda/-uja*) appear to be made up of the suffix *-u* (the future tense suffix, see §5.2.1) and a tense component: *-di/-ji* ‘present tense’, *-da/-ja* ‘past

tense'.¹³ This suggests that *-u* may be a more general irrealis marker, interpreted as a future tense marker when no further inflection is present. For simplicity, however, and since future tense is now its primary function in Wambaya, I will continue to gloss the suffix *-u* as 'FUT', and will treat the non-actual suffixes as portmanteau morphemes, as in the examples above.¹⁴

The non-actual suffixes are most commonly used with the negative particle *guyala* (examples (5-53), (5-55), (5-57), (5-58)). They can also be used without *guyala* however, to indicate that something that was not done should have been done (5-54), (5-59) or that something would have been done in a hypothetical situation (5-56). They can also be used to express the meaning of 'want' (with the implication that what is wanted is not possible):

(5-60) *Gambanga-ni ng-udi mirra.*
 sun.II-LOC 1SG.S-NACT.PR sit
 I want to sit in the sun (but can't).

(5-61) *Junku g-uda gayangga.*
 crawl 3SG.S-NACT.PST high
 He wanted to crawl up (onto the chair).

5.2.4.2 THE 'HYPOTHETICAL' SUFFIX

The 'hypothetical' suffix *-agba* (glossed 'HYP') is used in a number of future tense constructions all of which share the notion that the future event is possible, but not certain.¹⁵ Examples include:

(5-62) *Ngangirna banjirna, mardima yunumarrga ngiyi-ng-agba*
 2SG.POSS.II(NOM) cousin.II(NOM) chase this.way 3SG.NM.A-IO-HYP
mimda gajigajirra.
 1DU.INC.ACC quickly
 Your cousin might join us soon (lit. might follow us this way soon).

(5-63) *Angbardi irr-agba barrawu ngirra, yarru ngirr-iba.*
 build 3PL.A-HYP house.IV(ACC) 1PL.EXC.OBL go 1PL.EXC.S-NP.AWY
 They might build a house for us, (then) we'll go.

The hypothetical suffix is the future tense counterpart of the non-actual suffixes in negative clauses, co-occurring with the negative particles *guyala* and *yangula* in negative future tense constructions:¹⁶

¹³ This is the analysis implicit in Hale's description (1959:ii) and suggested by Jane Simpson (pers. comm.).

¹⁴ As pointed out by Jane Simpson (pers. comm.), the fact that *-u* is used in polite imperatives may be further support for its general irrealis function: irrealis is often used for politeness, as demonstrated by the Aboriginal English "You might do X for me" or "Might be we do X".

¹⁵ In Chadwick (1978) and Nordlinger (1993a), this suffix is considered to be a future tense irrealis suffix. However, it is not clear how a future tense irrealis suffix would differ from the simple future tense suffix – all future tense constructions being, by definition, irrealis – and thus the analysis given here is preferred.

¹⁶ Note that this is slightly different from the non-actual suffixes, which are found in negative constructions containing the negative particle *guyala* only; they do not co-occur with the negative particle *yangula*. For a more detailed discussion of negation see §7.6.

- (5-64) *Guyala irr-agba yarru.*
 NEG 3PL.S-HYP go
 They won't go.
- (5-65) *Yangula gin-agba guriny-mi milama.*
 NEG 3SG.M.A-HYP good-FAC again
 He won't be able to fix it again.

While the large majority of negative future tense constructions contain the hypothetical suffix, there are a few examples in which the negative particle *yangula* appears with the simple future tense suffix *-u* (example (5-66)). See §7.6 for a more detailed discussion of negation.

- (5-66) *Yangula ngu-ny-u daguma.*
 NEG 1SG.A-20-FUT hit
 I'm not going to hit you.

Another main function of the hypothetical suffix is in admonitive constructions, which warn of a possible danger (examples (5-67) and (5-68)).

- (5-67) *Alyu lingba-j-ba! Ginganbi ny-agba!*
 NEG.IMP bogey-TH-FUT drown 2SG.S-HYP
 Don't swim! You might drown!
- (5-68) *Narunguji-ni ngiyi-ny-agba nawu.*
 car.IV-LOC 3SG.M.A-20-HYP step.on
 A car might run you over. (lit. A car might step on you.)

The following example combines the negative and admonitive functions:

- (5-69) *Yangula gunu-ng-agba yagu. Gurda ngi-ngg-agba banjangani*
 NEG 3SG.M.A-10-HYP leave be.sick 1SG.A-RR-HYP behind
nanga.
 3SG.M.OBL
 He won't leave me. (He's worried) I might get sick behind him.

5.3 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The Wambaya auxiliary can also contain directional suffixes (Table 5.4), which are used to indicate whether the action takes place towards or away from a deictic centre, usually the speaker. These suffixes also mark tense – past and non-past – and occur in place of the tense suffixes discussed in §5.2.1 above. There are no examples in which the directional suffixes co-occur with any of the aspect or mood markers.

TABLE 5.4: INDICATIVE DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

	PAST	NON-PAST
TOWARDS	<i>-amany</i>	<i>-ulama</i>
AWAY	<i>-(g)any</i>	<i>-(g)uba</i>

These forms appear to contain the tense markers *-a-* 'past tense', and *-u-* 'non-past tense'. Note that these are common tense suffixes (see §5.2.1), although *-u* usually marks future tense only. If the initial vowel marks tense, the remainder of the form must mark the

direction. However, since there is not a lot of similarity between the pairs of forms in this respect I treat each form as if it were a portmanteau of tense and direction.¹⁷

In two examples in the corpus, the ‘direction away’ forms have an initial velar stop when they follow the first person object bound pronoun, *-ng*:

- (5-70) *Dulanymi nyi-ng-gany gulugi-nnga.*
 raise 2SG.A-10-PST.AWY sleep-ABL
 You woke me up. (lit. You raised me away from sleeping.)
- (5-71) *Yabu nyu-ng-guba ngirra narunguji-ni?*
 take(FUT) 2SG.A-10-NP.AWY 1PL.EXC.ACC car.IV-LOC
 Will you take us in your car?

However, in most examples with the same object bound pronoun the velar stop is not present.

The two non-past forms have initial /i/ when they follow one of the three subject bound pronouns: *ngirri-* ‘1PL.EXC’, *girri-* ‘2PL’ and *irri-* ‘3PL’. For example:

- (5-72) *Yarru ngirr-iba.*
 go(FUT) 1PL.EXC.S-NP.AWY
 We’ll go.
- (5-73) *Marndiji irr-ilama gannga.*
 later 3PL.S-NP.TWD return(FUT)
 They’ll come back later.

There are also imperative directional suffixes, which distinguish number. These are given in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5: IMPERATIVE DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

	SG	DU	PL
TOWARDS	<i>ga</i>	<i>gurlama</i>	<i>girrama</i>
AWAY	<i>gama</i>	<i>gurli</i>	<i>girri</i>

Note that the dual and plural ‘towards’ forms contain the element *-ma*, which is also contained in the non-imperative forms for ‘direction towards’. This element is not contained in the singular form for direction towards, but, strangely enough, does appear in the singular form for ‘direction away’.

Examples of these suffixes include:

- (5-74) *Iligirri-nmanji ngurr-uba yarru. Lingba-lingba ngurr-uba.*
 river.IV-ALL 1PL.INC.S-NP.AWY go(FUT) RDP-bogey 1PL.INC.S-NP.AWY
 We’re all going down to the river./We’re going to swim.
- (5-75) *Bungmanyi-ni gin-amany yanybi.*
 old.man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST.TWD get
 The old man came and got her.
- (5-76) *Ngajbi wurlu-ng-amany ngurra ngarl-warda.*
 see 3DU.A-10-PST.TWD 1PL.INC.ACC talk-INF
 They came to watch us talking.

¹⁷ Chadwick (1978:64) gives *-uba* as a motion-neutral future tense suffix in Binbinka.

- (5-77) *Gangga murnd-ulama ngarli-nka.*
 return(FUT) 1DU.INC.S-NP.TWD talk-DAT
 We will come back to talk.
- (5-78) *Mawula girri!*
 play PL.IMP.AWY
 Go and play!
- (5-79) *Yabu ga!*
 bring(FUT) SG.IMP.TWD
 Bring it here!

The use of these directional suffixes is optional, even with verbs of motion, and it is common for motion verbs to appear without one of these suffixes in the auxiliary. In these clauses, the direction is usually clear from context.

- (5-80) *Yarru ngurlu nganggi-nmanji barrawu-nmanji.*
 go 1DU.EXC.S(NP) 2SG.POSS.IV-ALL house.IV-ALL
 We two are going to your house.
- (5-81) *Gangga g-a ngurraramba-ni.*
 return 3SG.S-PST night-LOC
 He came back last night.

5.4 THE AUXILIARY IN THE CLAUSE

The auxiliary occurs in second position in the clause, following the initial word or (less commonly) the initial NP constituent.¹⁸ For examples of the auxiliary following the initial word of the clause see all of the examples given above. An example of the auxiliary following an initial NP constituent is:

- (5-82) *Ngarri alaji gi-n mirra ngarri-yili.*
 1SG.POSS.I(NOM) boy.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit 1SG.OBL-COMIT
 My son lives with me.

The main clause verb and its object may not, however, precede the auxiliary. This is strong evidence against the existence of a VP in Wambaya.

- (5-83) **Dagama janji ng-a.*
 hit dog.I(ACC) 1SG.A-PST
 I hit the dog.

The initial constituent may be a verb with a subordinate inflection and still count as a constituent for the purposes of auxiliary placement:

- (5-84) *Manku-ji-nka irri-n yarru.*
 hear-TH-DAT 3PL.S(NP)-PROG go
 They are coming to listen.

¹⁸ When the auxiliary is monosyllabic it encliticises to the preceding constituent, forming a single phonological word. When it is polysyllabic, it forms its own stress domain – see §2.2.4.

A topicalised NP, however, does not count as a constituent of the basic clause for the purposes of auxiliary placement; in this case, the auxiliary appears in third position.¹⁹

- (5-85) *Gujiga-nka manganyma ngi-n wugbardi.*
 mother.II-DAT tucker.III(ACC) 1SG.A(PR)-PROG cook
 My mother I'm cooking tucker for.
- (5-86) *Nyilanguya yanybi ngirr-aji.*
 echidna.II(ACC) get 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST
 Echidna we used to get.
- (5-87) *Wirrilgarra bardbi g-a banjangani.*
 cockatiel.II(NOM) run 3SG.S-PST behind
 Wirrilgarra ran behind (him).

While the usual position of the auxiliary is following the initial constituent, there are a small number of examples in which the auxiliary is found in first position. In all of these examples, the clause with the initial auxiliary is closely linked with the preceding clause in the discourse context; it may be co-ordinated (example (5-88)), or make an addition or correction to the earlier clause (5-89). Thus, in these examples it is the final constituent of the first clause which serves as the host for the auxiliary.

- (5-88) *Ngawu ng-a gulugbi, ngiyi-ng-a dulanymi.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.S-PST sleep 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF raise
 I was sleeping (and) she woke me up.
- (5-89) *Bulungurna ng-aji yarru alalangmi-ji-ni,*
 young.woman.II(NOM) 1SG.S-HAB.PST go hunt-TH-LOC
ngurl-aji yarru nana bungmanya.
 1DU.EXC.S-HAB.PST go this.II.SG.NOM old.woman.II(NOM)
 As a young woman I used to go hunting, this old woman and I used to go
 (hunting).

The auxiliary is usually obligatory in every finite clause, both main and subordinate. Non-finite subordinate clauses and verbless clauses do not contain an auxiliary:

- (5-90) *Aliyulu ng-a daji gulug-barda (*gi).*
 find 1SG.A-PST boy.I(ACC) sleep-INF (3SG.S(PR))
 I found the boy sleeping.
- (5-91) *Iligirra (*gi) yana buyurru.*
 river.IV(NOM) (3SG.S(PR)) this.IV.SG.NOM dry.IV(NOM)
 This river is dry.

¹⁹ In Hale's (1960) notes on Gudanji there are many examples in which the auxiliary appears in third or fourth position. Many of these contain interrogative elements in first position (i), although this is not always the case (ii). It is probably significant that in all of these examples the auxiliary appears adjacent to the verb (glosses mine).

(i) *Gayinanka nyamirniji gami nyi, ngarr-ili-ma?*
 why 2SG.NOM laugh 2SG.S(PR) 1SG.OBL-COMIT-ALL
 Why are you laughing at me? (1960:71)

(ii) *Malpiwi-marndi ngurnuga-li-ma yarru irri, bangarni.*
 old.man-PL.I(NOM) 1PL.INC.OBL-COMIT-ALL go 3PL.S(PR) this.way
 Old men are coming to us hither. (1960:73).

In some circumstances, however, it is possible for the auxiliary to be omitted from a main verbal clause. This is only possible in conjoined clauses where the subject of each clause is coreferential and the tense/aspect/mood information is the same. These examples usually involve two clauses (as in example (5-92)), but can sometimes contain three clauses (5-93). (See §8.2.2 for a discussion of conjoined clauses.)

(5-92) *Bardbi wurl-a ngurraramba-ni, yagu (wurla) alaji gulug-barda.*
 run 3DU.S-PST night-LOC leave boy.I(ACC) sleep-INF
 They ran (away) during the night (and they) left the little boy sleeping.

(5-93) *Angbardi ngirr-a manjunga, nguya (ngirra) jamba,*
 build 1PL.EXC.A-PST shade.IV(ACC) dig ground.IV(ACC)
wugbardi (ngirra) mayinanji.
 cook goanna.I(ACC)
 We built a shade, (and we) dug (a hole in) the ground (and we) cooked the goanna.

5.5 THE AUXILIARY IN IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In §5.3 I discussed the directional auxiliaries that occur in imperative constructions. In this section I discuss the behaviour of the auxiliary in motion-neutral imperative constructions.

In imperative clauses with a singular subject and no object bound pronoun (i.e. intransitive constructions and those with a third person object) there is no auxiliary.²⁰

(5-94) *Duga-j-ba!*
 sit.down-TH-FUT
 Sit down!

(5-95) *Laji-j-ba!*
 be.quiet-TH-FUT
 Shut up!

(5-96) *Gaj-ba (mama manganyma)!*
 eat-FUT (this.III.SG.ACC tucker.III(ACC))
 Eat (this tucker)!

In Gudanji the auxiliary *nya* occurs in singular imperative clauses:

(5-97) *Jiyawu nya babanya!*
 give SG.IMP sister.II(ACC)
 Give this to (my) sister!

Although this auxiliary is formally identical to the Wambaya past tense auxiliary *ny-a* '2SG.S/A-PST', the Gudanji past tense suffix is *-ma* so there is no such similarity in Gudanji.

When imperative clauses have a non-singular subject the imperative pronouns *gurl* 'DU.IMP' and *girr* 'PL.IMP' occur immediately after the verb:

(5-98) *Ngarl-wa gurl!*
 talk-FUT DU.IMP
 You two talk!

²⁰ In imperative constructions the verb is inflected with the future tense suffix (see §6.1).

- (5-99) *Ngaj-ba girr!*
 see-FUT PL.IMP
 You lot watch (him)!

In imperative constructions which have a non-third person object (note that this object must be first person, or reflexive/reciprocal) the regular subject and object bound pronouns occur (see §5.1) and the auxiliary either can be unmarked for tense (examples (5-100) and (5-101) or can have non-future tense marking (5-101) and (5-102).

- (5-100) *Dumajarri-j-ba nyi-ng!*
 cover-TH-FUT 2SG.A-IO
 Cover me!
- (5-101) *Manganyma girri-ng jiya-j-ba!*
 tucker.III(ACC) 2PL.A-IO give-TH-FUT
 Give me (some) tucker!
- (5-102) *Ngaj-ba nyi-ng-a!*
 see-FUT 2SG.A-IO-NF
 Watch me!
- (5-103) *Didima-j-ba gurlu-ng-a ngirra!*
 tell-TH-FUT 2DU.A-IO-NF 1PL.EXC.ACC
 Tell us!

Thus, despite the fact that the verbal inflection is the same, imperative constructions can be distinguished from future tense constructions by the form of the auxiliary. In imperative constructions the auxiliary is either absent, unmarked for tense, or in the non-future tense. In future tense constructions, the auxiliary is in the future tense (see Table 6.5 for the interaction between auxiliary and verbal tense categories).²¹

Note that future tense constructions are used for polite imperative constructions:

- (5-104) *Wugbardi-j-ba ny-u.*
 cook-TH-FUT 2SG.A-FUT
 Cook it. (polite)
- (5-105) *Dumajarri-j-ba gurlu-ng-u.*
 cover-TH-FUT 2DU.A-IO-FUT
 Cover me. (polite)
- (5-106) *Darridarri girri garran-ba.*
 be.in.line 2PL.S(NP) stand-FUT
 Stand in a line. (polite)

²¹ Tense and imperative marking in Wambaya is discussed in detail in Nordlinger (1995, 1996) and Nordlinger and Bresnan (1996).

CHAPTER 6
VERBS

There is very little inflectional verbal morphology in Wambaya. In finite clauses verbs can be inflected for future tense (otherwise they appear in the non-future/unmarked form)¹ and in non-finite clauses they can be inflected with the infinitive suffix, or with one of the three nominal suffixes: the ergative/locative *-ni*, the dative *-nka* and the ablative *-nnga*, which indicate the temporal relationship of the subordinate clause to the main clause (see §6.1.4 to §6.1.6 below). The four suffixes found in non-finite subordinate clauses are discussed here only very briefly. For a full discussion of their use see §8.1.

The regular verbs in Wambaya can be divided into two conjugation classes. I will refer to these two classes as the *J* conjugation class and the \emptyset conjugation class. Of the two classes the *J* class is certainly the most common and appears to be the unmarked class; it is the class to which most derived verbs belong, and some irregular verbs can take *J* Class suffixes (see Table 6.4 below). There are two differences between the two conjugation classes: (i) the *J* Class takes a zero non-future tense suffix and the \emptyset Class takes the non-future tense suffix *-bi*, and (ii) all of the non-zero inflections are preceded in the *J* Class by the thematic consonant /j/.²

The verbal inflections are given in Table 6.1. In this table the thematic /j/ of the *J* Class is separated from the inflection with a hyphen. Note that all inflections apart from the non-future tense inflection are the same for both classes.

TABLE 6.1: VERBAL INFLECTIONS

	<i>J</i>	\emptyset
Non-future Tense ³	$-\emptyset$	<i>-bi</i>
Future Tense	<i>-j-ba</i>	<i>-ba/-wa*</i>
Infinitive	<i>-j-barda</i>	<i>-barda/-warda*</i>
LOC	<i>-j-ini</i>	<i>-ini</i>
DAT	<i>-j-inka</i>	<i>-inka</i>
ABL	<i>-j-innga</i>	<i>-innga</i>

*The allomorphs with initial /w/ appear with stems having a final liquid.

¹ Wambaya is alone among the McArthur dialects in inflecting the verb for tense: in neither Gudanji nor Binbinka is the verb inflected in main clauses (Chadwick 1978:84). In Ngarnga, the verb also shows a future/non-future contrast; however, interestingly, the basic verb form (i.e. that which corresponds to the non-future verb form in Wambaya) is used in the future tense, while verbs in past and present tenses are inflected with the suffix *-ani* (p.85).

² The thematic /j/ of *J* Class verbs also appears before derivational suffixes such as *-barli-* 'AGNT' and *-baja-* 'PRIV'. For example:

daguma-j-barli hit-TH-AGNT (I)
daguma-j-baji hit-TH-PRIV (I)

³ The non-future tense form of a verb is also the citation form, and thus is more like a general unmarked form (see below).

Note that the three nominal suffixes *-ni*, *-nka* and *-nnga* are preceded here with */i/*. This is an epenthetic vowel which occurs between the final consonant of a verb stem (whether this consonant is the final consonant of the root itself, or the thematic consonant */j/*) and a following suffix with an initial nasal. The epenthetic vowel breaks up what would otherwise be an impossible consonant cluster. (A nasal can be the second element of a consonant cluster only when it is preceded by a hetero-organic nasal; see §2.2.3). When the details of verbal morphological structure are not significant I will not segment this epenthetic vowel in examples in this work, but will group it with the preceding morpheme. For example:

daguma-ji-nka hit-TH-DAT (NOT *daguma-j-i-nka*)
ngarli-nka talk-DAT (NOT *ngarl-i-nka*)

Some examples of inflected verbs from each class are given in Table 6.2. Due to lack of space, the inflection of only one of the nominal suffixes (*-nka*) is exemplified. Irregular verbs are given in Table 6.4 below. In all of the following tables an underline indicates that the corresponding form is not present in the corpus.

TABLE 6.2: EXAMPLES OF INFLECTED VERBS

<i>J</i> Class					
Gloss	Root	Non-future	Future	Infinitive	DAT
hit	<i>daguma-</i>	<i>daguma</i>	<i>dagumajba</i>	<i>dagumajbarda</i>	<i>dagumajinka</i>
throw	<i>banjarri-</i>	<i>banjarri</i>	<i>banjarrijba</i>	<i>banjarrijbarda</i>	<i>banjarrijinka</i>
crawl	<i>junku-</i>	<i>junku</i>	<i>junkujba</i>	<i>junkujbarda</i>	<i>junkujinka</i>
play	<i>mawula-</i>	<i>mawula</i>	<i>mawulajba</i>	<i>mawulajbarda</i>	<i>mawulajinka</i>
bite	<i>dawu-</i>	<i>dawu</i>	<i>dawujba</i>	<i>dawujbarda</i>	<i>dawujinka</i>
put	<i>yardi-</i>	<i>yardi</i>	<i>yardijba</i>	<i>yardijbarda</i>	<i>yardijinka</i>
cut	<i>junmi-</i>	<i>junmi</i>	<i>junmijba</i>	<i>junmijbarda</i>	<i>junmijinka</i>
leave	<i>yagu-</i>	<i>yagu</i>	<i>yagujba</i>	<i>yagujbarda</i>	<i>yagujinka</i>
\emptyset Class					
Gloss	Root	Non-future	Future	Infinitive	DAT
see	<i>ngaj-</i>	<i>ngajbi</i>	<i>ngajba</i>	<i>ngajbarda</i>	<i>ngajinka</i>
run	<i>bard-</i>	<i>bardbi</i>	<i>bardba</i>	<i>bardbarda</i>	—
talk	<i>ngarl-</i>	<i>ngarlwi</i>	<i>ngarlwa</i>	<i>ngarlwarda</i>	<i>ngarlinka</i>
sleep	<i>gulug-</i>	<i>gulugbi</i>	<i>gulugba</i>	<i>gulugbarda</i>	<i>guluginka</i>
wash	<i>agard-</i>	<i>agardbi</i>	<i>agardba</i>	<i>agardbarda</i>	<i>agardinka</i>
get	<i>yany-</i>	<i>yanybi</i>	<i>yanyba</i>	<i>yanybarda</i>	—
eat	<i>gaj-</i>	<i>gajbi</i>	<i>gajba</i>	<i>gajbarda</i>	<i>gajinka</i>
rub	<i>nimij-</i>	<i>nimijbi</i>	<i>nimijba</i>	<i>nimijbarda</i>	<i>nimijinka</i>
stand	<i>garran-</i>	<i>garranbi</i>	<i>garranba</i>	<i>garranbarda</i>	—
drink	<i>ngarag-*</i>	<i>ngarabi</i>	<i>ngaraba</i>	<i>ngarabarda</i>	<i>ngaraginka</i>

*Note that the final consonant of this root is dropped before an inflection with initial */b/*. I have no explanation for this as */gb/* is a permissible consonant cluster in Wambaya (e.g. *gulugbi* ‘sleep’). See §2.2.3 for a discussion of consonant clusters in Wambaya.

As can be seen in Table 6.2, membership of the two conjugation classes is phonologically determined: verbs with vowel-final roots belong to the *J* Class and those with consonant-final roots belong to the \emptyset Class.

An alternative analysis for the verbs of the *J* Class would be to consider the /j/ as in fact belonging to the verb root, rather than being thematic. Under this analysis the non-future suffix would still be $-\emptyset$, but the final consonant of the root would be dropped according to the general phonotactic constraint that words in Wambaya be vowel-final (see §2.2). However, if the roots of *J* Class verbs contain a final /j/, then there is no obvious explanation as to why these verbs belong to a different class than other verbs, such as *ngaj-* 'see', which also have /j/-final roots. Under the 'thematic /j/' analysis however, this inconsistency is avoided as the roots of these two verbs are different: one (*daguma-*) is vowel-final and the other (*ngaj-*) is consonant-final.

There is some evidence, however, to suggest that /j/ may once have been part of the verbal root, or even part of the non-future inflection, *-bi*. For example, many of the verbs of the *J* Class have cognates in other languages/dialects of the Eastern Group that have final *-jbi* in the non-future form.⁴

<i>baji</i> (W)	<i>bajijbi</i> (Ng)	grow up (intrans)
<i>baliji</i> (W)	<i>balijjbi</i> (Ng)	be hungry
<i>bardgu</i> (W)	<i>bardgubjbi</i> (Ng)	fall
<i>durra</i> (W)	<i>durrajbi</i> (Ng)	be frightened
<i>duwa</i> (W)	<i>duwajbi</i> (Ng)	get up
<i>gami</i> (W)	<i>gamijbi</i> (G)	laugh
<i>murri</i> (W)	<i>murrijbi</i> (Ng)	hurt, be sore
<i>nawu</i> (W)	<i>nawujbi</i> (Ng)	step on
<i>nimi</i> (W)	<i>nimijbi</i> (G)	rub
<i>yagu</i> (W)	<i>yagujbi</i> (G)	leave
<i>yardi</i> (W)	<i>yardijbi</i> (G)	put

One of the particularly interesting things about the Wambaya verbal inflections is their striking similarity to some of the verbal inflections in Garrwa, a language which borders Wambaya but appears otherwise unrelated to it. According to the analysis of Garrwa verbs proposed by Belfrage (1992:46), Garrwa has five verbal conjugation classes. Of these five there are two which show substantial similarity to the two Wambaya classes and are also referred to by Belfrage as the *J* conjugation class and the \emptyset conjugation class. Table 6.3 gives the forms of the inflections for these two Garrwa verbal conjugation classes.

TABLE 6.3: GARRWA *J* AND \emptyset CONJUGATION CLASSES (FROM BELFRAGE 1992:46)

	<i>J</i>	\emptyset
Unmarked	<i>-jba</i>	<i>-ba</i>
Purposive	<i>-ji</i>	<i>-(bi)ji</i>
Sequential	<i>-jiwa</i>	<i>-(bi)jiwa</i>
Same subject	<i>-jina</i>	<i>-(bi)jina</i>
Different subject	<i>-(j)kurri</i>	<i>-(bi)kurri</i>
Infinitive	<i>-(j)kanyi</i>	<i>-(bi)kanyi</i>

Thus, Class *J* verbs in Garrwa have the same /jbi/ sequence in their unmarked form that is so distinctive to verbs in Wambaya. Furthermore, the unmarked inflections of these two classes in Garrwa are identical to the future tense inflections that occur in the respective Wambaya classes. And the Wambaya non-future inflection, *-bi*, turns up (optionally) before

⁴ The Ngarnga information is taken from Chadwick (1971). The Gudanji information is from my own field notes.

the other inflections of the \emptyset Class in Garrwa. Another point of comparison is the Garrwa 'same subject' inflection which is very similar in form to the 'same subject' inflection (i.e. the ergative/locative case) in the *J* Class in Wambaya: *-j-ini*. This inflection in Wambaya is used to mark same subject in non-finite clauses that are simultaneous with the main clause (see §8.1). In Wambaya this inflection is analysed as consisting of the thematic consonant /j/, followed by the epenthetic vowel /i/ and then the ergative/locative case inflection *-ni*. The Garrwa inflection also appears to be based on the locative inflection, which is *-na* in Garrwa (Belfrage 1992:13). Although it is not unusual for the locative case inflection to be used to mark same subject in this region (see Austin 1981b), it is interesting here that the two inflections both precede the locative suffix with the sequence /ji/. In Garrwa however, unlike Wambaya, the full form *-jina* is also used with the \emptyset Class. In Wambaya the form that occurs with the \emptyset Class is *-ini*. There is clearly need for more detailed comparative work between these two languages.

There are a number of irregular Wambaya verbs which do not belong to either of the two conjugation classes discussed here. Table 6.4 gives the forms of such verbs that are present in the corpus, along with the regular verbs *daguma* 'hit' and *ngajbi* 'see' for comparison (non-italicised). A question mark indicates that the form given is hypothesised, but not confirmed.

TABLE 6.4: IRREGULAR VERB FORMS

Gloss	Root	Non-future	Future	Infinitive	DAT
hit	daguma-	daguma	dagumajba	dagumajbarda	dagumajinka
see	ngaj-	ngajbi	ngajba	ngajbarda	ngajinka
sit	<i>mirrang-</i>	<i>mirra</i>	<i>mirrangba</i>	<i>mirrangbarda</i>	<i>mirranggini</i> (LOC)
cook	<i>wugbardi-</i>	<i>wugbardi</i>	<i>wugbarda/</i> <i>wugbardijba</i>	<i>wugbardijbarda</i>	<i>wugbardijinka</i>
dance	<i>gajurru-?</i>	<i>gajurru</i>	<i>gajurra</i>	<i>gajurrarda</i>	—
finish	<i>ganjimi-?</i>	<i>ganjimi</i>	<i>ganjima</i>	—	—
ask	<i>janganja-</i>	<i>janganja</i>	<i>janganja</i>	—	<i>janganjani</i> (LOC)
go	<i>yarru-</i>	<i>yarru</i>	<i>yarru</i>	<i>yarruwarda/</i> <i>yarrujbarda</i>	<i>yarrunka/</i> <i>yarrujinka</i>
cry	<i>yugu-</i>	<i>yugu</i>	<i>yugu</i>	<i>yuguwarda</i>	<i>yugujinka</i>
have, take	<i>yabu-</i>	<i>yabu</i>	<i>yabu</i>	—	—
return	<i>gannga-</i>	<i>gannga</i>	<i>gannga</i>	<i>ganngajbarda</i>	<i>ganngajinka/</i> <i>gannganka</i>
scoop up	—	<i>ngalanyi</i>	<i>ngalanya</i>	—	—
sneak away	—	<i>nanganangali</i>	—	<i>nanganangalarda</i>	—

The verb *mirra* is irregular in not taking the non-future tense inflection *-bi*, as other consonant-final verb roots do. *Wugbardi* has an irregular alternative future tense form. Both *gajurru* and *nanganangali* have irregular infinitive forms and *gajurru*, along with *ganjimi*, has an irregular future tense form. The remaining five verbs are irregular in that they do not distinguish future and non-future tense. Furthermore, verbs such as *yarru* and *gannga* have alternative infinitive and/or DAT forms, one of which contains the corresponding regular *J* Class inflection. *Yugu* takes the \emptyset Class infinitive inflection but the *J* Class DAT inflection.

Where the morphological segmentation of an irregular verb is not clear, I will gloss the whole form as if it were a portmanteau. For example:

ganjima finish.FUT

6.1 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1.1 NON-FUTURE INFLECTION

As discussed above, the non-future suffix is either $-\emptyset$ (with vowel-final stems) or $-bi$ (with consonant-final stems). The non-future form of the verb is also the citation form of the verb and thus may in fact be better considered as the unmarked form. The non-future inflection is used in both past and present tenses and can also be used in the immediate future tense (examples (6-1) and (6-2)) in which case it is accompanied by future tense marking in the auxiliary. This is one case in which there is a mismatch between the tense marking in the auxiliary and that on the verb.⁵

(6-1) *Garndani-j-ba nyi-ngg-a! Daguma- \emptyset gunu-ny-u ninki!*
 shield-TH-FUT 2SG.A-RR-NF hit-NF 3SG.M.A-2O-FUT this.I.SG.LOC
 Shield yourself! He's going to hit you!

(6-2) *Yarru ga ginmanji ngaba murnd-u ngarl-wi!*
 go(FUT) SG.IMP.TWD this.way THEN IDU.INC.S-FUT talk-NF
 Come here so that we can talk!

The non-future form of the verb can also be found in some imperative constructions:

(6-3) *Alyu nyi-ng-a daguma- \emptyset !*
 NEG.IMP 2SG.A-1O-NF hit-NF
 Don't hit me!

(6-4) *Bard-bi gama!*
 run-NF SG.IMP.AWY
 Run over there!

Imperative constructions are discussed in more detail in §6.1.2.

Its appearance in some future and imperative constructions as well as the fact that it is always the citation form of the verb suggests that the non-future form is really more like an unmarked verb form. Therefore, I will treat it as unmarked in example sentences elsewhere in this work:

daguma hit (not 'hit(NF)')
ngajbi see (not *ngaj-bi* 'see-NF')

6.1.2 FUTURE INFLECTION

The future tense suffix is $-ba$, or $-wa$ after liquids. As well as being used in future tense clauses (examples (6-5) and (6-6)), the future tense suffix also marks imperative mood ((6-7) and (6-8)). While they contain the same verbal inflection, an imperative construction is distinguished from a future tense construction since the auxiliary in an imperative

⁵ See Table 6.5 for the possible combinations of verbal and auxiliary tense categories.

construction usually carries non-future tense marking (6-7) while in a future tense construction it carries future tense marking (6-5). (See §5.5 for a discussion of the auxiliary in imperative constructions and Table 6.5 for the interaction between auxiliary and verbal tense categories). Recall that a future tense construction, such as in example (6-5), can have a polite imperative reading (see §5.5 for more examples).

- (6-5) *Jiya-j-ba nyu-ng-u manganyma.*
 give-TH-FUT 2SG.A-10-FUT tucker.III(ACC)
 You will give me some tucker./Give me some tucker (polite).
- (6-6) *Angbardi-j-ba irri ngirra barrawu.*
 build-TH-FUT 3PL.A(NP) 1PL.EXC.OBL house.IV(ACC)
 They're going to build (new) houses for us.
- (6-7) *Jiya-j-ba nyi-ng-a manganyma!*
 give-TH-FUT 2SG.A-10-NF tucker.III(ACC)
 Give me some tucker!
- (6-8) *Ngarl-wa gujinganjanga-nka!*
 talk-FUT mother.II-DAT
 Talk to your mother!

In two types of imperative constructions – negative imperative constructions and constructions containing imperative directional suffixes – it is possible for the verb to appear without future tense marking. Examples include (6-3) and (6-4) above, and the following:

- (6-9) *Alyu junmi/junmi-j-ba!*
 NEG.IMP cut(NF)/cut-TH-FUT
 Don't cut it!
- (6-10) *Alyu nyi-ng-a daguma/daguma-j-ba!*
 NEG.IMP 2SG.A-10-NF hit(NF)/hit-TH-FUT
 Don't hit me!
- (6-11) *Wugbardi gama!* OR *Wugbardi-j-ba gama!*
 cook(NF) SG.IMP.AWY cook-TH-FUT
 Go and cook it!
- (6-12) *Gaj-bi girrama!* OR *Gaj-ba girrama!*
 eat-NF PL.IMP.TWD eat-FUT
 Come and eat!

The absence of future tense marking in these constructions can probably be accounted for by the fact that the negative particle and the directional suffixes are specifically imperative. Thus, with their presence the clause is already marked as imperative, rendering it unnecessary for this to be also indicated on the verb.

Verbs such as *yarru* 'go' and *yabu* 'take, have', which do not distinguish future and non-future tense (see Table 6.4 above), always co-occur with directional suffixes in the imperative mood. As these directional suffixes are inherently imperative, it is thus possible to make a distinction between imperative clauses and future tense clauses with these verbs.⁶

⁶ Note that, as these verbs make no distinction between future and non-future tenses, the glossing of them as 'FUT' in these examples is, to a certain extent, arbitrary.

- (6-13) *Yarru gama ginmanji!*
go(FUT) SG.IMP.TWD this.way
Come over here!
- (6-14) *Yarru g-ulama ginmanji.*
go(FUT) 3SG.S-NP.TWD this.way
He will come over here.
- (6-15) *Yabu ga gujinganjanga-nmanji!*
take(FUT) SG.IMP.AWY mother.II-ALL
Take her to (her) mother!
- (6-16) *Yabu gunu-uba gujinganjanga-nmanji.*
take(FUT) 3SG.M.A-NP.AWY mother.II-ALL
He will take her to (her) mother.

The fact that these verbs often occur with directional suffixes, which themselves mark imperative mood and tense (in indicative clauses), may explain why it is that they are not overtly inflected for tense themselves; we have already seen examples in which the verbal inflection is omitted when it co-occurs with directional suffixes (examples (6-11) and (6-12) above). However, even in clauses without directional suffixes, these verbs are not overtly inflected for future tense:

- (6-17) *Yarru ng-u marndiji.*
go(FUT) 1SG.S-FUT later
I'll go later.
- (6-18) *Yabu ny-u garnguji alaji.*
have(FUT) 2SG.A-FUT many.I(ACC) boy.I(ACC)
You'll have lots of kids.

The future tense inflection is used both in imperative constructions (as discussed above) and in future tense constructions (examples (6-5) and (6-6)). In clauses with immediate future tense however, and in negative future tense clauses, the verb occurs in the non-future form. For examples of clauses with immediate future tense see (6-1) and (6-2). Some examples of future tense negative clauses follow.

- (6-19) *Yangula irr-agba jiyawu.*
NEG 3PL.A-HYP give(NF)
They will not give it to him.
- (6-20) *Yangula ng-agba ngara-bi ngijininima.*
NEG 1SG.A-HYP drink-NF tomorrow
I will not drink tomorrow.

Table 6.5 shows the possible combinations of auxiliary and verbal tense categories.⁷ Recall that the tense categories of the auxiliary differ depending on the number of the subject bound pronoun and the presence/absence of an object bound pronoun (§5.2.1). Thus, some auxiliaries will collapse some of the distinctions made in this table. Note also that some of these marking patterns are optional; that is auxiliaries in imperative constructions can actually have no tense marking at all (see §5.5).

⁷ This table is concerned only with simple tense marking in the auxiliary; it does not include aspect and mood marking nor directional suffixes.

TABLE 6.5: VERBAL AND AUXILIARY TENSE CATEGORIES⁸

Auxiliary >	Past	Present	Future
VERB: Non-Future	Past tense	Present tense Neg. Imp	Immed.Future Neg. Future
VERB: Future	N/A	Imperative	Future tense Polite Imp.

The distribution of the future verbal suffix, which is found in imperative clauses and positive future tense clauses, suggests that 'future tense' may not be the best characterisation of the function of this suffix. It is also not possible to treat it as a general irrealis mood suffix, since it is not found in negative future tense clauses, nor in examples in which an irrealis mood suffix appears on the auxiliary (see §5.2.4). The function of this suffix is complex and still not fully understood and thus, in lieu of further research, I will refer to it as the 'future tense' suffix, while acknowledging the term's inadequacies. See Nordlinger (1996) for further discussion.

6.1.3 INFINITIVE SUFFIX

The form of the infinitive suffix is *-barda*, or *-warda* following liquids and /u/. With two verbs it has the irregular form *-arda*: *nanganangali* 'sneak away' > *nanganangal-arda* 'sneak away-INF'; *gajurru* 'dance' > *gajurr-arda* 'dance-INF'. The infinitive suffix occurs with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses and is discussed in more detail in §8.1. Some examples of its use are:

- (6-21) *Ngaj-bi ngi-ny-a yarru-warda.*
see-NF 1SG.A-2O-PST go-INF
I saw you walking along.
- (6-22) *Dawu gini-ng-a banggulyini-ni gulug-barda.*
bite(NF) 3SG.M.A-1O-PST mosquito.I-LOC sleep-INF
A mosquito bit me while (I was) sleeping.
- (6-23) *Gangga ng-ulama ngaj-barda gurla.*
return(FUT) 1SG.S-NP.TWD see-INF 2DU.OBL
I will come back to see you two.
- (6-24) *Yarru ng-uba magi-nmanji gulug-barda.*
go(FUT) 1SG.S-NP.AWY camp.IV-ALL sleep-INF
I'm going home to sleep.

6.1.4 -NKA 'DAT'

Verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses can be inflected with the dative suffix *-nka* to indicate that the event of the subordinate clause is the purpose of that of the main clause. As discussed above, the addition of this suffix to a (consonant-final) verb stem conditions the

⁸ See Nordlinger (1995) and Nordlinger and Bresnan (1996) for a formal discussion of this interaction between tense marking on the auxiliary and the verb.

presence of the epenthetic vowel /i/. The use of this suffix with verbs is discussed in more detail in §8.1, but some examples of its use are:

- (6-25) *Mawula-j-i-nka g-amany yarru.*
 play-TH-EP-DAT 3SG.S-PST.TWD go(NF)
 He came to play.
- (6-26) *Yabu ngiy-a gijilulu jiya-j-i-nka mardangi-nka.*
 have(NF) 3SG.NM.A-PST money.IV(ACC) give-TH-EP-DAT white.man.I-DAT
 She got money to give to the white man.

Verbs inflected with this suffix can also be used as predicates in ascriptive clauses. Thus:

- (6-27) *Ini juguli banjarri-j-i-nka.*
 this.I.SG.NOM boomerang.I(NOM) throw-TH-EP-DAT
 This boomerang is for throwing.
- (6-28) *Ini juguli daguma-j-i-nka.*
 this.I.SG.NOM boomerang.I(NOM) hit-TH-EP-DAT
 This boomerang is for fighting.

For further examples of these clauses see §7.1.1.

6.1.5 -NI 'LOC'

The ergative/locative suffix *-ni* is used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses to indicate that the event described by the subordinate clause is simultaneous with the event described by the main clause. The use of this suffix also indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. (If the subject of a simultaneous subordinate clause is co-referential with the **object** of the main clause, the infinitive suffix *-barda/-warda* must be used instead; see §8.1). When this suffix follows a consonant-final verb stem it is preceded by the epenthetic vowel /i/ (see the discussion above). The use of this suffix is discussed in more detail in §8.1; some examples of its use follow.

- (6-29) *Marrajini-nka ng-uba yarru alalangmi-j-i-ni.*
 kangaroo.I-DAT 1SG.S-NP.AWY go(FUT) hunt-TH-EP-LOC
 I'm going hunting for kangaroos.
- (6-30) *Ngurruwani ngurru-n mirra gili ngarl-i-ni.*
 1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.INC.S(NP)-PROG sit(NF) here talk-EP-LOC
 We're sitting here talking.
- (6-31) *Ngirra-j-i-ni irr-agba yarru.*
 steal-TH-EP-LOC 3PL.S-HYP go(NF)
 They might go stealing (his water).
- (6-32) *Bard-bi g-a nagama durra-j-i-ni*
 run-NF 3SG.S-PST that.one.II.SG.NOM be.frightened-TH-EP-LOC
wirrilgarra.
 cockatiel.II(NOM)
 The cockatiel ran away frightened.

6.1.6 -NNGA 'ABL'

There is a small number of examples in the corpus in which the ablative suffix *-nnga* is used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses to indicate that the event described by the subordinate clause precedes that of the main clause. Like *-ni* and *-nka* this suffix is preceded by the epenthetic vowel /i/ when it is attached to a consonant-final verb stem. An example follows; others are given in §8.1.

- (6-33) *Gannga g-amany alalangmi-j-i-nnga.*
 return(NF) 3SG.S-PST.TWD hunt-TH-EP-ABL
 He returned from hunting.

6.1.7 VERBAL REDUPLICATION

Verbal reduplication marks iterative aspect (examples (6-34) to (6-36)), durative aspect (6-37), (6-38), or the intensity of the state described by the verb (6-39), depending on the context. There are a couple of different patterns of reduplication, depending on the verb to be reduplicated (see §2.3.6). Following are some examples of the use of reduplication with verbs.

- (6-34) *Alangi-ni gini-ng-a dagu-raguma⁹ banduma.*
 boy.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-IO-NF RDP-hit(NF) back.III(ACC)
 The boy kept hitting my back (because I was choking).
- (6-35) *Dawu-rawu-j-ba gun-u gili magi-ni.*
 RDP-cut-TH-FUT 3SG.M.A-FUT here camp.IV-LOC
 He's going to cut (all the wood) here in the camp.
- (6-36) *Barrawu-rdarra gini-n ngajbi-ngaj-bi.*
 house.IV-GROUP(ACC) 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG RDP-see-NF
 He's inspecting all the houses.
- (6-37) *Alaji gi-n yugu-yugu narunguji-nka.*
 boy.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG RDP-cry(NF) car.IV-DAT
 The boy is crying and crying for (his toy) car.
- (6-38) *Wugbugardi¹⁰=miji irri-n mayinanji.*
 cook.RDP(NF)=INFER 3PL.A(NP)-PROG goanna.I(ACC)
 They must be still cooking the goanna.
- (6-39) *Nyaga-nyagaj-bi ngi-n.*
 RDP-be.tired-NF 1SG.S(PR)-PROG
 I'm really tired.

Note that examples such as (6-36) above demonstrate that verbal reduplication takes inflected forms as its input as the reduplicated part of the verb includes the non-future inflection.

⁹ Note that the initial consonant of the verb stem has been lenited to /r/. This lenition is regular in reduplication; see §2.3.1.

¹⁰ The reduplication of this form is a little complicated. The stem is (w)ugbardi (note that the initial /w/ is an orthographic convention only) and the first syllable of the stem plus the initial consonant of the second syllable (i.e. the sequence (w)ugb-) is prefixed to the stem to form the reduplication. See §2.3.6 for a more detailed discussion of this reduplication pattern.

The verb *ngajbi* 'see', when reduplicated, often has a slightly different meaning, usually being translated as 'look around':

- (6-40) *Ngajbi-ngaj-bi gin-a gayirra.*
 RDP-see-NF 3SG.M.A-PST cooking.site.IV(ACC)
 He looked around the cooking site.

Although still transitive (as shown by the use of the transitive bound pronoun) *ngajbi* may occur without an object NP, in which case it has a more general interpretation:

- (6-41) *Ngajbi-ngaj-bi gin-a.*
 RDP-see-NF 3SG.M.A-PST
 He looked around.

A dative indirect object can express the goal of the searching:

- (6-42) *Ngajbi-ngaj-bi ng-u janga-nka gunyi-nka.*
 RDP-see-NF 1SG.A-FUT foot.IV-DAT other.I-DAT
 I'll look around for someone else's tracks.

6.2 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

6.2.1 VERB-TO-VERB MORPHOLOGY

6.2.1.1 CAUSATIVE SUFFIXES

There are three different causative suffixes that appear on verbs in Wambaya: *-ardi*, *-jirrimi*, and *-bulumi/-ulumi/-lumi*. A verb only ever appears with one of these suffixes, and there do not appear to be any conditioning factors as to which verb takes which causative suffix. In all of the examples of these suffixes in the corpus they function to derive causative verbs from intransitive verbs; there are no examples in which transitive verbs are causativised. How such causative meanings would be expressed (e.g. *I made her eat the meat*.) needs to be investigated in the field. I will discuss each causative suffix in turn.

(a) *-ardi*

This suffix is attached to the root of the verb. If the verb root is vowel-final *-ardi* replaces the final vowel of the root. Some examples are:¹¹

Basic form	Gloss	Root	Causative form	Gloss
<i>gugujbi</i>	shift places	<i>guguj-</i>	<i>guguj-ardi</i>	push
<i>gurijbi</i>	feel good	<i>gurij-</i>	<i>gurij-ardi</i>	make feel good
<i>barlaji</i>	be dead	<i>barlaji-</i>	<i>barlaj-ardi</i>	kill
<i>gulugbi</i>	sleep	<i>gulug-</i>	<i>gulug-ardi</i>	make sleep, lay down
<i>garlarli</i>	slip down	<i>garlarli-</i>	<i>garlarl-ardi</i>	drop something down

Verbs inflected with this suffix belong to the *J* conjugation class: they take the $-\emptyset$ non-future suffix and include the thematic /j/ in their future tense form:

<i>guguj-ardi</i>	shift-CAUS(NF)
<i>guguj-ardi-j-ba</i>	shift-CAUS-TH-FUT

¹¹ Jane Simpson (pers. comm.) points out that this causative suffix may be related to the verb *yardi* 'put'. The semantics seem consistent with this relationship for all of the above forms, except perhaps for *gurij-ardi* 'make feel good'.

(b) *-jirrimi*

This suffix is found only with vowel-final roots and is attached to the root of the verb followed by the thematic consonant (if applicable). Some examples are:

Basic form	Gloss	Root	Causative form	Gloss
<i>bardgu</i>	fall	<i>bardgu-</i>	<i>bardgu-jirrimi</i>	fell something
<i>lingba</i>	bathe	<i>lingba-</i>	<i>lingba-jirrimi</i>	bathe someone
<i>durra</i>	be frightened	<i>durra-</i>	<i>durra-jirrimi</i>	frighten
<i>gurda</i>	be sick	<i>gurda-</i>	<i>gurda-jirrimi</i>	make sick

Although the presence of the thematic consonant is not obvious in the above examples, it can be shown to be underlyingly present by the fact that the initial consonant of the suffix is not lenited. When this suffix is added to a vowel-final stem, such as the verb *gangga* 'return' the initial stop is lenited to /y/: %*gangga-jirrimi*% >*gangga-yirrimi* 'bring/take back'. This lenition does not occur with the *J* Class verbs above as the thematic consonant makes the verb stem consonant-final, removing the conditioning environment for lenition (lenition occurs only between vowels; see §2.3.1). Thus, the underlying form of a derived verb such as *bardgu-jirrimi* is %*bardgu-j-jirrimi*%. The thematic /j/ is subsequently deleted according to the morphophonemic process which deletes the first of two consonants in an impossible consonant cluster; see §2.3.5. Note that this means that lenition must precede the process of impossible consonant cluster reduction.

The future tense form of this causative suffix is *-jirrima/-yirrima* :

<i>gangga-yirrimi</i>	return-CAUS.NF
<i>gangga-yirrima</i>	return-CAUS.FUT

(c) *-bulumi/-ulumi/-lumi*

This suffix has three allomorphs: *-ulumi*, which occurs with lateral-final stems; *-bulumi*, which occurs with stems ending in other consonants; and *-lumi*, which follows vowel-final stems. Some examples are:

Basic form	Gloss	Root	Causative form	Gloss
<i>ngarlwi</i>	talk	<i>ngarl-</i>	<i>ngarl-ulumi</i>	make talk
<i>ngangbi</i>	be open	<i>ngang-</i>	<i>ngang-bulumi</i>	open (trans)
<i>yugu</i>	cry	<i>yugu-</i>	<i>yugu-lumi</i>	make cry
<i>manngurru</i>	be ashamed	<i>manngurru-</i>	<i>manngurru-lumi</i>	make ashamed

The derived forms belong to the *J* conjugation class:

<i>yugu-lumi</i>	cry-CAUS(NF)
<i>yugu-lumi-j-ba</i>	cry-CAUS-TH-FUT

Some examples of the use of these causative verbs follow.

- (6-43) *Gulug-ardi ng-u ini alaji.*
 sleep-CAUS(NF) 1SG.A-FUT this.1SG.ACC boy.1(ACC)
 I'm going to put this boy to bed.

- (6-44) *Ngaba g-u gurijbi gangga-yirrima irri.*
 THEN 3.SG.S-FUT feel.good return-CAUS-FUT 3.PL.A(NP)
 When she is better they'll bring her back.

- (6-45) *Daguma irri-n jugulini-ni julaji bardgu-jirrimi.*
hit(NF) 3PL.A(NP)-PROG boomerang.I-LOC bird.I(ACC) fall-CAUS.NF
They hit the bird with a boomerang (and) make (it) fall.
- (6-46) *Yugu-lumi ngiy-a alaji.*
cry-CAUS(NF) 3SG.NM.A-PST boy.I(ACC)
She made the boy cry.

In examples elsewhere in this work, I gloss the non-future tense form as the unmarked form. Thus *-ardi/-jirrimi/-bulumi* ‘-CAUS’, rather than ‘-CAUS.NF’.

6.2.1.2 TRANSITIVISING SUFFIX

The form of the transitivising suffix is *-barra* and it is attached to the root of the verb. While the causative suffixes discussed above also derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, this suffix differs from causative suffixes as it does not add a meaning of causation. There are only a few examples of this suffix in the corpus. These include:

- (6-47) From *ardbi* ‘call out (to)’ (semitransitive):
Gayinini-ni=miji gin-a ard-barra.
someone.I-LOC=INFER 3SG.M.A-PST call-TRANS.NF
Someone must have called her.
- (6-48) From *nguwajbi* ‘be jealous’ (intransitive):
Nguwaj-barra ngi-n naniyaga.
jealous-TRANS.NF 1SG.A(PR)-PROG that.II.SG.ACC
I am jealous of her. (lit. ‘I’m jealousing her’.)

There are no examples in the corpus of verbs derived with this suffix inflected for future tense.

The verb *ngarlajarra* ‘chat’, which is clearly derived from *ngarlwi* ‘talk’, may contain this suffix, although it is not clear that it is a transitive verb. The only example is in Text 5 (Appendix A):

- (6-49) *Ngarl-ajarra wurl-a.*
talk-TRANS.NF? 3DU.A?-PST
They chatted.

6.2.1.3 OBJECT-PROMOTING SUFFIX

The suffix *-(ba)bu* promotes a NP of accompaniment to object and thus derives a transitive verb from an intransitive verb. This suffix also expresses an anti-benefactive sense, usually translated into English with ‘away’. The usual form of this suffix is *-babu*. However, with one verb in the corpus, *gannga* ‘return’, it has the form *-bu* (example (6-53)).¹² Some examples of the use of *-(ba)bu* follow.

¹² Merlan (1983:47-50) discusses two ‘object promoting’ verbal prefixes in Ngalakan, *-bak-* and *-baqa-*, which have functions rather similar to *-(ba)bu* in Wambaya. Unlike *-(ba)bu*, these prefixes usually function in transitive clauses to promote an animate indirect object NP to object. However, *-bak-* can also be used to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb (p.47), and *-baqa-* often has an anti-

- (6-50) *Dingbari-j-babu ngiy-a gayangga wardangarringa-ni.*
 fly.off-TH-OP 3SG.NM.A-PST high moon.II-LOC
 The moon flew off with (the sun's baby) up (into the sky).
- (6-51) *Mawula-j-babu ngiy-a ganjimi.*
 play-TH-OP 3SG.NM.A-PST finish.NF
 She played all her money away.
- (6-52) *Ngarri balamurru gin-a bard-babu.*
 1SG.POSS.I(ACC) spear.IV(ACC) 3SG.M.A-PST run-OP
 He ran off with my spear.

In the following example the anti-benefactive sense is not so obvious.

- (6-53) *Yabu gan-ala gunyarna alalangmi-ji-ni, gannga-bu*
 take(NF) 3SG.M.A-HAB.NP other.II(ACC) hunt-TH-LOC return-OP
gan-ala yagu.
 3SG.M.A-HAB.NP leave(NF)
 He takes one (of his wives) hunting, then he comes back with her (and) leaves her (then the next day he takes another one hunting).

The use of the transitive subject bound pronoun form in these examples demonstrates that the verb derived with *-(ba)bu* is transitive. Unfortunately there are no examples in which the promoted object NP is first or second person, so there are no examples in which it is registered in the auxiliary (note that third person objects are not registered; see §5.1). However, I expect that it would be.

It is interesting that the first syllable of this suffix, *-ba-*, is identical to the future tense verbal suffix and that the only verb with which the object-promoting suffix has the reduced form *-bu* (i.e. *gannga* in example (6-53)) is one which does not take this future tense suffix. Thus, it appears at first as if the form of the object-promoting suffix is *-bu* and that it is attached to the future tense form of the verb (e.g. *dingbari-j-ba-bu* 'fly off-TH-FUT-OP', *gannga-bu* 'return(FUT)-OP'). This analysis is clearly not plausible synchronically as the examples given above are past tense (examples (6-50) to (6-52)) or present habitual tense (6-53) and are therefore inconsistent with the future tense form of the verb. However, such an analysis is probably correct historically, thus suggesting that what is now the future tense form of the verb was, at one stage, the unmarked form to which derivational suffixes were attached. Further evidence for this is the fact that the Garrwa verb forms corresponding to the future tense Wambaya verb forms retain this unmarked function (see §6.1).

6.2.2 ADJECTIVE-TO-VERB MORPHOLOGY

6.2.2.1 INCHOATIVE SUFFIX

The suffix *-j-* derives from an adjective X a verb stem with the meaning 'get X, become X'. This stem then takes the usual inflectional endings for consonant-final stems: *-bi* 'NF' and *-ba* 'FUT'.

benefactive sense, and is used in intransitive clauses to express association or accompaniment, sometimes with a nuance of forced accompaniment (like *-(ba)bu* in Wambaya) (p.49–50).

Blake (1987:74) discusses derivational suffixes in a number of languages which advance a 'possessed' NP to direct object. However, he does not mention anything having the anti-benefactive sense of *-(ba)bu*.

- (6-54) *Mambulya-j-bi ng-a nganjala ngarli-nka.*
 soft-INCH-NF 1SG.S-PST tongue.IV(ACC) talk-DAT
 My tongue has become (too) soft to talk (clearly).
- (6-55) *Gaj-ba girri, bundurri-j-ba!*
 eat-FUT PL.IMP.AWY full-INCH-FUT
 Go and eat (and) get full!

There is one example in which this suffix appears with an adverb: *jaburru* ‘first, before’. In this case the derived verb, *jaburrajbi*,¹³ has the meaning ‘start, begin’ and takes a verbal complement inflected with the dative case.

- (6-56) *Nagama g-a jaburra-j-bi barla-nka.*
 that.one.II.SG.NOM 3SG.S-PST first-INCH-NF fight-DAT
 The woman started to fight.

Note that while the prototypical meaning of this suffix is inchoative, this meaning is not always obvious and in some cases it simply means ‘be X’:

- (6-57) *Gunyini-nka gi bundurri-j-bi.*
 other.I-DAT 3SG.S(PR) full-INCH-NF
 She’s pregnant with another (child).

Another possible analysis is that, rather than *-j-* being a derivational suffix, it is simply part of a verbal root which happens to have a corresponding nominal (adjectival) root. Thus under this analysis, a form such as *bundurri-j-bi* in example (6-57) is not derived from a nominal root *bundurru* meaning ‘full’, but is actually a simple verb: *bundurrij-bi* ‘be full-NF’. It would then be necessary to determine the relationship between the verb roots (e.g. *bundurrij-*) and the corresponding nominal roots (e.g. *bundurru-*). Further investigation is required.

Since the non-future form behaves like the unmarked form (as is also true for all other verbs), I gloss it as such in examples elsewhere in this work. Thus, *bundurri-jbi* ‘be full-INCH’ rather than *bundurri-j-bi* ‘be full-INCH-NF’.

6.2.2.2 FACTITIVE SUFFIX

The suffix *-mi* derives from an adjective X a transitive verb with the meaning ‘cause to be X, make be X’. If the root of the adjective has final /j/, this becomes /ny/ under the influence of the following bilabial nasal (see §2.3.4.2 for more examples of this morphophonemic process). Thus, *gurij-* ‘good’+ *-mi* ‘FAC.NF’ becomes *guriny-mi*. The future tense form of this suffix is *-ma*. Some examples are:

- (6-58) From *gurijbi* ‘good’ (I)
Ngunybulugini-ni gun-u guriny-ma.
 doctor.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-FUT good-FAC.FUT
 The doctor’s going to make (her) better.

¹³ I have no explanation for this change in the final vowel of the stem.

- (6-59) From *abajabaji* ‘mad, crazy’ (I)
Abajabaja-mi gini-ng-a ngara-barlini-ni.
 crazy-FAC.NF 3SG.M.A-10-NF drink-AGNT.I-LOC
 (That) drunk is making me crazy.
- (6-60) From *yarduga* ‘strong’ (IV)
Yarduga-mi nguyu-ny-u mijangga-ni.
 strong-FAC.NF 3SG.NM.A-20-FUT medicine.IV-LOC
 The medicine will make you strong.
- (6-61) From *mambulya* ‘soft’ (IV)
Mambulya-mi ngiy-a jamba.
 soft-FAC.NF 3SG.NM.A-PST ground.IV(ACC)
 (The rain) softened the ground.

In one example in the corpus the factitive suffix appears to be used with a noun, rather than an adjective. Thus from *jabula* ‘spittle’ is derived *jabula-mi* ‘to spit at’. It remains to be seen whether this is possible for other nouns also.

As with other verb forms, I treat the non-future form of this suffix as the basic form in examples in this work, thus glossing *-mi* ‘FAC.NF’ as simply ‘FAC’.

CHAPTER 7

SYNTAX OF SIMPLE SENTENCES

Wambaya has two basic clause types (divided according to their predicators): verbal and nominal (or verbless). A verbal clause has a finite verb as predicate and, except for under certain discourse conditions (see §5.4), always requires the presence of the auxiliary. Nominal clauses, on the other hand, have either nominal predicates or predicates consisting of a purposive non-finite subordinate clause and cannot contain an auxiliary. A simple sentence consists of a single clause of either type. I will begin with a discussion of verbless clauses – those with nominal predicates – and will then discuss verbal clauses in §7.2. Non-finite subordinate clauses are discussed in §8.1.

7.1 VERBLESS CLAUSES

For the purposes of this study I will assume verbless clauses to consist of a subject and a (usually nominal) predicate.¹ Note that ‘subject’ in this context, in which it is opposed to ‘predicate’, is used differently than in verbal clauses, in which it is opposed to ‘object’.

Verbless clauses do not contain an auxiliary, and therefore do not indicate tense. The tense of these clauses is usually taken to be the same tense as the rest of the discourse or, if uttered in isolation, present tense. If it is necessary for a verbless clause to be marked for past or future tense, it can be made into a verbal clause with the use of *m̄irra* ‘sit, be’ and thereby contain an auxiliary. The use of *m̄irra* as a type of ‘copula’ verb is discussed in §7.1.7.

As with other types of sentences, word order in verbless clauses is relatively free; the subject can precede (example (7-1)) or follow (7-5) the predicate, or can be discontinuous (7-4). The subjects of these clauses are often modified (or represented) by a demonstrative that can mark definiteness and therefore emphasise the subject. In all verbless clauses, the subject must be in the nominative case. In ascriptive and having/lacking verbless clauses, the predicate must also be in the nominative case and agree with the subject in both gender and number.

7.1.1 ASCRIPTIVE CLAUSES

The predicate of an ascriptive clause attributes a certain property to the subject. The predicate can be an adjective (examples (7-1) and (7-2)); a full noun phrase (7-3); a nominal inflected with an adnominal suffix, such as the ‘origin’ suffix (7-4); or a nominal derived with the agentive or privative suffixes ((7-5) and (7-6)). Both subject and predicate must agree in case (nominative), gender and number.

¹ In the descriptions of some other Australian languages, these clause types are analysed as being made up of a ‘topic’ NP and a ‘comment’ NP (e.g. Morphy (1983) on Djapu and Keen (1983) on Yukulta). Such a division is easily justified in these languages by the appearance on the ‘topic’ NP of the ‘prominence marker’ in Djapu and the ‘stative clitic’ in Yukulta, which are characteristic of topics in the respective languages.

- (7-1) *lligirra yana buyurru.*
 river.IV(NOM) this.IV.SG.NOM dry.IV(NOM)
 This river is dry.
- (7-2) *Bulyunguma ngarrima gagulinya, ngawurniji bayida*
 little.II(NOM) 1SG.POSS.II(NOM) y.sister.II(NOM) 1SG.NOM e.sister.II(NOM)
bugayima.
 big.II(NOM)
 My younger sister is little, (but) I, the elder sister, am big.
- (7-3) *Gurjibima marndanga ngirrigama maliyima.*
 good.II(NOM) white.woman.II(NOM) 1PL.EXC.POSS.II(NOM) boss.II(NOM)
 Our boss was a good white lady.
- (7-4) *Igima manggur-inji garralyi-galyi.*
 that.one.I.SG.NOM plains-ORIG.I(NOM) plains.lizard.I(NOM)-RDP
 The plains lizard is from the plains country.
- (7-5) *Ngaj-barli-marndarna nanagunya.*
 see-AGNT-PL.II(NOM) this.II.PL.NOM
 Those women are staring. (lit. Those women are ‘starkers’.)
- (7-6) *Iniyaga dawi-j-baji.*
 that.I.SG.NOM bite-TH-PRIV.I(NOM)
 That (dog) won’t bite. (lit. That (dog) is a ‘non-biter’.)

If the subject is clear from context or previous discourse it may be omitted, leaving just the predicate.

- (7-7) *Gurda-j-bajarna.*
 be.sick-TH-PRIV.II(NOM)
 (She’s) never sick.
- (7-8) *Gunju-waji-rdarra.*
 meat-PRIV.I-GROUP(NOM)
 (They’re) all skinny.

‘Part-whole’ clauses are a particular type of ascriptive clause in which the predicate refers to a part of the subject. In these clauses the predicate, being referential itself, does not have to agree with the subject in gender and number. An example from Hale’s (1959) notes (adapted into the orthography used here) is:²

- (7-9) *Iniya yangaji garnawuma wirdgiwirdgima.*
 that.I.SG.NOM meat.I(NOM) long.III(NOM) tail.III(NOM)
 That kangaroo has a long tail. (Hale 1959:51)

Another special type of ascriptive clause is that which attributes a function or purpose to the subject. The examples of such clauses in the corpus contain a predicate that is a non-finite purposive clause. Though not strictly verbless, these clauses are similar to verbless clauses in that they do not contain a finite verb or an auxiliary. Note that this type of ascriptive clause is exceptional in that the predicate, being a non-finite verb, does not inflect for case, gender or

² Note the use of *yangaji* ‘meat’ to mean ‘kangaroo’ in this example. This is fairly common in Wambaya discourse.

number in agreement with the subject (see §8.1 for further discussion of such non-finite clauses).

- (7-10) *Ngarli-nka yanama.*
 talk-DAT that.IV.SG.NOM
 That's for talking. (i.e. a tape recorder)
- (7-11) *Yagama bujili yardi-ji-nka guriji-nka.*
 that.one.IV.SG.NOM bottle.IV(NOM) put-TH-DAT fat.IV-DAT
 That bottle is for putting (goanna) fat (in).

7.1.2 HAVING/LACKING CLAUSES

These clauses are just a specialised type of ascriptive clause having as their predicate a nominal inflected with either the proprietive or the privative suffix. Like other ascriptive clauses they attribute a property to the subject (i.e. that of having or lacking a particular object or quality), and must agree with it in case (nominative), gender and number.

- (7-12) *Ngawurniji gijilulu-wajama.*
 ISG.NOM money-PRIV.II(NOM)
 I've got no money. (lit. I am money-lacking.)
- (7-13) *Bulinja-nguji ini galyurringi!*
 algae-PROP.I(NOM) this.I.SG.NOM water.I(NOM)
 This water's got algae in it! (lit. This water is algae-having.)

In another example, a normal ascriptive clause takes a 'having' construction as a complement. In this example the subject has been omitted.³

- (7-14) *Wawunyg-uji gurijbi ngabulu-nguji.*
 sugar.bag-PROP.I(NOM) good.I(NOM) milk-PROP.I(NOM)
 It's good with milk and sugar.

There is another type of 'lacking' clause in which the predicate is the derived nominal *guyaliny-* 'lacking'. This nominal is derived from the negative particle *guyala* and is inflected for gender, agreeing with the subject of the clause.⁴ *Guyaliny-* can appear alone in the predicate (example (7-15)), or be accompanied by a dative complement which expresses what it is that is lacking ((7-16) and (7-17)). When there is no dative complement (as in (7-15)), the object that is lacking is considered to be clear from context.

- (7-15) *Ngawurniji guyalinya!*
 ISG.NOM lacking.II(NOM)
 I have nothing! (when asked for money)
- (7-16) *Guyalinji manganyimi-nka.*
 lacking.I(NOM) bread.III-DAT
 (He) has no bread.

³ One would expect that this type of construction is possible only with certain types of adjectival predicates. Thus one would expect it to be possible with predicates such 'full' (as in 'full with water'), but not with predicates such as 'hot'. I have no more examples of this type of construction in the corpus, so I cannot yet test these predictions.

⁴ See §4.4.13 for a more detailed discussion of this derived nominal.

- (7-17) *Guyalinja darranggu-nka yanyaya maga.*
 lacking.IV(NOM) tree.IV-DAT that.IV.SG.NOM camp.IV(NOM)
 That country has no trees.

Guyaliny- is often used to negate existential clauses:

- (7-18) *Guyalinja yana janga-nka.*
 lacking.IV(NOM) this.IV.SG.NOM foot.IV-DAT
 There are no tracks here.

See §7.1.6 for a more examples of existential clauses.

7.1.3 COMPARATIVE CLAUSES

These clauses are similar to ascriptive clauses; however, in these clauses attributes are being compared rather than merely stated. Structurally, the only difference between this type of clause and an ascriptive clause is that this clause requires an oblique NP (here *ngarra*) representing the referent with which the comparison is being made.

- (7-19) *Bulyingi nyamiriji ngarra, (ngawuriji bugayi).*
 little.I(NOM) 2SG.NOM 1SG.OBL (1SG.NOM big.I(NOM))
 You're littler than me, (I'm big).

Another type of comparative clause is that expressing similarity or resemblance. Such clauses in Wambaya make use of the particle *ngaba* and are discussed in §8.2.2.1. One example is provided here:

- (7-20) *Bamarra ngaba spoon.*
 mouth.IV(NOM) THEN spoon
 (His) mouth is like a spoon.

7.1.4 POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

Possessive clauses have a subject that is the possessee, and a possessor predicate that contains either a nominal inflected with the dative or genitive case (example (7-21)) or a possessive pronoun (7-22).

- (7-21) *Bungmanya-nkal-naganka yanyaya warnu.*
 old.woman.II-DAT/-GEN.IV that.IV.SG.NOM tobacco.IV(NOM)
 That tobacco belongs to the old woman.

- (7-22) *Yana ngarrga!*
 this.IV.SG.NOM 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM)
 This (money) is mine!

7.1.5 LOCATIVE/ALLATIVE CLAUSES

These clauses contain a locative predicate describing the location of the subject. The predicate is usually inflected with the locative case.

- (7-23) *Janji iniyaga jalyu-ni!*
 dog.I(NOM) that.I.SG.NOM bed.IV-LOC
 The dog's on the bed!
- (7-24) *Garnguji-rdarra injani=miji alaji-rdarra.*
 many.I-GROUP(NOM) where=INFER boy.I-GROUP(NOM)
 The kids are somewhere, I don't know where.

However, the predicate can also be inflected with the allative case, in which case it has the meaning of 'near' or 'towards':

- (7-25) *Damangga nganggi-yili-nmanji.*
 head.IV(NOM) 2SG.OBL-COMIT-ALL
 (His) head is near (i.e. is pointing towards) you.

7.1.6 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

Existential clauses are similar to locative clauses (§7.1.5) in that they consist of a subject and a locative predicate. However, locative clauses specify the location of a specific referent whereas existential clauses refer to a more general subject.

- (7-26) *Garnguji julaji-rdarra gayangga darranggu-ni,*
 many.I(NOM) bird.I-GROUP(NOM) high tree.IV-LOC
jibilyawurna-rdarra jangi galyurringini-ni.
 duck.II-GROUP(NOM) down water.I-LOC
 There are lots of birds up in the trees and lots of ducks down in the water.

Another important distinction between existential clauses and locative clauses is that in locative clauses the focus is on the location whereas in existential clauses it is on the locatee. Thus, the locative predicate of an existential clause can be deleted anaphorically (example (7-27)), but that of a locative clause cannot.⁵

- (7-27) *Garnguji warnganji!*
 many.I(NOM) fly.I(NOM)
 There's lots of flies (in here)!

Existential clauses are negated with the use of the derived nominal *guyaliny-* 'lacking'. Examples include (7-17) and the following:

- (7-28) *Guyalinja nyanyalu-nka.*
 lacking.IV(NOM) tea.I-DAT
 There's no tea.

7.1.7 MIRRA 'SIT' AS A 'COPULA'

As in the examples above, it is possible for a clause to have a completely nominal predicate and contain no verb at all. However, many of these clauses can also contain the verb, *mirra*

⁵ We would expect that the converse would be the case for locative clauses: that it is the subject, rather than the predicate, which can be deleted anaphorically. Thus, we would expect that (example (7-23)), if given as a response to a question such as 'Where is the dog?', could be simply *jalyu-ni* 'on the bed'. Unfortunately the corpus does not contain the data needed to exemplify this.

'sit, be', and an auxiliary. The function of *mirra* in such examples is varied: only in a very small number does it appear to have a 'copula'-type function (example (7-34)); in others it contributes further verbal meanings, as exemplified in the following.

With locative clauses, the use of *mirra* implies 'staying', 'residing':

- (7-29) *Yangula ng-a yarru alanga gunya-ni. Mirra ng-a*
 NEG 1SG.S-PST go girl.II(NOM) other.IV-LOC sit 1SG.S-PST
gandawugi-ni.
 one.IV-LOC

I didn't move to another (place) (as a) little girl. I lived in one (place).

- (7-30) *Mirra ngirr-aji nganaarra-ni.*
 sit 1PLE.EXC.S-HAB.PST Brunette.Downs-LOC
 We stayed at Brunette Downs.

With ascriptive verbless clause types it usually conveys a meaning of persistence ('is/was still').

- (7-31) *Yarru g-amany irda ngarradi g-a anki*
 go 3SG.S-PST.TWD father.I(NOM) 1SG.POSS.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST alive.I(NOM)
mirra.
 sit

He came (when) my father was still alive.

- (7-32) *Ngarrga gi-n mirra garna!*
 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit long.IV(NOM)
 My (hair) is still long!

Or it can have the meaning 'become':

- (7-33) *Gamaa g-u mirra irrilyi.*
 long.IV(NOM) 3SG.S-FUT sit fingernail.IV(NOM)
 The fingernail will become (i.e. grow) long (but it's short now).

In a few examples, *mirra* appears to function as a copula; since tense is marked in the auxiliary and an auxiliary can occur only in a verbal clause, *mirra* is used when it is necessary to specify the tense of the clause. However, even in these examples, the presence of *mirra* seems to indicate that a situation, state or event is being referred to.

- (7-34) *Gurijbi g-aji mirra, ngara-baji.*
 good.I(NOM) 3SG.S-HAB.PST sit drink-PRIV.I(NOM)
 He used to be good (and) not drink (but now he drinks all the time).
- (7-35) *Bungmanya g-a⁶ mirra barla-ngunya ngarra.*
 old.woman.II(NOM) 3SG.S-PST sit fight-PROP.II(NOM) 1SG.OBL
 (That) old woman was cross with me.
- (7-36) *Ngawu ng-u bungmanya mirra.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.S-FUT old.woman.II(NOM) sit
 I will (live to) be an old woman.

⁶ This example was actually given with the Gudanji form of the auxiliary (*ganyi*), but was accepted as having the same meaning with the Wambaya form given here.

The 'copula' verb can also be used when the statement is emphatic, or one of exclamation or contrast. In the following example, MG had just taken a drink of what she was expecting would be tea:

- (7-37) *Ini gi-n galyurringi mirra!*
 this.I.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG water.I(NOM) sit
 This is WATER!

Two adjectives, *bagijbi* 'bad' (I) and *gurijbi* 'good' (I), have an alternation in meaning depending on whether they occur in a verbless construction or in a construction with the verb *mirra*. When these adjectives occur in verbless clauses, without the copula verb, they must have an objective (or evaluative) meaning (example (7-38)). Yet when they occur with the copula verb they usually have a subjective (or experiential) meaning (7-39). Note that in both types of clause the adjective, being a subject complement (see §7.2), must always agree in gender with the subject.⁷

- (7-38) *Gurijbi/bagijbi ini alaji.*
 good.I(NOM)/bad.I(NOM) this.I.SG.NOM boy.I(NOM)
 This boy is good/bad. (i.e. in terms of behaviour/temperament, etc.)
- (7-39) *Alaji gi gurijbi/bagijbi mirra.*
 boy.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR) good.I(NOM)/bad.I(NOM) sit
 The boy feels good/bad.

The behaviour of these adjectives and related verbs was also discussed in §3.1.1.1.

7.2 VERBAL CLAUSES: BASIC ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

In this section I discuss basic verbal clauses in terms of their main verb and the core arguments that it subcategorises for: subject, (direct and second) object, indirect object and subject complements. In §3.2 I outlined the criteria by which these different argument types can be identified in Wambaya. Some aspects of this discussion, namely the distinctions between the different types of objects, are worth reviewing here.

- (i) **Direct objects** are distinguished from second objects and indirect objects as they are registered on the auxiliary with an object bound pronoun.
- (ii) **Second objects** are found with a very small set of ditransitive verbs which also take a direct object (see §7.2.1.5). Like direct objects, second objects are always marked with accusative case and are thereby distinguished from indirect objects. Unlike direct objects, second objects can never be registered in the auxiliary.
- (iii) **Indirect objects** are not registered with an object bound pronoun in the auxiliary. Nor are they marked with accusative case. In fact, indirect objects are almost always marked with the dative case, the one exception being the allative indirect object of *yardi* 'put'. Like other core functions, indirect objects are semantically unrestricted: their interpretation depends on the verb with which they occur. Furthermore, unlike other complements and adjuncts, some indirect objects can feed reflexive and/or reciprocal

⁷ As has been pointed out to me by Bill McGregor and Lesley Stirling (pers.comm.), it is not surprising that a verbless clause will have an objective meaning and a verbal clause a subjective meaning. In verbless clauses the speaker is imputing a quality upon the subject (i.e. 'objective') and in verbal clauses the speaker is describing a situation, event or state (such as that of 'feeling').

constructions, in which case the indirect object argument is registered on the auxiliary with the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun (see §5.1.1 and below).

Table 7.1 shows the possible basic argument structures for verbs in Wambaya. Discussion and examples of the different types follow the table. The finite clause complements of verbs such as *didima* ‘tell O that SCOMP’, *ngajbi* ‘see that SCOMP’, *ilinga* ‘hear, remember that SCOMP’ are discussed in §8.2.1.3. Adjuncts and semantically restricted complements were covered in the discussion of case marking in §4.4.

TABLE 7.1: BASIC ARGUMENT STRUCTURES⁸

Note: Arguments listed in the first column are those registered in the auxiliary with a subject bound pronoun; those in the second column are registered with an object bound pronoun; arguments in the third column are not registered in the auxiliary at all.

IMPERSONAL	no arguments			<i>ngajirri</i> ‘be cold’
INTRANSITIVE				
1. Simple intransitive	SNOM			<i>bardbi</i> ‘run’
2. With purp. complement ⁹	SNOM	VCOMP	<i>garrajbi</i> ‘want to VCOMP’	
3. With Subj. complement	SNOM	SubjCOMP	<i>mirra</i> ‘be SubjCOMP’	
4. <i>ngarlwi</i> ‘talk’	SNOM (OACC)	(IO)DAT	<i>ngarlwi</i> ‘talk (language) (to IO)’	
REFLEXIVE				
1. Simple reflexive	SNOM	OREFL	<i>gurda</i> ‘be sick’	
2. With Subj. complement	SNOM	OREFL	SubjCOMP	<i>manku</i> ‘feel SubjCOMP’
SEMITRANSITIVE	SNOM	IO)DAT		<i>ayani</i> ‘look for IO’
TRANSITIVE				
1. Simple transitive	AERG	OACC	<i>ngajbi</i> ‘see O’	
2. With cognate object	AERG	OACC	<i>nijbi</i> ‘sing O (song)’	
DITRANSITIVE				
1. O2-theme	AERG	OACC	O2ACC	<i>jiyawu</i> ‘give O2 to O’
2. O-theme	AERG	OACC	IO)DAT	<i>janganja</i> ‘ask O for IO’
	AERG	OACC	IO)ALL	<i>yardi</i> ‘put O on/in IO’
3. With cognate object	AERG	OACC	IO)DAT	<i>didima</i> ‘tell O (story) to IO’
4. With purp. complement	AERG	OACC	VCOMP)DAT	<i>dirmdirrinymi</i> ‘teach O to VCOMP’

7.2.1 IMPERSONAL VERBS

Impersonal verbs in Wambaya are characterised by the fact that they cannot co-occur with an overt subject NP although a (third person singular) subject bound pronoun is always present in the auxiliary. There are three impersonal verbs in the corpus. Two of these, *ngajirri* ‘be cold’ and *ngarrangarra* ‘be hot’, are impersonal only when they are used with reference to the weather. They have another use as simple intransitive verbs, in which case they take a nominative subject NP and are not impersonal. An example of their impersonal use is:

⁸ Subject and object arguments are always registered in the auxiliary, and thus the argument NPs are often omitted (especially if first or second person). Other arguments can also be ellipsed under certain discourse conditions, although these conditions are not yet well understood.

⁹ This is a purposive non-finite subordinate clause. It usually consists of just a verb inflected with the dative case, but can also contain NP arguments (see example (7-50)). A few verbs in the corpus can optionally take a purposive complement instead of a nominal argument (see below).

- (7-40) *Ngarrangarra/ngajirri gi-n jalanyi.*
 be.hot/be.cold 3SG.S(PR)-PROG today
 It's hot/cold today.

The third impersonal verb in the corpus, *barnamuluma* 'flash lightning', is particularly unusual as it also requires the presence of the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun in the auxiliary:

- (7-41) *Barnamuluma ngiyi-ngg-a-n.*
 flash.lightning 3SG.NM.A-RR-NF-PROG
 There was lightning.

Other inherently reflexive verbs are discussed in §7.2.3.

7.2.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs are all characterised by the fact that they subcategorise for a nominative subject NP and no object NP. The one exception to this is *ngarlwi* 'talk', which can take a cognate object referring to the language spoken; see §7.2.2.4 below.

7.2.2.1 SIMPLE INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The most common type of intransitive verb is the simple intransitive verb which requires only a nominative subject NP. This type includes verbs describing (i) movement, such as *yarru* 'go', *wuru* 'dive down', *bardbi* 'run', *baba* 'fly', *bardgu* 'fall'; (ii) social activities, such as *ngarlu* 'dance', *mawula* 'play'; (iii) bodily actions, as in *birrirri* 'shiver', *bawurrbi* 'snore', *dirrbi* 'fart'; (iv) postures, as in *garranbi* 'stand', *mirra* 'sit'; (v) physical or mental states, such as *nyagajbi* 'be tired', *garrankajbi* 'be short of breath', *murri* 'be sore', *linjarrbi* 'be hot', *gurijbi* 'feel good/happy', *bagijbi* 'feel bad', *baliji* 'be hungry, be angry'; *dabudaburri* 'be no good, feel weak' and others such as *baji* 'grow', *buja* 'give off a smell', *ginganbi* 'drown', *gulugbi* 'sleep', *aradajbi* 'be busy', *laji* 'be quiet, still', *yugu* 'cry' and *lumbulumbu* 'swell'.

- (7-42) *Nyagajbi ngi.*
 be.tired 1SG.S(PR)
 I'm tired.
- (7-43) *Baji gi-n bayisinga-ni jangi.*
 grow 3SG.S(PR)-PROG bag.II-LOC down
 He (the baby kangaroo) grows down there in the pouch.
- (7-44) *Bardgu g-a.*
 fall 3SG.S-PST
 He fell.

There is a small number of intransitive verbs which have an alternative case frame in which they are semitransitive verbs, taking a dative argument. Examples of these verbs are *ardbi* 'call out (to IO)', *gami* 'smile (at IO)', *durra* 'be frightened (of IO)' and *bundurrijbi* 'be/get full (of IO), be/get pregnant (with IO)'. Semitransitive verbs are discussed in §7.2.4.

- (7-45) *Ardbi irri-n (nganga).*
call.out 3PL.S(NP)-PROG (2SG.OBL)
They're calling out (to you).
- (7-46) *Gami gi-n (ngarra).*
smile 3SG.S(PR)-PROG (1SG.OBL)
He smiling (at me).
- (7-47) *Durra ngi (janya-nka).*
be.frightened 1SG.S(PR) (dog.I-DAT)
I'm frightened (of the dog).
- (7-48) *(Gunyini-nka) gi bundurri-jbi.*
(other.I-DAT) 3SG.S(PR) full-INCH
She's pregnant (with another (child)).

The intransitive verbs *gurijbi* 'feel good/happy', *bagijbi* 'feel bad' and *dabudaburri* 'be no good, feel weak' can also take a verbal complement; see §7.2.2.2.

7.2.2.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH VERBAL COMPLEMENTS

A few intransitive verbs subcategorise for a purposive non-finite subordinate clause, in which the verb (along with any objects) is inflected with the dative case. For some verbs such as *garrajbi* 'to want to VCOMP' this is the only possible case frame. Other verbs, such as *dabudaburri* 'be no good at VCOMP, be unable to VCOMP', *gurijbi* 'feel good, happy to VCOMP' and *bagijbi* 'feel bad, unhappy to VCOMP' can also function as simple intransitive verbs; see §7.2.2.1.

- (7-49) *Garrajbi gi-n yarru-nka.*
want 3SG.S(PR)-PROG go-DAT
She wants to go.
- (7-50) *Dabudaburri¹⁰ gi-n nganga manku-nka.*
be.unable 3SG.S(PR)-PROG 2SG.OBL hear-DAT
He can't hear you.
- (7-51) *Gurijbi ngi gannga-nka.*
feel.good 1SG.S(PR) return-DAT
I'm happy to be going back.

The transitive verb *gudijbi* 'lose, forget' has an alternative case frame in which it occurs with a nominative subject and a dative-marked verbal complement. In this case it means 'forget about, forget to':

¹⁰ This verb has a few different case frames and its meaning is a little difficult to characterise succinctly. It can occur with a verbal complement as in example (7-50), and can also occur with a dative NP argument:

(i) *Dabudaburri nyi nganggi-nka ngarlana-nka!*
be.no.good.at 2SG.S(PR) 2SG.POSS.IV-DAT language.IV-DAT
You're no good at your own language!

or with only a subject NP. In these examples it is usually translated as 'feel weak, no good':

(ii) *Dabudaburri ngi.*
be.no.good 1SG.S(PR)
I feel weak/no good.

Thus the omission of the verbal complement in example (7-50) would change the meaning of the phrase to something more like 'he's no good' or 'he's weak'.

- (7-52) *Gudijbi g-a iniyaga yugu-ji-nka.*
 forget 3SG.S-PST that.I.SG.NOM cry-TH-DAT
 He forgot about crying. (re a child who stopped crying to play)

There is one verb in the corpus which subcategorises for a verbal complement in the locative case. This verb, *aradajbi* 'be busy', can also appear as a simple intransitive verb, in which case the activity that is being engaged in is left unexpressed.

- (7-53) *Aradajbi gi-n mawula-ni.*
 be.busy 3SG.S(PR)-PROG play-LOC
 She's busy playing (cards).

Another verb, *gangga* 'return', can take a verbal complement in the ablative case expressing the activity that the subject returned from doing.

- (7-54) *Gangga g-a alalangmi-ji-nnga Jabiru.*
 return 3SG.S-PST hunt-TH-ABL jabiru(NOM)
 The Jabiru returned from hunting.

7.2.2.3 INTRANSITIVE VERBS WITH SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS

Subject complements are second predicates on the subject that are subcategorised for by a verb. Most second predicates are adjuncts: those of manner, for example, can combine with almost any type of verb (see §7.4.2 below). A very small number of verbs, however, actually subcategorise for a second predicate, in which case it is considered a subject complement.

The only intransitive verb in the corpus that subcategorises for a subject complement is *mirra* in its meaning of 'be, become'. In this use, *mirra* links an entity (the subject), with a property (the subject complement). The subject complement must agree with the subject in gender, number and case (nominative).

- (7-55) *Ngarrga gi-n mirra gamaa!*
 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG be long.IV(NOM)
 My (hair) is still long!
- (7-56) *Gurijbi g-aji mirra, ngara-baji.*
 good.I(NOM) 3SG.S-HAB.PST be drink-PRIV.I(NOM)
 He used to be good (and) not drink (but now he drinks all the time).
- (7-57) *Ngawu ng-u bungmanya mirra.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.S-FUT old.woman.II(NOM) be
 I will (live to) be an old woman.

For examples of subject complements with other verbs, see §7.2.3.2.

7.2.2.4 NGARLWI 'TALK (LANGUAGE) (TO IO)'

Ngarlwi is unique in that it subcategorises for a nominative subject NP and two optional object arguments: an accusative object referring to the language spoken (usually called a cognate object, e.g. Austin 1982) and a dative indirect object. It can, therefore, appear in four different case frames, the most of any verb in the corpus: simple intransitive (example (7-

58)), intransitive with cognate object (7-59), semitransitive (7-60), and semitransitive with cognate object (7-61).¹¹

- (7-58) *Ngarlwi ngurru-n.*
 talk 1PL.INC.S(NP)-PROG
 We're talking.
- (7-59) *Ngarlwi gi ngarlana.*
 talk 3SG.S(PR) language.IV(ACC)
 He talks (the Wambaya) language.
- (7-60) *Ngarlwi ngi-n ngangga.*
 talk 1SG.S(PR)-PROG 2SG.OBL
 I'm talking to you.
- (7-61) *Ngarlwi wurl-aji jingulu irra, gujinya irda.*
 talk 3DU.S-HAB.PST 3PL.OBL mother.II(NOM) father.I(NOM)
 My mother and father always spoke Jingulu to them.

While there are other other verbs that occur with cognate objects (see §7.2.5.2), *ngarlwi* is unique in that in clauses with the cognate object, the subject remains nominative and is registered by an 'intransitive subject' bound pronoun in the auxiliary. Other verbs taking cognate objects, such as *nijbi* 'sing (a song)' take ergative subjects which are registered by 'transitive subject' bound pronouns, when they occur in that case frame.

7.2.2.5 INTRANSITIVE VERBS IN NOUN + VERB IDIOMS

Two intransitive verbs belong to idioms in which they are combined with a nominative noun which has an adverbial-type function. The two such noun + verb idioms found in the corpus are:

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------|
| <i>yarru</i> | <i>janga</i> | walk |
| go | foot.IV(NOM) | |
| <i>mirra</i> | <i>murlu</i> | be awake |
| sit | eye.IV(NOM) | |

Examples of their use follow. Note that the two members of the idiom do not have to be contiguous.

- (7-62) *Janga irr-aji yarru mamdija, narunguja-aji.*
 foot.IV(NOM) 3PL.S-HAB.PST go long.ago car-PRIV.I(NOM)
 They used to walk in the old days, (they) didn't have cars.
- (7-63) *Murlu gi-n mirra.*
 eye.IV(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit
 He's awake.

¹¹ *Ngarlwi* also allows a fifth case frame in which it occurs with a nominative subject and a finite subordinate clause complement expressing what was said. Finite subordinate clause complements are discussed in §8.2.1.3.

7.2.3 REFLEXIVE VERBS

In this section I discuss verbs that are inherently reflexive. In §7.3 below I discuss derived reflexive verbs.

7.2.3.1 SIMPLE REFLEXIVE VERBS

Reflexive verbs subcategorise for a nominative subject NP and the reflexive object bound pronoun in the auxiliary. Although the subject of such verbs is in the nominative case, the auxiliary must contain a transitive subject bound pronoun. This is the only situation in which a transitive subject bound pronoun does not represent an ergative NP. The simple inherently reflexive verbs found in the corpus are *gurda* ‘be sick’ and *jagina* ‘lie with one leg resting on other bent knee’.

(7-64) *Gurda ngiyi-ngg-a bungmanya.*
 be.sick 3SG.NM.A-RR-NF old.woman.II(NOM)
 The old woman is sick.

(7-65) *Jagina gini-ngg-a.*
 lie.on.back 3SG.M.A-RR-NF
 He lay on his back with one leg across the other.

Another reflexive verb is the impersonal verb *barnamuluma* ‘flash lightning’. An example of this verb was given in (7-41) above, repeated here:

Barnamuluma ngiyi-ngg-a-n.
 flash.lightning 3SG.NM.A-RR-NF-PROG
 There was lightning.

7.2.3.2 REFLEXIVE VERBS WITH SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS

There are two reflexive verbs which subcategorise for subject complements: *manku* ‘feel SubjCOMP’ and *yardi* ‘turn into SubjCOMP’. With *manku* the subject complement expresses the mental or physical state attributed to the subject; with *yardi* it refers to the entity that the subject ‘turned into’. Examples include:

(7-66) *Manku ngi-ngg-a gurjibima.*
 hear 1SG.A-RR-NF good.II(NOM)
 I feel good.

(7-67) *Yardi gini-ngg-a barnanggi.*
 put 3SG.M.A-RR-NF bird.sp.I(NOM)
 He turned himself into a *barnanggi*.

Each of these verbs has an alternative case frame which is non-reflexive: *manku* is also a simple transitive verb meaning ‘hear, think about’; and *yardi* is also a ditransitive verb meaning ‘put’. However, the reflexive use discussed here is considered to be basic rather than derived (at least, synchronically) as the meanings are sufficiently different from the non-reflexive forms to consider them to be different lexemes synchronically. A derived reflexive form of transitive *manku*, for example, would mean ‘hear oneself, think about oneself’ and would not subcategorise for the type of subject complement present in example (7-66) above.

7.2.4 SEMITRANSITIVE VERBS

Semitransitive verbs require an nominative subject and a dative indirect object. The indirect object is not cross-referenced in the auxiliary. The semitransitive verbs in the corpus include those describing (i) actions of searching or anticipation, such as *ayani* 'look for IO', *yandu* 'wait for IO' and *maranbi* 'feel around for IO'; (ii) verbal or non-verbal communication towards or about entities, such as *ardbi* 'call out to IO', *ngarlwi* 'talk to IO, talk about IO', *gami* 'smile at IO'; and others such as *laji* 'be gone for a long time from IO', *durra* 'be frightened of IO' and *bundurrijibi* 'be/get full of IO, be/get pregnant with IO'.

- (7-68) *Juwa-nka gi-n ayani babanya.*
 man.I-DAT 3SG.S(PR)-PROG look.for sister.II(NOM)
 (My) sister's looking for a man.
- (7-69) *Bungmaji g-a yandu nganga.*
 old.man.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST wait 2SG.OBL
 The old man waited for you.
- (7-70) *Laji wurlu-n ngarra iguwulu.*
 be.absent 3DU.S(NP)-PROG 1SG.OBL that.one.I.DU.NOM
 They've been gone from me for a long time.

Some of these semitransitive verbs can also occur as intransitive verbs, without the indirect object. Examples were given in §7.2.2.1 above, of which two are repeated here.

- (7-71) *Gami gi-n (ngarra).*
 smile 3SG.S(PR)-PROG (1SG.OBL)
 He smiling (at me).
- (7-72) *Durra ngi (janyi-nka).*
 be.frightened 1SG.S(PR) (dog.I-DAT)
 I'm frightened (of the dog).

Although these indirect objects are not cross-referenced with an object bound pronoun in the auxiliary (example (7-73)), they can feed reflexive/reciprocal constructions, in which case they are represented with the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun (7-74). This is one way in which they can be distinguished from dative marked adjuncts (7-75) (see §3.2 for further discussion).

- (7-73) *Ayani ngi*ngi-ny-a nganga.*
 look.for 1SG.S(PR)/1SG.A-2O-NF 2SG.OBL
 I'm looking for you.
- (7-74) *Ayani ngurlu-ngg-a.*
 look.for 1DU.EXC.A-RR-NF
 We're looking for each other.
- (7-75) **Wugbardi ngurlu-ngg-a.*
 cook 1DU.EXC.A-RR-NF
 We're cooking for each other. (The only possible meaning is 'We're cooking each other'.)

The interaction of indirect objects and adjuncts with reflexive/reciprocal constructions has not yet been fully explored: it may be that only some indirect objects can feed such constructions and/or that some adjuncts can do so as well. Further investigation is required.

7.2.5 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs are characterised by the fact that they subcategorise for an ergative subject argument and only one other obligatory object argument (in this respect they differ from ditransitive verbs which require two object-type arguments).

7.2.5.1 SIMPLE TRANSITIVE VERBS

Most of the transitive verbs are of this type; they subcategorise for an ergative subject NP and an accusative object NP. It is very difficult to generalise about the semantic characteristics of simple transitive verbs as they are great in number and varied in meaning. Some examples are verbs of (i) physical impact or effect (whether desirable or undesirable), such as *daguma* 'hit O', *anmurru* 'cuddle O', *burlurlandu* 'blow O away, blow O about', *dudiyarri* 'spear O', *jarungbi* 'kiss O', *angbardi* 'build O', *wugbardi* 'cook O' *mujumi* 'gather O'; (ii) perception, such as *bujanga* 'perceive smell of O', *ngajbi* 'see O, look at O', *manku* 'hear O, listen to O, remember O'; (iii) transport, as in *didija* 'carry O on hip', *nyanyuwa* 'collect O'; (iv) movement, in which the verb describes the relationship between the movement of two referents, such as *nyurrunyurru* 'chase O', *bardganyi* 'follow O', *jarrgi* 'track O', *dunkala* 'chase O away', *lurrgbanyi* 'grab O'; and others such as *yabu* 'take O, have O', *jiyanggi* 'know O', *gamijanga* 'laugh at', *janyi* 'answer O' and *gurdumi* 'be too noisy for O'.

- (7-76) *Gurdumi irri-ng-a ngurra.*
 be.noisy 3PL.A-IO-NF 1PL.INC.ACC
 They're too noisy for us.
- (7-77) *Wugbardi ngiy-a manganyma.*
 cook 3SG.NM.A-PST bread.III(ACC)
 She cooked some bread.
- (7-78) *Lurrgbanyi irri-ng-agba.*
 grab 3PL.A-IO-HYP
 They might grab me.
- (7-79) *Muju-mujumi gin-a galaa-rdarra.*
 RDP-gather 3SG.M.A-PST bone.IV-GROUP(ACC)
 He joined all the bones together.

One transitive verb, *ganjimi* 'finish O', can take a non-finite subordinate clause in place of the object argument (i.e. 'finish doing'). In this case the subordinate verb is inflected with the locative case suffix, which is usually used in simultaneous clauses to mark same subject (see §8.1).

- (7-80) *Yangulu irr-a ganjimi mawula-ji-ni?*
 when 3PL.A-PST finish play-TH-LOC
 When did they finish playing?

A few transitive verbs have alternative ditransitive case frames in which they appear with an additional indirect object. Such verbs in the corpus include *ngirra* 'steal O (from IO)' *andajarri* 'hide O (from IO)', *inna* 'side with O (against IO)', and *didbidbunga* 'argue with O (about IO)'. Examples are:

- (7-81) *Ngirra irr-agba (ngarra).*
steal 3PL.A-HYP (1SG.OBL)
They might steal it (from me).
- (7-82) *Andajarri irr-a (nganga).*
hide 3PL.A-PST (2SG.OBL)
They hid it (from you).
- (7-83) *Juwa gurijbi ngaba gunu-ng-u inma*
man.I(NOM) good.I(NOM) THEN 3SG.M.A-IO-FUT side.with
(*barli-ngunya-nka*).
(fight-PROP.I-DAT)
A man is good (to have) so that he can side with me (against a 'cheeky'
woman).
- (7-84) *Didbidbunga ngirri-ngg-a-n (gijilulu-nka bungmanya-nka).*
argue.with 1PL.EXC.A-RR-NF-PROG (money.IV-DAT old.woman.II-DAT)
We're arguing with each other (about the old woman's money).

Ditransitive verbs are discussed in more detail in §7.2.6.

The simple transitive verb *ngajbi* 'see O, look at O' has an alternative use in which it occurs with a dative indirect object and conveys the meaning 'watch O for IO, look out/around for IO'. In this use, *ngajbi* can also have an accusative object, usually referring to the road, or the ground (example (7-85)). However, it is also possible for this object to be left unexpressed (7-86).

- (7-85) *Ngaj-ba gurl garrinyma baba-wuli-janka.*
see-FUT DU.IMP road.III(ACC) sibling-DU-DAT
(You two) watch the road for your two brothers.
- (7-86) *Ngajbi-ngajbi ng-u janga-nka gunyini-nka.*
RDP-see 1SG.A-FUT track.IV-DAT other.I-DAT
He looked around (the ground) for another's tracks.

This alternation of *ngajbi* may be of the type that has been reported for languages such as Warlpiri (e.g. Hale 1982) in which there is a productive pattern of replacing the direct object of many transitive verbs with a dative indirect object, denoting a failed object or a goal. This use of *ngajbi* is the only example in the corpus of this type of alternation in Wambaya; further investigation is required.

7.2.5.2 TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH COGNATE OBJECTS

The transitive verbs *nijbi* 'sing O' and *ngarlu* 'dance O' can occur only with a single type of object: namely one referring to a song and a dance, respectively. Such objects are usually referred to as cognate objects (e.g. Austin 1982).

- (7-87) *Juwa-ni gini-n nijbi jawala.*
man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG sing name.of.ceremony(ACC)
The man is singing the *jawala* ceremony.

- (7-88) *Ngarlu ngirr-aji wangarra.*
 dance 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST corroboree.IV(ACC)
 We used to dance corroborees.

Nijbi can also be used intransitively; see §7.2.7.

Other verbs in the corpus also take cognate objects. These include *ngarlwi* 'speak (language)'; which differs from *ngarlu* and *nijbi* in taking a nominative subject despite the presence of the object (see §7.2.2.4), and *didima* 'tell O (story) to IO' which is exemplified in the discussion of ditransitive verbs below.

7.2.6 DITRANSITIVE VERBS

Ditransitive verbs are those which subcategorise for two obligatory arguments other than the ergative subject NP.

7.2.6.1 SIMPLE DITRANSITIVE VERBS

Simple ditransitive verbs require three argument NPs and fall into two types: those with two accusative object arguments and those with one accusative object argument and one indirect object argument. Verbs of the former type include *ngarringga* 'take O₂ from O', *jiyawu* 'give O₂ to O', and *dimdirrinymi* 'teach O₂ to O'. The argument registered in the auxiliary is the recipient NP of *jiyawu* and *dimdirrinymi* and the source NP of *ngarringga*; hence it is this argument that is considered to be the direct object in both cases.¹²

- (7-89) *Darranggu gin-a ngarringga alaji.*
 stick.IV(ACC) 3SG.M.A-PST take.from boy.I(ACC)
 He took the stick from the boy.
- (7-90) *Jiyawu ngirr-aji nyanyalu marndanga.*
 give 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST tea.I(ACC) white.woman.II(ACC)
 We used to give tea to the white woman.
- (7-91) *Jiyawu gini-ng-a manganyma.*
 give 3SG.M.A-IO-NF tucker.III(ACC)
 He gave me some tucker.
- (7-92) *Dimdirrinymi gin-aji ngarlana irdina-yi.*
 teach 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST language.IV(ACC) father.I-LOC
 (My) father used to teach (him) language.

Verbs of the second type take an accusative object and an indirect object usually inflected with the dative case. Such verbs include *janganja* 'ask O for IO', *ngirra* 'steal O from IO', *didbidbunga* 'argue with O about IO' (the latter two have alternative transitive case frames; see §7.2.5).

- (7-93) *Janganja girri-ng-ala warnu-nka.*
 ask 2PL.A-IO-HAB.NP tobacco.IV-DAT
 You mob always ask me for tobacco.

¹² As Rumsey (1982:144) points out 'give' may not be the best gloss for verbs such as *jiyawu*; something like 'gift someone by means of something' may be more appropriate.

(7-94) *Ngirra irr-agba ngarra.*
steal 3PL.A-HYP 1SG.OBL
They might steal it (from me).

(7-95) *Didbidbunga ngirri-ngg-a-n gijilulu-nka bungmanya-nka.*
argue.with 1PL.EXC.A-RR-NF-PROG money.IV-DAT old.woman.II-DAT
We're arguing about the old woman's money.

When the indirect object of *janganja* is clear from context or previous discourse it can be omitted:

(7-96) *Janganja irri-ny-i, nyunmi-j-ba irra!*
ask 3PL.A-2O-FUT refuse-TH-FUT 3PL.ACC
(When) they ask you (for tobacco), knock them back!

A few ditransitive verbs, however, take an indirect object inflected with the allative case; these are *yardi* 'put O in/on IO',¹³ *burlugardi* 'soak O in IO' and *garnarnda* 'send O to IO'.

(7-97) *Garnguja ng-a yardi manganyma ngangarrgi-nmanji.*
many.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-PST put tucker.III(ACC) mouth.IV-ALL
I put too much food in my mouth.

(7-98) *Burlugardi ngi-n galyurringini-nmanji.*
soak 1SG.A(PR)-PROG water.I-ALL
I'm soaking it in water.

(7-99) *Guyala ng-udi garnarnda gunyanga-nmanji.*
NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR send other.II-ALL
I won't send her to another (girl).

In some contexts, where the location is either clear or irrelevant, the indirect objects of *yardi* and *burlugardi* may be omitted. In this case, *yardi* is interpreted as meaning 'put O down':¹⁴

(7-100) *Yardi ng-a.*
put 1SG.A-PST
I put it down.

(7-101) *Burlugardi ngi-n.*
soak 1SG.A(PR)-PROG
I'm soaking it.

Like some dative-marked indirect objects, the allative indirect object of *yardi* can feed reflexive/reciprocal constructions.¹⁵ In the following example, taken from Text 2 in

¹³ There is one example, from Text 5 in Appendix A, in which *yardi* appears with a complement inflected with the locative case, rather than the allative case:

Ilyirra gin-aji yardi gayangga-ni.
leaf.IV(NOM) 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST put high-LOC
He'd put the leaves on top.

¹⁴ Note that this use of *yardi*, in which the indirect object has been ellipsed, must be distinguished from the transitive use of *yardi*, in which it means 'make'. In this latter use *yardi* does not take an indirect object. Consider the following example from Appendix A, Text 1:

Yangula ny-a jundurra bajbaga yardi.
NEG 2SG.A-PST dust.IV(ACC) big.IV(ACC) make
You didn't make much dust.

Appendix A, the fact that the reflexive bound pronoun represents an allative argument is shown by the presence of allative case on the secondary predicate *wara* 'face', which agrees with the allative indirect object.

- (7-102) *Wara-nmanji gini-ngg-a yardi bulinja.*
 face.IV-ALL 3SG.M.A-RR-NF put algae.IV(ACC)
 He put algae on his face.

One verb, *didima* 'tell O2 to O, tell O to IO', can appear in either type of simple ditransitive frame. In both cases it subcategorises for an (accusative) cognate object referring to the story told. However, the recipient can be expressed by either an accusative object (example (7-103)) or by a dative indirect object ((7-104), (7-105)). As with the other ditransitive verbs discussed above, only in the former case is the recipient registered in the auxiliary.

- (7-103) *Didima ngiyi-ng-a marranya.*
 tell 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF yarn.IV(ACC)
 She told me a yarn.
- (7-104) *Buwarraja ngiy-a didima ngarra.*
 dreaming.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-PST tell 1SG.OBL
 She told me a dreaming story.
- (7-105) *Buwarraja ng-a didima alangi-nka.*
 dreaming.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-PST tell boy.I-DAT
 I told the boy a dreaming story.

The 'O2-theme' case frame, as in (7-103), is the most common and is pragmatically less marked. The effect of using the 'O-theme' case frame, as in (7-104) and (7-105), appears to be to focus more on the recipient of the telling. However, more research is needed.

Both *didima* and *janganja* have alternative case frames containing clausal arguments, discussed in §8.2.1.3. *Didima*, *dimdirrinymi* and *gamarda* also allow case frames with verbal complements; see below.

7.2.6.2 DITRANSITIVE VERBS WITH VERBAL COMPLEMENTS

There are three ditransitive verbs which have alternative case frames in which they take a verbal complement in place of one of their non-subject arguments. There are no ditransitive verbs for which this is the only case frame. The ditransitive verbs that can take a verbal complement are *didima* 'tell O to VCOMP', *dimdirrinymi* 'teach O to VCOMP' and *gamarda* 'send O to VCOMP'.

- (7-106) *Wardangarringa-ni ngiy-a didima ngaragi-nka.*
 moon.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST tell drink-DAT
 The moon told (the sun) to drink.
- (7-107) *Ngarringa-ni guguga-yi ngiyi-ng-a dimdirrinymi ngarli-nka.*
 1SG.POSS.II-LOC MM.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF teach talk-DAT
 My grandmother taught me to speak (Binbinka).

¹⁵ This may be possible for the allative indirect objects of *burlugardi* and *gamarda* also, but the data necessary to determine this is not present in the corpus.

- (7-108) *Garnamda gini-ng-a lingba-lingba-ji-nka.*
 send 3SG.M.A-IO-NF RDP-swim-TH-DAT
 He let me go swimming. (lit. He sent me to swim.)

7.2.7 VERBS WITH ALTERNATIONS IN TRANSITIVITY

As is clear in the above discussion, it is not uncommon for verbs in Wambaya to have both transitive and intransitive case frames, without the existence of formal marking distinguishing the two. Such a situation has been claimed to be unusual among Australian languages (e.g. Dixon 1980:378), although more recent work has shown it to be less unusual than first thought. Evans (1995a:344) shows that a large number of Kayardild verbs may appear in either transitive or intransitive case frames, pointing out that this is true also for other accusative Australian languages such as Lardil and Martuthunira. Transitivity alternations are also common among verbs in the non-Pama-Nyungan (ergative) languages of the Kimberley (Bill McGregor, pers.com). Thus, strict transitivity appears to be a property of Pama-Nyungan ergative languages (e.g. Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), Diyari (Austin 1981a), Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980)) rather than holding of Australian languages more generally.

Two Wambaya verbs which show such transitivity alternations clearly are *najbi* 'burn/burn O', and *barndanyi* 'swear/swear at O'. *Najbi* is a verb having what has been called a 'cognate subject' (Wilkins 1989), in that the semantics of the verb greatly restricts its possible subjects. Such verbs constitute one restricted class of exceptions to the tendency for fixed transitivity in many ergative (Pama-Nyungan) Australian languages (Evans 1995a: 344–345).

Examples of these verbs in each case frame follow. Note that the transitivity of the verb is shown both by the case marking of the subject NP (when present) and by the form of the third person singular subject bound pronoun: *gi-* registers intransitive subjects and *gini-/ngiyi-* are used with transitive subjects.

- (7-109) a. *Najbi gi-n manganyma.*
 burn 3SG.S(PR)-PROG bread.III(NOM)
 The bread is burning.
- b. *Gambanga-ni ngiyi-ng-a-n najbi.*
 sun.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF-PROG burn
 The sun is burning me.
- (7-110) a. *Barndanyi gi-n!*
 swear 3SG.S(PR)-PROG
 He's swearing!
- b. *Barndanyi ngiyi-ng-a.*
 swear 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF
 She swore at me.

7.3 VERBAL CLAUSES: DERIVED ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

These basic verbal argument structures can be altered in a number of different ways: intransitive verbs can be made transitive with the use of the causative suffixes, the transitivity suffix or the object-promoting suffix; or the valence of a verb can be reduced with the use of the reflexive/reciprocal construction. Of these, all but the latter possibility

have been covered in detail in the discussion of verbal derivational morphology in §6.2.1 and so will not be repeated here. A discussion of derived reflexive/reciprocal clauses follows in §7.3.1.

7.3.1 REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS

These clauses have the same characteristics as the inherently reflexive verbs discussed in §7.2.3 above: they require a nominative subject and the reflexive object bound pronoun in the auxiliary. Reflexive and reciprocal clauses are semantically alike as in each case there is some sort of identity between the agent and the patient: in reflexive clauses the two have the same referent, and in reciprocal clauses (which necessarily have non-singular subjects) each participant is both the agent and the patient.

- (7-111) a. *Daguma irr-a janji alangmiminyi-ni.*
 hit 3SG.A-PST dog.I(ACC) children.I-LOC
 The children hit the dog.
- b. *Daguma irri-ngg-a alangmiminji.*
 hit 3PL.A-RR-NF children.I(NOM)
 The children are hitting themselves/each other.

As can be seen in example (7-111), the effect of reflexive/reciprocal construction can be to derive an intransitive verb from a transitive one; the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun replaces the transitive object, and the form of the verb remains unchanged. That the verb is intransitive in (7-111b) is demonstrated by the fact that the subject NP is in the nominative case, rather than in the ergative/locative as in (7-111a), and that it is not possible to have an overt object NP:

- (7-112) **Alangmiminji irri-ngg-a daguma alangmiminji.*
 children.I(ACC) 3PL.A-RR-NF hit children.I(ACC)
 The children_i are hitting the children_j.

More generally, the reflexive/reciprocal construction reduces the valency of a verb by one, deriving intransitive verbs from semitransitives and transitives (examples (7-113) and (7-114) respectively), and transitive verbs from ditransitives (7-115). Irrespective of the valency of the derived verb, however, the subject must be registered in the auxiliary with a transitive subject bound pronoun.¹⁶ The reflexive/reciprocal pronoun replaces the direct object of transitive and ditransitive verbs and the indirect object of semitransitive verbs. Examples include:

- (7-113) a. *Ngarlwi irri-n ngarra nanagunya.*
 talk 3SG.S(NP)-PROG 1SG.OBL this.II.PL.NOM
 The women are talking to me.
- b. *Ngarlwi irri-ngg-a-n nanagunya.*
 talk 3PL.A-RR-NF-PROG this.II.PL.NOM
 The women are talking to each other.

¹⁶ There are no examples in the corpus of reflexivised ditransitive verbs (such as *jiyawu* in example (7-115)) co-occurring with an overt subject NP. Since such reflexive clauses are actually transitive we may expect the subject NP to appear in the ergative/locative case, unlike all other reflexive constructions, in which it must be in the nominative. This needs to be checked in the field.

- (7-114) *Janji gini-ngg-a wagardbi.*
 dog.I(NOM) 3SG.M.A-RR-NF wash
 The dog is washing himself.
- (7-115) *Jiyawu wurlu-ngg-a gijilulu.*
 give 3DU.A-RR-NF money.IV(ACC)
 They're giving each other money.

7.4 COMPLEX PREDICATES

7.4.1 PREDICATES WITH TWO VERBS

There are many examples in the corpus in which two verbs appear in the same clause. In some of these it is quite clear that one verb has an adverbial function; the most common examples of this type being clauses containing the verbs *gurinyimi* 'make good' and *ganjimi* 'finish'. When functioning adverbially these verbs have the meanings 'well, properly' and 'all' respectively and appear in the non-future form regardless of the inflection of the main verb (example (7-117)):¹⁷

- (7-116) *Gajbi irr-a ganjimi.*
 eat 3PL.A-PST finish
 They ate (it) all.
- (7-117) *Ngarl-wa guriny-mi!*
 talk-FUT good-FAC
 Talk properly!

Examples of complex predicates involving other verbs are more complicated. In these examples, all of which are in the non-future tense, it is not possible to clearly identify one verb as being the main verb, and the other as a modifier. In fact, it may be that the verbs in these examples are serialised. Examples include the following. Note that, in all examples, the verbs have the same transitivity and share the same arguments.

- (7-118) *Gayini g-a yarru ginkanyi nanganangali?*
 what.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST go this.way sneak.away
 Who was it that snuck off this way?
- (7-119) *Jirrbali gi-n naniyaga gulugbi.*
 lie.on.stomach 3SG.S(PR)-PROG that.II.SG.NOM sleep
 She's sleeping on her stomach.
- (7-120) *Mirra ngi barnkala.*
 sit 1SG.S(PR) have.crossed.legs
 I'm sitting with my legs crossed.

¹⁷ I have no examples of these predicates in non-finite subordinate clauses, and so do not know whether the modifying verb would remain in the non-future form there as well.

It is also possible that *ganjimi* 'all' and *gurinyimi* 'well, properly' are simply separate lexemes, although homophonous with and derived from the verbs *ganjimi* 'finish' and *gurinyimi* 'make good' respectively. Under this analysis, constructions as in (7-116) and (7-117) above are not complex predicates but simply contain a verb and a modifying adverb.

- (7-121) *Durra gi-n, ngirra irr-agba jananmi narunguja.*
 be.frightened 3SG.S(PR)-PROG steal 3PL.A-HYP take.off car.IV(ACC)
 He's frightened (that) they might strip (things) off the car.
- (7-122) *Guruburr-ardi ng-a daguma.*
 be.unconscious-CAUS 1SG.A-PST hit
 I knocked him out (by hitting).
- (7-123) *Nawunawu ngu-ngg-u dirndiny-mi.*
 stretch 1SG.A-RR-FUT straight-FAC
 I'll stretch my legs (by straightening them).
- (7-124) *Yugu-yugu-lumi gin-a ira bard-babu.*
 cry-RDP-CAUS 3SG.M.A-PST 3PL.ACC run-OP
 He took them away (from their mothers) and made them cry.

These examples appear to have the intonational contour of single clauses and thus, are not analysable as coordinate clauses along the lines of those discussed in §8.2.2. However, at this stage of the investigation, such a distinction is based on purely impressionistic grounds and needs to be confirmed by structural and semantic evidence that these examples contain a single clause while those in §8.2.2 do not. For example, future tense examples are needed in order to find out which verb (if not both) is inflected with the verbal future tense suffix. If only one verb can be inflected, this would be strong evidence that the two belong to a single clause; conversely if both verbs are inflected, this may suggest that they are in separate clauses. Further research is also needed into the semantics of these constructions. For example, if it is discovered that there are semantic restrictions on the verbs which can appear in these constructions, this may be evidence that there is only one clause involved, since we would be less likely to expect co-occurrence restrictions to exist across clause boundaries. Furthermore, if these constructions do involve only a single clause, it remains to be determined what the semantic difference is between these clauses and coordinate clauses, such as the following.

- (7-125) *Gayinini-ni gin-a wurrudbanyi irra, ginnan-ardi.*
 what.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST pull 3PL.ACC drown-CAUS
 Something pulled them (under the water), (and) drowned (them).

Unfortunately, all of these questions remain to be answered by further research.

7.4.2 SECONDARY PREDICATES

An ascriptive NP can function as a secondary predicate (Nichols 1978) for the subject or object of a finite clause, in which case, like all nominal modifiers, it must agree in case and gender (and presumably number, although there are no relevant examples) with the nominal it modifies. This secondary predicate provides information about the manner or state of the argument during the time of the main predicate. Theoretically, since these secondary predicates are adjuncts, any nominal could serve as a secondary predicate co-occurring with any verb. Examples of secondary predication follow.

- (7-126) *Ilijbirna g-a gulugbi.*
 alone.II(NOM) 3SG.S-PST sleep
 She slept alone.

- (7-127) *Yangula ng-a yarru alanga banggajarra-ni.*
 NEG 1SG.S-PST go girl.II(NOM) another.place-LOC
 I grew up in just the one place. (lit. I didn't go to another place as a girl.)
- (7-128) *Bardgu g-a ilirri-ngunya.*
 fall 3SG.S-PST blood-PROP.II(NOM)
 She fell down bleeding.
- (7-129) *Gurda-j-baji gi-n yugu.*
 be.sick-TH-PRIV.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG cry
 He's crying without being sick.
- (7-130) *Bundurri gi-n mirra gurijbi.*
 full.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit good.I(NOM)
 He's happy (when he's) full.
- (7-131) *Ngarabi gin-aji ilijbini-ni nunku=nima.*
 drink 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST alone.I-LOC that.I.SG.LOC=JUST
 He used to drink (it) all himself.
- (7-132) *Gurdanymila gini-ng-a-n yandu.*
 sick.one.II(ACC) 3SG.M.A-IO-NF-PROG look.after
 He looks after me, the sick one.

In the following example, the secondary predicate (*bugayirna ngabulungunya*) is in the nominative case, even though the clause is transitive and the subject is registered with a transitive subject bound pronoun (and must, therefore, have ergative/locative case). This is presumably because ergative NPs do not take ergative/locative case marking when fronted (see §4.4.3).

- (7-133) *Bugayirna ngabulu-ngunya, yagu ng-a ngarri*
 big.II(NOM) breast-PROP.II(NOM) leave 1SG.A-PST 1SG.POSS.I(ACC)
irda.
 father.I(ACC)
 (When I was) grown up, having breasts, I left my father.

True secondary predicates, such as those above, are characterised by the fact that the clause can be seen as the conjunction of two separate predications: one without the secondary predicate, and the other a nominal clause with the secondary predicate as the nominal predicate. For example, (7-126) consists of the two propositions *Gulugbi ga* 'She slept' and *Ilijbirna (nagama)* '(She) was alone'. Such constructions can thus be distinguished from the syntactically similar use of (usually body-part) NPs in constructions of inalienable possession. Consider the following examples:

- (7-134) *Bagijbi ngi-n juruma.*
 feel.bad 1SG.S(PR)-PROG stomach.IV(NOM)
 I feel sick in the stomach.
- (7-135) *Warima gini-ng-a labirra.*
 hold 3SG.M.A-IO-NF hand.IV(ACC)
 He held my hand.

The modifying NP in these examples, like those functioning as secondary predicates, must agree with the head noun in case. However, unlike example (7-126), (7-134) is not an

example of a true secondary predicate construction since an attempt to decompose it into two propositions would give *Bagijbi ngin* 'I feel sick' and the non-sensical (*Ngawurniji juruma* 'I am a stomach'. A further difference between the two constructions in Wambaya is that, while the modifying NP in secondary predicate constructions must agree with the head noun in gender and number as well as case, this is not true for examples such as (7-134) and (7-135) above. For example, the subject in (7-134) (taken from Text 4 in Appendix A) has masculine gender, while the nominal *juruma* 'stomach' has vegetable gender. Therefore, following Evans (1995a), I distinguish between true secondary predicate constructions and subject/object-construed body-part constructions such as those in (7-134) and (7-135) respectively.

A small number of verbs subcategorise for secondary predicates on the subject, in which case the modifying NP is referred to as a subject complement. Verbs requiring subject complements were discussed in §7.2. For convenience, one example of the reflexive verb *manku* 'to feel', which subcategorises for a subject complement expressing the emotion attributed to the subject, is repeated here.

- (7-136) *Manku ngi-ngg-a baginga.*
 feel 1SG.A-RR-NF bad.II(NOM)
 I feel no good.

7.5 QUESTIONS

7.5.1 YES/NO QUESTIONS

Yes/no questions usually have the same form as the corresponding declarative sentence, but are said with a rising, questioning intonation:

- (7-137) *Gajbi murnd-u yana manganyma?*
 eat 1DU.INC.A-FUT this.IV.SG.ACC tucker.III(ACC)
 Can we eat some of this food?

- (7-138) *Yagu ny-a nagama ngayijinya ngangima?*
 leave 2SG.A-PST that.one.II.SG.ACC FM.II(ACC) 2SG.POSS.II(ACC)
 Did you drop your grandmother off (at the hospital)?

- (7-139) *Yana ngarrga?*
 this.IV.SG.NOM 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM)
 Is this mine?

Hale's corpus contains examples in which an interrogative particle *gayi* is used in such polar yes/no questions. Note that this particle appears in the auxiliary in examples (7-140) and (7-141), and alone in second position in the verbless clause (7-142):¹⁸

- (7-140) *Dudiyarri gayi-ny-u iniyawulu?*
 spear INT-2SG.A-FUT that.I.DU.ACC
 What, you are spearing them (du)? (Hale 1959:13)

¹⁸ In the following examples I have used the orthography and glossing conventions of this work, but have retained Hale's translations.

- (7-141) *Baliji gayi-nyi?*
 hungry INT-2SG.S(PR)
 Are you hungry? (Hale 1959:19)
- (7-142) *Gudayi-barli gayi iniya janji?*
 bite-AGNT.I(NOM) INT that.I.SG.NOM dog.I(NOM)
 Is that dog cheeky? (Hale 1959:29)

This interrogative particle is not present in my corpus and, since the dialect that Hale recorded appears to be closer to Gudanji than Wambaya,¹⁹ it is possible that the interrogative particle *gayi* is present only in Gudanji. However, there is a negative interrogative particle in Wambaya present in both my corpus and Hale's notes, and also reported by Chadwick (1978:99). The form of this particle is *wayi* and, like the negative particle *guyala*, it requires the presence of irrealis marking in the auxiliary. There is some variability as to how sentences containing this particle are translated into English: either as negative yes/no questions (examples (7-143), (7-144)); information questions meaning 'why not' (7-143); or as simple positive yes/no questions ((7-145), (7-146)):

- (7-143) *Wayi ny-uda ilinga?*
 NEG.INT 2SG.A-NACT.PST hear
 Aren't you listening?/Why aren't you listening?
- (7-144) *Wayi ny-uda yabu balamurru?*
 NEG.INT 2SG.A-NACT.PST have spear.IV(ACC)
 Don't you have a spear? (Hale 1959:31)
- (7-145) *Wayi ny-udi ngarlwi Wambaya?*
 NEG.INT 2SG.S-NACT.PR talk
 Can you talk Wambaya? (Hale 1959:31)
- (7-146) *(W)ayi ny-udi yabu guyiga?*
 NEG.INT 2SG.A-NACT.PR have fire.IV(ACC)
 Have you got firewood? (Chadwick 1978:99)

I suspect that the basic use of *wayi* is in yes/no questions when the speaker is anticipating a negative reply, and that examples such as (7-145) and (7-146) could probably have been explained in this way in the contexts in which they were given. The information question associated with (7-143) could arise for pragmatic reasons: if the speaker asks the question *Aren't you listening?* then it might be expected that he/she is also looking for an explanation why. However, further research is required in order to test this hypothesis and more accurately determine the meaning of this particle and the contexts of its use.

7.5.2 INFORMATION QUESTIONS

These questions involve the use of an indefinite/interrogative, usually initial in the clause, that indicates the nature of the information being sought. As in many Australian languages, indefinite/interrogatives in Wambaya can be used either in interrogative function (e.g. 'who', 'what') or as indefinite pronouns (e.g. 'someone', 'something'). They contain one of five basic roots: *gayini-* 'what, who'; *inja-* 'where, which'; *yangula* 'when'; *yangulanji* 'how

¹⁹ Based on the forms of the auxiliaries and the negative particles he recorded, as well as some of the lexical items.

much'; and *wunjugu* 'how'. Of these, the first two are inflected with regular gender and case marking in order to cover such meanings as 'who, what, with what, for what' and 'which, where to, where from' respectively. Some examples of the interrogative uses of these forms follow; indefinite/interrogatives are discussed in more detail in §4.7.

- (7-147) *Gayina-ni ng-u daguma?*
 what.IV-LOC 1SG.A-FUT hit
 With what will I hit (him)?
- (7-148) *Inigunji irr-a gayini-gunji gulugbi?*
 this.I.PL.NOM 3PL.S-PST who-PL.I(NOM) sleep
 Who are these people sleeping (here)?
- (7-149) *Gayinini-nka gi-n ayani lunggaji?*
 who.I-DAT 3SG.S(PR)-PROG look.for policeman.I(NOM)
 Which boy is the policeman looking for?
- (7-150) *Gayinanka gi-n yugu nanama?*
 why 3SG.S(PR)-PROG cry that.II.SG.NOM
 Why is she crying?
- (7-151) *Injani darrangu ngarra?*
 where stick.IV(NOM) 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM)
 Where is my stick?
- (7-152) *Yangulu g-uba yarru, gujinya?*
 when 3SG.S-NP.AWY go(FUT) mother.II(NOM)
 When will you go, mother?
- (7-153) *Yangulanja ngarlana nyi nyamimiji ngarlwi?*
 how.many.IV(ACC) language.IV(ACC) 2SG.S(PR) 2SG.NOM talk
 How many languages do you speak?
- (7-154) *Ngurruwani ngurr-ala nijbi wunjugu?*
 1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.NP sing how
 How do we say it?

7.6 NEGATION

7.6.1 SENTENTIAL NEGATION

7.6.1.1 NEGATION OF INDICATIVE CLAUSES

There are two alternative constructions available for negating an indicative clause, each containing a different negative particle (glossed NEG). Although speakers claim that the two constructions have the same meaning, the distribution of each construction in the corpus suggests that there is in fact a difference in usage between the two. I will discuss this difference below, but first I will explain and exemplify the structural characteristics of the constructions.

The constructions are primarily distinguished by the form of the negative particle – *yangula* or *guyala* – which appears in initial position in the clause.²⁰ *Guyala* is also used alone to mean ‘no, nothing’; *yangula* is never used in this function. There is one other respect in which the two constructions differ: while both particles (usually) require the presence of the hypothetical suffix in the auxiliary in future clauses, only *guyala* has the further requirement that the auxiliary contain an irrealis mood suffix in past and present tense clauses. In past and present tense clauses with *yangula* the auxiliary has the same form that it would in the corresponding positive sentence. Examples include the following. Note that in future tense negative clauses the verb does not inflect for future tense (see §6.1.2):

- (7-155) *Guyala ng-uda gajbi manganyma.*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PST eat tucker.III(ACC)
 I couldn’t eat any dinner.
- (7-156) *Guyala ngurr-uji ngajbi irra.*
 NEG 1PL.INC.A-NACT.PR see 3PL.ACC
 We never see them.
- (7-157) *Yangula irri-ng-a jiyawu.*
 NEG 3PL.A-1O-NF give
 They didn’t give me (my country).
- (7-158) *Yangula irri-n nananga guri-guriny-mi.*
 NEG 3PL.A(NP)-PROG care.for RDP-good-FAC
 They’re not looking after her properly.
- (7-159) *Yangula gurl-agba ganmami.*
 NEG 2DU.S-HYP get.close
 You can’t get close.
- (7-160) *Guyala ng-agba yandu bungmanya-nka.*
 NEG 1SG.S-HYP wait old.woman.II-DAT
 I’m not going to wait for the old woman.
- (7-161) *Yangula nga-ngg-agba duga-jirrimi.*
 NEG 1SG.A-RR-HYP sit.down-CAUS
 I’m not going to sit (myself) down.

It seems that when a negative indicative clause has immediate future tense, the auxiliary does not contain the hypothetical suffix. In this case *yangula* clauses usually have simple future tense marking (example (7-162)) and *guyala* clauses often have present tense irrealis marking (7-163).

- (7-162) *Yangula ngu-ny-u daguma.*
 NEG 1SG.A-2O-FUT hit
 I’m not going to hit you.
- (7-163) *Guyala ng-udi gamarnda gunyanga-nmanji.*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR send other.II-ALL
 I won’t send her to another (girl).

²⁰ The Gudanji negative particle is *gabi*. It behaves like *guyala* in requiring irrealis marking in the auxiliary and in being used as an interjection meaning ‘no, nothing’.

As mentioned above, speakers say that there is no difference in meaning between *guyala* and *yangula* constructions and there are cases in which two sentences, one of each type of negative construction, are said to have the same meaning. Thus:

(7-164) *Guyala ng-udi yarru.*
 NEG 1SG.S-NACT.PR go
 I'm not going.

(7-165) *Yangula ng-u yarru.*
 NEG 1SG.S-FUT go
 I'm not going.

However, despite seemingly equivalent examples such as these, there does appear to be a semantic difference between the two particles. While *yangula* seems to be more of a general, unmarked negation marker, the use of *guyala* implies that there are external factors, beyond the actor's control, that prevent (or at least, make unlikely) the execution of the act described by the proposition.²¹ Thus, *guyala* appears to be a negative modal²² indicating 'impossibility' or 'unlikelihood', similar to English 'can't'. *Yangula*, on the other hand, denotes simple propositional negation and is therefore unmarked; it can be used either in situations in which *guyala* would be inappropriate (i.e. there are no external forces which prevent the action from being carried out) or in situations where the existence or absence of such forces is simply not relevant.²³ Some examples illustrating this semantic difference follow.

(7-166) *Guyala ng-uda gajbi manganyma.*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PST eat tucker.III(ACC)
 I couldn't eat tea (because I kept vomiting).

(7-167) *Guyala wurlu-ny-uda manku.*
 NEG 3DU.A-2O-NACT.PST hear
 They didn't hear you (because they were sleeping).

(7-168) *Guyala ng-udi ilinga.*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR remember
 I can't remember (it).

(7-169) *Guyala ng-udi ngunjulanyi.*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR lift
 I can't lift (it).

(7-170) *Yangula ngi-ny-a-n ngajbi nyamirni.*
 NEG 1SG.A-2O-PST-PROG see 2SG.ACC
 I wasn't looking at you.

(7-171) *Yangula ng-a banjarri.*
 NEG 1SG.A-PST throw
 I didn't throw it.

²¹ These reasons could be: a physical or mental inability to; the fact that doing so may be contravening social rules or norms; the fact that someone else won't allow you to, etc.

²² I am indebted to Jane Simpson for this observation.

²³ Interestingly, as drawn to my attention by Tracy King, Georgian also has a similar lexicalised distinction between two negative particles (Aronson 1989:145).

- (7-172) *Yangula irri-ng-a jiyawu.*
 NEG 3PL.A-10-PST give
 They didn't give me (my country).

Apparent counterexamples, such as (7-163) repeated below, in which *guyala* is translated with English 'won't' rather than 'can't', can probably be explained in terms of social/cultural expectations and notions of appropriateness. Thus, in this example the speaker may be indicating that she will not send the girl (her granddaughter) to live with another woman, since she would consider this to be inappropriate for cultural, social, or personal reasons.

- Guyala ng-udi garnarnda gunyanga-nmanji.*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR send other.II-ALL
 I won't send her to another (girl).

This semantic difference between the two particles helps to explain their different behaviour with respect to the irrealis markers in the auxiliary. If *guyala* is a negative modal expressing 'unlikelihood' then it is not surprising that it should require an irrealis marker in the auxiliary, since these markers are often used to express modal meanings of 'should' and 'would' in positive (usually counterfactual) sentences (see §5.2.4).²⁴

Verbless clauses are also negated with either *guyala* or *yangula*, although of the few examples in the corpus most contain *guyala*. As shown in the following examples, the negative particle may be either initial in the clause (example (7-173)) or initial in the predicate (7-174).

- (7-173) *Guyala inama ngangi jugu, inama*
 NEG that.I.SG.NOM 2SG.POSS.I(NOM) MB.I(NOM) that.I.SG.NOM
ngangi gugu.
 2SG.POSS.I(NOM) MMB.I(NOM)
 That's not your uncle, that's your great uncle.
- (7-174) *Yana janga yangula ngarrga.*
 this.IV.SG.NOM foot.IV(NOM) NEG 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM)
 That's not my foot.

7.6.1.2 NEGATION OF IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Imperative clauses are negated with the use of the negative imperative particle *alyu* (glossed 'NEG.IMP') which must always be initial in the clause.²⁵ In negative imperative clauses the auxiliary (when present) appears in the non-future tense form and the verb can

²⁴ It is interesting that, given this semantic difference, it is *guyala* rather than *yangula* that is used as an interjection with the meaning 'no, nothing'. This may be due to politeness: in the face of a request, it is more polite to suggest that the reason for saying 'no' is beyond one's control than to simply refuse (e.g. *I can't* versus *I won't*).

²⁵ The Gudanji negative imperative particle is *durdami*. Note that, unlike in Wambaya (see §5.5), imperative clauses in Gudanji always have an auxiliary even when singular. Thus in a typical singular negative imperative clause, *durdami* is followed by the auxiliary *nya*.

Durdami nya nijbi!
 NEG.IMP SG.IMP sing
 Don't sing!

This is equivalent to the Wambaya *Alyu nijbi!*

appear either with or without future tense marking. For a discussion of auxiliaries and verbs in imperative clauses see §5.5 and §6.1.2 respectively. Some positive and negative pairs are:

- (7-175) a. *Dagama-j-ba nyi-ng(-a)!*
hit-TH-FUT 2SG.A-1O(-NF)
Hit me!
- b. *Alyu nyi-ng-a dagumal daguma-j-ba!*
NEG.IMP 2SG.A-1O-NF hit/hit-TH-FUT
Don't hit me!
- (7-176) a. *Ngara-ba ini galyurringi!*
drink-FUT this.I.SG.ACC water.I(ACC)
Drink the water!
- b. *Alyu ngarabil ngara-ba ini galyurringi!*
NEG.IMP drink/drink-FUT this.I.SG.ACC water.I(ACC)
Don't drink the water!
- (7-177) a. *Jiya-j-ba irra warnu!*
give-TH-FUT 3PL.ACC tobacco.IV(ACC)
Give them (some) tobacco!
- b. *Alyu irra warnu jiyawuljiya-j-ba!*
NEG.IMP 3PL.ACC tobacco.IV(ACC) give/give-TH-FUT
Don't give them (any) tobacco!

7.6.2 CONSTITUENT NEGATION

7.6.2.1 THE USE OF THE PRIVATIVE SUFFIX

The privative suffix can be added to a verb X to derive a nominal with the meaning 'one who doesn't or is unable to X'. Thus, this suffix is used to negate a quality or action. Examples of the use of this suffix with verbs are given in §4.4.12. Some others are given here for further exemplification.

- (7-178) *Yugu-waji, mirrang-ba g-u inama ayigurrajbi*
cry-PRIV.I(NOM) sit-FUT 3SG.S-FUT that.I.SG.NOM all.day
ngaji-ni ngurra.
see-LOC 1PL.INC.ACC
He doesn't cry, he'll (just) sit there all day looking at us.

- (7-179) *Baralala ng-a mirra gulug-bajarna*
all.night 1SG.S-PST sit sleep-PRIV.II(NOM)
I couldn't sleep all night (lit. I was sleepless all night).

7.6.2.2 NP NEGATION

There are a few different techniques for negating the presence or existence of an entity. Most commonly, the derived nominal *guyaliny-* is used, taking the negated entity as its dative argument. The use of this nominal is discussed in detail in §4.4.13.1. An example is:

- (7-180) *Guyalinya ngawurniji manganyimi-nka.*
 lacking.II(NOM) 1SG.NOM tucker.III-DAT
 I've got no tucker.

In other examples, the negative particle *guyala* is used in its basic form and the negated NP appears in the dative case. In this construction *guyala* appears to function as an existential negator:

- (7-181) *Guyala gaguluna-nka, gagulinya ngi yabu.*
 NEG y.brother.I-DAT y.sister.II(ACC) 1SG.A(PR) have
 No brothers, (but) I have a younger sister.

In a small number of examples *guyala* is used, but the negated NP is not in the dative case. In this construction *guyala* appears to function as an argument negator. This construction differs from that in which *guyala* is used to mark sentential negation as the negative particle is not in initial position and there is no irrealis marking in the auxiliary. Furthermore, it seems that *guyala* in these examples does not have the modal meaning that is associated with its use as a sentential negator (see §7.6.1).

- (7-182) *Jiyawu irr-a manganyima guyala.*
 give 3PL.A-PST tucker.III(ACC) NEG
 They didn't give her any breakfast. (lit. They gave her no breakfast.)
- (7-183) *Nanagunyani irr-aji ngarabi, ngawurniji guyala.*
 this.II.PL.LOC 3PL.A-HAB.PST drink 1SG.NOM NEG
 They (my friends) used to drink, but not me.

7.7 CLITICS AND PARTICLES

7.7.1 CLITICS

7.7.1.1 =MIJI 'INFERENCE'

The clitic =*miji* is used to mark epistemic mood and is encliticised to the first word of the clause. Like the epistemic uses of the modals 'must' and 'might' in English, the use of =*miji* indicates that the speaker has drawn an inference or conclusion as to the truth of the proposition on the basis of available information.²⁶ The most common usage of =*miji* in Wambaya is as in examples (7-184) to (7-186), in which it denotes probability; the information available to the speaker suggests that the proposition is likely to be true. In these examples =*miji* is translated by speakers into English as 'must be'.

- (7-184) *Ngangaba yana gi-n najbi. Garnguji=miji*
 fire.IV(NOM) this.IV.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG burn many.I(NOM)=INFER
irri-n mirra.
 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit
 There's a (big) fire burning (over there). There must be a big group (of people).
- (7-185) *Mugunjana=miji gi-n mirra.*
 louse.II(NOM)=INFER 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit
 It must be a louse (because I keep scratching my head).

²⁶ See Lyons (1977), Palmer (1986) and Chung and Timberlake (1985), among many others, for a detailed discussion of epistemic modality.

- (7-186) *Ngajirri=miji gi-n.*
 be.cold=INFER 3SG.S(PR)-PROG
 He must be cold (because he's only wearing shorts).

However, =*miji* can also be used where the conclusion drawn is more tentative. In this use =*miji* expresses possibility, rather than probability, and is more like the English modal 'might'.

- (7-187) *Guribirma=miji gi-n mirra.*
 good.II(NOM)=INFER 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit
 She might be feeling better. (In response to the question 'Do you think MN will be better yet?')
- (7-188) *Wugbardi=miji irri-n.*
 cook=INFER 3PL.A(NP)-PROG
 Perhaps they're cooking. (In response to an inquiry as to some people's whereabouts.)

The clitic =*miji* is often used with indefinite/interrogatives in their indefinite function, in which they indicate a lack of knowledge without asking that the information be supplied. This function is discussed and exemplified more fully in §4.7. Examples include:

- (7-189) *Gayinirna=miji nayida ng-u yany-ba agardi-nka.*
 what.II(ACC)=INFER woman.II(ACC) 1SG.A-FUT get-FUT wash-DAT
 I don't know which girl I'll get to wash (my clothes).
- (7-190) *Wunjugu=miji irr-a giganbi garguji-rdarra.*
 somehow=INFER 3PL.S-PST drown many.I-GROUP(NOM)
 Somehow they all drowned (but I don't know how).

In the only example in the corpus where =*miji* is not encliticised to the initial element in the clause, it has this function:

- (7-191) *Darrgulumi irr-a ngarra banjangani gayinini-ni=miji.*
 crack 3PL.A-PST 1SG.OBL behind someone.I-LOC=INFER
 Someone must have let the water out behind me.

The use of =*miji* with indefinites is similar to that of the particle /*pangkal*/ 'might be, may be' in Warumungu, which is used to create indefinites from interrogatives (Jane Simpson pers.comm.). It is also similar to the use of the ignorative clitic =*ga* in Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980:258ff).²⁷ Note that 'might be' can be used in Aboriginal English in the same way: *Where is X? Might be somewhere.*²⁸

7.7.1.2 =*NIMA* 'JUST'

The clitic =*nima* is a restricted clitic that has a number of related emphatic functions, translating English words such as 'just', 'only' and 'still'. It is most commonly used with nouns and adjectives, but can also be used with other parts of speech such as verbs (example

²⁷ However, the clitic =*ga* in Ngiyambaa has a different meaning than =*miji* in Wambaya, as its use with other word classes is inferred to be a request for the hearer to affirm or deny the correctness of the statement (Donaldson 1980:260). The use of =*miji* has no such implicature.

²⁸ Thanks to Jane Simpson for this observation.

(7-195)), locational nominals (7-196) and pronouns (7-197). As is clear in the following examples, the constituent carrying =*nima* is usually, but not always, clause-initial.

(7-192) *Gunju=nima ngiyi-ng-a jiyawu. Guyalinja manganyimi-nka.*
 meat.IV(ACC)=JUST 3SG.NM.A-IO-NF give lacking.IV(NOM) bread.III-DAT
 She only gave me meat. There's no bread.

(7-193) *Daguma irri-ngg-a; nagagunya nujungama=nima,*
 hit 3PL.A-RR-NF that.one.II.SG.NOM alone=JUST
igigunji nujungama=nima.
 that.one.I.SG.NOM alone=JUST
 They fought each other; the women with the women and the men with the men.

(7-194) *Ngurraramba=nima ngirr-aji duwa.*
 nighttime=JUST 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST get.up
 It was still dark (when) we'd get up.

(7-195) *Yarru=nima irri-n bibi.*
 go=JUST 3PL.S(NP)-PROG little.while
 They'll be still going for a little while yet (i.e. it's a long way).

(7-196) *Gayangga=nima gambada.*
 high=JUST sun.II(NOM)
 The sun is still high (i.e. it's not afternoon yet).

(7-197) *Mirrdiyani=nima mirrdi-n mirra.*
 1PL.INC.NOM=JUST 1PL.INC.S(PR)-PROG sit
 There's just you and me here.

It is possible for both the head noun and a modifier to host =*nima*:

(7-198) *Ngarrga=nima warnu=nima ngi di-didija.*
 1SG.POSS.IV(ACC)=JUST tobacco.IV(ACC)=JUST 1SG.A(PR) RDP-carry
 I carry around my own tobacco.

In one example =*nima* appears within the word *giliyaga* 'there'. This word is made up of *gili* 'here' and the remote suffix *-yaga* (this suffix is found on most remote demonstratives; see §4.6).

(7-199) *Mirra g-a gili=nima-yaga.*
 sit 3SG.S-PST here=JUST-remote
 I stayed right there.

The different uses of =*nima* are related by the fact that they all serve to modify presupposed expectations; the clitic functions as an expectation modifier (McConvell 1983), highlighting deviation from a presupposition that something more or different would be expected. In example (7-192), for instance, =*nima* denies the presupposition that the speaker would have been given both meat and bread; in (7-195), it denies an expectation that the travellers would have arrived at their destination already; and in (7-199) the function of =*nima* is to deny the presupposition that the speaker went anywhere else. The 'counter-expectation' meaning of (7-198) is not so obvious. However, this utterance was given in a context in which the speaker was complaining about the fact that people always come and ask her for

tobacco. Thus, =*nima* seems to be used to assert that the tobacco she carries is for her use only, and not for anyone else's.²⁹

7.7.1.3 =*MINYI* 'AGAIN'

The clitic =*minyi* 'AGAIN' is used only with verbs. It is attached to the verb over which it has scope. There are only a few examples of this clitic in the corpus, including:

(7-200) *Bardgu-j-ba=minyi g-u galyurrungurna.*
 fall-TH-FUT=AGAIN 3SG.S-FUT rain.II(NOM)
 It'll rain again.

(7-201) *Gangga=minyi g-ulama.*
 return(FUT)=AGAIN 3SG.S-NP.TWD
 She'll come back again.

(7-202) *Gulugi-nka=minyi gi-n yugu.*
 sleep-DAT=AGAIN 3SG.S(PR)-PROG cry
 He's crying to go back to sleep (i.e. because he's tired).

As can be seen in the examples above, =*minyi* can be used with either of the two senses that McConvell (1983) identifies for English 'again': (i) repetition of an action or situation and (ii) return to a former position or state. In example (7-200) =*minyi* indicates repetition of the full situation: it is true that the event of raining will be repeated. In (7-201) and (7-202) on the other hand, =*minyi* indicates only a return to a former state or position, rather than a repetition of the whole event. Thus (7-202), for example, means that 'he' was asleep before and that he is crying in order to return to that former state of sleeping. It does not mean that the event of his crying has happened before and is now being repeated. Similarly, (7-201) describes the situation in which 'she' was here and will return to this former position. It does not refer to a repetition of the event of returning.

7.7.2 PARTICLES

There are seven particles in the corpus: the negative particles *guyala*, *yangula* and *alyu*; the negative interrogative *wayi*; the exclamative marker *gubi* and the conjunctions *ngaba* 'THEN' and *gaji* 'LEST'.³⁰ In addition there are three particles present in Hale's (1959) notes, but not found in my corpus. These are the interrogative particle *gayi* and the conjunctions *ngabayi* 'admonitive' and *marda* 'when'. The two interrogative particles and the three negative particles were discussed above in §7.5 and §7.6 respectively. The other five particles are discussed below.

7.7.2.1 *GUBI* 'EXCLAM'

There are only a few examples of this particle in the corpus and so it is difficult to determine its exact meaning. However, in the small number of examples in which it is found,

²⁹ See McConvell (1983) and McGregor (1990:459ff) for detailed discussions of the semantics of enclitics meaning 'only' and 'just' in other Australian languages.

³⁰ The latter is found in the speech of only one consultant and so may not actually belong to Wambaya: see §7.7.2.3 below.

it appears to be functioning as a type of exclamative marker³¹ and thus, in lieu of further research, I will treat it as such. There appears to be a strong tendency for *gubi* to appear clause-finally. The examples of its use are:

(7-203) *Bungmanya* *ngi-n* *mirra gubi*.
old.woman.II(NOM) 1SG.S(PR)-PROG sit EXCLAM
I'm getting old.

(7-204) *Gajbi irri-n* *gamgunyi-ni gubi*.
eat 3PL.A(NP)-PROG many.I-LOC EXCLAM
There's too many of them eating (all) the food.

(7-205) *Gayina gubi irr-ala yardi?*
what.IV(ACC) EXCLAM 3PL.A-HAB.NP put
What do they call it? (The speaker was trying to remember a particular word in another language.)

The following example was uttered in the context of telling me what I should call an old woman who, according to her subsection, is my daughter.

(7-206) *Ngayijinya ngangirna, bungmanya gubi!*
FM.II(NOM) 2SG.POSS.II(NOM) old.woman.II(NOM) EXCLAM
(Call her) your grandmother, she's too old (to be your daughter)!

7.7.2.2 NGABA 'THEN'

Ngaba is used to link two finite clauses with the meaning that the second clause follows from the first clause, either as the purpose (examples (7-207), (7-208)), or the consequence or result (7-209). Thus *ngaba* indicates that, given the event described in the first clause, that of the second clause can/will/should occur. *Ngaba* is usually translated into English as 'and then' or 'so that' and is glossed 'THEN'. Note that *ngaba* counts as a constituent of the subordinate clause for the purposes of auxiliary placement. Some examples of its use are:

(7-207) *Yarru g-a ginmanji ngaba murnd-u ngarlwi*.
go 3SG.S-PST this.way THEN 1DU.INC.S-FUT talk
She came here so that we can talk.

(7-208) *Yardi-j-ba ngurru magi-nmanji ngaba nguy-u*
put-TH-FUT 1PL.INC.A(NP) camp.I-ALL THEN 3SG.NM.A-FUT
mamdanga-ni nananga-j-ba.
white.woman.II-LOC care.for-TH-FUT
We're going to put her in a home so that the white woman will take care of her.

(7-209) *Gajigajirra gani³² gamnga ngaba ngurru janganja. Yardi*
quickly 3SG.S(PR) return THEN 1PL.INC.A(PR) ask put
nguy-u ngurra ngaba ngurru-ngg-u manku ngarli-ni
3SG.NM.A-FUT 1PL.INC.OBL THEN 1PL.INC.A-RR-FUT hear talk-LOC
ngarlana.
language.IV(ACC)

³¹ This was suggested to me by Bill McGregor.

³² This is the Gudanji form of the auxiliary.

She'll come back soon and then we'll ask (her to play the tape). She'll put (the tape) on for us and then we'll hear ourselves talking language.

The following example demonstrates that *ngaba* can also be used to link utterances. In this case another speaker had just stated that someone had needed a lift the day before, to which this speaker replied:

- (7-210) *Ngaba ny-uda yarru banganiga didima nyi-ng-uda.*
 THEN 2SG.S-NACT.PST go this.way tell 2SG.A-IO-NACT.PST
 Then you should have come (and) told me.

In one example, the use of *ngaba* is hard to explain: here the clause introduced by *ngaba* is temporally prior to the other clause, rather than following it as in most *ngaba* clauses (such as examples (7-207) to (7-210)). I have no explanation for this use of *ngaba*; further research is needed.

- (7-211) *Ngaba g-u gurijbi gannga-yirrima irri.*
 THEN 3SG.S-FUT feel.good return-CAUS.FUT 3PL.A(NP)
 When she is better they'll bring her back.

Complex clauses, including the use of *ngaba* as a conjunction, are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Ngaba has another function, in which it is used as an equative in constructions of comparison.³³ Some examples of *ngaba* in this function follow.³⁴

- (7-212) *Nana ngiyi-ngg-a-n manku gurijbima, ngaba*
 this.II.SG.NOM 3SG.NM.A-RR-NF-PROG hear good.II(NOM) THEN
ngi-n ngawumiji gurijbima mirra.
 1SG.S(PR)-PROG 1SG.NOM good.II(NOM) sit
 She feels really good, like I feel good (now) too.
- (7-213) *Ngarrangarra ngi-n ngaba nyamimiji.*
 be.hot 1SG.S(PR)-PROG THEN 2SG.NOM
 I'm hot like you.
- (7-214) *Buja gi-n ngaba Vicks.*
 smell 3SG.S(PR)-PROG THEN Vicks
 It smells like Vicks.

7.7.2.3 GAJI 'LEST'

Gaji is used to link two clauses with the meaning that the action described by the first clause is carried out in order to prevent that of the second clause. This particle is found in the speech of only one speaker (MH) and, since this speaker's dialect appears to consist primarily

³³ The use of *ngaba* in this function may be an example of the pragmatic ambiguity of conjunctions discussed by Sweetser (1990:76ff). I am indebted to Nick Evans for this observation. Although Sweetser does not discuss 'so that, so then' conjunctions such as *ngaba*, the fact that she finds that other conjunctions function not only to link content items or logical premises, but to link speech acts as well (as in 'Where were you last night(?), and don't give me any nonsense about staying late at the office!' (p.112)), makes this polysemy of *ngaba* less surprising.

³⁴ MH, whose dialect is closest to Gudanji, uses the particle *gardaji* in this construction, rather than *ngaba*.

of Gudanji, it is likely that *gaji* actually belongs to Gudanji rather than Wambaya. Examples of this particle in the corpus include the following:

- (7-215) *Comer-ni bangani ng-ala-n mirra gaji gini*
 corner-LOC here 1SG.S-HAB.NP-PROG sit LEST 3SG.M.A(PR)
gajbi maga.
 eat ground.IV(ACC)

I always sit here on the corner (of the verandah) in case he eats dirt. (i.e. so that she can watch her toddler grandson and prevent him from eating the dirt)

- (7-216) *Ngajbi ng-u ira gijilulu gaji irri warrawarra.*
 see 1SG.A-FUT 3PL.OBL money.IV(ACC) LEST 3PL.S(PR) drunk
 I'm going to go see what money they've got in case they're drunk (and therefore spend it all).

In the speech of the other speakers such admonitive meanings are expressed with two separate finite clauses, with the 'lest' clause marked by the presence of the hypothetical suffix in the auxiliary. Thus:

- (7-217) *Alyu lingba-j-ba! Ginganbi ny-agba!*
 NEG.IMP bogey-TH-FUT drown 2SG.S-HYP
 Don't swim! You might drown!

7.7.2.4 NGABAYI 'LEST'

This particle is present in Hale's (1959) notes, but is not present in my corpus. Hale describes it as an admonitive complementiser and it appears to be used in much the same way as *gaji*, discussed in §7.7.2.3 above. Its resemblance to the particle *ngaba*, which is also contained in Hale's data, is noteworthy, but more research is needed to determine what the relationship may be between the two forms. An example from Hale's notes is:

- (7-218) *Ilagbi ngi nganga ngabayi nyi-ng-a majbi.*
 frightened 1SG.S(PR) 2SG.OBL LEST 2SG.A-IO-NF hit
 I'm afraid you might hit me. (1959:55)

Hale notes that *ngabayi* can also be used in conditional constructions with the irrealis marker in the auxiliary, as in the following example:

- (7-219) *Ngabayi ng-uda yabu balamurru dudiyarri ng-uda*
 LEST(?) 1SG.A-NACT.PST have spear.IV(ACC) spear 1SG.A-NACT.PST
iniya marndija=nima.
 that.I.SG.ACC before=JUST
 If I had had a spear, I would have speared him then. (1959:54)

7.7.2.5 MARDA 'WHEN'

Marda is another particle which is present in Hale's (1959) corpus, but not in mine (although Hale does not list *marda* in the sketch grammar at the beginning of his notes). There are only a couple of examples in his corpus in which *marda* appears; in both of these it introduces a clause temporally prior to the main clause and can be translated as 'when':

(7-220) *Marda* *ngi-ma*³⁵ *gubaji* *ngarlwi* *ngi-ma* *ngarrga*
 WHEN 1SG.S-PST small.I(NOM) talk 1SG.S-PST 1SG.POSS.IV(ACC)
ngarlana *Wambaya*.
 language.IV(ACC)
 When I was young, I spoke my language Wambaya. (1959:55)

(7-221) *Marda* *ngu-ny-u* *ngajbi* *jiyawu* *ngu-ny-u* *manganyma*.
 WHEN 1SG.A-2O-FUT see give 1SG.A-2O-FUT tucker.III(ACC)
 When I see you I'll give you some food. (1959:55)

In my corpus, such clauses are usually just juxtaposed with the main clause, signalled only by a rising intonation (see Chapter 8 for further discussion).

(7-222) *Guyalinja* *ngabulu-nka*, *duwa* *gi*.
 lacking.IV(NOM) milk.IV-DAT get.up 3SG.S(PR)
 (When) there's no more milk, he leaves.

35 *-ma* is the Gudanji past tense marker.

CHAPTER 8
SYNTAX OF COMPLEX SENTENCES

A complex sentence contains more than one simple clause and can be divided into two types: those in which one of the clauses is non-finite and subordinate to the other clause, and those in which both clauses are finite. In the latter type, the finite clauses are simply juxtaposed and there is no evidence that one is syntactically subordinate to the other. I will refer to these clauses as 'adjoined clauses' (in the sense of Hale 1976) and discuss them in detail in §8.2.

8.1 NON-FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Non-finite subordinate clauses are reduced clauses. They are reduced in four ways: (i) they do not contain an auxiliary; (ii) they provide no information concerning tense, aspect and mood; (iii) they are marked as subordinate with either the infinitive suffix or one of three nominal case suffixes (see below); and (iv) their subject is obligatorily deleted under co-reference with a main clause subject or object argument.

There are three types of non-finite subordinate clauses in Wambaya: prior (the subordinate clause situation precedes that of the main clause), simultaneous (the subordinate clause situation is concurrent with that of the main clause) and purposive (the situation described by the subordinate clause follows, and is the purpose of, that of the main clause). A system of switch-reference operates when the two clauses are simultaneous. There is no switch-reference in purposive subordinate clauses, and there is not sufficient data to determine the situation for prior subordinate clauses.

Table 8.1 shows the inflections that appear on verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses, where SS (Same Subject) means that the (omitted) subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with that of the main clause and DS (Different Subject) means that the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the direct object of the main clause.¹ For a discussion of the form of these suffixes as verbal inflections see §6.1.

TABLE 8.1: VERBAL INFLECTIONS IN NON-FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

	SS	DS
PRIOR	<i>-nnga/-barda</i>	<i>-nnga?</i>
SIMUL. ²	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-barda</i>
PURP.	<i>-nka/-barda</i>	<i>-nka</i>

As is clear in Table 8.1, the pattern of verbal marking in these clauses is complex. The clearest case is when the two clauses are simultaneous; in this situation the ergative/locative

¹ More research is needed to determine whether the subject of the subordinate clause can be co-referential with a main clause NP other than subject or direct object (as it can in Warlpiri, for example (Hale 1976)).

² There is one example in the corpus in which a verb with this inflection is not in a simultaneous subordinate clause. In this example, (7-80), it functions as an argument of the verb *ganjimi* 'finish doing'.

case suffix *-ni* is used when the subjects of the two clauses are co-referential (examples (8-1), (8-2)) and the infinitive suffix *-barda/-warda* is used when the subordinate subject is co-referential with the main clause direct object ((8-3) to (8-5)). Thus in this case there is switch-reference.³ Simultaneous non-finite clauses usually function as adjuncts modifying the subject ((8-1), (8-2)) or the object (8-3). The latter is particularly common with verbs of perception ((8-4), (8-5)).^{4,5}

- (8-1) [Ngarli-ni] irri-ng-a ngurra abajabaja-mi.
talk-LOC 3PL.A-1O-NF 1PL.INC.ACC crazy-FAC
They make us confused (when they're) talking. (re trying to work when surrounded by a noisy group of people)
- (8-2) Bungmaji gi-n mirra [yandu-ji-ni barrawu].
old.man.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit mind-TH-LOC house.IV(ACC)
The old man's staying (here) looking after the house.
- (8-3) Nganki ngiy-a lurr gbanyi wardangarringa-ni [alaji
this.II.SG.LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST grab moon.II-LOC child.I(ACC)
gulug-barda].
sleep-INF
The moon grabbed her sleeping child.
- (8-4) Ilinga-j-ba nguyu-ny-u gurla [ngarl-warda].
hear-TH-FUT 3SG.NM.A-2O-FUT 2DU.ACC talk-INF
She will listen to you two talking.
- (8-5) Ngajbi ng-a [gaj-barda].
see 1SG.A-PST eat-INF
I saw him eating.

Since the subject of the subordinate clause is obligatorily controlled by a matrix NP, when there are no co-referential arguments it is not possible to use a non-finite subordinate clause; a finite clause must be used instead.

- (8-6) Bungmanyi-ni gun-u nij-ba, nayida g-u gajurra.
old.man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-FUT sing-FUT woman.II(NOM) 3SG.S-FUT dance.FUT
The men will sing (while) the women dance.

The ablative case suffix *-nga* is used in prior clauses (examples (8-7), (8-8)) (the few examples of this type of clause in the corpus all have co-referential subjects). These can

³ Dench and Evans (1988:30) argue that the use of what appears to be the locative case suffix to mark same subject occurs only in languages in which this suffix also marks ergative case and can therefore be seen to have arisen through a system of antecedent agreement with a main clause ergative subject, rather than being related to a locative function. Thus initially it would have appeared only in subordinate clauses controlled by main clause ergative subjects, and would then have extended to all subject-controlled subordinate clauses. While this may explain the development of this pattern of marking in languages such as Wambaya, in which ergative and locative functions are marked with one case suffix, it does not explain the use of the locative suffix to mark same subject in languages such as Jingili (Chadwick 1975) and Bilinarra (Nordlinger 1990), in which ergative case and locative case are marked with separate suffixes.

⁴ In this chapter I will use square brackets to identify the subordinate clause.

⁵ An alternative analysis of these clauses with perception verbs is to treat them as object complements, analogous to the subject complements of certain intransitive verbs discussed in §7.2.2.

function either to modify the subject, denoting a situation that held prior to that of the main clause (8-7) or can describe the prior event that led to that of the main clause (8-8).⁶

(8-7) *Gangga g-amany [alalangmi-ji-nnga].*
 return 3SG.S-PST.TWD hunt-TH-ABL
 He returned from hunting.

(8-8) *Gumarra g-u nyagaj-ba [yarru-nnga].*
 calf.IV(NOM) 3SG.S-FUT be.tired-FUT go-ABL
 His calves will be tired from walking.

The dative case suffix *-nka* is used in purposive clauses (examples (8-9) and (8-10)). These are usually adjuncts (8-10), but may also be verbal complements of certain verbs like *dimdirrimi* 'teach' (8-12). Purposive subordinate clauses differ from those mentioned above in that an object NP does not simply appear in the same case that it would in a main clause, but must be marked with dative case, like the verb ((8-9), (8-10)). The dative suffix *-nka* is used in any purposive clause, regardless of whether the subordinate subject is co-referential with the subject or object NP in the matrix clause. Thus, there is no switch-reference in purposive clauses.

(8-9) *Yarru ng-amany [ngaji-nka ngaya].*
 go 1SG.S-PST.TWD see-DAT 3SG.F.OBL
 I came to see her.

(8-10) *Yabu ngiy-a gijilulu [jiya-ji-nka marndangi-nka].*
 have 3SG.NM.A-PST money.IV(ACC) give-TH-DAT white.man.I-DAT
 She had money to give to the white man.

(8-11) *Yabu ng-amany [ngarli-nka].*
 bring 1SG.A-PST.TWD talk-DAT
 I brought him to talk.

(8-12) *Ngarringa-ni guguga-yi ngiyi-nga-ma⁷ dimdirrinymi [ngarli-nka Binbinka].⁸*
 1SG.POSS.II(LOC) MM.II(LOC) 3SG.NM.A-10-PST teach talk-DAT
 Binbinka
 My grandmother taught me to speak Binbinka.

(8-13) *Duwa g-a [gijilulu-nka ayani-ji-nka].*
 get.up 3SG.S-PST money.IV-DAT look.for-TH-DAT
 He left to look for money.

An interesting feature of this system of verbal marking, however, is that the infinitive suffix *-barda* can also be used in prior clauses (example (8-14)) and purposive clauses ((8-15), (8-16)), in which the subjects of the two clauses are co-referential. (Due to lack of data it is not possible to determine if *-barda* can also be used in these types of clauses when it is the main clause object that is the pivot). Thus, it is only when the two clauses are simultaneous

⁶ The examples are so few that it is not possible to tell whether the non-finite clause in this case is a complement of the verb, or an adjunct.

⁷ This is the Gudanji form of the auxiliary.

⁸ Note that the NP *Binbinka* is not inflected with the dative case, as objects of purposive clauses usually are. This is probably ruled out for phonological reasons, since the dative suffix is identical to the final syllable of the NP and would yield *Binbinka-nka*.

that the infinitive suffix is restricted to different subject marking. Note that the object NP in a purposive clause still must be in the dative case, even if the verb is marked with the infinitive suffix (8-16).

- (8-14) *Dulanymi ngiy-a nganki [gulug-barda].*
 raise 3SG.NM.A-PST this.II.SG.LOC sleep-INF
 She woke him from sleep.
- (8-15) *Nyurrunyurru gini-n [dawu-j-barda].*
 chase 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG bite-TH-INF
 He's chasing her to bite (her).
- (8-16) *Yarru g-any [yany-barda manganymi-nka].*
 go 3SG.S-NP.AWY get-INF tucker.III-DAT
 He's gone to get some tucker.

Austin (1981b) shows switch-reference to be an areal feature in Australia; languages which have some sort of switch-reference system are spoken in a continuous area, extending from the Indian Ocean through to western Queensland (p.329). As Wambaya falls within this area, it is therefore predictable that it would have some form of switch-reference. In fact the switch-reference system in Wambaya is typical for languages of the area in that the ergative/locative suffix is used to mark same subject, and there is no switch-reference in purposive clauses. The switch-reference systems of surrounding languages such as Jingili, Garrwa, Wagaya and Alyawarra also have these characteristics (Austin 1981b:326–328). However, the Wambaya switch-reference system differs from those of these surrounding languages in that the infinitive case suffix, rather than the allative case suffix, is used to mark different subject.

As in the majority of examples above, the usual case is for the non-finite clause to follow the main clause. However, it may also appear initially, preceding the auxiliary (examples (8-17), (8-18), see also (8-1) above), and may even appear embedded within the main clause ((8-19) to (8-22)). The only examples of this latter possibility is when the subordinate clause contains only a verb;⁹ and in all these examples the subordinate clause is followed immediately by the controlling NP in the main clause.¹⁰

- (8-17) *[Ngaragi-nka galyurringi-nka] wurl-any yarru.*
 drink-DAT water.I-DAT 3DU.S-PST.AWY go
 They went to drink some water.
- (8-18) *[Naj-barda] ngirr-aji yandu mayinanji.*
 burn-INF 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST care.for goanna.I(ACC)
 We'd mind the goanna (while it was) cooking.
- (8-19) *Murrugu irri mirra [gaji-ni] nagagunya.*
 inside 3PL.S(NP) sit eat-LOC that.one.II.PL.NOM
 The women are sitting inside eating.

⁹ Although examples such as (8-19) to (8-22) are found in spontaneous speech, speakers do not generally accept them as grammatical when presented with them out of context. Thus, it is difficult to get judgements on whether such embedding is also possible with more complex non-finite subordinate clauses (i.e. those containing object NPs) since speakers generally judge all embedded examples to be ungrammatical.

¹⁰ Dench (1988:101) describes a similar situation in Martuthunira.

- (8-20) *Janga ng-a ngajbi [yarru-warda] mayinanji.*
 foot.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-PST see go-INF goanna.I(ACC)
 I saw goanna tracks going along.
- (8-21) *Ilinga ngi-n [ngarl-warda] gujinya ngarrima.*
 hear 1SG.A(PR)-PROG talk-INF mother.II(ACC) 1SG.POSS.II(ACC)
 I can hear my mother talking.
- (8-22) *Bardbi g-a nagarna [durra-ji-ni]*
 run 3SG.S-PST that.one.II.SG.NOM be.frightened-TH-LOC
wirrilgarra.
 cockatiel.II(NOM)
 Cockatiel ran away frightened.

In other Australian languages such as Warlpiri (Simpson 1988, 1991) and Kayardild (Evans 1995a), the verb in clauses such as these is marked with a derivational nominalising suffix; thus non-finite subordinate clauses in these languages are clearly NPs. In Wambaya, however, the category of these clauses is less clear. Like NPs, non-finite subordinate clauses can be inflected with nominal case suffixes; and they can appear embedded within the main clause (example (8-22)) or before the auxiliary (8-17) – two positions that are available to NPs, but not to finite clauses. However, there is no nominalising suffix; the subordinating suffix is attached directly to the verb stem. Furthermore, unlike other derived nominals, non-finite subordinate clauses do not have to agree in case with the head noun that they modify and nor are they marked for gender. The situation is made more complex by the fact that different non-finite subordinate clauses have different characteristics. Simultaneous subordinate clauses, for example, also differ from derived NPs in that they do not assign dative case to their object NPs; and they cannot function as predicates in verbless clauses. Purposive non-finite subordinate clauses, on the other hand, do have both of these properties, and thus appear to be ‘more nominal’ in their behaviour.¹¹

8.1.1 SENTENTIAL CAUSATIVES

There are two examples of sentential causatives in the corpus. Both examples contain purposive non-finite subordinate clauses.

- (8-23) *Garnarda gini-ng-a [lingba-lingba-ji-nka].*
 send 3SG.M.A-10-NF RDP-swim-TH-DAT
 He let me go swimming/he sent me to swim.
- (8-24) *Gayinirna=miji nayida ng-u yany-ba [agardi-nka].*
 what.II(ACC)=INFER woman.II(ACC) 1SG.A-FUT get-FUT wash-DAT
 I don't know which girl I'll get to wash my clothes.

8.2 ADJOINED CLAUSES

In this section I discuss complex clauses that contain two finite clause constituents. These encompass both those corresponding to finite subordinate clauses in many other languages (i.e. the ‘adjoined relative clause’ of Hale 1976) as well as coordinate clauses, in which

¹¹ The data on prior subordinate clauses is too scanty to be considered here.

neither clause is dependent on the other (e.g. those linked with such conjunctions as ‘and’ and ‘but’ in English). In many Australian languages these two clause types are structurally distinguished, one of the clauses in the former construction carrying subordinating morphology of some kind (e.g. Gooniyandi (McGregor 1988a), Kayardild (Evans 1995a), Warlpiri (Hale 1976)). In Wambaya, however, there is no such subordinating morphology for finite clauses, and it is therefore difficult to find any structural basis on which to distinguish subordination of a finite clause from simple coordination: in both cases the two clauses are simply juxtaposed. Consider the following example:

- (8-25) *Ilarri irri ngarabi, daguma irri-ngg-i.*
 grog.I?(ACC) 3PL.A(NP) drink hit 3PL.A-RR-FUT
 When they drink grog, they’ll fight.
 They’ll drink grog (and then) they’ll fight.

Depending on the context in which it is uttered, example (8-25) could have a reading in which the first clause provides temporal information about the main clause (i.e. Hale’s (1976) T-relative use); or one in which the two clauses are simply coordinate, each describing one of a sequence of events.¹²

Adjoined clauses, irrespective of their function, can never be embedded: those with subordinate function can appear either before or after the main clause; and coordinate clauses usually occur in the same order as the events described. These complex clauses can be separated by a brief pause, but are bound intonationally. Usually falling intonation spans both clauses; however, when a clause with subordinate function (usually a temporal adjunct) precedes the main clause, it is marked with a fall–rise intonation. Thus, on prosodic bases such as these, complex clauses can be distinguished from a sequence of two simple clauses, which form two separate intonation units and are generally separated by a slightly longer pause.

This adjoined construction type in Wambaya thus serves a number of different functions, both subordinate and coordinate. For clarity of exposition, in the following discussion I will cover each of these types separately. Subordinate functions are discussed in §8.2.1, followed by a discussion of coordinate clauses in §8.2.2. It should be remembered that, for the most part, this distinction is made on a semantic/functional basis rather than a syntactic basis, and thus may not always be clear cut.

8.2.1 SUBORDINATE FUNCTIONS

Adjoined clauses can have one of three subordinate functions: (i) they can function as adjuncts to the main clause, supplying temporal or causal information (§8.2.1.1); (ii) they can function adnominally, modifying a matrix NP (§8.2.1.2) and; (iii) they can function as arguments for certain speech and perception verbs (§8.2.1.3). The former two functions are referred to by Hale (1976) as ‘T-relative’¹³ and ‘NP-relative’ respectively. As mentioned

¹² Although there can be some slight differences in intonation – see below.

¹³ In fact, Hale’s ‘T-relative’ function is only when the two clauses make identical time reference (p.79), so does not cover the causal function. Hale discusses this function separately (p.81).

above, none of these functions is distinguished formally in Wambaya and it is generally only contextual information which determines the specific interpretation for the clause.¹⁴

8.2.1.1 ADJOINED CLAUSES AS ADJUNCTS TO THE MAIN CLAUSE

Adjoined clauses can function as adjuncts to the main clause providing temporal (examples (8-26), (8-27)) or causal information ((8-28), (8-29)).

- (8-26) *Yarru g-amany [irda ngarradi g-a*
 go 3SG.S-PST.TWD father.I(NOM) 1SG.POSS.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST
anki mirra].
 alive.I(NOM) sit
 He came (when) my father was alive.
- (8-27) *Ngajbi ng-a alaji [yarru ng-a magi-nmanji].*
 see 1SG.A-PST boy.I(ACC) go 1SG.S-PST camp.IV-ALL
 I saw the boy (when) I went to camp.
- (8-28) *Ngilwi wurl-a ginbila [ngajbi irra mawulaj-barda]?*
 be.OK 3DU.S-PST here see 3PL.ACC play-INF
 Were the two of them OK here while watching them all play?¹⁵
- (8-29) *Yana jaga ngi-n murri [daguma gini-ng-a].*
 this.IV.SG.NOM leg.IV(NOM) 1SG.S(PR)-PROG be.sore hit 3SG.M.A-10-NF
 My leg is hurting (because) he hit me.
- (8-30) *Guyala ng-udi gulugbi [bungmanya nana*
 NEG 1SG.S-NACT.PR sleep old.woman.II(NOM) this.I.SG.NOM
gi-n bawurrbi].
 3SG.S(PR)-PROG snore
 I can't sleep (because) the old woman is snoring.
- (8-31) *Gugbarimi gini-ng-a [nguwajbi g-a magi-ni*
 choke 3SG.M.A-10-NF be.jealous 3SG.S-PST camp.IV-LOC
nangi-ni].
 3SG.M.POSS.IV-LOC
 He choked me (because) he was jealous for his country.

In the above examples the subordinate clause follows the main clause. When the subordinate clause describes an event which immediately precedes and causes that described by the main clause, the temporal adjunct often precedes the main clause. In these constructions, the subordinate clause is marked with a fall-rise intonation and is separated from the main clause by a pause:

- (8-32) [*Gangga g-utama igima bungmaji*] *janganja*
 return(FUT) 3SG.S-NP.TWD that.one.I.SG.NOM old.man.I(NOM) ask

¹⁴ McGregor (1988a), in discussing subordinate clauses in Gooniyandi, shows many of the different types to be distinguished on the basis of such things as tense/mood sequences and differences in word order. More Wambaya data is needed before it can be determined whether such things are also significant in these clauses in Wambaya.

¹⁵ Note that the auxiliary of the second clause has been omitted here. This is reasonably common, especially with coordinate clauses; see §8.2.2 below.

ngurru.

1PL.INC.A(NP)

(When) the old man comes back, we'll ask (him).

- (8-33) [Narunguja g-u bardbi] ngawu ng-u gulug-ba.
car.IV(NOM) 3SG.S-FUT run 1SG.NOM 1SG.S-FUT sleep-FUT

(When) the bus starts moving, I'll fall asleep.

- (8-34) [Guyalinja ngabulu-nka] duwa gi.
lacking.IV(NOM) milk.IV-DAT get.up 3SG.S(PR)

When there's no more milk, he leaves.

- (8-35) [Ngajbi g-a yanyaga burruburru] yugu g-a.
see 3SG.A-PST that.IV.SG.ACC paper.IV(ACC) cry 3SG.S-PST

When he read the paper, he (started) crying.

One type of main clause adjunct is the conditional subordinate clause. In this type of construction the subordinate clause (i.e. the 'condition') precedes the main clause and both clauses have the same tense/mood marking: either future tense marking (example (8-36)), or irrealis mood marking (8-37).

- (8-36) [Yurndu-j-ba ny-u banjanganinma] nyurrunyurru gunu-ny-u.
hit-TH-FUT 2SG.A-FUT tail.III(ACC) chase 3SG.M.A-2O-FUT

If you hit his tail, he'll chase you.

- (8-37) [Yabu ng-uda gijilulu] jiyawu ng-uda.
have 1SG.A-NACT.PST money.IV(ACC) give 1SG.A-NACT.PST

If I'd had the money I would have given (it to her).

Note that examples (8-32) and (8-33) in certain contexts could also be interpreted as conditional clauses, in which case they would be translated 'If the old man comes back, we'll ask him' and 'If the bus starts moving, I'll fall asleep', respectively.

8.2.1.2 ADJOINED CLAUSES AS NP MODIFIERS

Adjoined clauses can also function adnominally, modifying a main clause NP. In this function the modifying clause follows the NP which it modifies. In the examples in the corpus, the adjoined clause modifies either the direct object (examples (8-39), (8-40)), an oblique object (8-41) or one of the NPs of a verbless clause (8-38). There are no examples in which the subject of a verbal clause is modified by a finite clause. The modified NP can have either subject function ((8-39), (8-40), (8-41)) or object function (8-38) in the relative clause.¹⁶

¹⁶ This adnominal function can often be performed by a verb inflected with either the agentive or the privative suffix (both of which can derive a nominal from a verb). The difference between this type of relative clause and that which is expressed with a finite clause is that in this type the relative clause expresses a general characteristic rather than a specific action or event: 'he who is a fighter', rather than 'he who is fighting'. A couple of examples are:

(i) *Dura ngi-n marawunjini-nka dawu-j-barlini-nka.*
be.frightened 1SG.S(PR)-PROG spider.I-DAT bite-TH-AGNT.I-DAT
I'm frightened of that spider which bites.

(ii) *Yabu ga ngarnu iniyaga alaji yugu-waji!*
bring(FUT) SG.IMP.TWD 1SG.OBL that.I.SG.ACC boy.I(ACC) cry-PRIV.I(ACC)
Bring me that boy who doesn't cry!

- (8-38) *Injani nagarna nayida [bajijurndu ng-a*
 where that.one.II.SG.NOM woman.II(NOM) bring.up 1SG.A-PST
ngawurniji]?
 1SG.ERG
 Where's that woman that I brought up?
- (8-39) *Daguma ng-u janji [dawu gini-ng-a].*
 hit 1SG.A-FUT dog.I(ACC) bite 3SG.M.A-IO-NF
 I'm going to hit the dog that bit me.
- (8-40) *Yarru irr-a, ngajbi nanawulu ilarra-wulu [buyunku-nu*
 go 3PL.S-PST see this.II.DU.ACC eaglehawk-DU(ACC) middle-LOC
wurlu-n mirra].
 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sit
 They went (and they) saw the two eaglehawks (who) were sitting in the middle
 (of their camp).
- (8-41) *Ngaj-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka [yarru wurlu-n].*
 see-FUT DU.IMP brother-DU-DAT go 3DU.S(NP)-PROG
 You watch (the road) for your two brothers coming.
- Note that example (8-39), in a different context, could be a causal adjunct to the main clause meaning 'I'm going to hit the dog because it bit me'.
- In all of the examples above, the modifying finite clause is syntactically distinct from the head NP, as evidenced by the fact that it constitutes a separate domain for the purposes of auxiliary placement. However, a more common situation is for the head NP to immediately precede the auxiliary of the modifying clause, thereby indicating that the NP and the finite clause together form a complex NP. It is not yet known what semantic difference, if any, exists between this type of construction and that exemplified in examples (8-38) to (8-41) above.
- (8-42) *Bunjunymi wurlu-n inuwulu [wurlu-n gulugbi].*
 sneak.up 3DU.A(NP)-PROG this.I.DU.ACC 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sleep
 They're sneaking up on the two boys who are sleeping.
- (8-43) *Inama ngarradi alaji=nima [nyi-n yabu]!*
 that.I.SG.NOM 1SG.POSS.I(ACC) child.I(ACC)=JUST 2SG.A(PR)-PROG have
 That's my child (that) you've got!
- (8-44) *Ilinga gin-a galyurringi [gi-n bardbi].*
 hear 3SG.M.A-PST water.I(ACC) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG run
 He heard the water running.
- (8-45) *Injani yangaji [ny-a langanjardi]?*
 where meat.I(ACC) 2SG.A-PST hang.up
 Where's the meat (that) you hung up?
- (8-46) *Injannga ini julaji [gi-n ngarra bardbi]?*
 where.from this.I.SG.NOM bird.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG 1SG.OBL run
 Where did this bird come to me from? (lit. From where is this bird that has come to me?)

8.2.1.3 ADJOINED CLAUSES AS ARGUMENTS

Adjoined clauses can function as clausal arguments of main clause verbs of speech or perception such as *ilinga* ‘hear, remember SCOMP’, *didima* ‘tell (O) that SCOMP’ and *janganja* or *bajiya* ‘ask (O) (if) SCOMP’. In these constructions the subordinate clause always follows the main clause. An example is:

- (8-47) *Guyala ng-udi ilinga [injani g-a yarru].*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR remember where 3SG.S-PST go
 I can’t remember where he went.

With speech verbs the argument clause is usually an indirect speech quotation in which the speaker paraphrases the utterance being reported (examples (8-48), (8-49)). When it is the argument of *janganja* or *bajiya*, both of which mean ‘ask’, the finite clause is usually translated with a concealed question ((8-50), (8-51)).

- (8-48) *Didima irri ngay-a [nganku ngiy-a ngirra*
 tell 3PL.A(NP) 3SG.F.OBL this.II.SG.LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST steal
bungmanya-nka gijilulu].
 old.woman.II-DAT money.IV(ACC)
 They told her (that) she’d stolen the old woman’s money.
- (8-49) *Gulu-liji ng-a didima yarru g-utama ginmanji.*
 son.I-REFL.POSS(ACC) 1SG.A-PST tell go(FUT) 3SG.S-NP.TWD this.way
 I told (her) son (to tell her) to come. (lit. I told her son (that) she will come.)
- (8-50) *Inigunji ng-uba janganja [ngajbi irr-a iguwulu*
 this.I.PL.ACC 1SG.A-NP.AWY ask see 3PL.A-PST that.one.I.DU.ACC
alag-ulu].
 child-DU(ACC)
 I’m going off to ask this mob if they’ve seen the two boys.
- (8-51) *Bajiya gun-uba irra [barrawu g-amany yarru*
 ask 3SG.M.A-NP.AWY 3PL.ACC house.IV(NOM) 3SG.S-PST.TWD go
nanga ngaba gun-ugba¹⁷ yabu].?
 3SG.M.OBL THEN 3SG.M.A-HYP have
 He’s going to ask them if a house has come for him that he could have.

Often the clausal argument of a speech verb is direct quoted speech. In this case, the speech is reported with all of the deictic categories (i.e. person, tense, etc.) having as their reference the speech situation being referred to, rather than that of the present:

- (8-52) *Ngijini gini-ng-a didima jangi magi-ni, [“Jiyawu*
 yesterday 3SG.M.A-10-NF tell down camp.IV-LOC give
ngu-ny-u gijilulu Westpac-ni”].
 1SG.A-20-FUT money.IV(ACC) Westpac-LOC
 Yesterday he told me down at the camp, “I’m going to give you some money
 (tomorrow) at Westpac”.
- (8-53) *Burnaringmi-nka g-a yarru janganja, [“Bungmanya. yabu*
 orange.III-DAT 3SG.S-PST go ask old.woman.II(NOM) have

¹⁷ I’m not sure why this form occurs – I would have expected *gin-agba*.

nyi-n manganyma burnaringma?"].

2SG.A(PR)-PROG tucker.III(ACC) orange.III(ACC)

He went (looking) for oranges and asked (me), "Old woman, do you have any oranges?"

A particularly common construction for quoting speech in story-telling involves the verb *ngajbi* 'see', which in this construction takes the finite clause as an argument. This construction is used when the speaker is reporting an observation made (either in speech or in thought) by one of the story's characters, and appears to play an important role in the progression of the story by setting the scene for the next event.¹⁸ It is difficult to translate this construction into English; a close approximation might be 'X looked/noticed and said Y' or even, 'X noticed that Y', without any direct speech (example (8-54)). There are many examples in the texts in Appendix A; some selected examples follow.

(8-54) *Ngajbi gin-a, "Igima gi-n gulugbi"*.

see 3SG.M.A-PST that.one.I.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sleep

He looked (and said), "He's sleeping now"/He noticed that he was sleeping.

(8-55) *Ngajbi ngiy-a, "Ini galyurringi gan-ala*

see 3SG.NM.A-PST this.I.SG.ACC water.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A-HAB.NP

andajarri."

hide

She saw (the water and said), "this is the water he always hides".

(8-56) *Ngajbi ngiy-a, "Gayina yanama gi-n wubi?"*

see 3SG.NM.A-PST what.IV(NOM) that.IV.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG be.red

She saw (it and said), "What's that red thing?"

8.2.2 COORDINATE CLAUSES

Although structurally similar, these clauses differ from those discussed above as the relationship between the two clauses is one of coordination, rather than subordination. Thus, these complex clauses typically correspond to those conjoined with 'and', 'but' and 'then' in English. In Wambaya, however, these clauses are generally juxtaposed, without any conjunction linking them together; the one exception being clauses conjoined with *ngaba*, which are discussed in §8.2.2.1 below.¹⁹

(8-57) *Bardgu g-a yanama darranggu ngarri-yili-nmanji,*

fall 3SG.S-PST that.IV.SG.NOM stick.IV(NOM) 1SG.OBL-COMIT-ALL

¹⁸ The discourse structure of texts in Wambaya is not well understood. Further detailed investigation is needed.

¹⁹ One speaker (MH) makes use of a number of other conjunctions, such as *ngala* 'but' and *gaji* 'lest'. However, since this speaker is said to speak a dialect closer to Gudanji than Wambaya, and since these conjunctions are not used by other speakers, I do not include them in the discussion here. For examples of *gaji* see §7.7.2.3. An example of her use of *ngala* is:

Gabi g-a ngarlwi ngarlana nanggarda ngala manku gani.
NEG 3SG.S-PST talk language.IV(ACC) 3SG.M.POSS.IV(ACC) BUT hear 3SG.S(PR)

He can't speak his own language, but he can understand (it).

Note that Wardaman also has a particle *ngala* meaning 'but' (Merlan 1994).

*yana*²⁰ *ngiyi-ng-a* *daguma*.
 this.IV.SG.NOM 3SG.NM.A-10-NF hit
 That stick fell down towards me and hit me.

(8-58) *Balamurru* *gun-u* *banjarri-j-ba*, *dudiyarri-j-ba* *gunu-ny-u*.
 spear.IV(ACC) 3SG.M.A-FUT throw-TH-FUT spear-TH-FUT 3SG.M.A-20-FUT
 He's going to throw the spear and spear you.

(8-59) *Ngajirri* *g-a*, *birrirri* *g-a*, *dumajarri* *ng-a*, *ngarlwi*
 be.cold 3SG.S-PST shiver 3SG.S-PST cover 1SG.A-PST talk
g-a *ngarra*, "Girundajbi *ngi-n*, *najbi* *ngi-n!*"
 3SG.S-PST 1SG.OBL sweat 1SG.S(PR)-PROG burn 1SG.S(PR)-PROG
 She was cold (and) shivering (so) I covered her up (then) she said to me, "I'm sweating, I'm burning!"

(8-60) *Gujiga* *irri-n* *nijbi*, *nagagunya*
 ceremony.IV(ACC) 3PL.A(NP)-PROG sing that.one.II.PL.NOM
irri-n *gajurru*.
 3PL.S(NP)-PROG dance
 (The men) sing the *gujiga* ceremony (and) the women dance.

(8-61) *Gujinya* *gin-a* *ngajbi*, *guyala* *gun-uja* *ngajbi*
 mother.II(ACC) 3SG.M.A-PST see NEG 3SG.M.A-NACT.PST see
irda.
 father.I(ACC)
 He saw (his) mother (but) he didn't see (his) father.

It is possible for the subject NP and auxiliary of the second clause to be omitted when the subject is co-referential with the subject of the main clause:

(8-62) *Ngaragana-nguja* *ngiy-a* *gujinganjanga-ni* *jiyawu* *ngabulu*,
 grog-PROP.IV(ACC) 3SG.NM.A-PST mother.II-LOC give milk.IV(ACC)
baginy-mi ini *alaji*.
 bad-FAC this.I.SG.ACC boy.I(ACC)
 His mother gave him milk with grog in it (and) made this little boy no good.

(8-63) *Daguma* *ngiyi-ng-a* *galama* *bardgu-jirrimi* *ilirri*.
 hit 3SG.NM.A-10-NF nose.III(ACC) fall-CAUS blood.I(ACC)
 She hit my nose (and) made it bleed (lit. made the blood fall).

If both the subject and the object are the same, the second clause may consist of only a verb:

²⁰ Note the use of the nominative demonstrative here, despite the fact that the subject is ergative. There do not appear to be separate ergative/locative demonstratives for Classes III and IV, the nominative forms being used instead; see §4.6.

- (8-64) *Gayinini-ni gin-a wurrudbanyi irra, giganj-ardi.*²¹
 what.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST pull 3PL.ACC drown-CAUS
 Something pulled them (under the water) (and) drowned (them).

In some examples, where the action is the same in each clause, the verb and auxiliary of the second clause is omitted:

- (8-65) *Bungmungmaji irri-n yarru jaburru, bungmungmanya*
 old.men.I(NOM) 3PL.S(NP)-PROG go first old.women.II(NOM)
banjangani alag-unya.
 behind child-PROP.II(NOM)
 The old men go first (while) the women (come) behind with the kids.

8.2.2.1 NGABA CLAUSES

The only particle in Wambaya which conjoins two finite clauses is *ngaba*. *Ngaba* is used to introduce a purposive or consequential clause: given the first clause, the second clause can/will/should occur. It is usually translated into English as 'and then' or 'so that' and is glossed 'THEN'. *Ngaba* is discussed in more detail in §7.7.2.2. Some examples follow:

- (8-66) *Yarru g-a ginmanji ngaba murnd-u ngarlwi.*
 go 3SG.S-PST this.way THEN 1DU.INC.S-FUT talk
 She came here so that we can talk.
- (8-67) *Yandu murnd-u nganagawulija ngaba wurlu yarru*
 wait 1DU.INC.S-FUT this.II.DU.DAT THEN 3DU.S(NP) go
mirndiyani murnd-u duwa.
 1DU.INC.NOM 1DU.INC.S-FUT get.up
 We're waiting for the two (women) and then when they come, we'll go.
- (8-68) *Angbardi-j-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka ngaba wurlu gulug-ba.*
 build-TH-FUT DU.IMP e.sibling-DU-DAT THEN 3DU.S(NP) sleep-FUT
 Build (a windbreak) for (your) brothers so they can sleep.

²¹ Note the structural similarity between this example and the examples of predicates with two verbs discussed in §7.4.1. The pause between the first and second clauses in example (8-64), in contrast to the absence of any pause in the complex predicate examples, lead to their being treated as distinct clause types here. However, more detailed work is needed on these constructions to determine the exact nature of the differences (both structural and semantic) between the two.

APPENDIX A

TEXTS

Following are eight texts, seven of them by Molly Grueman and one by Minnie Nimara, told to me on various field trips. The first seven texts are dreaming stories and the eighth is an informal monologue in which Molly Grueman talks about a certain time of her life when she was working as a housemaid on a cattle station. One of these stories – *Gunbi* and *Garrgalyi* (Text 7) – was made into a picture book at the Wambaya literacy workshop in Tennant Creek in April 1993, and it is hoped that it will be possible to do the same with the others. All of these texts have been read back to the story-tellers for checking and are printed here with their permission.

TEXT 1: *ILARRAWULU GUJARRAWULU*¹

The two Eaglehawks

Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Elliott, April 1992

1. “*Ngangaba yana gi-n najbi. Ngajbi ngurr-uba.*²
fire.IV(NOM) this.IV.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG burn see 1PL.INC.A-NP.AWY
“There’s a fire burning (there). Let’s (us two) go and have a look.
2. *Garnguji=miji irri-n mirra.*”
many.I(NOM)=INFER 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit
There must be a big group (of people).”
3. *Ilarra-wulu, gunyarna murlu-ngunya*
eaglehawk-DU(NOM) other.II(NOM) eye-PROP.II(NOM)
Two eaglehawks, one with sight
4. *gunyarna murlu-wajarna, wurlu-n mirra.*
other.II(NOM) eye-PRIV.II(NOM) 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sit
(and) another blind, are there.
5. *Baba-gulanga.*
e.sibling-DYAD.II(NOM)
Two sisters.
6. *Gajurru wurlu-n. Bumbujardi wurlu-n jamba.*
dance 3DU.S(NP)-PROG stir.up? 3DU.A(NP)-PROG dirt.IV(ACC)
They’re dancing. They’re stirring up (clouds of) dust.³

¹ *Ilarra-wulu gujarrawulu*
eaglehawk-DU(NOM) two(NOM)

² Note the use of the plural subject pronoun, instead of the dual form. MG said it would also be possible to use the dual form, *murnduba*, here. The use of plural pronouns with dual meaning occurs in quite a number of places throughout this text.

7. *Ngajbi irri: "Giliyaga irr-a duwa juwarramba ginngana.*
 see 3PL.A(NP) there 3PL.S-PST get.up men.I(NOM) from.here
 They (the two boys) see (the dust): "There (is where) all the people went from here.
8. *Ngangaba gi-n najbi. Ngajbi ngurr-uba.*
 fire.IV(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG burn see IPL.INC.A-NP.AWY
 The fire's burning. Let's go and have a look.
9. *Ngajbi ngurr-uba yana ngangaba najbi gi-n."*
 see IPL.INC.A-NP.AWY this.IV.SG.ACC fire.IV(ACC) burn 3SG.S(PR)-PROG
 Let's have a look at the fire that's burning."
10. *Yarru irr-a ngajbi nanawulu ilarra-wulu*
 go 3PL.S-PST see this.II.DU.ACC eaglehawk-DU(ACC)
 They went (and they) saw the two eaglehawks
11. *buyunku-nu wurlu-n mirra.*
 middle-LOC 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sit
 (who were) sitting in the middle (of their camp).

(Meanwhile, the Eaglehawks say to their two sons: *Milinya* (parrot) and *Wagalamarri* (crow):)

12. *"Ngaj-ba gurl garrunyma baba-wuli-janka. Yarru wurl-agba."*
 see-FUT DU.IMP road.III?(ACC) e.sibling-DU-DAT go(FUT) 3DU.S-HYP
 "You two watch the road for (your) two brothers. They might come."
13. *Nagama barraala wurlu-n dula.*
 that.one.II.SG.ACC white.cockatoo.II(ACC) 3DU.A(NP)-PROG disturb
 They (the two boys that are coming down the road) disturb the white cockatoos.⁴
14. *Ilinga irri-n⁵ barraala.*
 hear 3PL.A(NP)-PROG white.cockatoo.II(ACC)
 They (*Milinya* and *Wagalamarri*) hear the white cockatoos.
15. *"Ahh barraala dunkala wurlu-n baba-wuli-ji."*
 ahh white.cockatoo.II(ACC) chase.away 3DU.A(NP)-PROG e.sibling-DU-LOC
 "Ahh, the two brothers are chasing away the white cockatoos."
16. *"Ngaj-ba gurl!"*
 see-FUT DU.IMP
 "You two watch (for them)!"
17. *"Inuwulu wurlu-n yarru baba-wulu."*
 this.I.DU.NOM 3DU.S(NP)-PROG go e.sibling-DU(NOM)
 "Here come the two brothers."

³ I'm not sure how to translate this. The concept as explained to me by MG is this: the two eaglehawks are dancing and causing the dirt to rise up into the air ("like when you see a car down the road") so that from a distance it gives the impression of a fire burning on the horizon.

⁴ i.e. thereby signalling their arrival.

⁵ Although glossed as a progressive suffix, there are a number of places in this text where this suffix, *-n*, appears in contexts where one would not expect a progressive suffix. The actual function of this suffix is difficult to determine and is discussed in §5.2.3.

18. *"Gulyagulya ngarri, gulinya gurla⁶. Injani gurlu-n yarru?"*
 where 2DU.S(NP)-PROG go
 "My two sons, where are you going?" (said by one of the Eaglehawks)
19. *"Yarru ngurlu-n ginki. Ngangaba ngurl-a ngajbi.*
 go 1DU.EXC.S(NP)-PROG there fire.IV(ACC) 1DU.EXC.A-PST see
 "We're going over there. We saw a fire.
20. *Bumbujardi irri-n ngangaba."*
 stir.up? 3PL.A(NP)-PROG fire.IV(ACC)
 The smoke's rising up."⁷
21. *"Juwarramba irr-aji⁸ duwa marndija.*
 men.I(NOM) 3PL.S-HAB.PST get.up long.ago
 "(Those) men left (from here) a long time ago.
22. *Marlunja maga. Marlunja gulyagulya. Ngaligu bulyawu.⁹*
 long.way camp.IV(NOM) long.way son "long.way, another.country"
 It's a long way. A long way, my son. It's another country (?).
23. *Yangula gurl-agba ganmanmi.*
 NEG 2DU.S-HYP get.close
 You can't get close (to it). (i.e. because it's too far)
24. *Gulug-ba gurl ngijininima-nka."*
 sleep-FUT DU.IMP tomorrow-DAT
 Sleep (here) until tomorrow."

(To *Milinya* and *Wagalamarri*)

25. *"Alag-ulu, angbardi-j-ba gurl wurrungala*
 child-DU(NOM) build-TH-FUT DU.IMP windbreak.IV(ACC)
 "Kids, you build a windbreak
26. *wurrgburrngbi gurl maga.*
 clean.up.RDP DU.IMP camp.IV(ACC)
 (and) clean up the camp (for them).
27. *Angbardi-j-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka ngaba wurlu gulug-ba.*
 build-TH-FUT DU.IMP e.sibling-DU-DAT THEN 3DU.S(NP) sleep-FUT
 Build it for (your) brothers so they can sleep.

⁶ I am not sure as to the structure of this phrase. I think that *gulyagulya* may mean 'son' although I have never heard it used outside of this text, and, while *ngarri* and *gurla* are clearly the pronouns '1.SG.POSS.I(NOM)' and '2DU.ACC' respectively, I do not understand the use of *gulinya*, which means 'daughter'. I have therefore just translated it in the way that it was translated by MG: "my two sons, my two sons".

⁷ The translation here does not accurately reflect the structure of the Wambaya sentence, but I do not know how else it could be translated. As far as I can determine the meaning is that the people are causing the smoke to rise. I do not know why the word used is 'fire' and not 'smoke'.

⁸ I do not understand why the habitual past tense is used here - unless it can also function as a distant past. This is something to be checked.

⁹ This phrase is important to the story but I am not really sure of its meaning. MG translates it as "loooong way" and said that *bulyawu* is a name that the Eaglehawk has just created for a fictitious piece of country where she is claiming the men are.

28. *Gulug-ba gurl baba-wuli-ja ngarrinybi-yulu.*
 sleep-FUT DU.IMP e.sibling-DU-DAT friend-DU(NOM)
 You two sleep with (your) brothers as mates (for them)."

(*Wagalamarri* and *Milinya* are talking to the two boys. An Eaglehawk says:)

29. *"Yagu-j-ba gurl baba-wulu. Gulug-ba wurlu.*
 leave-TH-FUT DU.IMP e.sibling-DU(ACC) sleep-FUT 3DU.S(NP)
 "Leave (your) two brothers. They've got to sleep.

30. *Marlu wurlu duwa-j-ba ngijininima.*¹⁰
 far 3DU.S(NP) get.up-TH-FUT tomorrow
 They've got to go a long way tomorrow.

31. *Gambardarda wurlu duwa*".
 early 3DU.S(NP) get.up
 They've got to get up early."

(When they're all sleeping, the Eaglehawks...)

32. *Wurrudbanyi maganja, burulyi.*
 pull digging.stick.IV(ACC) round.stone.I(ACC)
 (They) get the digging stick and the round stone.

33. *Bunjunymi wurlu-n inuwulu wurlu-n gulugbi.*
 sneak.up 3DU.A(NP)-PROG this.I.DU.NOM 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sleep
 They sneak up on the two boys (that) are sleeping.

34. *"Burulyini-ni nyamirniiji ini lurd-ba,*
 round.stone.I-LOC 2SG.ERG this.I.SG.ACC hit-FUT
 "You hit this one with the round stone,

35. *damangga ngangiyili-nmanji.*
 head.IV(NOM) 2SG.OBL-COMIT-ALL
 (his) head's near you.¹¹

36. *Ngawu ng-u ini dudiyarri-j-ba maganji-ni gurdurlu.*"
 1SG.ERG 1SG.A-FUT this.I.SG.ACC spear-TH-FUT digging.stick.IV-LOC heart.IV(ACC)
 I'll spear this one in the heart with the digging stick."

(When they've killed the boys, *Wagalamarri* and *Milinya* run up saying:)

37. *"Gujinya, gujinya, gujiny-buli-ji yangaji ngurruganji.*¹²
 mother.II(NOM) mother.II(NOM) mother-DU-LOC meat.I(ACC) 1PL.INC.POSS.I(ACC)
 "Mother, mother, you got some meat for us.

38. *Daguma gurl-a ngurra yangaji.*"
 hit 2DU.A-PST 1PL.INC.OBL meat.I(ACC)
 You have killed some meat for us."

¹⁰ Given another time as: *Marlu wurl-uba duwa ngijininima.*
 far 3DU.S-NP.AWAY get.up tomorrow

¹¹ This is the 'seeing' eaglehawk directing the blind eaglehawk as to the position of the boy so that she will know where to hit.

¹² This seems to be an incomplete sentence; there is no verb or auxiliary, although the presence of ergative/locative case marking on the subject noun suggests that there should be. Perhaps line 38 is the correction. It is also strange that the subject NP starts off in the singular and is then put into the dual.

(*Milinya* asks:)

39. “*Gayina ng-u gaj-ba mambulyaji-nka gujanya*¹³-*nka?*”
 what.IV(ACC) 1SG.A-FUT eat-FUT be.soft-DAT tooth.IV-DAT
 “What can I eat that will be soft for (my) teeth?”
40. “*Wugbugbardi ngurlu-n. Gulug-ba gurl.*”
 cook.RDP 1DU.EXC.A(NP)-PROG sleep-FUT DU.IMP
 “We are going to cook (it). You two go to sleep.” (say the Eaglehawks)
41. *Alag-ulu wurlu-n gulugbi.*
 child-DU(NOM) 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sleep
 The two kids sleep.
42. *Gajbi wurlu-n ganjimi alag-uli-janka.*
 eat 3DU.A(NP)-PROG finish child-DU-DAT
 They (the Eaglehawks) eat all the food (that was) for the children.

(When *Wagalamarri* and *Milinya* wake up:)

43. “*Injani ngurra yangaji, guja?*”
 where 1PL.INC.OBL meat.I(NOM) mum
 “Where’s the meat for us, mum?”
44. “*Gajbi ngurl-a ganjimi.*”
 eat 1DU.EXC.A-PST finish
 “We ate (it) all.”
45. *Ini ilirri gagama gurl gaj-ba.*
 this.I.SG.ACC blood.I(ACC) guts.III(ACC) DU.IMP eat-FUT
 You two eat this blood and guts.
46. *Ngangga yaniyaga ilirri,*¹⁴ *ngara-ba.*”
 2SG.POSS.IV(NOM) that.IV.SG.NOM blood.I(NOM) drink-FUT
 That blood is yours, drink (it).” (They give the blood to *Milinya*.)
47. “*Nyamiriji gaj-ba mamiyaga gagama.*”
 2SG.ERG eat-FUT that.III.SG.ACC guts.III(ACC)
 “You eat the guts.” (They give the guts to *Wagalamarri*.)
48. *Jiyawu wurlu ilirri gagama.*
 give 3DU.A(NP) blood.I(ACC) guts.III(ACC)
 They give (the two boys) the blood (and) the guts.

(Then the Eaglehawks say to each other:)

49. “*Gajurra murnd-u yangadi-nka mirnda,*
 dance.FUT 1DU.INC.S-FUT meat.I-DAT 1DU.INC.OBL
 “Let’s dance (again) for meat for us,

¹³ This non-absolute form is very odd and needs to be double-checked; the citation form of the noun is *gujannga*.

¹⁴ Note that in this clause *ilirri* takes Class IV agreement whereas in line 45 it takes Class I agreement. This is an example of ‘natural semantic agreement’; see §4.2.3.

50. *ngaba g-u yarru yangaji mirnda.*
 THEN 3SG.S-FUT go(FUT) meat.I(NOM) 1DU.INC.OBL
 so that some meat will come for us.”
51. “*Yu.*”
 yes
 “Yes.”
52. “*Nyami yarri babanya gajurra.*
 2SG.NOM first e.sister.II(NOM) dance.FUT
 “You dance first, sister. (said the blind Eaglehawk)
53. *Ahh yangula ny-a jundurra bajbaga yardi.*
 ahh NEG 2SG.A-PST dust.IV(ACC) big.IV(ACC) make
 Ahh, you didn’t make much dust.
54. *Nyami ny-a yardi bulyungu jundurra.*
 2SG.ERG 2SG.A-PST make little.IV(ACC) dust.IV(ACC)
 You (just) made a little bit of dust.”
- (So the blind Eaglehawk gets up and dances:)
55. “*Yuu, babaga-yi nyi-n jundurra mirnda bajbaga yardi.*”
 yes e.sister.II-LOC 2SG.A(PR)-PROG dust.IV(ACC) 1DU.INC.OBL big.IV(ACC) make
 “Yes, sister you’re making lots of dust for us.”
56. “*Ngaj-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka alag-ulu!*
 see-FUT DU.IMP e.sibling-DU-DAT child-DU(NOM)
 “You two kids, go watch (the road) for (your) two brothers!
57. *Ngaj-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka yarru wurlu-n.*
 see-FUT DU.IMP e.sibling-DU-DAT go(FUT) 3DU.S(NP)-PROG
 You watch (the road) for (your) two brothers coming.”
58. “*Barraala wurlu-n dula!*”
 white.cockatoo.II(ACC) 3DU.A(NP)-PROG disturb
 “They’re disturbing the cockatoos!”
59. *Ngunbulugi-yulu wurlu-n yarru.*
 doctor-DU(NOM) 3DU.S(NP)-PROG go
 Two medicine men are coming.
60. *Bungmaj-buli-ji ngankawuliji wurl-aji daguma juwarramba.*
 old.person-DU-LOC this.II.DU.LOC 3DU.A-HAB.PST hit men.I(ACC)
 (because) These two old ladies had been killing all the boys.
61. *Daguma wurl-aji giliyaga wurl-aji gajbi juwarramba.*
 hit 3DU.A-HAB.PST there 3DU.A-HAB.PST eat men.I(ACC)
 They’d been killing them (and) eating the boys there.
62. *Garngu-ji wurl-aji daguma.*
 many.I(ACC) 3DU.A-HAB.PST hit
 They’d been killing a lot of them.

63. *Galaa wurl-aji nyalima.*
bone.IV(ACC) 3DU.A-HAB.PST collect
They were collecting all the bones.
64. *Galaa wurl-aji bililardi.*
bone.IV(ACC) 3DU.A-HAB.PST pile.up
They were piling the bones up.
65. *Gumayanguni wurl-aji andajarri galaa.*
cave.IV-LOC 3DU.A-HAB.PST hide bone.IV(ACC)
They were hiding the bones in a cave.
66. *“Gujiny-bulu nanawuliyaga wurlu-n mirra.”*
mother-DU(NOM) that.II.DU.NOM 3DU.S(NP)-PROG sit
“The two mothers are sitting (over there).” (say the two medicine men who go over to the Eaglehawks)
67. *“Gulyagulya, gulyagulya ngarri-yulu gulyagulya,*
son son 1SG.POSS-DU(NOM) son
“Ahh my two sons,
68. *injani gurlu-n yarru?”*
where 2DU.S(NP)-PROG go
where are you going?”
69. *“Yarru ngurlu ginki gamgunyi-nka.”*
go 1DU.EXC.S(NP) there many.I-DAT
“We’re going to that big group (of people) over there.”
70. *“Yagu irri-ng-a ngirra marndija.”*
leave 3PL.A-1O-NF 1PL.EXC.ACC long.ago
“They left us a long time ago.”
71. *“Yuu banymi irri-ng-a ngurla marndija.”*
yes pass.by 3PL.A-1O-NF 1DU.EXC.ACC long.ago
“Yes, they passed by us a long time ago.”
72. *“Marlunja maga, marlunja.*
long.way camp.IV(NOM) long.way
“That camp’s a long way.
73. *Gulug-ba gurl ngijininima-nka.”*
sleep-FUT DU.IMP tomorrow-DAT
Sleep here until tomorrow.”

(The medicine men (knowing of the plans of the Eaglehawks), make preparations when they go to bed)

74. *Darrangu wurl-a gulug-ardi:*
stick.IV(ACC) 3DU.A-PST sleep-CAUS
They laid down two logs:
75. *ganjurrardi wagalamarrini-nmanji, ganjurrardi milinyi-nmanji.*
side.by.side crow.I-ALL side.by.side parrot.I-ALL
(one) next to *Wagalamarri* (and one) next to *Milinya*.

76. *Bardbi wurl-a munji wurl-a.*
run 3DU.S-PST hide 3DU.S-PST
(Then) they ran away (and) hid.
77. *Munji wurl-a ngajbi wurl-a nagawulu duwa.*
hide 3DU.S-PST see 3DU.A-PST that.one.II.DU.NOM get.up
They hid (and) watched the two (Eaglehawks) get up.
(whispered)
78. *"Naniyawulu nagawulu baraj-bulu wurlu-n duwa.*
that.II.DU.NOM that.one.II.DU.NOM old.person-DU(NOM) 3DU.S(NP)-PROG get.up
"The two old women are getting up.
79. *Bunjunymi wurlu-n mirnda maga."*
sneak.up 3DU.A(NP)-PROG 1DU.INC.OBL camp.IV(ACC)
They're sneaking up to our camp."
80. *Wurrudbanyi ngiy-a maganja murlu-ngunya-ni.*
pull 3SG.NM.A-PST digging.stick.IV(ACC) eye-PROP.II-LOC
The sighted (Eaglehawk) got the digging stick.
81. *Burulyi ngiy-a yanybi gunyanga-ni, murlu-wajanga-ni.*
round.stone.I(ACC) 3SG.NM.A-PST get other.II-LOC eye-PRIV.II-LOC
The other one, the blind one, got the round stone.
82. *"Nyamirnji ini lurd-ba,*
2SG.ERG this.I.SG.ACC hit-FUT
"You hit this one,
83. *ngawu ng-u ini dudiyarri-j-ba."*
1SG.ERG 1SG.A-FUT this.I.SG.ACC spear-TH-FUT
I'll spear this one." (said the sighted Eaglehawk)
84. *Daguma wurl-a: "Darranggu yana! Darranggu-wulu!"*
hit 3DU.A-PST stick.IV(NOM) this.IV.SG.NOM stick-DU(NOM)
They hit (them): "This is a log! (They're) both logs!!"
85. *"Ahh, bardbi wurl-a, bardbi wurl-a!*
ahh run 3DU.S-PST run 3DU.S-PST
"Ahh, they've run away, they've run away!"
86. *Ginyinka wurl-a namirrga!¹⁵ Bardbi wurl-a mirnda!"*
swear.word 3DU.A-PST swear.word run 3DU.S-PST 1DU.INC.OBL
(SWEARING). They've run away from us!"
87. *"Yununggu wurl-aji daguma juwarramba ngankawuliji*
thus 3DU.A-HAB.PST hit men.I(ACC) this.II.DU.LOC
88. *bungmaj-buli-ji."*
old.person-DU-LOC
"This is how these two old women killed all those people." (said the medicine men)

¹⁵ Nobody would translate these words except to say that they were swear words.

89. *Andajarri wurlu-ngg-a.*
hide 3DU.A-RR-NF
They hid.
90. *Dudiyarri wurl-a nagawulu bungmaj-bulu.*
spear 3DU.A-PST that.one.II.DU.ACC old.person-DU(ACC)
They speared the two old women.
91. *Ilarrarna wurlu-ngg-a yardi bungmaj-bulu.*
eaglehawk.II(ACC) 3DU.A-RR-NF put old.person-DU(NOM)
The two old women made themselves into eaglehawks.

TEXT 2: *BARNANGGI AND JABIRU*¹⁶

Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Tennant Creek, May 1992

1. *Bungmaji Barnanggi g-aji duwa.*
old.man.I(NOM) bird.sp.I(NOM) 3SG.S-HAB.PST get.up
Old man *Barnanggi* would get up.
2. *Wugbugbardi gin-aji yangaji wurla.*
cook.RDP 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST meat.I(ACC) 3DU.OBL
He would cook meat for them (his two sons).
3. *Iguwulu wurl-aji duwa ngijjinima.*
that.one.I.DU.NOM 3DU.S-HAB.PST get.up tomorrow
They would get up the next day.
4. *"Irda, injani yangaji ny-a langanjardi?"*
father.I(NOM) where meat.I(ACC) 2SG.A-PST hang.up
"Father, where did you hang up the meat?"
5. *"Ini gayangga ngaba ngurlu gajbi-gajbi.*
this.1SG.NOM high THEN 1DU.EXC.S(NP) RDP-eat
"This is it high up so that we (two) can eat it. (and then)
6. *Duwa ngurl-uba ginkanyi alalangmi-ji-ni."*
get.up 1DU.EXC.S-NP.AWY this.way hunt-TH-LOC
We'll get up and go hunting in this direction."
7. *Jabiru-nu gin-a wurla aliyulu.*
jabiru-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC find
The Jabiru found them (the two sons).
8. *Dagama gin-a wurla.*
hit 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC
He killed them.

¹⁶ I am not sure what type of bird the *barnanggi* is (I think it may be a Hobby), so will just gloss it 'bird sp.' in this text. The Wambaya word for the 'jabiru' is *garrinji*, however, only 'jabiru' was used in the telling of this story.

9. *Wugbardi gin-a wurla.*
 cook 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC
 He cooked them.¹⁷
10. *Gajbi-gajbi gin-a wurla ganjimi.*
 RDP-eat 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC finish
 He ate them all up.
11. *Yandu gin-a wurla.*
 wait 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.OBL
 He (*Bamangi*) waited for them.
12. *“Laji wurlu-n ngarra iguwulu.*
 be.absent 3DU.S(NP)-PROG 1SG.OBL that.one.I.DU.NOM
 “They’ve been gone from me for a long time.
13. *Daguma=miji irr-a wurla.”*
 hit=INFER 3PL.A-PST 3DU.ACC
 They must have killed them.”
14. *“Burrij, burrij.”*
 (These are bird noises that he hears coming)
15. *Gangga wurl-amany burriji¹⁸-yulu*
 return 3DU.S-PST.TWD bird.sp-DU(NOM)
 They came back as two birds.
16. *“Burrij.”*
17. *“Gurluwani!”*
 2DU.NOM
 “You two!”
18. *“Burrij.”*
19. *“Daguma irri-ny-a gurla?”*
 hit 3PL.A-2O-NF 2DU.ACC
 “Did they kill you?”
20. *“Burrij.”*
21. *Yugu g-a.*
 cry 3SG.S-PST
 He cried.
22. *“Ngarri-yulu irr-a wurla daguma.”*
 1SG.POSS-DU(ACC) 3PL.A-PST 3DU.ACC hit
 “They killed my two (boys).”

¹⁷ He did this somewhere on Newcastle Waters Station.

¹⁸ I do not know what type of bird this is.

23. *Maramaranbi g-a janyi-nka gagami-nka.*¹⁹
 feel.around 3SG.S-PST dog.I-DAT shit.III-DAT
 He felt around for some dog shit.²⁰
24. *Larlagbi g-a galyurringini-nmanji,*
 enter 3SG.S-PST water.I-ALL
 He got into the water,
25. *murlu gini-ngg-a agardbi gagami-ni.*
 eye.IV(NOM) 3SG.M.A-RR-NF wash shit.III-LOC
 (and) washed his eyes with the shit.
26. *Bunybarrimi gini-ngg-a murlu.*
 open 3SG.M.A-RR-NF eye.IV(NOM)
 He opened his eyes.
27. *"Ahh, ngajbi ngi-n!"*
 ahh see 1SG.A(PR)-PROG
 "Ahh, I can see!"²¹
28. *Ayani ng-uba ngarri-yuli-janka.*
 look.for 1SG.S-NP.AWY 1SG.POSS-DU-DAT
 I'm going to go looking for my two (boys).
29. *Ayani ng-uba wurla.*
 look.for 1SG.S-NP.AWY 3DU.OBL
 I'm going to go looking for them.
30. *Dagama=miji irr-a wurla."*
 hit=INFER 3PL.A-PST 3DU.ACC
 They must have killed them."
31. *Jarrgi gin-a wurla ginmanji gili iligirri-ni.*
 track 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC this.way here river.IV-LOC
 He tracked the two boys this way, to the river here.
32. *Ngajbi-ngajbi gin-a.*
 RDP-see 3SG.M.A-PST
 He looked around (the ground).
33. *"Jabiru-nu gin-a wurla dudiyarri alag-ulu ngarri-yulu."*
 jabiru-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC spear child-DU(ACC) 1SG.POSS-DU(ACC)
 "The Jabiru speared my two kids."

19 The dative marking on *janji* 'dog' marks possession and the dative marking on *gagama* 'shit' marks the whole NP as being the indirect object of the verb *maramaranbi* 'feel around': see §4.4.4.

20 This old man is blind (for some reason this information was not given in the Wambaya version).

21 An alternative given in another telling of the story:
Nimi-nimi gini-ngg-a jayili galyurringini-ni.
 RDP-rub 3SG.M.A-RR-NF down water.I-LOC
 He rubbed himself (with the shit) under the water.
"Ahh, ngawu ngi-n murlu-nguji!"
 ahh 1SG.NOM 1SG.S(PR)-PROG eye-PROP.I(NOM)
 "Ahh, I can see!" (lit. "I've got eyes!")

34. *Larlagbi g-a galyurringini-nmanji.*
enter 3SG.S-PST water.I-ALL
He got into the water.
35. *Wara-nmanji gini-ngg-a yardi bulinja.*
face.IV-ALL 3SG.M.A-RR-NF put algae.IV(ACC)
He put algae on his face.
36. *Gangga g-a alalangmi-ji-nnga Jabiru.*
return 3SG.S-PST hunt-TH-ABL jabiru(NOM)
The Jabiru returned from hunting.
37. *Wugbugbardi gin-a yangaji.*
cook.RDP 3SG.M.A-PST meat.I(ACC)
He cooked some meat.
38. *Gulug-ardi gini-ngg-a.*
sleep-CAUS 3SG.M.A-RR-NF
He lay down.
39. *Gulugbi g-a,*
sleep 3SG.S-PST
He slept,
40. *yandu yangaji nanga naj-barda.*
mind meat.I(ACC) 3SG.M.OBL burn-INF
(and) looked after his meat that was cooking.
41. *Igima g-a yarru.*
that.one.I.SG.NOM 3SG.S-PST go
(The *Barnanggi*) came (out of the water).
42. *Manjala gin-a banjarri.*
vine.IV 3SG.M.A-PST throw
He threw some vine (i.e. to make noise).
43. *Ngajbi gin-a: "Igima gi-n gulugbi."*
see 3SG.M.A-PST that.one.I.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sleep
He looked: "He's sleeping now."
44. *Jagina gini-ngg-a-n.*
lie.on.back²² 3SG.M.A-RR-NF-PROG
He was sleeping on his back with one leg across the other.
45. *Bungmaji g-a duwa.*
old.man.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST get.up
The old man (*Barnanggi*) got up.
46. *Barnanggi gini-ngg-a yardi.*
bird.sp.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A-RR-NF put
He made himself into a *barnanggi*.

²² This actually describes the position of lying on one's back with one knee bent and the other leg resting across that knee. It is interesting that it is reflexive.

47. "Burriij." *Dirragbi g-a banggirri-nmanji.*
 burriij jump 3SG.S-PST knee.IV-ALL
 "Burriij." He jumped on (the Jabiru's) knee.
48. "Ahh, *injannga ini julaji gi-n ngarra bardbi?*"
 ahh where.from this.I.SG.NOM bird.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG 1SG.OBL run
 "Ahh, where did this bird come to me from?"
49. *Jabiru gini-ngg-a daguma.*
 jabiru(NOM) 3SG.M.A-RR-NF hit
 The Jabiru hit himself.²³
50. "Ardardardarda, *daguma ngi-ngg-a banggirra!*"
 (scream.of.pain) hit 1SG.A-RR-NF knee.IV(NOM)
 "Ahhhh, I've hit my knee!"
51. *Dirragbi g-a gunya-nmanji banggirri-nmanji.*
 jump 3SG.S-PST other.IV-ALL knee.IV-ALL
 He (*Barnanggi*) jumped on the other knee.
52. *Daguma gin-a: "Ahh, ngujari ngi-ngg-a!"*
 hit 3SG.M.A-PST ahh break 1SG.A-RR-NF
 He (Jabiru) hit it: "Ahh, I've broken it!"
53. *Dirragbi g-a jarlu-nmanji igima Barnanggi.*
 jump 3SG.S-PST arm.IV-ALL that.one.I.SG.NOM bird.sp.I(NOM)
Barnanggi jumped on his arm.
54. *Daguma gini-ngg-a, ngujari gini-ngg-a.*
 hit 3SG.M.A-RR-NF break 3SG.M.A-RR-NF
 He (Jabiru) hit himself and broke his (arm).
55. *Dirragbi g-a gunya-nmanji.*
 jump 3SG.S-PST other.IV-ALL
 He (*Barnanggi*) jumped on the other (arm).
56. *Daguma gini-ngg-a ngujari jarlu.*
 hit 3SG.M.A-RR-NF break arm.IV(NOM)
 He hit himself (and) broke (his) arm.
57. "Ahh, *gayina-ni ng-u daguma?*"
 ahh what.IV-LOC 1SG.A-FUT hit
 "Ahh, with what am I going to hit him (now)?" (cried the Jabiru)
58. *Wara-nmanji g-a dirragbi.*
 face.IV-ALL 3SG.S-PST jump
 He (*Barnanggi*) jumped on (his) face.
59. *Igima gini-ngg-a daguma barlaj-ardi, gurda.*
 that.one.I.SG.NOM 3SG.M.A-RR-NF hit dead-CAUS bc.sick
 He (Jabiru) hit himself and fell down, dead.

²³ That is, on the knee – he was intending to hit the *Barnanggi*, but the *Barnanggi* jumped out of the way.

60. *Yarru g-a bungmaji Barnanggi.*
go 3SG.S-PST old.man.I(NOM) bird.sp.I(NOM)
Old man *Barnanggi* went.
61. *Ngajbi-ngajbi gin-a gayirra.*²⁴
RDP-see 3SG.M.A-PST cooking.site.IV(ACC)
He looked around for the cooking site.
62. *Yanybi gin-a galaa-rdarra.*
get 3SG.M.A-PST bone.IV-GROUP(ACC)
He got all the bones.
63. *Nyali-nyalima gin-a,*
RDP-gather 3SG.M.A-PST
He heaped (them all) up,
64. *muju-mujumi gin-a galaa-rdarra.*
RDP-put.together 3SG.M.A-PST bone.IV-GROUP(ACC)
(and) he put all the bones back together.
65. *Yardi gin-a gunyi ini.*
put 3SG.M.A-PST other.I(ACC) this.I.SG.ACC
He put the other boy (back together).
66. *Ilyirrga gin-a yanybi,*
leaf.IV(ACC) 3SG.M.A-PST get
He got a (coolibah) leaf,
67. *warrguma gin-a.*
slap.with.leaf 3SG.M.A-PST
(and) slapped (the bones) with it.
68. *Mujumi irri-ngg-a yagagunya galaa-rdarra.*
put.together 3PL.A-RR-NF that.one.IV.PL.NOM bone.IV-GROUP(NOM)
The bones joined themselves up.
69. *Warrguma gin-a.*
slap.with.leaf 3SG.M.A-PST
He hit them with the leaf (again).
70. *Iguwulu wurl-a duwa.*
that.one.IDU.NOM 3DU.S-PST get.up
The two boys sat up.
71. *“Ahh ngarri-yulu, daguma gini-ny-a gurla.*
ahh 1SG.POSS-DU(NOM) hit 3SG.M.A-2O-NF 2DU.ACC
“Ahh my two (sons), he killed you.
72. *Daguma ng-a igima gurla!”*
hit 1SG.A-PST that.one.I.SG.ACC 2DU.OBL
(But) I killed him for you!”

²⁴ I don't know why this NP is in the accusative case rather than the dative case, as would be expected. One possibility is that it actually means something more like 'he looked around the cooking site', however this is not how it was translated to me.

73. *Yuu irda, yarru ngurr-uba.*
 yes father.I(NOM) go 1PL.INC.S-NP.AWY
 “Yes father, let’s go.”
74. *Anka-mi gin-a wurla.*
 alive-FAC 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC
 He brought them back to life.

TEXT 3: GAMBADA AND WARDANGARRI

The Sun and the Moon

Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Elliott, April 1992

1. *Ngarringga wurlu-ngg-a alaji gambada wardangarri.*²⁵
 take.from 3DU.A-RR-NF boy.I(ACC) sun.II(NOM) moon.II(NOM)
 They took each other’s child, the sun and the moon.
2. *Nagawulu wurlu-ngg-a ngarringga.*
 that.one.II.DU.NOM 3DU.A-RR-NF take.from
 The two women took each other’s (babies).
3. *Gambanga-ni ngiy-a yabu gurijbi alaji ilig-baji.*
 sun.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST have good.I(ACC) boy.I(ACC) sore-PRIV.I(ACC)
 The sun had a nice baby, with no sores.
4. *Wardangarringa-ni ngiy-a yabu iliga-nguji bagijbi.*
 moon.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST have sore-PROP.I(ACC) bad.I(ACC)
 The moon had a ‘no good’ (baby), with sores.
5. *Damangga-ni iliga gin-aji yabu alangi-ni.*
 head.IV-LOC sore.IV(ACC) 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST have boy.I-LOC
 The child had sores (all over) its head.
6. *Ngaragi-nka galyurringini-nka wurl-any yarru.*
 drink-DAT water.I-DAT 3DU.S-PST.AWY go
 They went to drink some water.
7. *Di-didija wurl-any yarru.*
 RDP-carry 3DU.S-PST.AWY go
 They carried (their children) on their hips.
8. *Wardangarringa-ni ngiy-a didima ngaragi-nka:*
 moon.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST tell drink-DAT
 The moon told (the sun) to drink:
9. *“Ngara-ba, nyami yarri! Alag-ulu ngi-n yandu wurla.”*
 drink-FUT 2SG.ERG first child-DU(ACC) 1SG.A(PR)-PROG mind 3DU.ACC
 “You drink first! I’m watching the two kids.”

²⁵ Usually this noun belongs to Class I. However in this story it has a female referent and is treated as Class II (as shown in line 4, for example, where it takes the Class II non-absolutive gender suffix *-nga-*), and is therefore glossed as such.

10. “*Nyamimiji ngara-ba jaburru,*
2SG.ERG drink-FUT first
“No, you drink first,
11. *ngawu ng-u ngara-ba banjangani.*”
1SG.ERG 1SG.A-FUT drink-FUT behind
I’ll drink after.”
12. “*Nyamimiji ngara-ba! Yandu ng-u ngawurniji wurla alag-ulu.*”
2SG.ERG drink-FUT mind 1SG.A-FUT 1SG.ERG 3DU.ACC child-DU(ACC)
“You drink! I’ll watch the kids.”
13. *Yardi ngiy-a jangi lawunjini-nmanji gambanga-ni.*
put 3SG.NM.A-PST down coolaman.I-ALL sun.II-LOC
The sun put (her baby) down in the coolaman.
14. *Bunjurrbarra ngiy-a galyurringi ngaragi-nka.*
kneel.to 3SG.NM.A-PST water.I(ACC) drink-DAT
She knelt down to the water to drink (it).
15. *Nganki ngiy-a lurrgbanyi wardangarringa-ni alaji*
this.II.SG.LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST grab moon.II-LOC boy.I(ACC)
16. *gulug-barda,*
sleep-INF
The moon grabbed her sleeping child,
17. *bard-babu ngiy-a.*
run-OP 3SG.NM.A-PST
(and) she ran away with it.
18. “*Inama ngarradi alaji=nima nyi-n yabu!*
that.I.SG.ACC 1SG.POSS.I(ACC) boy.I(ACC)=JUST 2SG.A(PR)-PROG have
“That’s my child you’ve got!
19. *Ngarradi=nima alaji gurijbi.*
1SG.POSS.I(NOM)=JUST boy.I(NOM) good.I(NOM)
Mine’s the good one.
20. *Ngangadi ilig-uji.*”
2SG.POSS.I(NOM) sore-PROP.I(NOM)
Yours is the one with sores.”
21. “*Ngarradi ini gurijbi,*
1SG.POSS.I(NOM) this.I.SG.NOM good.I(NOM)
“Mine’s this good one,
22. *ngangi iniyaga bagijbi ilig-uji!*”
2SG.POSS.I(NOM) that.I.SG.NOM bad.I(NOM) sore-PROP.I(NOM)
yours is that ‘no good’ one with sores!”
23. *Didbidbunga wurlu-ngg-a.*
argue 3DU.A-RR-NF
They had an argument.

24. *Ngarradi nyi-n yabu gurijbi.*
 1SG.POSS.I(ACC) 2SG.A(PR)-PROG have good.I(ACC)
 "You've got my nice (baby).
25. *Yabu gama ini ngangadi!*
 take SG.IMP.AWY this.I.SG.ACC 2SG.POSS.I(ACC)
 Take this one of yours!
26. *Ngarradi nyi-ng jiya-j-ba gurijbi!"*
 1SG.POSS.I(ACC) 2SG.A-1O give-TH-FUT good.I(ACC)
 Give me my nice one!"
27. *Dingbari-j-babu ngiy-a gayangga wardangarringa-ni.*
 fly.off-TH-OP 3SG.NM.A-PST high moon.II-LOC
 The moon flew off with (the sun's baby) up (into the sky).
28. *Alima ngiy-a yabu gayangga.*
 well 3SG.NM.A-PST take high
 Well, she took it up (into the sky).
29. *Jugbi ngiy-a gambanga-ni banjangani.*
 spit 3SG.NM.A-PST sun.II-LOC behind
 The sun spat after (her).
30. *Mardima wurlu-ngg-a nyurranji.*
 chase 3DU.A-RR-NF always
 (Now) They're always chasing each other.
31. *Gambada gi duwa.*
 sun.II(NOM) 3SG.S(PR) get.up
 The sun comes up.
32. *Ayigurru gambada gi garlarli,*
 afternoon sun.II(NOM) 3SG.S(PR) slip.down
 (Then) in the afternoon the sun goes down,
33. *wardangarri gi duwa.*
 moon.II(NOM) 3SG.S(PR) get.up
 (and) the moon comes up.

TEXT 4: *JINKIJIYULU*²⁶

The two Stars

Story told by Minnie Niyamarrama Nimara

Tennant Creek, May 1992

1. *Jinkiji-yulu: bulyingi igima, bugayima nagama.*
 star-DU(NOM) little.I(NOM) that.one.I.SG.NOM big.II(NOM) that.one.II.SG.NOM
 Two stars: the little one's a man and the big one's a woman.

²⁶ *Jinkiji-yulu.*
 star-DU(NOM)

2. *Bulyingini-ni gan-ala bardganyi nagarna bugayirma.*
 little.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-HAB.NP follow that.one.II.SG.ACC big.II(ACC)
 The little (male) one always follows the big woman one.
3. *Bulyingi gi-n yarru banjangani,*
 little.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG go behind
 The little (male) one goes behind,
4. *bugayirma jaburru gugurda.*
 big.II(NOM) front MM.II(NOM)
 (and) the big grandmother in the front.
5. *Yarru wurl-aji barlangga.*
 go 3DU.S-HAB.PST together
 They were going along together.
6. *Wugbugbardi bungmanya-ni yangaji.*
 cook.RDP old.woman.II-LOC meat.I(ACC)
 The old lady was cooking some meat (for the grandfather).
7. *“Yandu-j-ba wugbugbardi ngi-n.”*
 wait-TH-FUT cook.RDP 1SG.A(PR)-PROG
 “Wait, I’m cooking.”
8. *“Yu, yandu ngi-n nganga.”*
 yes wait 1SG.S(PR)-PROG 2SG.OBL
 “Yes, I’m waiting for you.”
9. *“Gayina ny-u gaj-ba?”*
 what.IV(ACC) 2SG.A-FUT eat-FUT
 “What are you going to eat?”
10. *“Guyala, bagijbi ngi-n juruma.”*
 nothing feel.bad 1SG.S(PR)-PROG stomach.III(NOM)
 “Nothing, I feel sick in the stomach.”
11. *“Gaj-ba ny-u yana, jaminjilana-nka?”*
 eat-FUT 2SG.A-FUT this.IV.SG.ACC MF.I-DAT
 “Do you want to eat this (that’s) for your grandfather?”
12. *“Guyala ng-udi gajbi bundurra,*
 NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR eat meal.IV(ACC)
 “I don’t want to eat any food,
13. *ngawu ngu-ny-u gajbi nyamiriji!*
 1SG.ERG 1SG.A-2O-FUT screw 2SG.ACC
 I want to screw²⁷ you!
14. *Gajbi ngu-ny-u bunyma, gugunya ngarrima!”*
 screw 1SG.A-2O-FUT arse.III(ACC) MM.II(NOM) 1SG.POSS.II(NOM)
 I want to screw you, my grandmother!”

²⁷ Unfortunately the pun achieved here due to the polysemy of *gajbi* between ‘eat’ and ‘have sex with’ is lost in the English translation.

15. *Gajbi wurlu-ngg-a.*
screw 3DU.A-RR-NF
They screwed each other.
16. “*Duwa-j-ba! Dunkala gini-n julaji jaminjilana-ni!*”
get.up-TH-FUT chase.away 3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG bird.I(ACC) MF.I-LOC
“Get up! (Your) grandfather’s frightening the birds!”²⁸
17. “*Bibi yarri gugunya, guyala ng-udi ganjimi!*”
little.while first MM.II(NOM) NEG 1SG.A-NACT.PR finish
“Just a little bit more grandmother, I haven’t finished!”
18. *Guri-nymi ng-u gajbi!*”
good-FAC 1SG.A-FUT screw
I’m going to screw you properly!”
19. “*Ganinggiji gi-n yarru!*”
close 3SG.S(PR)-PROG go
“He’s coming close!”
20. *Ngajbi gin-a wurla gaj-barda.*
see 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC screw-INF
He saw them screwing.
21. *Balamurru-nu gin-a wurla dudiyarri, gujarri=nima.*
spear.IV-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC spear two.I(ACC)=JUST
He speared them with a spear, both of them.
22. *Garlimbaji gin-a wurla dudiyarri.*
rib.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A-PST 3DU.ACC spear
He speared them in the ribs.
23. “(SPIT) *Duri-j-ba gurlu-ngg-u, duri-j-ba gayangga!*”
fuck-TH-FUT 2DU.A-RR-FUT fuck-TH-FUT high
“You two go and fuck up (in the sky)!”
24. *Bardbi wurl-a. Dirragbi wurl-a gayangga lili-nmanji.*
run 3DU.S-PST jump 3DU.S-PST high sky.IV-ALL
They ran away. They jumped up into the sky.
25. *Yarru wurlu-n barlangga gayangga.*
go 3DU.S(NP)-PROG together high
(Now) they’re going together up (in the sky).
26. *Bardganyi wurlu-ngg-a-n.*
follow 3DU.A-RR-NF-PROG
They’re following each other.

²⁸ That is, the grandfather is about to arrive.

TEXT 5: DIRDIBULYI NINAGANGGA BUWARRAJA²⁹

The Peewee Dreaming

Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Elliott, April 1992

1. *Dirdibulyini-ni gin-aji galyurringi yabu nangi*
peewee.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST water.I(ACC) have 3SG.M.POSS.I(ACC)
2. *Lanybiya-ni.*
place.name-LOC
The peewee used to keep his water at Lanybiya.
3. *Ngarabi gin-aji ilijbini-ni nunku=nima.*
drink 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST alone.I-LOC that.I.SG.LOC=JUST
He used to drink (it) all himself.
4. *Andajarri gin-aji gunyini-nka.*
hide 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST other.I-DAT
He'd hide (it) from others.
5. *Ilyirrgi-ni gin-aji jaji.*
leaf.IV-LOC 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST cover
He'd cover (it) with leaves.
6. *Ilyirrga gin-aji yardi gayangga-ni*
leaf.IV(ACC) 3SG.M.A-HAB.PST put high-LOC
He'd put the leaves on top
7. *ngajbi irr-agba.*
see 3PL.A-HYP
lest other people see (it).
8. *Ngarabi irr-agba nanga banjangani.*
drink 3PL.A-HYP 3SG.M.OBL behind
They might drink (it) behind him (i.e. once he had gone).
9. *"Yarru ng-u alalangmi-ji-ni, gannga ng-u banjani.*
go(FUT) 1SG.S-FUT hunt-TH-LOC return(FUT) 1SG.S-FUT back
"I'm going to go hunting (and then) I'll come back (here).
10. *Ngajbi-ngajbi ng-u janga-nka gunyini-nka.*
RDP-see 1SG.A-FUT track.IV-DAT other.I-DAT
(and) I'll look (on the ground) for someone else's tracks.
11. *Ngirra-ji-ni irr-agba yarru banjangani ngarra."*
steal-TH-LOC 3PL.S-HYP go(FUT) behind 1SG.OBL
They might come behind me and steal (my water)."

²⁹ *Dirdibulyi ninagangga buwarraja*
peewee.I(NOM) this.I.SG.POSS.IV(NOM) dreaming.IV(NOM)
I am not sure why the demonstrative is in the possessive form.

12. *Ngirra irr-agba nangi galyurringi.*
steal 3PL.A-HYP 3SG.M.POSS.I(ACC) water.I(ACC)
They might steal his water.
13. *Gangga g-a. Ngajbi-ngajbi gin-a janga-nka.*
return 3SG.S-PST RDP-see 3SG.M.A-PST track.IV-DAT
He returned. He looked around for tracks.
14. *Guyala gun-uja ngajbi janga.*
NEG 3SG.M.A-NACT.PST see track.IV(ACC)
He didn't see any tracks.
15. "*Anggarrinja*³⁰ *janga-nka.*"
lacking.IV(NOM) track.IV-DAT
"There are no tracks here."
16. *Guyala irr-ija yarru.*
NEG 3PL.S-NACT.PST go
They hadn't come.
17. *Yarru g-a bungmaji dirdibulyi alalangmi-ji-ni,*
go 3SG.S-PST old.man.I(NOM) peewee.I(NOM) hunt-TH-LOC
(So) old man Peewee went hunting,
18. *labalaba gamuli-ni galyurringi.*
carry.on.shoulder water.coolaman.IV-LOC water.I(ACC)
(and) carried (some) water (on his shoulders) in a coolaman.
19. *Aliyulu gin-a barnga-liji bagarrinji.*³¹
find 3SG.M.A-PST cousin.I-REFL.POSS(ACC) goanna.sp.I(ACC)
He met up with his cousin, *Bagarrinji*.
20. *Andjarri gin-a buyunku-nu galyurringi nangi.*
hide 3SG.M.A-PST middle-LOC water.I(ACC) 3SG.M.POSS.I(ACC)
He hid his water halfway (along the road).
21. *Yarru g-a bagarrinyi-nmanji.*
go 3SG.S-PST goanna.sp.I-ALL
He went (over) to *Bagarrinji*.
22. *Ngarl-ajarra*³² *wurl-a.*
talk-TRANS? 3DU.A?-PST
They chatted.
23. *Bagarrinyi-ni gin-a janganja:*
goanna.sp.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST ask
Bagarrinji asked:

³⁰ This is the only example I have of this word; usually *guyalinja* would be used.

³¹ I do not know the English name for this goanna. MG describes it as a small black goanna that lives in trees.

³² I'm not sure of the structure of this word; see §6.2.1.2.

24. “*Jiya-j-ba nyi-ng galyurringi, gurranji ngi-n.*”
give-TH-FUT 2SG.A-10 water.I(ACC) be.thirsty 1SG.S(PR)-PROG
“Give me some water, I’m thirsty.”
25. “*Guyalinji ngawurniji. Ngangaba nyi-n yabu, barnga*
lacking.I(NOM) 1SG.NOM fire.IV(ACC) 2SG.A(PR)-PROG have cousin.I(NOM)
“No, I’ve got nothing. Have you got some fire, cousin
26. *ngaba ng-u wugbugbardi-j-ba ini yangaji?”*
THEN 1SG.A-FUT cook.RDP-TH-FUT this.I.SG.ACC meat.I(ACC)
so that I can cook this meat?”
27. “*Ngawurniji guyalinji. Gaj-ba gurludarri.*
1SG.NOM lacking.I(NOM) eat-FUT raw.I(ACC)
“No, I’ve got nothing. Eat (it) raw.
28. *Galyurringi nyi-ng jiya-j-ba! Galyurringi-yaji ngawurniji.*”
water.I(ACC) 2SG.A-10 give-TH-FUT water-PRIV.I(NOM) 1SG.NOM
Give me some water! I’ve got no water.”
29. “*Ngawurniji ngi-n yarru yurubu alalangmi-ji-ni.*
1SG.NOM 1SG.S(PR)-PROG go just hunt-TH-LOC
“I’m just going hunting.
30. *Guyalinji ngi-n yarru ngawurniji galyurringi-yaji.*
lacking.I(NOM) 1SG.S(PR)-PROG go 1SG.NOM water-PRIV.I(NOM)
I’m going with nothing, no water.
31. *Ilanji ngangi gaj-ba!”*
cooked.I(ACC) 2SG.POSS.I(ACC) eat-FUT
You eat that cooked (meat) of yours!”

(Meanwhile)

32. *Wirrilgarra bardbi g-a banjangani.*
cockatiel.II(NOM) run 3SG.S-PST behind
Cockatiel ran behind (him).
33. *Dirdibulyini-nmanji³³ g-amany magi-nmanji yarru.*
peewee.I-ALL 3SG.S-PST.TWD camp.IV-ALL go
She came to Peewee’s camp.
34. *Ngajbi ngiy-a “ini galyurringi gan-ala*
see 3SG.NM.A-PST this.I.SG.ACC water.I(ACC) 3SG.M.A-HAB.NP
35. *andajarri.*”
hide
She saw (the water), “Ahh, this is the water he always hides.”
36. *Wirrilgarra-ni ngiy-a nguya, darrgulumi.*
cockatiel.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST dig crack
Cockatiel dug out (the water) (and) cracked (it) (i.e. the well).

³³ I do not know why there is nothing marking the genitive case here.

37. *Galyurringi g-a bardbi.*
water.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST run
The water ran out.
38. *Junmi gin-a galyurringini-ni iligirra.*
cut 3SG.M.A-PST water.I-LOC river.IV(ACC)
The water cut rivers (in the ground).
39. *Dirdibulyini-ni gin-a manku wunba.*
peewee.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST hear wind.IV(ACC)
The Peewee heard the wind (i.e. the sound of the water running).
40. *Ilinga gin-a galyurringi gi-n bardbi.*
hear 3SG.M.A-PST water.I(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG run
He heard the water running.
41. *“Darrgulumi=miji irr-a ngarra galyurringi banjangani.*
crack=INFER 3PL.A-PST 1SG.OBL water.I(ACC) behind
“They must have let out the water behind me.
42. *Bagijbi ngi-n. Irringgurli irr-a banjangani ngarra.”*
feel.bad 1SG.S(PR)-PROG mess.around 3PL.S-PST behind 1SG.OBL
I feel bad. They’ve been messing around behind me (at my home).”
43. *Ngajbi gin-a galyurringi ini bililarri.*
see 3SG.M.A-PST water.I(ACC) this.I.SG.ACC flood
He saw the water flooding.
44. *“Ahhhh, irdina-nka, irdina-nka.*
ahhhh father.I-DAT father.I-DAT
“Ahhh, my father’s (country), my father’s (country).
45. *Darrgulumi irr-a ngarra banjangani gayinini-ni=miji.”*
crack 3PL.A-PST 1SG.OBL behind what.I-LOC=INFER
Someone’s let out (the water) behind me, I don’t know who.”
46. *Yugu g-a galyurringini-nka nangini-nka.*
cry 3SG.S-PST water.I-DAT 3SG.M.POSS.I-DAT
He cried for his water.
47. *Bardbi g-a nagama durra-ji-ni wirrilgarra*
run 3SG.S-PST that.one.II.SG.NOM be.frightened-TH-LOC cockatiel.II(NOM)
Cockatiel ran away frightened
48. *daguma gin-agba.*
hit 3SG.M.A-HYP
lest (the Peewee) hit (her).
49. *Dirdibulyi g-a yugu. Gurlirra gini-ngg-a.*
peewee.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST cry gash.head 3SG.M.A-RR-NF
Peewee cried. He gashed his head.³⁴

34 i.e. in mourning.

50. *Iilirri* *g-a* *bardgu* *marlanganyi-nmanji*.
 blood.I(NOM) 3SG.S-PST fall shoulder.I-ALL
 The blood fell onto his shoulders.³⁵

TEXT 6: *INDILYAWURNA* AND *WARDANGARRI*

The Curlew and the Moon

Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Tennant Creek, May 1992

1. *Ngarringga* *ngiy-a* *wardangarri* *gurdurlu*.
 take.from 3SG.NM.A-PST moon.I(ACC) heart.IV(ACC)
 She (Curlew) took the moon's heart.
2. *Ngajbi* *ngiy-a:* "Gayina *yanama* *gi-n* *wubi?*"
 see 3SG.NM.A-PST what.IV(NOM) that.IV.SG.NOM 3SG.S(PR)-PROG be.red
 She saw (it): "What's that red thing?"
3. *Jangi-jangi* *gi-n* *wubi* *gardibirri-ni*.
 RDP-down 3SG.S(PR)-PROG be.red armpit.IV-LOC
 The red (heart) is under his (the Moon's) arm.
4. *Andajarri* *gin-a* *ginkanyi* *gardibirri-ni*.
 hide 3SG.M.A-PST this.way armpit.IV-LOC
 He hid it here under his arm.
5. *Gardibirri-ni* *gin-a* *andajarri* *gurdurlu*.
 armpit.IV-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST hide heart.IV(ACC)
 He hid the heart under his arm.
6. *Wardangarrini-ni* *gin-a* *andajarri* *gurdurlu*.
 moon.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-PST hide heart.IV(ACC)
 The moon hid the heart.
7. *Indilyawunga-ni* *ngiy-a* *ngajbi*.
 curlew.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST see
 The curlew saw it.
8. *Ngajbi* *ngiy-a* *jaburru*.
 see 3SG.NM.A-PST first
 She saw it first.
9. "Bungmaji, *ngara-ba* *ini* *galyurringi!*"
 old.man.I(NOM) drink-FUT this.I.SG.ACC water.I(ACC)
 "Old man, you drink this water!"
10. "Ngawurniji *baba*, *nyami* *yarri* *nya*³⁶ *ngara-ba*.
 1SG.NOM e.brother.I(NOM) 2SG.ERG first SG.IMP drink-FUT
 "I'm (your) brother, you drink first."

³⁵ This blood is now represented by the peewee's black markings.

³⁶ This is the GudANJI imperative form. In Wambaya there is no auxiliary in motion-neutral singular imperative constructions; see §5.5.

11. *Ngara-ba nyamimiji.*
 drink-FUT 2SG.ERG
 “You drink.”
12. *Ngara-ba nyami. Nyamimiji yarri ngara-ba.*
 drink-FUT 2SG.ERG 2SG.ERG first drink-FUT
 “You drink. You drink first.”
13. *Nayidanga-ni ngay-ala ngarabi jaburru.*
 woman.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-HAB.NP drink first
 “Women always drink first.”
14. *Naahh, juwa-ni gan-ala ngarabi jaburru.*
 no man.I-LOC 3SG.M.A-HAB.NP drink first
 “No, men always drink first.”
15. *Ngara-ba nyami galyurringi!*
 drink-FUT 2SG.ERG water.I(ACC)
 “You drink the water!” (said the Moon)
16. *Ngara-ba nyami galyurringi!*
 drink-FUT 2SG.ERG water.I(ACC)
 “You drink the water!” (said the Curlew)
17. *Indilyawurna garranbi.*³⁷
 curlew.II(NOM) stand
 The curlew stood there.
18. *Bunjurrgharra gin-a galyurringi ninkiyaga.*
 kneel.to 3SG.M.A-PST water.I(ACC) that.I.SG.LOC
 The (moon) knelt down to the water.
19. *Wurrudbanyi ngiy-a gurdurlu.*
 pull 3SG.NM.A-PST heart.IV(ACC)
 She grabbed (his) heart.
20. *Mardima wurlu-ngg-a.*
 chase 3DU.A-RR-NF
 They chased each other.
21. *Indilyawurna g-a bardbi.*
 curlew.II(NOM) 3SG.S-PST run
 The curlew ran.
22. *Bardbi g-a.*
 run 3SG.S-PST
 She ran.
23. *Ninkiyaga gin-a nyurrunyurru banjangani.*
 that.I.SG.LOC 3SG.M.A-PST chase behind
 The (moon) chased after her.

³⁷ I do not have an explanation for the absence of an auxiliary in this clause.

24. *Bardgu g-a buyunku-ni. Janmaj-ardi ngiy-a guda-ni.*
 fall 3SG.S-PST middle-LOC trip-CAUS 3SG.NM.A-PST stone.IV-LOC
 He fell over halfway. A stone tripped him up.
25. “*Yarru gama! Gurda gama yunumarrga=nima.*
 go(FUT) SG.IMP.AWY die SG.IMP.AWY that.way=JUST
 “Go away! Go and die (and remain) like that (forever).”
26. *Ngawu ng-u mirra anki.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.S-FUT sit alive.I(NOM)
 Me, I will be alive.
27. *Gurda³⁸ ng-u, duwa-j-ba ng-u.”*
 die 1SG.S-FUT get.up-TH-FUT 1SG.S-FUT
 I will die (and then) I will get up (again).”
28. *Idilyawunga-ni ngiy-a ngurra baginy-mi!*
 curlew.II-LOC 3SG.NM.A-PST 1PL.INC.OBL bad-FAC
 The curlew made things bad for us!

TEXT 7: GUNBI AND GARRGALYI

The Blanket Lizard and the Plains Lizard

Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Elliott, April 1992

1. *Ngarli-ni wurl-a-n mirra.*
 talk-LOC 3DU.S-PST-PROG sit
 They were sitting talking.
2. *Igima g-amany yarru nanga langga-ngani.*
 that.one.I.SG.NOM 3SG.S-PST.TWD go 3SG.M.OBL north-ABL
 He (Blanket lizard) came to him from the north.
3. *Igima manggur-inji garrgalyi-galyi,*
 that.one.I.SG.NOM plains-ORIG.I(NOM) plains.lizard.I(NOM)-RDP
 The plains lizard from the plains country,
4. *yunumarrga g-amany nanga yarru.*
 that.way 3SG.S-PST.TWD 3SG.M.OBL go
 he came to him from that way.
5. *Aliyulu wurlu-ngg-a iligirri-ni.*
 find 3DU.A-RR-NF river.IV-LOC
 They met each other by the river.
6. *Ngarlwi-ngarlwi wurl-a.*
 RDP-talk 3DU.S-PST
 They chatted.

³⁸ Note that *gurda* does not have a reflexive object here, as is its usual case frame. I do not know why this is so - perhaps it is a different lexeme meaning ‘die’ rather than ‘be sick’.

7. *Ngawu ngi-ngg-a junmi nyungga.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.A-RR-NF cut hair.IV(NOM)
 ‘I’ve cut my hair.
8. *Ngaj-ba yana.*
 look-FUT this.IV.SG.ACC
 Look at it.” (said Blanket lizard)
9. *Ngarrga gi-n mirra garnaa.*
 1SG.POSS.IV(NOM) 3SG.S(PR)-PROG sit long.IV(NOM)
 ‘Mine’s still long.
10. *Garnaa ngi-n yabu.*
 long.IV(ACC) 1SG.A(PR)-PROG have
 I’ve got long (hair).” (said Plains lizard)
11. *Ngawu ngi-ngg-a junmi, baba.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.A-RR-NF cut e.brother.I(NOM)
 ‘I’ve cut mine, brother.
12. *Garrijarriji ngi damangga.*
 be.cold.RDP 1SG.S(PR) head.IV(NOM)
 My head’s (nice and) cool.
13. *Junmi-j-ba ngu-ny-u nyamirni, baba.*
 cut-TH-FUT 1SG.A-2O-FUT 2SG.ACC e.brother.I(NOM)
 I’m going to cut your (hair), brother.” (said Blanket lizard)
14. *Junmi-j-ba nyu-ng-u, baba!*
 cut-TH-FUT 2SG.A-IO-FUT e.brother.I(NOM)
 ‘Cut it, brother!’” (said Plains lizard)
15. *Junmi gin-a ganjimi.*
 cut 3SG.M.A-PST finish
 He cut (it) all off.
16. *Yarru wurl-a jangi iligirri-nmanji.*
 go 3DU.S-PST down river.IV-ALL
 They went down to the river.
17. *Lingba-lingba wurl-a.*
 RDP-bogey 3DU.S-PST
 They had a bogey.
18. *Ngaj-ba nyi-ng ngawurniji nyungga, baba!*
 look-FUT 2SG.A-IO 1SG.ACC hair.IV(ACC) e.brother.I(NOM)
 ‘Look at my hair, brother!’” (called Blanket lizard)
19. *Binbinkuma gini-ngg-a.*
 shake.head 3SG.M.A-RR-NF
 He shook (all his hair) out. (i.e. it hadn’t been cut after all)
20. *Ahh nyami nyi-ng-a wujubardi!*
 ahh 2SG.ERG 2SG.A-IO-NF lie
 ‘Ahh, you lied to me!

21. *Junmi ny-a ngarra nyungga!*"
cut 2SG.A-PST 1SG.POSS.IV(ACC) hair.IV(ACC)
(And) you cut my hair!" (cried Plains lizard)
22. *Dagama wurlu-ngg-a.*
hit 3DU.A-RR-NF
They fought.
23. *Junmi wurlu-ngg-a jabarri-ni.*
cut 3DU.A-RR-NF stone.knife.IV-LOC
They cut each other with a knife.
24. "(SPIT) *Yarru gama dawurdawurra-ni!*
go(FUT) SG.IMP.AWY hill.country.IV-LOC
"Go away to the hill country!"
25. *Langanbi gama darranggu!*"
climb SG.IMP.AWY tree.IV(ACC)
Go and climb a tree!" (cried Plains lizard)
26. "(SPIT) *Nyamiriji gama yarru!*
2SG.NOM SG.IMP.AWY go(FUT)
"You go away!"
27. *Girrgili-ni gama mirra mangguru-nu!*"
crack.IV-LOC SG.IMP.AWY sit plains.IV-LOC
Go and sit in a crack in the plains country!" (cried Blanket lizard)

TEXT 8: MOLLY GRUEMAN'S STORY

Told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Elliott, July 1991

1. *Gagaguwaja-ni ngiyi-ng-a bajjurndu guji-ga-yi.*
Anthony.Lagoon-LOC 3SG.NM.A-10-NF bring.up mother.II-LOC
My mother brought me up at Anthony Lagoon Station.
2. *Guyala g-uda yarru banggajarra-ni banggajarra-ni*
NEG 3SG.S-NACT.PST go another.place-LOC another.place-LOC
3. *ngarri irda.*
1SG.POSS.I(NOM) father.I(NOM)
My father never went to any other places.
4. *Mirra g-a gili=nima-yaga.*³⁹
sit 3SG.S-PST here=JUST-remote
He stayed right there.

³⁹ This is the only example that I have in which =nima appears within a word (*giliyaga*). For a discussion of =nima see §7.7.1.2.

5. *Aliyulu gini-ng-a gili=nima-yaga gaguwaja-ni.*
 find 3SG.M.A-10-NF here=JUST-remote Anthony.Lagoon-LOC
 I was born right there at Anthony Lagoon. (lit. (My father) found me right there at Anthony Lagoon.)
6. *Baji ng-a gili=nima-yaga garndawugi-ni magi-ni.*
 grow 1SG.S-PST here=JUST-remote one.IV-LOC camp.IV-LOC
 I grew up just there, in the one place.
7. *Yangula ng-a yarru alanga gunya-ni.*
 NEG 1SG.S-PST go girl.II(NOM) other.IV-LOC
 I didn't go to another (place) (as a) little girl.
8. *Mirra ng-a garndawugi-ni.*
 sit 1SG.S-PST one.IV-LOC
 I stayed in one (place).
9. *Bajijurndu gini-ng-a irdina-yi.*
 bring.up 3SG.M.A-10-NF father.I-LOC
 My father brought me up.
10. *Bugayirna ngabulu-ngunya yagu ng-a ngarri irda.*
 big.II(NOM) breast-PROP.II(NOM) leave 1SG.A-PST 1SG.POSS.I(ACC) father.I(ACC)
 (When) I was a big girl with breasts, I left my father.
11. *Yarru ng-a gunya-ni.*
 go 1SG.S-PST other.IV-LOC
 I went to another (place).
12. *Yagu ng-a gujinya irda yarru ng-a nganaarra-nmanji.*
 leave 1SG.A-PST mother.II(ACC) father.I(ACC) go 1SG.S-PST Brunette.Downs-ALL
 I left (my) mother (and) father (and) I went to Brunette Downs.
13. *Giliyaga mirra ng-a work-ngali barrawu-ni.*
 there sit 1SG-PST work-??⁴⁰ house.IV-LOC
 I stayed there, working in the (station) house.
14. *Mirra ngirr-aji nganaarra-ni.*
 sit 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST Brunette.Downs-LOC
 We stayed at Brunette Downs.
15. *Ngarlu ngirr-aji wangarra.*
 dance 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST corroboree.IV(ACC)
 We used to dance corroborees.
16. *Ngarlu wangarra ngirr-aji.*
 dance corroboree.IV(ACC) 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST
 We'd dance the corroboree.
17. *Jila irri-ngg-aji ngarlu ngirr-aji wangarra.*
 paint 3PL.A-RR-HAB.PST dance 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST corroboree.IV(ACC)
 They (the men) would paint each other up (and) we would dance the corroboree.

⁴⁰ I have never seen this suffix in any other word and so do not know what it means, or what its function is.

18. *Gurijba* ⁴¹ *ngirr-aji* *mirra. Yangula ngirri-ngg-a jidanymi.*
 good.IV(NOM) 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST sit NEG 1PL.EXC.A-RR-NF give.cheek
 We were happy. We never gave each other any cheek.
19. *Gurijba ngirr-aji-n mirra.*
 good.IV(NOM) 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST-PROG sit
 We were happy.
20. *Work-ngali ngirr-aji marndangi-nka.*
 work-?? 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST white.man.I-DAT
 We were working for the white man.
21. *Gurijbima mamdanga ngirrigama maliyima.*
 good.II(NOM) white.woman.II(NOM) 1PL.EXC.POSS.II(NOM) boss.II(NOM)
 Our boss was a good white woman.
22. *Work ngirr-aji ngaya ayigurrajbi.*
 work 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST 3SG.F.OBL all.day
 We used to work for her all day.
23. *Gannga ngirr-aji magi-nmanji gulug-barda.*
 return 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST camp.IV-ALL sleep-INF
 We'd go back to the camp to sleep.
24. *Mirra ngirr-aji.*
 sit 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST
 We'd stay (at the camp).
25. *Gambardarda ngirr-aji duwa.*
 early 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST get.up
 We'd get up early.
26. *Yarru ngaya nyanyalu ngirr-aji wugbardi gambardarda=nima.*
 go 3SG.F.OBL tea.I?(ACC) 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST cook early=JUST
 (We'd) go to her (and) make some tea very early in the morning.
27. *Yabu ngirr-aji marndanga-nka.*
 take 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST white.woman.II-DAT
 We'd take (it) to the white woman.
28. *Jiyawu ngirr-aji mamdanga nyanyalu.*
 give 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST white.woman.II(ACC) tea.I?(ACC)
 We'd give (some) tea to the white woman.
29. *Jiyawu ngirr-aji ngannguyi ngirriganji.*
 give 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST boss.I(ACC) 1PL.EXC.POSS.I(ACC)
 We'd give (some tea) to our (male) boss.
30. *Ngurraramba=nima ngirr-aji duwa.*
 night-time=JUST 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST get.up
 We'd get up (when it was) still dark.

⁴¹ I don't understand why this has Class IV agreement; usually Class I is used in cases of mixed Class I and Class II gender.

31. *Yarru irr-aji juwa-rdarra work-ngali.*
 go 3PL.S-HAB.PST man.I-GROUP(NOM) work-??
 All the men would go to work.
32. *Work-ngali ngirr-aji marndanga-nka:*
 work-?? 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST white.woman.II-DAT
 We were working for the white woman:
33. *agardbi danya; banngarradi, langanjardi ngirr-aji.*
 wash clothes.IV(ACC) dry hang.up 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST
 (we'd) wash the clothes and we'd hang (them) out to dry (them).
34. *Wugbardi ngirr-aji danya.*
 cook 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST clothes.IV(ACC)
 We'd iron the clothes.
35. *Agardbi ngirr-aji plate ngaya.*
 wash 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST plate 3SG.F.OBL
 We'd wash the plates for her.
36. *Floor ngirr-aji ngaya agardbi.*
 floor 1PL.EXC.-HAB.PST 3SG.F.OBL wash
 We'd wash the floor for her.
- (We'd go on holiday then:)
37. *Yardi gini-ng-aji ngirra magi-nmanji.*
 put 3SG.M.A-IO-HAB.PST 1PL.EXC.ACC camp.IV-ALL
 He (the boss) would drop us off at the (holiday) camp.
38. *Yarru ngirr-aji. Yanybi ngirr-aji marnuguja.⁴²*
 go 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST get 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST conkerberry.III(ACC)
 We'd go. We'd get conkerberries.
39. *Jigama ngirr-aji nguya.*
 yam.III(ACC) 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST dig
 We'd dig up bush yams.
40. *Yanybi ngirr-aji didija ngirr-aji yabu magi-nmanji.*
 get 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST carry 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST take camp.IV-ALL
 We'd get (them) , we'd carry (them and) take (them back) to camp,
41. *Yabu magi-nmanji wugbugbardi jigama.⁴³*
 take camp.IV-ALL cook.RDP yam.III(ACC)
 take (them) to camp and cook the yams.
42. *Jiyawu ngirr-aji bungmungmanya.*
 give 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST old.women.II(ACC)
 We'd give (some) to the old women.

⁴² This noun usually has the Class III gender suffix *-ma* when referring to the fruit, as it is here.

⁴³ The informal nature of this story is reflected in reduced clauses such as lines 40-41, which lack auxiliaries and have an unusual structure. I do not know enough yet about Wambaya discourse principles to know what the possibilities for such reduced clauses are.

43. *Gulugbi ngirr-aji.*
sleep 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST
We'd sleep.
44. *Gambardarda bulinama ngirr-aji duwa ngijinima.*
early tomorrow 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST get.up tomorrow
The next day we'd get up early.
45. *Yarru ngirr-aji alalangmi-ji-ni.*
go 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST hunt-TH-LOC
We'd go hunting.
46. *Wugbardi ngirr-aji mayinanji.*
cook 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST goanna.I(ACC)
We'd cook goanna.
47. *Wugbardi ngirr-aji.*
cook 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST
We'd cook (it).
48. *Wawunji ngirr-aji yanybi.*
sugar.bag.I(ACC) 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST get
We'd collect sugar bags.
49. *Nyilangunya ngirr-aji yanybi.*
echidna.II(ACC) 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST get
We'd collect echidna.
50. *Yabu ngirr-aji manjunga-nmanji wugbugbardi.*
take 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST shade.IV-ALL cook.RDP
We'd take (it) into the shade and cook (it).
51. *Angbangbardi manjunga ngirra.*
build.RDP shade.IV(ACC) 1PL.EXC.OBL
(We'd) make a shade for us,
52. *Nguya jamba wugbardi mayinanji.*
dig ground.IV(ACC) cook goanna.I(ACC)
dig the ground (and) cook the goanna.
53. *Garrunyama ngirr-aji.*
roast 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST
We'd roast (it).
54. *Gayirrima ngirr-aji jigama.*
roast 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST yam.III(ACC)
We'd roast the yams.
55. *Nyilangunya wugbardi ngirr-aji.*
echidna.II(ACC) cook 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST
We'd cook the echidna.

56. *Gulug-ardi ngirr-aji manjunga-nmanji.*⁴⁴
 sleep-CAUS 1PL.EXC.S-HAB.PST shade.IV-ALL
 We'd lie down in the shade.
57. *Naj-barda ngirr-aji yandu mayinaji.*
 burn-INF 1PL.EXC.A-HAB.PST mind goanna.I(ACC)
 We'd mind the goanna cooking.
58. "Najbi gi-n manganyma mama.
 burn 3SG.S(PR)-PROG tucker.III(NOM) this.III.SG.NOM
 "The tucker's cooked (lit: The tucker's burning).
59. *Najbi gi-n yangaji. Dulanyimi-j-ba ngurra!*
 burn 3SG.S(PR)-PROG meat.I(NOM) raise-TH-FUT 1PL.INC.OBL
 The meat's cooked. Take it out for us!"
60. "Duwa-j-ba ga! Gajba-gaj-ba ngurru manganyma yangaji."
 get.up-TH-FUT SG.IMP.TWD RDP-eat-FUT 1PL.INC.A(NP) tucker.III(ACC) meat.I(ACC)
 "Wake up and come here! Let's eat the tucker (and) the meat."

⁴⁴ This sentence is rather odd. Firstly, *gulugardi* usually requires a reflexive bound pronoun in this context; secondly, I would have expected the locative case suffix on the adjunct NP, instead of the allative.

APPENDIX B

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF GENDER MARKING

In this section I will discuss gender marking in the other Mirndi languages/dialects, and consider the ways in which it relates to gender marking in Wambaya (see §4.2.2 for a full discussion of gender marking in Wambaya). The languages/dialects considered are Gudanji, Binbinka, Ngarnga, Jingili (all information from Chadwick 1978) and Nungali (from Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod 1971b). The other two Mirndi languages, Ngaliwuru and Jaminjung, do not have a gender system.

There are a lot of similarities among the gender-marking systems of these languages, and gender marking is one of the areas on which the genetic relationship between the West Barkly languages and the Jaminjungan languages was initially established (e.g. Chadwick 1984:iii). The gender affixes of each of the Mirndi languages that have a gender system are given in Tables B1 to B4.¹ As the gender marking on nominals is essentially the same among the dialects of the McArthur Language (Wambaya, Binbinka and Gudanji), I have included only the list for Wambaya in the following tables. The only difference in gender marking among these dialects is in the demonstratives, where Binbinka has slightly different prefixes. The Binbinka demonstrative prefixes are included in Table B1.

Note that gender is marked by prefix in Nungali, as opposed to the West Barkly languages, in which it is marked by suffix (except in the Eastern Group demonstratives). A further point to note is that both Jingili and Nungali have two sets of non-absolute affixes: one which is used in the ergative and/or locative case and one which is used in the dative case. The other West Barkly languages, however, have only one non-absolute form.

¹ In these tables I have standardised the orthographies of each language, using the Wambaya orthography throughout. I have also standardised the names for each gender, again using the Wambaya system.

TABLE B1: GENDER MARKING IN WAMBAYA²

		ABS	UR	NABS	UR	
Class I	Nom ³	-ji		-nyi-	%-ni-%	
				-ngi-	%-ni-%	
				-di-		
			-∅		-ni-	%-ni-%
				-rdi-#		
				-na-#		
			-i*		-ni-	
		-yi*				
	Dem W	i-		mi-		
	B	yi-, ji-		mi-, rmu		
Class II	Nom	-ma	%-ma%	-nga-	%-nga-%	
		-nya	%-ma%	-nya-	%-nga-%	
				-ga-#		
		-nga		-nga-		
		-rda#		-nga-		
			-ra•	-nga-		
			-∅•	-nga-		
		Dem W	ma-		nga-	
		B	ma-		nga-	
	Class III	Nom	-ma		-mi-	
Dem W		ma-		?		
B		ma-		?		
Class IV	Nom	-∅		-∅-		
		-a		-i-		
		-ja*		-ji-*		
		-ga*		-gi-*		
		-wa*				
		Dem W	ya-		?	
		B	ya-, ga-		?	

Kinship nouns only.

* Adjectives and nominal suffixes only.

• Nouns only.

² To save space I have not included the conditioning environments of the phonologically conditioned allomorphs in this table. These are discussed in detail in §4.2.2.

³ In this section I will use the term 'nominal' to refer to nouns, adjectives and nominal suffixes. It is therefore opposed to 'demonstrative'.

TABLE B2: NGARNGA GENDER MARKING⁴

		ABS	NABS
Class I	Nom	<i>-ji</i>	<i>-nyi</i>
		–	<i>-ngi</i>
		–	<i>-di</i>
		–	<i>-ni</i>
		–	<i>-ma#</i>
		<i>-i</i>	<i>-ni</i>
		<i>-lyi</i>	<i>-li</i>
	Dem	<i>i-, ni-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
Class II	Nom	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-nga</i>
		<i>-nya</i>	<i>-nya</i>
			<i>-ga#</i>
		<i>-nga</i>	<i>-nga</i>
		<i>-da</i>	<i>-nga</i>
		<i>-la</i>	<i>-nga</i>
	Dem	<i>ma-, a-</i>	<i>nga-</i>
Class III	Nom	<i>-ma</i>	?
	Dem	<i>ma-, a-</i>	?
Class IV	Nom	<i>-a</i>	?
		<i>-ja</i>	–
		<i>-ra</i>	–
		<i>-dga</i>	–
	Dem	<i>ma-, a-</i>	?

Kinship nouns only.

⁴ From Chadwick (1978:118-119, 205).

TABLE B3: JINGILI GENDER MARKING⁵

		ABS	ERG	DAT
Class I	Nom	-a	-(r)ni	-(r)na
		-ji	-(r)di	-(r)da
			-(r)ni	-(r)na
		-lyi	-(r)li	-(r)la
		-i	-(r)ni	-(r)na
		-u	—	—
	-∅	—	—	
Dem		-mi	-mi	-mi
Class II	Nom	-mi	-nga	-nga
		-rdi	-ga	-ga
		-(r)li	-nga	-nga
	Dem		-∅	-nga
Class III	Nom	-mi	-ma	?
		-bi	-ba	—
	Dem		-ma	-ma
Class IV	Nom	-u	-u	?
		-gu	-gu	—
		-ru	-ru	—
		-(r)lu	-(r)lu	—
	Dem		-u	-u

As well as the gender suffixes given in this table, Jingili demonstratives also contain what Chadwick (1978:304) calls 'gender bases'. These are *ja*- Class I, *nya*- Class II and *gu*- Class IV. Note that the Class I and Class IV forms are quite similar to the prefixes found on some Class I and IV demonstratives in Binbinka (*-ji* and *-ga*).

⁵ From Chadwick (1978:275, 304).

TABLE B4: GENDER MARKING IN NUNGALI⁶

		ABS	ERG	DAT
Class I	Nom	<i>di-, du-, da-</i> <i>diya-*</i>	<i>nyi-</i> <i>nyi-</i>	<i>gi-</i> <i>giya-*</i>
	Dem	<i>da-</i> <i>y-/yid-</i>	<i>yinya-</i> —	<i>ginya-</i> —
Class II	Nom	<i>nya-</i> <i>a-*</i> <i>ana-*</i>	<i>nganyi-</i> — <i>nyanyi-*</i>	<i>ganyi-</i> — —
	Dem	<i>nya-</i> <i>yiny-</i>	<i>nganya-</i> —	<i>ganya-</i> —
Class III	Nom	<i>ma-</i> <i>mi-*</i>	? <i>mi-*</i>	<i>gi-</i> <i>gima*</i>
	Dem	<i>ma-</i> <i>yim-</i>	? —	? —
Class IV	Nom	<i>nu-</i> <i>ni-</i> <i>nuwa-*</i>	<i>nyi-</i> <i>wunyi-*</i> —	<i>gi-/gu-</i> — —
	Dem	<i>na-</i> <i>yin-</i>	? —	? —

* Adjectives only.

There are a number of interesting comparisons that can be made between the gender-marking systems of the Mirndi languages. Firstly, there is a large amount of consistency, particularly in Classes II and III. For example, the form *nga* occurs as a non-absolute Class II marker in all languages, on both nouns and demonstratives. And all languages but Jingili have either *nya* or *ma* or both as a Class II absolute marker (note that this *nya* turns up in Jingili as the 'gender base' in the Class II demonstrative; see above). Jingili is interesting in this respect as the Class II nominal absolute suffixes all have final /i/, whereas Class II in all of the other languages is consistently marked with /a/, Class I being marked with /i/.

Class III is consistently marked with *ma* or *mi* (as in Jingili) in the absolute. It is interesting that both Wambaya and Nungali have *ma* in the absolute and *mi* in the non-absolute, while in Jingili this is reversed, *mi* being absolute and *ma* non-absolute.⁷

Other interesting correspondences are the Class I non-absolute suffixes *-ni* in the Eastern Group languages, and *-(r)ni* in Jingili; and *-nyi* in the Eastern Group languages and the ergative/locative/instrumental prefix *nyi-* in Nungali. The rare Class I non-absolute Wambaya suffix *-di* is the same as the Class I absolute prefix *di-* in Nungali.

The Class II non-absolute suffix *-ga*, which is restricted to some kin terms in Wambaya and Ngarnga, shows up as a more general Class II non-absolute suffix in Jingili and as part of the Class II dative prefix in Nungali. In fact the correspondence between the Wambaya and

⁶ From Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod (1971b:63, 68-69, 75-76, 89-90).

⁷ Note that prefixes such as *ma-*, *mi-* and *m-* are very common in all non-Pama-Nyungan languages marking a class which refers to non-flesh food, probably deriving from an earlier generic noun *mayi* (see Dixon 1980:273).

the Nungali Class II non-absolute forms is very neat: Nungali has *nganyi-*, *nyanyi-* (ERG) and *ganyi-* (DAT) and Wambaya has *-nga*, *-nya* and *-ga*.

There is also a certain degree of similarity among the Class IV markers. The Class IV suffix *-ga* found with some adjectives in Wambaya, is found as a prefix on Class IV demonstratives in Binbinka, and is similar to the Class IV dative prefixes in Nungali (*gi-*, *gu-*) and the gender base in the Class IV demonstrative in Jingili: *gu-*. An original prefix *gu-* has been retained in at least two Class IV Wambaya words: *gurdurlu* 'heart' and *guyiga* 'fire', which are cognate with Nungali *dulu* and *-yug* respectively (Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod (1971b:143, 145)).

Table B5 contains the gender markers for each language that appear to have correspondences in one or more of the other languages. In this table many distinctions made in the more detailed tables above have been collapsed (such as the distinction between ergative and dative non-absolute forms in Jingili and Nungali). A question mark indicates that the form is not known and a gap indicates that there is no correspondence in that category. For the Binbinka dialect, only the demonstratives' gender markers have been included; all other markers can be assumed to be the same as for Wambaya.

TABLE B5: CORRESPONDING GENDER MARKERS IN THE MIRNDI LANGUAGES

	W	B	Ng	J	Nu	
Class I	Nom					
	ABS	<i>-ji, -i</i>	—	<i>-i, -ji, -lyi</i>	<i>-ji, -i, -lyi</i>	<i>di-, du-, da-</i>
	NABS	<i>-ni, -nyi, -di</i> <i>-ngi, -na</i>	—	<i>-ni, -nyi, -di</i> <i>-ngi, -na, -li</i>	<i>-di, -ni, -li</i>	<i>nyi-</i>
	Dem					
	ABS	<i>i-</i>	<i>yi-, ji-</i>	<i>ni-, i-</i>	<i>-mi, -ja-</i>	
	NABS	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi-, mu</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>yinya-</i>
Class II	Nom					
	ABS	<i>-rna, -nya,</i> <i>-nga, -rda</i>	—	<i>-ma, -nya,</i> <i>-nga, -da</i>		<i>nya-, ana-</i>
	NABS	<i>-nga, -nya</i> <i>-ga</i>	—	<i>-nga, -nya</i>	<i>-nga, -ga</i>	<i>nganyi-, nyanyi-</i> <i>ganyi-</i>
	Dem					
	ABS	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-, a-</i>	<i>-Ø, -nya-</i>	<i>nya-</i>
	NABS	<i>nga-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>-nga</i>	<i>nganya-</i>
Class III	Nom					
	ABS	<i>-ma</i>	—	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>ma-</i>
	NABS	<i>-mi</i>	—	?	<i>-ma</i>	<i>mi-</i>
	Dem					
	ABS	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>ma-</i>
	NABS	?	?	?	<i>-ma</i>	?
Class IV	Nom					
	ABS	<i>-a, -ja, -ga</i>	—	<i>-a, -ja, -dga</i>	<i>-u, -gu</i>	<i>nu-, nuwa-</i>
	NABS	<i>-i</i>	—	?	?	<i>nyi-, gi-, gu-</i>
	Dem					
	ABS	<i>ya-</i>	<i>ya-, ga-</i>	<i>a-, ma-</i>	<i>-u, -gu-</i>	<i>na-</i>
	NABS	?	?	?	<i>-u</i>	?

Given the similarities between the West Barkly gender suffixes and the Nungali prefixes it is quite clear that they have derived from a single system. The interesting question, therefore, is how they became suffixes in the West Barkly languages and prefixes in Nungali. There are three different possibilities. Firstly, Chadwick (1978:336ff) proposes that the gender suffixes of the modern West Barkly languages developed from "postposed markers not previously

attached to the noun stem and simpler in form than the present suffixes” (p.336). However, this analysis does not account for why the demonstratives should have gender prefixes and not suffixes. A second possible analysis is that the gender suffixes, or at least the postposed gender markers, developed from the reduction of postposed demonstratives. The strongest argument for this analysis is that it accounts for the absence of gender suffixes on demonstratives themselves:⁸ we would not expect demonstratives to be postposed to demonstratives. A third proposal, suggested by Ian Green (1995:421) combines both of these two ideas. Green suggests that in Proto Mirndi the precursors of the present-day case markers were in fact postposed to the nominals as separate words, as Chadwick suggests. However, he also argues that Proto Mirndi at the same time had gender-prefixed demonstratives which alternated with these postposed gender markers (these gender markers belonging to the overall demonstrative paradigm), thus explaining why the demonstratives did not acquire gender suffixes also. In the West Barkly languages, then, these postposed markers became fused with the noun stems as suffixes, and in Nungali these developed into prefixes on following modifiers, later being also extended to head nouns. It may not be possible to find evidence that would distinguish my proposal from Green’s, although further research is clearly required.

In support of either of the latter two proposals is the strong similarity between the form of the demonstrative gender prefixes and form of the pre-modern gender markers that Chadwick reconstructs for the Eastern Group:

Eastern Group pre-modern gender markers (from Chadwick 1978:336)

	I	II	III	IV
ABS	<i>Ji</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>a, u</i>
NABS	<i>Ni</i>	<i>nga</i>	—	—

(Where *Ji* denotes either *ji* or *yi* and *Ni* either *ni* or *mi*.)

Except for Class IV, the forms of these markers are exactly the same as the Wambaya prefixes found on demonstratives, and are also the same as the underlying gender suffixes found with other nominals. The existence of Class IV suffixes in Wambaya such as *-ga* and *-ja*, as well as the demonstrative prefix *ya-*, suggests that the original Class IV marker may have had an initial consonant, probably /g/. This is supported by the residual *gu-* prefix in some Class IV forms (see above), the Binbinka Class IV demonstrative prefix *ga-* and the Class IV demonstrative base in Jingili: *-gu*. Chadwick remains undecided as to whether the pre-modern Class I absolutive marker should be reconstructed as *ji* or as *yi*. The fact that the prefix *ji-* is found on some Class I demonstratives in Binbinka, and that it appears to be the underlying Class I absolutive gender suffix on Wambaya nominals (see §4.2.2), suggests that it may be better reconstructed as *ji*, with modern day (*y*)*i* forms (such as on Wambaya demonstratives) having derived from *ji* by lenition of the initial consonant.

⁸ At least in the non-plural forms; gender suffixes are present in plural demonstratives.

APPENDIX C

EASTERN GROUP AUXILIARIES

This section gives the forms of the auxiliaries in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects. Tables C1-C3 contain the past, present and future tense forms of auxiliaries without objects. Other suffixes marking aspect, mood and direction are given in Table C4. All information is taken from Chadwick (1978:53–84, 95–111) which contains a more detailed discussion.¹ Wambaya forms are provided for comparative purposes (see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the auxiliary in Wambaya).

TABLE C1: EASTERN GROUP PRESENT TENSE AUXILIARIES (WITHOUT OBJECTS)

	W	G	B	Ng
1SG.S/A	<i>ngi</i>	<i>ngi</i>	<i>yangi</i>	<i>ngani</i>
2SG.S/A	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>yanji</i>	<i>njani</i>
3SG.S	<i>gi</i>	<i>gama, garna</i>	<i>yanggi, yana, yama</i>	<i>nggani</i> (I, IV), <i>nani</i> (II), <i>mani</i> (III)
3SG.M.A	<i>gini</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>yana</i>	<i>nani</i>
3SG.NM.A	<i>ngiyi</i>	<i>nganji</i>	<i>yanji</i>	<i>ngiyani</i>
1DU.INC.S/A	<i>mirndi</i>	<i>mirndi</i>	<i>yamimda</i>	<i>mirndani</i>
1DU.EXC.S/A	<i>ngurlu</i>	<i>ngurlu</i>	<i>yangurla</i>	<i>ngurlani</i>
2DU.S/A	<i>gurlu</i>	<i>gurlu</i>	<i>yagurla</i>	<i>gurlani</i>
3DU.S/A	<i>wurlu</i>	<i>wurlu</i>	<i>yawurla</i>	<i>wurlani</i>
1PL.INC.S/A	<i>ngurru</i>	<i>ngurru</i>	<i>yangurra</i>	<i>ngurrani</i>
1PL.INC.S/A	<i>ngirri</i>	<i>ngirri</i>	<i>yangirra</i>	<i>ngirrani</i>
2PL.S/A	<i>girri</i>	<i>girri</i>	<i>yagirra</i>	<i>girrani</i>
3PL.S/A	<i>irri</i>	<i>wirri</i>	<i>yawirra</i>	<i>irrani</i>

TABLE C2: EASTERN GROUP PAST TENSE AUXILIARIES (WITHOUT OBJECTS)

	W	G	B	Ng
1SG.S/A	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngima, nganyi</i>	<i>ngani</i>	<i>ngima</i>
2SG.S/A	<i>nya</i>	<i>nyima, nyanyi</i>	<i>nyani</i>	<i>njima</i>
3SG.S	<i>ga</i>	<i>gima, ganyi</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>nggima</i> (I, IV), <i>nirma</i> (II)
3SG.M.A	<i>gina</i>	<i>ginima, ginanyi</i>	<i>gimani</i>	<i>nirma, ni</i>
3SG.NM.A	<i>ngiya</i>	<i>ngiyima, ngiyanyi</i>	<i>ngiyani</i>	<i>ngiyi</i>
1DU.INC.S/A	<i>mirnda</i>	<i>mirndima, mirndanyi</i>	<i>mirndani</i>	<i>mirndi</i>
1DU.INC.S/A	<i>ngurla</i>	<i>ngurluma, ngurlanyi</i>	<i>yurlani</i>	<i>ngurlu</i>
2DU.S/A	<i>gurla</i>	<i>gurluma, gurlanyi</i>	<i>gurlani</i>	<i>gurlu</i>
3DU.S/A	<i>wurla</i>	<i>wurluma, wurlanyi</i>	<i>wurlani</i>	<i>wurlu</i>
1PL.INC.S/A	<i>ngurra</i>	<i>ngurruma, ngurranyi</i>	<i>yurrani</i>	<i>ngurru</i>
1PL.EXC.S/A	<i>ngirra</i>	<i>ngirrima, ngirranyi</i>	<i>yirrani</i>	<i>ngirri</i>
2PL.S/A	<i>girra</i>	<i>girrima, girranyi</i>	<i>girrani</i>	<i>girri</i>
3PL.S/A	<i>irra</i>	<i>wirrima, wirranyi</i>	<i>wirrani</i>	<i>irri</i>

¹ I have altered Chadwick's orthography to be consistent with the Wambaya orthography.

TABLE C.3: EASTERN GROUP FUTURE TENSE AUXILIARIES (WITHOUT OBJECTS)

	W	G	B	Ng
1SG.S/A	<i>ngu</i>	<i>ngu, ngulu</i>	<i>ngurla, nguba</i>	<i>ngulu</i>
2SG.S/A	<i>nyu</i>	<i>nyu, nyulu</i>	<i>nyurla, nyuba</i>	<i>julu</i>
3SG.S	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu, gulu</i>	<i>gurla, guba</i>	<i>yulu</i>
3SG.M.A	<i>gunu</i>	<i>gunu, gunulu</i>	<i>gumurla, gumuba</i>	<i>nulu</i>
3SG.NM.A	<i>nguyu</i>	<i>nguyu, nguyulu</i>	<i>nguyurla, nguyuba</i>	<i>nguyulu</i>
1DU.INC.S/A	<i>murndu</i>	<i>murndu, murndulu</i>	<i>murndurla, murnduba</i>	<i>murndulu</i>
1DU.EXC.S/A	<i>ngurlu</i>	<i>ngurlu, ngurlulu</i>	<i>yurlurla, yurluba</i>	<i>ngurlulu</i>
2DU.S/A	<i>gurlu</i>	<i>gurlu, gurlulu</i>	<i>gurlurla, gurluba</i>	<i>gurlulu</i>
3DU.S/A	<i>wurlu</i>	<i>wurlu, wurlulu</i>	<i>wurlurla, wurluba</i>	<i>wurlulu</i>
1PL.INC.S/A	<i>ngurru</i>	<i>ngurru, ngurrulu</i>	<i>yurrurla, yurruba</i>	<i>ngurrulu</i>
1PL.EXC.S/A	<i>ngirri</i>	<i>ngirri, ngirrili</i>	<i>yirrirla, yirriba</i>	<i>ngirrili</i>
2PL.S/A	<i>girri</i>	<i>girri, girrili</i>	<i>girrirla, girriba</i>	<i>girrili</i>
3PL.S/A	<i>irri</i>	<i>wirri, wirrili</i>	<i>wirrirla, wirriba</i>	<i>irri</i>

Auxiliaries with objects contain the same subject bound pronouns and tense suffixes as in the charts above (Wambaya is the only member of the Eastern Group that has a different system of tense marking in these auxiliaries than in auxiliaries without objects; see §5.2.1). In all languages/dialects third person object is not overtly expressed in the auxiliary and object bound pronouns register person only. The object bound pronouns in all languages/ dialects are: *ng(V)* 'first person object' and *ny(V)* 'second person object'.

The only significant difference among auxiliaries with objects in the Eastern Group languages is in the ordering of object bound pronouns and tense suffixes. The usual order is subject-object-tense:

<i>ngi-ny-a</i>	1SG.A-2O-NF (W)
<i>ngi-ny-a-ma</i>	1SG.A-2O-PST (G)
<i>ngi-ny-ani</i>	1SG.A-2O-PST (B)
<i>ngi-ny-a</i>	1SG.A-2O-PST (Ng)

but in Binbinka the order is subject-tense-object in the future tense:

<i>ny-urla-nga</i>	2SG.A-FUT-2O (B)
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and tense-subject-object in the present tense:

<i>ya-ngi-ny-a</i>	PR-1SG.A-2O (B)
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Table C4 lists the other tense/aspect/mood suffixes, the directional suffixes and the reflexive/reciprocal pronouns given in Chadwick (1978), along with the Wambaya equivalents.

TABLE C4: EASTERN GROUP – OTHER TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD AND DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES²

	W	G	B	Ng
HAB.NP	- <i>ala</i>	- <i>ala</i>	- <i>ala</i>	- <i>liya</i>
HAB.PST	- <i>aji</i>	- <i>maji</i>	- <i>maji</i>	- <i>agbangi</i>
NP.AWY	-(<i>g</i>) <i>uba</i>	—	—	- <i>ula</i>
PST.AWY	-(<i>g</i>) <i>any</i>	—	—	- <i>iyarra</i>
NP.TWD	- <i>ulama</i>	—	—	- <i>ulagyani</i>
PST.TWD	- <i>amany</i>	—	—	- <i>agyani</i>
NACT.PR ³	- <i>udi/-uji</i>	- <i>udi/-iji</i>	- <i>udu/-uju</i>	- <i>udani/-ujani</i>
NACT.PST	- <i>uda/-uja</i>	- <i>uda/-uja</i>	- <i>ijani?</i>	- <i>udu/-uja</i>
HYP ⁴	- <i>agba</i>	<i>yi-...-a?</i>	<i>yi-...-a?</i>	- <i>agba</i>
RR	- <i>ngg(a)</i>	- <i>ngga-</i>	- <i>ngga-</i>	- <i>ngga-</i>

Note that the Wambaya past tense ‘direction away’ suffix (-(*g*)*any*) is probably related to the Jaminjung past tense form of the verb ‘go’: *gany* (Cleverly 1968). Also, the Ngamga habitual past tense suffix (-*agbangi*) and the Wambaya ‘hypothetical’ (irrealis) suffix (-*agba*)⁵ may be related to the Ngaliwuru preterite form of the verb ‘be’, *gagba* (Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod 1971a), or the Jaminjung verb form *gagba* meaning ‘he was’ (Cleverly 1968).⁶ Similarly, as Ian Green (1995:419) notes, the Wambaya habitual past suffix is probably derived from *yadj*, the irrealis form of the Jaminjung auxiliary verb ‘be’.⁷

² Note that there is some alternation among the initial vowels of these suffixes when they appear with certain subject bound pronouns.

³ Chadwick calls this and the following suffix ‘irrealis present’ and ‘irrealis past’ respectively.

⁴ Chadwick calls this suffix ‘irrealis future’.

⁵ It is not uncommon for habitual and irrealis categories to be formally related in northern Australian languages (R. Green 1995).

⁶ I am indebted to Nick Evans for these observations.

⁷ See I. Green (1995) for a more detailed discussion of the development of modern day auxiliaries in the Mirndi languages.

APPENDIX D

WAMBAYA-ENGLISH WORD LIST

This list contains all of the open-class lexical items included in the most recent version of the Wambaya dictionary, a long-term project currently in progress. In the interests of saving space I have omitted all of the closed-class items, such as the demonstratives (§4.6), the pronouns (§4.8), the clitics (§7.7.1), the auxiliaries (Chapter 5) and the skin names (§1.2.3), all of which are discussed in detail in the grammar. While this is essentially a Wambaya wordlist, I have included words from other languages/dialects that Wambaya people commonly use. In addition, since the Wambaya and Gudanji communities are so closely connected and the dialects so mixed in many people's speech, any Gudanji words that have been collected are included here, even those that are not usually used by Wambaya speakers. Whenever the source dialect of a word is known it has been provided in the entry. However, it is highly likely that there are many Gudanji words included here that have not yet been identified as such. Lexical items derived by many of the productive derivational processes discussed in this grammar are included here, although this list is certainly not exhaustive in this respect. The internal morphological structure of these words is provided using underlying forms of the morphemes (e.g. **gurinyi** (**gurij-mi** 'good-FAC')). When the underlying form of the root is not known, the citation form is used (e.g. **dabudabunymi** (**dabudaburri-mi** 'weak-FAC')).

The entries in this wordlist are structured as follows (note that not all of the following information is included in, or relevant to, all entries):

headword [phonetic], also (**variant**) ?also (**alternative transcription**), *part of speech*, (Noun class; **root-suffix** 'gloss'; dialect information; other grammatical information.)
 1. most common meaning; 2. *part of speech* second sense, etc. [*Scientific name*]
 (Further semantic/cultural information) [syn. (**partial**) **synonym** (dialect)]

In addition, the following extra abbreviations are used:

<i>adj.</i>	adjective	<i>t.nom.</i>	time nominal
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>v.d.</i>	ditransitive verb
<i>interrog.</i>	indefinite/interrogative	<i>v.i.</i>	intransitive verb (usually takes subject only)
<i>inter.</i>	interjection	<i>v.refl.</i>	reflexive verb (requires reflexive object)
<i>l.nom.</i>	locational nominal	<i>v.s.</i>	semi-transitive verb (takes indirect object)
<i>n.</i>	noun	<i>v.t.</i>	transitive verb (takes direct object)

A

abajabajami, *v.t.*, (**abajabaja-mi** 'crazy-FAC'), make crazy, make silly in the head

abajabaji, *n.*, (I), 1. crazy, mad person; 2. deaf person

abajabajirna, *n.*, (II), 1. crazy, mad person; 2. deaf person

agardbi see **wagardbi**

alajaji, *n.*, (I), children, young guys [syn.

alangmiminji]

alaji, *n.*, (I; Root = *alag-*), young boy [syn. **juga** (Gw)]

alalangarri see **walalangarri**
alalangmi, *v.i.*, hunt [syn. **ngirrigbi** (G)]
alanga, *n.*, (II; Root = *alag-*), young girl
 [syn. **ngila** (Gw)]
alangmiminji, *n.*, (I; derived from root
alag-), children, young boys [syn.
alajaji]
alangmiminya, *n.*, (II; derived from root
alag-), young girls
alima, *inter.*, 1. goodbye; 2. well; 3. O.K.
aliyulu also **waliyulu**, *v.t.*, find
andajarri, *v.t.*, hide
angaanga, *n.*, skin [syn. **waba, gilwa**]
angarra see **wangarra**
angarrurru, *v.t.*, sing for something (i.e.
 to make it come close, be plentiful, etc.)
angbardi, *v.t.*, build
anggarrinja, *adj.*, (IV), lacking [syn.
guyalinja]
Anjirringma, *n.*, place on Anthony
 Lagoon Station (Wambaya country)
anka, *n.* (IV), life
ankami, *v.t.*, (**anka-mi** ‘alive-FAC’), give
 life to, make come alive
anki, *adj.*, (I), alive
ankurarri see **wankurarri**
anmurru also **wanmurru**, *v.t.*, nurse,
 cuddle
aradajbi, *v.i.*, be busy
aradami also **waradami**, *v.t.*, hassle,
 ‘humbug’
ardbi, *v.i.*, call out (to), yell (to)
ayani, *v.s.*, look for [syn. **wayani** (G)]
ayigurrajbi also **wayigurrajbi**, *adv.*, all
 day, until sundown
ayigurru also **wayigurru**, *t.nom.*,
 afternoon

B

baajbalarna also **barajbalarna**, *n.*, (II),
 old woman [syn. **bungmanya**]

baajbali also **barajbali**, *n.*, (I), old man
 [syn. **bungmaji**]
baba¹, *v.i.*, fly
baba², *n.*, (I), older brother (including FBS,
 MZS) [syn. **bayiliji**]
babanya, *n.*, (II), older sister (including
 FBD, MZD) [syn. **bayilinya, bayida** (G)]
babarra, *v.d.*, tell [syn. **didima**]
bagarrinji, *n.*, (I), goanna sp. (Described
 as small black goanna that lives in trees.)
bagijbi, *v.i.*, feel bad, feel no good
bagijbi, *adj.*, see **bagiji**
bagiji also **bagijbi**, *adj.*, (I; **baginga** (II),
bagiga (IV)), bad, no good
baginyimi, *v.t.*, (**bagij-mi** ‘bad-FAC’),
 make no good, cause to be bad
bagurrbi, *v.i.*, sulk [syn. **gurdurdu**]
bajaji, *n.*, (I; Gudanji?), young man
bajarra, *n.*, (IV), paperbark tree [syn.
wararru]
bajbaga, *adj.*, (IV), big [syn. **buguwa**,
marliwa, ngamaji]
baji, *v.i.*, grow (up)
bajijurndu, *v.t.*, bring up, ‘grow up’
balaji, *v.i./v.t.?*, be sick from having been
 ‘sung’
balamurru, *n.*, (IV), spear [syn. **mugura**]
baliji, *v.i.*, 1. be hungry; 2. be angry,
 cross
bamarra, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji?), mouth [syn.
nganggarrga]
banbardarda, *adj.?*, full up
banbarla ?also **barnbarla**, *adj.*, (IV?), bald
banduma, *n.*, (III), lower back, back [syn.
durrinja, didibarra]
banga, *n.*, (IV), saliva, spittle [syn.
jabula]
bangarni, also **bangarniga** ?also
bangani, *adv.*, here, this way
banggajarra, *n.*, (IV?), a different place,
 another place [syn. **jabajabayarra** (G)]

- banggirra**, *n.*, (IV), knee
- banggulyana** also **banggulyi**, *n.*, (II), mosquito
- banjangani**, *adv.*, behind
- banjanganima**, *n.*, (III; Gudanji?), tail [syn. **judiyama**]
- banjanmi**, *v.t.*, roll (hair) on leg to make string
- banjarri**, *v.t.*, throw
- banngarrardi**, *v.t.*, (**banngarru-ardi** warm-CAUS), dry something
- banngarru**, *v.i.*, get warm
- banya**, *v.t.*, wave (at)
- banybayi**, *n.*, (I), father of boy to be initiated
- banybayirna**, *n.*, (II), mother of boy to be initiated
- banymi**, *v.t.*, pass by [syn. **barulajbi**]
- barajbalarna** see **baajbalarna**
- barajbali** see **baajbali**
- baralala** [ba'ralala], *adv.*, all night, during the night, night-time
- bardbi**, *v.i.*, 1. run (person, animal); 2. flow (river); 3. blow (wind) [syn. **bujbi** (G)]
- bardgabardga** also **bargabarga**, *n.*, (IV), bark (of tree)
- bardganyi** also **barganyi**, *v.t.*, follow
- bardgu** also **bargu**, *v.i.*, (Takes an allative complement), 1. fall (down); 2. have a car accident
- bardgujirrimi**, *v.t.*, (**bardgu-jirrimi** 'fall-CAUS'), cause to fall, drop
- bardibardi**, *n.*, (I), 'poor bugger' [syn. **bayibayi**] (There is a lot of argument about this word. Some claim that it is not a Wambaya word, but it is frequently used by Wambaya speakers.)
- bardibardirna**, *n.*, (II), 'poor bugger' [syn. **bayibayirna**] (There is a lot of argument about word. Some claim that it is not a Wambaya word, but it is frequently used by Wambaya speakers.)
- bargabarga** see **bardgabardga**
- barganyi** see **bardganyi**
- barinymi**, *v.d.*, show [syn. **dirndirrinymi**, **mirridimi**]
- barla**, *n.*, 1. cheekiness; 2. *v.i.*, be angry; 3. *v.t.*, fight with
- barlaji**, *v.i.*, be dead
- barlajardi**, *v.t.*, (**barlaji-ardi** 'dead-CAUS'), kill someone
- barlangubarlanggu**, *n.*, (IV), tree sp. (similar to the gidgee tree) The sap from this tree (**marungma**) is sweet and is sucked like a lolly.
- barlugudba**, *n.*, (IV?), cup
- barlubarra**, *n.*, (IV?), lagoon
- barlwara**, *l.nom.*, outside
- barnamuluma**, *v.refl.*, to flash lightning
- barnanggi**, *n.*, (I), Australian hobby? [*Falco longipennis*] [syn. **gunggudabudabu**]
- barnangila**, *n.*, (I), 'big father', FB (older); MZH (where MZ is older than M)
- barnangilinya**, *n.*, (II), FZ (older); MBW (where MB is older than M)
- barndanybarla**, *n.*, (IV) (**barndany-barla** 'swear-AGNT(IV)'), swear word
- barndanyi**, *v.i.*, 1. swear; 2. *v.t.*, swear at, 'growl at'
- barnga**, *n.*, (I), 1. male cross-cousin (FZS, MBS); 2. friend
- barngala**, *v.i.*, to have one's legs crossed (yoga style)
- barnganya**, *n.*, (II), female cross-cousin (FZD, MBD)
- barnmarrarna** ?also **barnmarrana**, *n.*, (II?), white cloth headband worn by women during ceremony
- barraala**, *n.*, (II), sulphur-crested cockatoo [*Cacatua galerita*]
- barrawu**, *n.*, (IV), house

barrgu, *n.*, (IV?), nulla-nulla, fighting stick
[syn. **gudbajirra**]

barrnganbi, *v.s.*, look for a boyfriend/
girlfriend

barulajbi, *v.i.*, (Gudanji?), go past [syn.
banymi]

bawunmi, *v.i.?*, practice dancing

bawurrbi, *v.i.*, snore

bayibayi, *n.*, (I), 'poor bugger' [syn.
bardibardi]

bayibayina, *n.*, (II), 'poor bugger' [syn.
bardibardirna]

bayida, *n.*, (II; Gudanji), older (or oldest?)
sister (including FBD, MZD) [syn.

babanya, **bayilinya**]

bayigina, *n.*, (II), bag [syn. **munmagana**]

bayiliji, *n.*, (I), older brother (including
FBD, MZD) [syn. **baba**]

bayilinya, *n.*, (II), older sister (including
FBD, MZD) [syn. **babanya**, **bayida**]

bayungu, *l.nom.*, west

bibi, *adv.*, (Gudanji), a little while [syn.
mundurumi (G?), **warlugu**]

bibiurru, *n.*, (I), deceased adult male

bibiyurrurna, *n.*, (II), deceased adult
female

bigala, *n.*, (II; Gudanji?), shoulder [syn.
marlanganji]

bigilanyi, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), carry on
shoulders [syn. **labalaba**]

bigirra, *n.*, (IV), green grass

bilama, *n.*, (IV?), grass sp. (The seeds of
this grass can be used to make damper.)

bililarri, *v.i.?*, flood

bilimbila [bi'limbi'la], *adj.*, (IV), flat

binbayi, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji), freshwater
crocodile [syn. **warriji**]

binbinkuma, *v.t.*, 1. shake off, brush off;
2. shake head, shake hair out. [syn.
durndurlimi]

binmala, *n.*, (IV?), instrument used to
carve boomerangs [syn. **ngarajagana**,
ngarlarrgu]

binyirda, *n.*, (IV?), sugarbag wax

birdarri, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), track [syn.
jarrgi]

birdbirrga, *n.*, (IV?), the sharp point on
one end of the boomerang-carving
instrument, to decorate the boomerang

birnmanma, *n.*, (III), throat [syn.
gurranganyma]

birrida, *n.*, (II?), Australasian grebe
[*Tachybaptus novaehollandiae*]

birrimbirra, *n.*, (IV?), plant sp. (This is a
green plant with a nice smell that grows
underneath lignum.)

birrirri, *v.i.*, shake, shiver

birriwililyi ?also **birriwi'rriilyi**, *n.*, (I?),
parrot sp.

bubuyirna, *n.*, (II), (children's?) python

budburri, *v.i.?*, hit tops of crossed legs
(women only) (This is what the women
do in certain parts of the initiation
ceremony while the men clap their
boomerangs.)

bugarru, *n.*, (I), boss [syn. **marliyi**,
mungguji, **ngannguyi**]

bugayi, *adj.*, (I), big [syn. **marliyi**,
ngamaji (G)]

bugurabi, *v.i.*, be grey-haired

buguramila, *n.*, (II), one having grey hair

buguramilyi, *n.*, (I), one having grey hair

buguwa, *adj.*, (IV), big [syn. **bajbaga**,
marliwa]

buja, *v.i.*, (give off) smell

bujanga, *v.t.*, (perceive) smell

bujarda, *n.*, (II?), white snake sp. (Lives in
trees, jumps from one tree to another.)

bujbi, *v.i.*, (Gudanji), run [syn. **bardbi**]

bujili, *n.*, (IV), bottle

- bujirringa**, *v.refl.*, rub one's itchy nose
(An itchy nose is said to mean that someone is talking about you.)
- bulalajarlu**, *n.*, (IV?), upper arm [syn. **munnugarlu**]
- bulinama**, *t.nom.*, (Gudanji), tomorrow
[syn. **ngijininima**]
- bulingi**, *n.*, (I), boy who has been initiated, 'young man' [syn. **yaaba**]
- bulinja**, *n.*, (IV?), algae
- bulmanji** ?also **burrmanji**, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji?), fish sp. (Described as being like a bream but with a big mouth.)
- bulubulugbi** ?also **bululugbi**, *v.i.*, float
- bulunbuluda**, *n.*, (II?), spoonbill sp.
- bulunbulunji**, *n.*, plant sp. [*Portulaca pilosa*] (Grassy plant, with flowers like cotton wool. Used for **jaraji**.)
- bulungurna**, *n.*, (II), young woman, girl who has had her first menstruation [syn. **gurdangirra**]
- bulurna**, *n.*, dark (rain) cloud
- bulyi**, *n.*, football
- bulyingi**, *adj.*, (I; **bulyungurna** (II), **bulyungu** (IV)), little [syn. **gubaja**, **munduru** (G)]
- bulyuluma**, *n.*, (III), bread [syn. **manganyma**]
- bumarna**, *n.*, (II?), grass snake
- bundurra**, *n.*, (IV), meal
- bundurrijbi**, *v.i.*, (**bundurru-jbi** 'full-INCH'), 1. be/get full; 2. be pregnant
- bundurru**, *adj.*, (IV), full
- bundurrumi**, *v.t.*, (**bundurru-mi** 'full-FAC'), feed, make full
- bundurruna**, *adj.*, (II), 1. full; 2. pregnant
- bungbari**, *v.i.*, come out, come up
- bungbungbi**, *v.t.*, suck on something
- bungmaji**, *n.*, (I; Root = *bungmaj-*), old man [syn. **baajbali**]
- bungmanya**, *n.*, (II; Root = *bungmaj-*), old woman [syn. **baajbalarna**]
- bungmungmaji**, *n.*, (I; reduplicaton of **bungmaji**), old men
- bungmungmanya**, *n.*, (II; reduplicaton of **bungmanya**), old women
- bunjunymi**, *v.t.*, sneak up on
- bunjurrbarra**, *v.t.*, kneel down to, bend down to
- bunmajarda**, *n.*, (I), a show-off, someone who likes himself [syn. **ngunngajarda**]
- bunmajardarna**, *n.*, (II), show-off, someone who likes herself [syn. **ngunngajardarna**]
- bunubununa**, *n.*, (II), file snake
- bunybarrimi**, *v.t.*, open something
- bunyma**, *n.*, (III), arse
- buringi** [bu'ringi], *n.*, (I), wicket grub
- burinyma**, *n.*, (III?), spinifex
- burlinja**, *v.t.*, 1. smoke; 2. whistle
- burlinjana**, *n.*, (IV?), cigarette, pipe
- burlugardi**, *v.d.*, (Takes an allative indirect object), 1. soak, put in water; 2. *v.refl.*, describes the action of a bird ducking under water to fish
- burlurlandu**, *v.t.*, blow away, blow about (of wind)
- burnariga**, *n.*, (IV), wild orange tree [*Capparis umbonata*]
- burnaringma**, *n.*, (III), wild orange fruit
- burrbanju**, *v.t.?*, 1. blow nose; 2. blow on something
- burrgunji**, *n.*, (I), frog
- burriiji**, *n.*, (I), bird sp.
- burruburru** *n.*, (IV), paper
- burruburrumi**, *v.t.*, roll up (i.e. into a ball)
- burruburrurna**, *n.*, (II), caterpillar
- burrulyi**, *n.*, (I), tadpole
- burrurna** also **burruuna**, *n.*, ornamental scars

burrunjuna, *n.*, (II), little button-quail
[*Turnix velox*]
burulyi, *n.*, (I), small round grinding stone
buwarraja, *n.*, (IV), 1. dream; 2.
Dreaming, Dreamtime story
buwarrajinga, *v.t.*, dream about
buyarragu [bu'yarragu], *n.*, (IV), silver
box gum [*Eucalyptus pruinosa*]
buyunku, *n.*, the middle, halfway
buyurru, *adj.*, (IV), 1. dry [syn.
warrawulyi]; 2. *n.* dry season

D

dabudabunymi, *v.t.*, (**dabudaburri-mi**
'weak-FAC'), make weak, make unable
to
dabudaburri, *v.i.*, be weak, be unable to
dabuluna, *n.*, (II?), slippery lizard
daburri, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), burn [syn. **najbi**]
dadada, *n.*, (II?), plover [syn.
dajarrarrana]
daguma, *v.t.*, 1. hit (with hand); 2. fight
[syn. **majbi** (G)]
dajarrarrana, *n.*, (II?), plover [syn.
dadada]
dajbidajbi, *n.*, (I), grasshopper
dalwarranji, *n.*, (I), darter, diver duck?
[*Anhinga melanogaster*]
dalwi, *v.i.*, (Gudanji), go [syn. **yarru**]
dalyaganyi, *v.t.*, spear [syn. **dudiyarri**]
damangga, *n.*, (II), head [syn. **guyuguya**
(G)]
damanggayi, *n.*, (I), man who has cut off
his hair in mourning for his child
damanggayirna, *n.*, (II), woman who has
cut off her hair in mourning for her child
damanymi, *v.t.*, (**damarla(?)**-mi
'smooth-FAC'), make smooth
damarla, *adj.*, (IV?), smooth
danbarra, *v.i.*, be lazy
danggulyana, *n.*, (II), one who is wrinkled

danggulyanymi, *v.t.*, (**danggulyaj-mi**
'be wrinkled-FAC'), to cause to wrinkle,
to cause to age
danggulyijbi, *v.i.*, (**danggulyaj-jbi** 'be
wrinkled-INCH'), wrinkle, be wrinkled
danidani, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji?), dollarbird
[*Eurystomus orientalis*]
dankurra, *adj.*, (IV?), yellow
danmuga, *n.*, (IV), clapping sticks
danmurrana, *n.*, (II), bird sp.
(kingfisher?)
dannгани, *t.nom.*, lunchtime [syn.
mugunjana]
danya, *n.*, (IV), clothes
dardaluma, *v.t.*, hammer
dardbiyardi, *v.t.*, pile up, heap up [syn.
ijijardi]
darima, *n.*, (III), bush plum
darralyagi, *n.*, (IV?), bloodwood?
[*Eucalyptus terminalis*]
darramalama, *n.*, (III), lily root
darranggu, *n.*, (IV), 1. stick; 2. tree
(generic)
darrgbi, *v.i.*, (Gudanji), bust, explode
[syn. **jijambi**]
darrgulumi, *v.t.*, 1. pierce, stab [syn.
jimbulu]; 3. cause to crack, cause to
hatch (of eggs)
darridarri, *v.i.?*, be in a line
darrmanji, *n.*, (I), broлга [*Grus*
rubicundus]
dawu, *v.t.*, 1. bite; 2. cut (of tree) [syn.
gudayibi (G)]
dawujbarli, *n.*, (I; **dawu-j-barli** 'bite-TH-
AGNT(I)'), one who bites [syn.
gudayibarli (G)]
dawujbarlirna, *n.*, (II; **dawu-j-barlirna**
'bite-TH-AGNT(II)'), one who bites [syn.
gudayibarlirna (G)]
dawurdawurra [dawurda'wurra], *n.*, (IV;
Gudanji?), hill country

didbidbulyi see **didbidbunga**
didbidbunga also **didbidbulyi**, *v.t.*, argue with
didibarra, *n.*, (IV?), backbone, back [syn. **banduma**, **durrinja**]
didija, *v.t.*, carry under arm on hip (esp. coolamon)
didilayi, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji?), kite sp. (whistling kite?)
didima, *v.d.*, tell [syn. **babarra**]
dingbari, *v.i.*, fly up (into the sky)
dirdibili, *v.t.*, (Requires singular object.), clap (objects) together
dirdibulyi, *n.*, (I), peewee, Australian magpie-lark [*Grallina cyanoleuca*]
dirndija¹, *adj.*, right side, right-handed
dirndija², *adj.*, (IV?), straight
dirndinyi, *v.t.*, (**dirndij-mi** 'straight-FAC'), make straight
dirndirrinymi, *v.d.*, 1. teach; 2. show, point out [syn. **barinyi**, **mirridimi**]
dirragbi, *v.i.*, jump
dirrbi, *v.i.*, fart
dudba, *n.*, (II?; Gudanji?), whiskered (marsh) tern [*Chlidonias hybrida*]
dudiyarri, *v.t.*, spear, pierce [syn. **dalyaganyi**]
dudu, *n.*, (IV?; Gudanji?), the bush [syn. **gurdu**]
dula, *v.t.*, chase away [syn. **dunkala**, **irriburdu**]
dulanymi, *v.t.*, 1. wake somebody up; 2. raise, take something out from its resting/cooking place
dumbi, *v.i.*, be scared; be a 'chicken' (Slang word, used in teasing.)
dungala, *n.*, (IV?; Gudanji?), cock-rag
dunkala ?also **dunggala**, *v.t.*, chase away, 'hunt away' [syn. **dula**, **irriburdu**]
durdurrgu, *v.s.*, (Gudanji), say, talk, speak [syn. **ngarlwi**]

duri, *v.t.*, fuck
durnajana, *n.*, (II?; derived from **durnajarri** 'cover up'), blanket
durnajarri, *v.t.*, cover up [syn. **jaji**]
durnbu, *n.*, (IV?), rubbish
durndurlimi, *v.t.*, shake something off [syn. **binbinkuma**]
durra, *v.i.*, be frightened [syn. **ilagbi** (G)]
durrajbarli, *n.*, (I; **durra-j-barli** 'be frightened-TH-AGNT(I)'), one who is fearful [syn. **ilagbarli** (G)]
durrajbarlirna, *n.*, (II; **durra-j-barlirna** 'be.frightened-TH-AGNT(II)'), one who is fearful [syn. **ilagbarlirna** (G)]
durrinja, *n.*, (IV?), 1. back [syn. **banduma**, **didibarra**]; 2. star formation said to be a goanna's backbone; 3. *adv.*, having one's back to
durrugidurrugi ['durrugi'durrugi], *n.*, mirage
duwa, *v.i.*, 1. get up (and leave); 2. get out (of pouch, egg etc.)

G

gabaji, *n.*, (I), a man's dance, part of the initiation ceremony
gabalama, *n.*, (III), yam sp. (Described as being like the **jigama**, but sweet and a bit watery and does not grow on the plains.)
gaburri, *n.*, (I?), lizard sp. (left-hand lizard?)
gagabara, *v.i.*, to 'feel funny in mouth for tobacco'
gagama, *n.*, (III), 1. shit; 2. guts [syn. **ngangma**]
gagarra, *l.nom.*, east
gagbi *v.i.?*, stick, be stuck
gagulinya, *n.*, (II), younger sister (including FBD, MZD) [syn. **gagurda**]
gagulu, *n.*, (I), younger brother (including FBS, MZS)

- gaguna**, *n.*, (II?), fish sp. [syn. **mankularrana**]
- gagurda**, *n.*, (II), younger sister (including FBD, MZD) [syn. **gagulinya**]
- gaguwi**, *n.*, (I), fish (generic)
- gajagaja**, *n.*, (I; Gudanji), son (male ego), BS [syn. **jajila**, **jawanaji** (G)]
- gajbi**, *v.t.*, 1. eat; 2. have sexual intercourse with
- gajigajirra**, *adv.*, fast, quickly
- gajura**, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji?), tree sp. (This is the tree used to make boats.)
- gajurru**, *v.i.*, dance (of women)
- galaa** ?also **garlaa**, *n.*, (IV), bone
- galagama**, *n.*, (III?), pigweed [*Portulaca oleraceal*]
- galagbi**, *v.i?*, 1. disbelieve; 2. not heed advice
- galalarrarna**, *n.*, (II), female dog [syn. **janya** (G)]
- galalarrinji**, *n.*, (II), dog [syn. **janji** (G), **wanggamayi** (G)]
- galama**, *n.*, (III), nose
- galiba**, *adj.?*, deep
- galima**, *v.t.*, dig out of fire
- galuli**, *adj.*, (I; **galulurna** (II)), clean
- galunji**, *n.*, (I?), black kite [*Milvus migrans*]
- galyanyimi**, *v.t.*, 1. peel (off); 2. scrape
- galyurringi**, *n.*, (I), water [syn. **nguwi** (G), **warnami**]
- galyurrungurna**, *n.*, (II), rain
- gamamurri**, *n.*, (I), blind man [syn. **murluwaji**]
- gamamurrunga**, *n.*, (II), blind female [syn. **murluwajarna**]
- gambada** ?also **gambarra**, **gambarda**, *n.*, (II), sun
- gambanyuma**, *n.*, (III), wild potato
- gambara**, *n.*, (I), MB (older), FZH (older)
- gambararda**, *n.*, (II), MZ (older), FBW (older) [syn. **gambaranya**]
- gambaranya**, *n.*, (II), MZ (older), FBW (older) [syn. **gambararda**]
- gambardarda** ?also **gambadada**, *adv.*, around sunrise, early in the morning
- gamburugulanga** ?also **gambarugulanga**, *n.*, (II), mother and daughter pair
- gami**, *v.i.*, 1. smile; 2. laugh [syn. **gamijbi** (G)]
- gamijanga**, *v.t.*, laugh at
- gamijbi**, *v.i.*, (Gudanji), laugh [syn. **gami**]
- gamula**, *n.*, (IV?), water coolamon [syn. **lujuluju**]
- ganarrgulyi**, *n.*, (I; Gudanji?), baby kangaroo
- ganbagaguna**, *n.*, (II?), heron sp.
- ganbalaga**, *v.i.*, 'belly-up', to lie on one's back
- ganbunuma**, *v.t.*, cover over with hot dirt (re 'cooking' new born babies)
- ganburna**, *n.*, (IV), ashes (in general); (more usually) ashes from the bark of the coolibah tree that are mixed with chewing tobacco [syn. **jurlurrburra**, **garnga**]
- ganbuwi**, *n.*, (I?), water snake sp.
- gandaniyama**, *n.*, (III), kneecap
- gandurru**, *n.*, (IV), lower leg
- gangbirna**, *n.*, (II), gecko
- ganggu**, *n.*, (I), FF
- ganggumiji**, *n.*, (I), SS (male ego), BSS
- gangguminya**, *n.*, (II), SD (male ego), BSD
- ganggunya**, *n.*, (II), FFZ, FMBW
- gangma**, *n.*, (III?), rainbow
- ganinggi**, *v.i.*, come close up, be close up
- ganinggiji**, *adj.?*, (I), close
- Ganjarrani**, *n.*, Place along McArthur River (Gudanji country)

- ganjimi**, *v.t.*, 1. finish; 2. *adv.*, all
- ganjurrardi**, *v.t.*, put side-by-side
- gankima**, *adj.*, (III?), raw [syn. **gurlurdarri**]
- ganmanmi**, *v.t.*, go close behind something/someone, get close to someone/something
- gangga**, *v.i.*, return
- ganybalinya**, *n.*, (II?), stone axe [syn. **nyinggarna**]
- ganybirra**, *n.*, meat (not commonly used) [syn. **gunju**, **yangaji**]
- ganybulanyi**, *n.*, (I), cat
- garagara**, *n.*, (IV?), tree sp.
- garajbi**, *v.i.*, to want to do something
- gararna**, *n.*, (II?), fish sp.
- gardaala** [ga'rdaala], *n.*, (IV), gidgee tree [syn. **gardawala** (G)]
- gardaalanji** [ga'rdaalanji], *n.*, (I; derived from **gardaala** 'Gidgee tree'), people of Brunette Downs area
- gardajali**, *n.*, (I), devil-devil
- gardawala**, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji), gidgee tree [syn. **gardaala**]
- gardawurri**, *n.*, (I?), wrist (also lower arm?)
- gardibirra**, *n.*, (IV?), 1. armpit [syn. **wanyga** (G)]; 2. skin group (generic) [syn. **marndurra**]
- gardunganji**, *n.*, (I), father-in-law, DH (male ego), BDH [syn. **lambarra**]
- gardurrardi**, *v.refl.*, sit with straight legs
- gardurranyi**, *v.t.*, step over the outstretched legs of
- Gargarguwaja** also **gargargwaja** ?also **gagaguwaja**, *n.*, Anthony Lagoon Station (Wambaya country)
- gargargwaja** see **gargarguwaja**
- gari**, *n.*, (I), husband, HB, ZH [syn. **munggujbila**]
- gariirda**, *n.*, (II), wife, WZ, BW [syn. **garinya**, **munggujbilinya**]
- garinya**, *n.*, (II), wife, WZ, BW [syn. **gariirda**, **munggujbilinya**]
- garlangga** ?also **garlanka**, *n.*, (IV), sand, sandhill
- garlarlardi**, *v.t.*, (**garlarli-ardi** 'fall into hole-CAUS'), put something into a hole (i.e. one's arm into a goanna hole)
- garlarli**, *v.i.*, slip down into hole, fall into hole
- garligarli**, *n.*, (IV?), sharpened flat stone, stone knife (used to shape boomerangs) [syn. **jabirri** (G)]
- garlimbaji**, *n.*, (I), rib [syn. **wanmirri**]
- garlwarlwana** ?also **galwalwana**, *n.*, (II), crested pigeon [*Geophaps lophotes*]
- garnaa**, *adj.*, (IV; **garnayi** (I), **garnayirna** (II), **garnama** (III)), 1. long; 2. tall
- Garnalanja**, *n.*, Place somewhere near South Nicholson River (Waanyi country)
- garnanganjana**, *n.*, (II), emu [*Dromaius novaehollandiae*]
- garnanybi**, *v.t.*, sift
- garnarnda**, *v.d.*, 1. send; 2. allow to
- garnawunka**, *n.*, (IV?), lancewood [*Acacia shirleyii*]
- garndani**, *v.t.*, shield, block
- garndardawuga**, *adj.*, (IV; derived from **garndawuga** 'one'), few, a little bit
- garndarra**, *v.t.*, make trouble for someone
- garndawuga**, *adj.*, (IV; **garndawugi** (I)), one [syn. **jandaji**]
- garnga**, *n.*, (IV?), ashes, esp. those chewed along with tobacco [syn. **ganburna**]
- garngujbala**, *adj.*, (IV; **garngujbali** (I), **garngujbalarna** (II)), many, 'big mob' [syn. **garnguja**]
- garnguja**, *adj.*, (IV; **garnguji** (I), **garngunya** (II), **garngunyma** (III)), many, 'big mob' [syn. **garngujbala**]

garngulugulu, n., little lizard sp.

[*Lophognathus temporalis?*]

garninyanji, n., (I), bush turkey, kori
(Australian) bustard [*Ardeotis kori*]

garnmangga, n., (IV), 1. jaw; 2. cheek

garnumba, n., wet season

garranbi, v.i., stand

garrangulinya, n., (II), MZ (younger)
[syn. **gujinya, gujinganjarda**]

garranjardi, v.t., (**garranj-ardi** 'stand
up-CAUS'), make stand up

garrankajbi, v.i., be short of breath [syn.
ngarrgudi]

garrbagarrbalyi, v.i., cramp; be numb;
have 'pins and needles'

garrbanbi, v.i., have a cramp

garrgalyi, n., (I), plains lizard

garrgarrgayi, n., (I?), hawk sp.,
'chickenhawk'

garrijanymi, v.t., make cool

garrijarrija, n., (IV), cold weather [syn.
ngajirra]

garriji, v.i., be cold [syn. **ngajirri**]

garrinji, n., (I), jabiru, black-necked stork
[*Ephippiorhynchus asiaticus*]

garruji, n., (I?), big black spider

garrunyama, v.t., brown in coals

garrunyama, n., (III?), 1. road; 2. milky
way

garrurdarna, n., boil [syn. **ngundurrima**
(G)]

garuga, n., (IV), scrub

gawula, n., (II?), white-faced heron
[*Ardea novaehollandiae*]

gawunka, n., (II?), possum

Gayana, n., Kiana Station (Waanyi
country)

gayangga, l.nom., 1. high; 2. top, above

gayanggami, v.t., (**gayangga-mi** 'high-
FAC'), make go high, lift up

gayarra, n., (IV), desert

gayinanka, interrog., 1. why; 2. for some
reason

gayini, interrog., (I; **gayinirna** (II),
gayina (IV)), 1. what, who, which; 2.
someone, something

gayirra, n., (IV), cooking site

gayirrima, v.t., roast (in coals)

Gibimija, n., No. 2 bore at Anthony
Lagoon (Wambaya country)

gigura, n., tern sp.

gijana, n., (II?), bull ant

gijigijibi, v.t.?, tickle

gijilulu, n., (IV), money

gilinmi, v.t., 1. make a split (e.g. across
the top of a piece of wood (when
making an axe) to put the stone head
into); 2. make a tear (e.g. in clothes)

gilyaga also **gilya, adv.**, there, over
there [syn. **ginki**]

gilwa, n., (IV?), 1. dry peeling skin; 2.
scar; 3. skin of fruit/vegetable; 4. shell;
5. foreskin.

gilyinkilyida, n., (II?), galah [*Cacatua*
roseicapilla]

giminka, n., (IV?), 1. woomera (from Ken
Hale's notes) [syn. **ngarlīga**]; 2. swear
word (meaning penis?)

gimurra, n., (IV), bad luck

ginbila, adv., (Gudanji), long time ago?
[syn. **marndija**]

gindarni, n., vagina (from Ken Hale's
notes) [syn. **jindinarri, lurrġuma**]

ginganbi, v.i., drown

ginggirra, n., (IV), wild rice (Traditionally
the grains were pounded and sifted into
flour and used to make bread.)

ginguli, n., (I), hook

ginima, n., (III?), spinifex wax

gininyangmi, v.t., give cheek to, provoke
someone [syn. **jidanyimi**]

ginjjji, v.i.?, cheeky, mischievous

ginkanyi, adv., this way, in this direction

- ginki**, *adv.*, there [syn. **giliyaga**]
ginmanji, *adv.*, here, this way
ginyagbanji, *n.*, (I; Gudanji?), flying fox
 [syn. **wundugarri**]
giri, *n.*, clitoris
girrgila, *n.*, (IV), crack
girrili, *v.i.*, make noise
girrina, *n.*, (IV?), 1. red ochre; 2. red [syn. **warrabubu**]
girrianyi, *n.*, (I?), red ant with black abdomen
girriya, *n.*, (II), woman [syn. **nayida**, **nardurna** (G)]
girundajbi, *v.i.*, sweat
gubaja, *adj.*, (IV; **gubaji** (I); Gudanji), little, short [syn. **bulyingi**, **gurlaanji** (G), **munduru** (G)]
gubija, *n.*, (IV?), glans penis
guda, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji), stone [syn. **namirra**]
gudayibarli, *n.*, (I; Gudanji; **gudayi-barli** 'bite-AGNT(I)'), one who bites [syn. **dawujbarli**]
gudayibarlirna, *n.*, (II; Gudanji; **gudayi-barlirna** 'bite-AGNT(II)'), one who bites [syn. **dawujbarlirna**]
gudayibi, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), bite [syn. **dawu**]
gudbajirra, *n.*, (IV?), nulla-nulla, fighting stick [syn. **barrgu**]
gudijbi, *v.t.*, 1. lose (also in the sense of someone having died); 2. forget; 3. *v.refl.*, die
gudingi, *n.*, (I), bush rat
gugbarimi, *v.t.*, choke someone
gugu, *n.*, (I), MMB, MFZH, MFZS?, MMBS?, FZDH
gugujardi, *v.t.*, (**guguj-ardi** 'move location-CAUS'), 1. push, force away, send away; 2. kick (with 'foot' as instrumental adjunct)
gugujbi, *v.i.*, shift places, move location [syn. **irridbi**]
gugumiji, *n.*, (I), DS (female ego), ZDS
guguminya, *n.*, (II), DD (female ego), ZDD
gugunya, *n.*, (II), MM, MMBD, MFZD, FZSW [syn. **gugurda**]
gugurda, *n.*, (II), MM [syn. **gugunya**]
gujangga, *n.*, (IV), tooth [syn. **lija** (G)]
gujarra, *adj.*, (IV; **gujarri** (I), **gujarrarna** (II), **gujarrama** (III)), two [syn. **gujarrawulu**]
gujarrawulu, *adj.*, two [syn. **gujarra**]
gujiga, *n.*, (IV), the ceremony sung for male initiation
gujinganjarda ?also **gujinganjarra**, *n.*, (II), mother, MZ (younger), FBW, FZSD [syn. **garrangulinya**, **gujinya**]
gujinya, *n.*, (II), mother, MZ (younger), FBW, FZSD [syn. **garrangulinya**, **gujinganjarda**]
gujukuju, *n.*, (I), puppy
gulagurra see **lagurra**
gulamandarrina, *n.*, (II?), long-neck turtle
gulangunya, *n.*, (II), blue-tongue lizard [syn. **milirrgbarna**]
gulayirda, *v.t.*, carry on head
gulbalawuji, *n.*, (I; Gudanji), Australian magpie [*Gymnorhina tibicen*] [syn. **iburraji**]
gulinya, *n.*, (II), D (female ego), ZD, FMBD (both egos?), FFZD (both egos?)
guliyambirra ?also **gurliyambirra**, *n.*, (I), greedy person
guliyambirrarna, *n.*, (II), greedy person
guliyarri, *v.t.*, bury
gulu, *n.*, (I), S (female ego), ZS, FMBS (both egos?), FFZS (both egos?)
gulugardi, *v.t.*, (**gulug-ardi** 'sleep-CAUS'), lay down
gulugbarli, *n.*, (I; **gulug-barli** 'sleep-AGNT(I)'), one who sleeps a lot

- gulugbarlirna, n.**, (I; **gulug-barlirna** 'sleep-AGNT(II)'), one who sleeps a lot
- gulugbi, v.i.**, sleep
- gulugugurna, n.**, (II?), diamond dove [*Geopelia cuneata*]
- gulugulinya, n.**, (II?), tawny frogmouth [*Podargus strigoides*]
- gululyi, n.**, (I), maggot
- gulumbinya, n.**, (II), hawk sp.
- gumarra, n.**, (IV?), calf (of leg) [syn. **ngalyangalya**]
- gumayangu, n.**, (IV), cave
- gumbu, n.**, (IV), 1. urine; 2. *v.i.*, to urinate
- gumundungu, n.**, (IV?), long hat worn by men during ceremony
- gunaarruna** see **gunawurruna**
- gunawurruna** also **gunaarruna** flock bronzewing [*Phaps bistrionica*]
- gunbi, n.**, (I), blanket lizard [syn. **mankunyi**]
- gunggudabudabu, n.**, Australian hobby ? [*Falco longipennis*] [syn. **barnanggi**]
- gunju, n.**, (IV), meat [syn. **ganybirra, yangaji**]
- gunjugunja, n.**, (IV?), plant sp. (The root of this plant looks like an onion and is used for bush medicine.)
- gunku, inter.**, 'I don't know'
- gunkunmi, v.t.**, look after, care for [syn. **nananga**]
- gunya, adj.**, (IV; **gunyi** (I), **gunyarna** (II)), another, other
- gunyarri, v.t.**, turn over, turn around
- gunymana, n.**, (II?), straw-necked Ibis [*Threskiornis spinicollis*]
- gurda, v.refl.**, 1. be sick; 2. *v.i?* die
- gurdagurdarna, adj.**, (II; **gurdagurdi** (I)), heavily asleep
- gurdajirrimi, v.t.**, (**gurda-jirrimi** 'be sick-CAUS'), 1. make sick; 2. kill
- gurdangirra, n.**, (II), young woman without kids [syn. **bulungurna**]
- gurdanymila, n.**, (II), sick person [syn. **marlumarlurna**]
- gurdu, n.**, (IV), the bush [syn. **dudu** (G?)]
- gurdumi, v.t.**, deafen, be too noisy for someone
- gurduminja, n.**, (IV), Aboriginal name, 'bush' name (generic)
- gurdurdu, v.i.**, sulk [syn. **bagurrbi**]
- gurdurlu, n.**, (IV), heart [syn. **marala**]
- gurija¹, n.**, (IV?), women's ceremony [syn. **yawulyu**]
- gurija², n.**, (IV), fat, grease
- gurijbi¹** also **guriji, adj.**, (I; **gurijbirna** (II), **gurijbama** (III), **gurijba** (IV)), good
- gurijbi², v.i.**, feel good
- gurijbjbina** ?also **gurijbibina, n.**, (II?), Australian pratincole [*Stiltia isabella*]
- guriji, adj.**, see **gurijbi**
- gurinyimi, v.t.**, (**gurij-mi** 'good-FAC'), 1. make good, make better; 2. *adv.*, properly, well.
- gurlaanji** also **gurlawanji, adj.**, (I; Gudanji), short [syn. **munduru** (G), **gubaja**]
- gurlirra, v.t.?**, to gash one's head in mourning
- gurlugurla, adj.**, (IV?), round
- gurlurdarri, adj.**, (I), raw [syn. **gankima**]
- gurluribi, v.t.**, make one feel nauseous
- gurlurlardi, v.t.**, spill, tip over [syn. **munggardji**]
- gurnarlu, n.**, (IV?), vine sp. (Grows up other trees.)
- gurranganyma, n.**, (III) 1. front of neck, throat; 2. voice [syn. **birnmanma**]
- gurranja, adj.**, (IV?), shallow
- gurranji, v.i.**, be thirsty
- gurrgbarra, v.t.**, stare
- gurrguji, n.**, (I), southern boobook owl [*Ninox novaeseelandiae*]

gurrgurli, *v.t.*, cut open a goanna (to remove the back bone)
gurrinya, *n.*, (II; Gudanji), white woman [syn. **marndanga**, **wanmarri** (G)]
gurrugurrumi, *v.t.*, to rock a child, bounce on knee, soothe child to sleep
guruburrardi, *v.t.*, (**guruburri-ardi** 'be unconscious-CAUS'), to knock someone out
guruburri, *v.i.*, 1. be unconscious; 2. feel faint
guwarla [gu'warla], *n.*, (IV?), single women's camp
guyala, *inter.*, 1. no, nothing; 2. *part.* can't, modal negative (In this function, must co-occur with irrealis marking in the auxiliary.)
guyalinja, *adj.*, (IV), lacking [syn. **anggarrinja**]
guyiga, *n.*, (IV), fire [syn. **ngangaba**]
guyuguya, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji), head [syn. **damangga**]
guyuwarna, *n.*, (II?), dead child

I

ibijibi ['ibi'jibi'ji], *n.*, (I?), eyelashes
iburraji, *n.*, (I), magpie [syn. **gulbalawuji** (G)]
idanyi, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), get [syn. **yanybi**]
idarangga also **yidarangga**, *n.*, (IV?), kidney
idii, *inter.*, Shit! (exclamation when something has gone wrong)
ijijardi, *v.t.*, heap up, pile up [syn. **dardbiyardi**]
ilagbarli, *n.*, (I; **ilag-barli** 'be frightened-AGNT (I)'; Gudanji), fearful person [syn. **durrajbarli**]
ilagbarlirna, *n.*, (II; **ilag-barlirna** 'be frightened-AGNT (II)'; Gudanji), fearful person [syn. **durrajbarlirna**]
ilagbi, *v.s.?* (Gudanji), be frightened, be shy [syn. **durra**]
ilanji, *adj.*, (I), 1. cooked; 2. ripe
ilarrarna ?also **ilarrana**, *n.*, (II) 'eaglehawk', wedge-tailed eagle [**Aquila audax**]
ilarri, *n.*, (I?), grog, alcohol [syn. **lunggarra**, **ngaragana**]
iliga, *n.*, (IV), sore
iligirra also **yiligirra**, *n.*, (IV), river [syn. **marnangga** (G?)]
ilijbi also **yilijbi**, *adj.*, (I; **ilijbirna** also **yilijbirna** (II)), alone
ililirri, *n.*, (IV), rivers
ilinga, *v.t.*, 1. hear, listen; 2. remember [syn. **manku**]
ilirri, *n.*, (I), blood
ilyinmi, *v.t.*, crawl (on/in/along) [syn. **junku**]
ilyirrga, *n.*, (IV), leaf [syn. **wanjirra**]
indilyawurna, *n.*, (II), curlew, bush thick-knee (stone curlew) [**Burbinus grallarius**]
indirra also **yindirra**, *n.*, (IV), root
indura, *n.*, snake sp. (red and yellow snake?)
inijbi also **yinijbi**, *v.t.*, gossip about someone
injani, *interrog.*, 1. where (to); 2.(to) somewhere
injannga, *interrog.*, 1. where from; 3. from somewhere
inma, *v.t.*, side with someone (e.g. in a fight)
irda also **yirda**, *n.*, (I), father, FB, MZH (where MZ is not older than M)
irdinya also **yirdinya**, *n.*, (II), FZ, MBW (where MB is not older than M) [syn. **iriyirda**, **iriyilinya**]
iriyilinya [i'riilinya], *n.*, (II), FZ, 'aunty' [syn. **irdinya**, **iriyirda**]

iriyirda [i'riirda], *n.*, (II), FZ, 'aunty' [syn. **irdinya**, **iriyilinya**]
irriburdu, *v.t.*, chase away, 'hunt away'
 [syn. **dula**, **dunkala**]
irrijardi, *v.t.*, (**irrij-ardi** 'move places-CAUS'), move something
irrijabi, *v.t.*, to scratch, scrape
irrijbi, *v.i.*, move from one place to another [syn. **gugujbi**]
irriilyi also **yirriilyi**, *n.*, (I?), nail, claw
irringgurli, *v.i.*, mess around with someone else's things
irrinymi, *v.t.*, give an order, tell someone what to do

J

jaabi, *n.*, wart
jabajabayarra, *n.*, (IV?; Gudanji), another place, a different place [syn. **banggajarra**]
jabarnda, *v.i.*, vomit
jabirri, *n.*, (IV?), sharpened flat stone, stone knife (Used to shape boomerangs.) [syn. **garligarli**]
jabuburranji [ˈjabubuˈrranji], *t.nom.*, olden times
jabula, *n.*, (IV?), spit, spittle [syn. **bang**]
jabulami, *v.t.*, (**jabula-mi** 'spittle-FAC'), spit on, spit at [syn. **jugbi**]
jaburrajbi, *v.i.*, (**jaburru-jbi** 'first-INCH?'), begin, start
jaburru, *adv.*, first, before
jadbi, *v.s.*, (Gudanji), wait [syn. **yandu**]
jadiyi, *n.*, (I?), barramundi
jaga, *n.*, (IV), 1. thigh [syn. **munngujaga**]; 2. leg
jagara, *v.i.*, cross over the water (i.e. along a bridge)
jagbarri, *n.*, hairstring
jagina, *v.refl.*, to lie on one's back with one knee bent and the ankle of the other leg resting on the bent knee
jagugayi, *n.*, (I), fresh-water mussel [syn. **nguyiminji**, **marlangarri** (G), **nganggayi** (G)]
jagurdi, *v.i.*, be silent, shut up
jaji, *v.t.*, close, cover up, shut off [syn. **durnajarri**]
jajila, *n.*, (I), S (male ego), BS [syn. **jawanaji** (G), **gajagaja** (G)]
jajilinya, *n.*, (II), D (male ego), BD [syn. **ja jirda**, **jawananya** (G)]
ja jirda, *n.*, (II), D (male ego), BD [syn. **jajilinya**, **jawananya** (G)]
jalabanya, *n.*, (II?), lizard sp. (Small, grey, slippery and lives in trees. Good for catching flies.)
jaladi, *v.t.*, to give birth (of person)
jalandabi, *v.i.*, go down, descend
jalanggubi, *v.i.*, burp
jalanyi, *adv.*, 1. today; 2. now
Jalinjabarda, *n.*, place along the South Nicholson River
jalinjalinja, *n.*, (IV?), bracelet worn around the tops of the arms during ceremony
jalyalyi, *v.i.*, whisper
jalyarranga, *n.*, (II), woman who has just had a baby
jalyu, *n.*, (IV), bed, nest
jalyuma, *v.t.*, make a bed
jamanji, *n.*, ceremonial ground
jamba, *n.*, (IV), ground, earth, dirt
jaminjaminji, *n.*, (I), DS (male ego), BDS
jaminjaminya, *n.*, (II), DD (male ego), BSD
jaminjila, *n.*, (I), MF [syn. **mimi** (Gw)]
jaminjilirda, *n.*, (II), MFZ [syn. **jaminjilinya**, **mimirna** (Gw)]

- jaminjilinya**, *n.*, (II), MFZ [syn. **jaminjilirda**, **mimirna** (Gw)]
- jananmi**, *v.t.*, untie, take out, remove, take off
- janbalyi**, *n.*, (I?), bird sp. (Described as a little brownish bird that flies in a large flock.)
- jandaji**, *adj.*, (I), one [syn. **garndawugi**]
- janga**, *n.*, (IV), 1. foot [syn. **mandawayi** (G)]; 2. toe; 3. tracks [syn. **malya**]
- jangani**, *n.*, sharp stone for spear head
- janganja**, *v.d.*, ask
- jangbidi**, *v.t.*, 1. tie up; 2. jail
- jangi**, *l.nom.*, down [syn. **jayili** (G)]
- jangurla**, *n.*, (IV?), foreskin
- janji**, *n.*, (I; Root is *jany-*; Gudanji), dog [syn. **galalarrinji**, **wanggamayi** (G)]
- janmajardi**, *v.t.*, make fall down, knock down, trip over
- Janurruwa**, *n.*, place along the Nicholson River (Waanyi country)
- janya**, *n.*, (II; Root is *jany-*; Gudanji), dog [syn. **galalarrirna**]
- janyala**, *n.*, (IV?), charcoal
- janyi**, *v.t.*, answer
- jaraji**, *n.*, (I?), special paint made out of white feathers and (now) flour and used to decorate body for ceremony
- jariiirri**, *n.*, (I?), spiny-cheeked honeyeater? [*Acanthagenys rufogularius*]
- jaringma**, *v.t.*, dress [syn. **jarrgarranyi**]
- jarlardu** ?also **jalardu**, *n.*, (IV?), hairstring belt [syn. **munungguma**]
- jarlu**, *n.*, (IV), 1. arm; 2. wing; 3. handle
- jarlwarla**, *adj.*, (IV?), heavy
- jarnaga**, *n.*, (IV), bark string (from the inner bark of the coolibah tree)
- jarndama**, *n.*, (III), 1. chin; 2. beard, whiskers
- jarragurra**, *adj.*, (IV), white [syn. **magirra**]
- jarrawaja**, *n.*, (IV), trousers
- jarrgarranyi** ?also **jarrgalanyi**, *v.t.*, to dress [syn. **jaringma**]
- jarrgi**, *v.t.*, track [syn. **birdarri** (G)]
- jaru**, *v.i.*, yawn
- jaruma**, *n.*, ceremonial coolamon with handle
- jarungbi**, *v.t.*, kiss
- jawala**, *n.*, men's ceremony sung after someone's death
- jawanaji**, *n.*, (I; Gudanji), son (male ego), BS [syn. **jajila**, **gajagaja** (G)]
- jawananya**, *n.*, (II; Gudanji), D (male ego), BD [syn. **jajilinya**, **jajirda**]
- jawaranya**, *n.*, billy can
- jayili**, *l.nom.*, (Gudanji), down [syn. **jangi**]
- jayulinya** ?also **jawulinya**, *n.*, (II; Gudanji), mother-in-law, SW (female ego), ZSW [syn. **mimayirna**]
- jibarri**, *v.i.?*, blink
- jibilyawuna**, *n.*, (II), duck (generic)
- jidalyi**, *adj.*, (I?), angry, 'cheeky'
- jidanybarli**, *n.*, (I; **jidany-barli** 'give cheek-AGNT(I)'), 'cheeky' person, angry person, troublemaker
- jidanybarlirna**, *n.*, (II; **jidany-barlirna** 'give cheek-AGNT(II)'), 'cheeky' person, angry person, troublemaker
- jidanymi** ?also **jidanmi**, *v.t.*, give cheek to, pick a fight/argument with someone [syn. **gininyangmi**]
- jidbi**, *n.*, ant bed
- jigama**, *n.*, (III), yam sp. (Grows in the plains.)
- jijambi**, *v.i.*, explode [syn. **darrgbi** (G)]
- jijirda**, *n.*, (II?), wren?
- jila**, *v.t.*, paint
- jilija**, *adj.*, (IV; **jilinya** (II)), new

- jilinggirra**, *n.*, (IV), beefwood tree
[*Grevillea striata*]
- jimanka**, *n.*, (IV), riverbank
- jimbanyi**, *v.t.*, grab, snatch [syn.
lurrgbanyi]
- jimbulu**, *v.t.*, 1. poke, stab [syn.
darrgulumi]; 2. sting (e.g. of bee,
wasp)
- jindinarri**, *n.*, vagina [syn. **gindarni**,
lurruguma]
- jindirrijbirrinya**, *n.*, (II), willy wagtail
[*Rhipidura leucophrys*]
- jinggali**, *v.i.*, to show off, be full of
oneself
- jinkiji**, *n.*, (I), star
- jinya**, *v.i.*, sneeze
- jirrbali**, *v.i.*, lie on stomach [syn.
juruwala]
- jirrbidbina**, *n.*, (II), bird sp.
- jirrbilijirrbili** ?also **jirrbilinjirrbilinji**,
n., (I?), black-eared cuckoo
[*Chrysococcyx osculans*] [syn.
wajabiwajabi]
- jirrgula**, *adj.*, (IV), wet
- jirrgulyi**, *v.i.*, get wet, be wet
- jirrgunymi**, *v.t.*, (**jirrgula**?-mi 'wet-
FAC'), make wet
- jiyanggi**, *v.t.*, know
- jiyanggijbarli**, *n.*, (I; **jiyanggi-j-barli**
'know-TH-AGNT(I)') know-all
- jiyanggijbarlirna**, *n.*, (II; **jiyanggi-j-
barlirna** 'know-TH-AGNT(II)'), know-
all
- jiyanjunguwarlirna**, *n.*, (II?), a particular
dreaming tree (located somewhere on
Cresswell Downs)
- jiyanma**, *n.*, (III?), lily seeds
- jiyarra**, *n.*, (IV), back of neck, nape
- jiyawu**, *v.d.*, give
- jayijala**, *n.*, (IV), gooramurra
[*Eremophila bignoniiflora*] [syn.
marndardbarla] (Leaves are warmed
on the fire and placed on face to relieve
headache. Leaves give off a pleasant
odour (especially when warmed).)
- judama**, *n.*, mountain kangaroo [syn.
wadayina]
- judangunya**, *n.*, (II), tree snake sp. (Lives
in coolibah trees, not poisonous.)
- judiyama** ?also **jurdiyama**, *n.*, (III?), tail
[syn. **banjanganima**]
- juga**, *n.*, (I; Garrwa word, but commonly
used by Wambaya speakers.), little boy
[syn. **alaji**]
- jugbi**, *v.t.*, spit at (i.e. in anger) [syn.
jabulami]
- jugu**, *n.*, (I), MB (younger), FZH, FZSS
- jugujuguna**, *n.*, (II), grey fantail
[*Rhipidura fuliginosa*]
- jugulambirri**, *n.*, (I?), type of big
saltwater mussel/clam
- juguli**, *n.*, (I), boomerang
- julaji**, *n.*, (I; Root is *julag-*), bird (generic)
- julamarrima**, *n.*, (III), (white) berry sp.
[syn. **ngabararrima**]
- julanga**, *n.*, (II; Root is *julag-*), female
bird (generic)
- junama**, *n.*, (III?), penis
- jundurnmi**, *v.t.*, kick dust on someone by
walking past
- jundurra**, *n.*, (IV), 1. dust; 2. *v.t.*, remove
dirt from, brush dirt off
- junggunnguwa**, *v.t.*, be jealous of,
'jealousing' [syn. **nguwajbarra**]
- Junggurragurra**, *n.*, Country around
Banka Banka Station and Tennant Creek
(Warumungu country)
- junku**, *v.i.*, crawl [syn. **ilyinmi**]
- junmi**, *v.t.*, cut
- jurlurrburra**, *n.*, (IV?), ashes [syn.
ganburna, **garnga**]
- jurrgubarri**, *n.*, (I), Plains Goanna [syn.
mangirriji (G)]

- juruma**, *n.*, (III), 1. stomach; 2. *adv.*, be facing someone
- juruwala**, *v.i.*?, lie on one's stomach [syn. **jirrbali**]
- juwa**, *n.*, (I), 1. man, person; 2. Aboriginal man, person (when contrast needed with non-Aboriginal people)
- juwarda**, *n.*, (I), men, people (from Ken Hale's notes) [syn. **juwarramba**]
- juwarramba**, *n.*, (I), men, people [syn. **juwarda**]

L

- labalaba**, *v.t.*, carry on shoulders [syn. **bigilanyi** (G)]
- labarlabarnga** ['laba'rlabarnga] also **labarnga**, *n.*, (IV), branch (of tree), fork
- labarnga** see **labarlabarnga**
- labirra**, *n.*, (IV), 1. hand; 2. finger [syn. **marna** (G)]
- lagija**, *n.*, (IV), coolamon (i.e. used for carrying babies etc.) [syn. **lawunji**]
- lagurra** also **gu'lagurra**, *n.*, (IV), hole
- lajarri**, *v.t.*, light (fire)
- laji**¹, *v.i.*, 1. be quiet, stop noise; 2. be still (of wind)
- laji**², *v.s.*, to have been absent for a significant amount of time from someone
- lajirrimi**, *v.t.*, (**laji-jirrimi** 'be quiet-CAUS'), 1. make be quiet; 2. make stop
- lamanma**, *n.*, hollow log used for catching fish
- lambarra**, *n.*, (I), father-in-law, DH (male ego), BDH [syn. **gardunganji**]
- lambarrarna**, *n.*, (II), SW (male ego), BSW
- lanbi**, *v.i.*, be 'sleep-wake', have one's eyes closed but still be awake
- langanbi**, *v.t.*, climb
- langanjardi**, *v.t.*, hang up
- langga**, *l.nom.*, north
- Lanybiya**, *n.*, Place somewhere near McArthur River (Gudanji/Wambaya country. This is the place where the Peewee hid his water in Text 5.)
- laragibarli** ?also **larragibarli**, *adv.*, right through, from one side to the other
- larlagbarra**, *v.t.*, (**larlag-barra** 'go inside-TRANS'), get something from inside
- larlagbi**, *v.i.*, (Takes an allative complement), go inside, enter, go into
- larrana**, *n.*, (II?), spinifex pigeon [*Geophaps plumifera*]
- lawunji**, *n.*, coolamon (i.e. for carrying babies etc.), [syn. **lagija**]
- Lija**¹, *n.*, Place somewhere east of Elliott (Wambaya/Gudanji country)
- lija**², *n.*, (IV; Gudanji), tooth [syn. **gujungga**]
- lingba** also **lingbalingba**, *v.i.*, 'bogey', wash, bathe
- linjarrgbi**, *v.i.*, be hot
- linka**, *n.*, (IV), chest
- lirrada**, *n.*, (II?), red-tailed black cockatoo [*Calyptorhynchus banksii*]
- lujuluju**, *n.*, (IV?), coolamon (used for carrying water, bush tucker, etc.) [syn. **gamula**]
- lumbilumbi**, *v.i.*, swell up
- lunggaji**, *v.i.*, 1. be 'cheeky', be nasty, be no good; 2. *n.*, (I) policeman
- lungganymi**, *v.t.*, (**lunggaj-mi** 'no good-FAC'), make no good, make 'cheeky'
- lunggarra**, *n.*, (IV) 1. salt; 2. poison; 3. grog [syn. **ilarri**, **ngaragana**]
- luranyma**, *n.*, (III), testicles [syn. **nurranma**]
- lurdbi**, *v.t.*, pound, bash, hit with instrument
- lurrgbanyi**, *v.t.*, 1. catch; 2. grab, snatch, abduct [syn. **jimbanyi**]

lurriguma, *n.*, (III), vagina [syn. **jindinarri**, **gindarni**]
luyunymi, *v.t.*, make soft or fine from grinding

M

- mabuluma**, *n.*, (III), navel
maga, *n.*, (IV), 1. camp; 2. place; 3. country, home
magajarra, *n.*, (IV), another camp, another country
magami, *n.*, leech
maganja, *n.*, (IV), digging stick (i.e. for lice, sugarbag etc.)
maganmurru, *n.*, (IV?), spear for killing dugong and big fish [syn. **narra**]
magbarli ?also **magbali**, *n.*, (I), one who belongs to a given country through his father
magbarlirna ?also **magbalirna**, *n.*, (II), one who belongs to a given country through her father
magirra, *n.*, (IV?), 1. white ochre; 2. white paint [syn. **jarragurra**]
magudidi, *n.*, bush coconut?
magungunu, *n.*, (I?), childhood friend, a mate that you've grown up with
magurra, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji?), wind [syn. **wunba**]
majbi, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), hit [syn. **daguma**]
majigayi, *n.*, (I?), 'sea-side' crab
majigina, *n.*, (II), 'river-side' crab [syn. **wagina**]
malamba, *n.*, (IV?), liver
malya, *n.*, (IV), 1. track, footprint [syn. **janga**]; 2. mark
mamanggi, *n.*, (I), freshwater snail
mambulya, *adj.*, (IV), soft
mambulyajbi, *v.i.*, (**mambulya-jbi** 'soft-INCH'), go soft, go numb
mambulyami, *v.t.*, (**mambulya-mi** 'soft-FAC'), make soft
mandawayi, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji), foot [syn. **janga**]
mandida, *n.*, (II), female kangaroo sp.
manganyma, *n.*, (III), 1. tucker, food; 2. non-meat food
mangarnami, *v.t.?*, put the decorative marks on a boomerang
manggurinji, *n.*, (I; derived from **mangguru** 'plains country'), one who is from the plains country
manggurinya, *n.*, (II; derived from **mangguru** 'plains country') one who is from the plains country
mangguru, *n.*, (IV?), plains country
mangirriji, *n.*, (I; Gudanji), plains goanna [syn. **jurrubarri**]
manja, *n.*, (IV?), fruit (generic)
manjala¹, *n.*, (IV?), caustic vine (sticky)
manjala², *n.*, newborn baby
manjungu, *n.*, (IV), shade
manka, *n.*, (IV), ear
mankaburrurna, *n.*, (II), hook boomerang
manku, *v.t.*, 1. hear, listen [syn. **ilinga**]; 2. remember; 3. think about; 4. *v.refl.*, feel
mankularrana, *n.*, (II?), fish sp. [syn. **gaguna**]
mankuluguluda, *n.*, (IV?), ear wax
mankunyi, *n.*, (I), 1. blanket lizard [syn. **gunbi**]
mannurru, *v.i.*, be ashamed
manyarra, *n.*, (IV?), pandanus tree?
manyingila, *n.*, (IV), gutta percha tree [*Excoecaria parviflora*] (The inner milky bark is boiled in water, the liquid is then washed with to treat skin sores. The liquid is rubbed in to relieve pain in the joints and to reduce swellings. It is used to wash with to help weak people feel stronger.)

- marala**, *n.*, (IV), heart [syn. **gurdurlu**]
maramaranbi, *v.s.*, feel around
marawunji, *n.*, (I), spider
mardaja, *n.*, (IV?), feather
mardima, *v.t.*, chase [syn. **nyurrunyurru**]
mardumbarra also **mardumbarrayi**, *n.*, (I), saltwater crocodile
marinkila, *n.*, bird sp.
marlaba, *n.*, 1. period, menstruation; 2. after-birth [syn. **mujuju**]
marlanganji, *n.*, (I?), shoulder [syn. **bigala** (G)]
marlangarri, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji), fresh-water mussel [syn. **nganggayi** (G), **nguyiminji**, **jagugayi**]
marlinga, *v.t.*, let go (of something)
marliwa, *adj.*, (IV; Gudanji?), big [syn. **buguwa**, **bajbaga**]
marliyi, *adj.*, (I; Gudanji?), 1. big [syn. **bugayi**, **ngamaji** (G)]; 2. *n.* boss [syn. **bugarru**, **ngannguyi**, **mungguji**]; 3. God
marlu, *l.nom.*, far, a long way away
marlumarlu, *n.*, (I), sick person
marlumarlurna, *n.*, (II), sick person [syn. **gurdanymila**]
marna, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji), 1. hand; 2. finger [syn. **labirra**]
marnangga, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji?), river, creek [syn. **iligirra**]
marnarrga, *n.*, (IV), mud
marndaji, *n.*, (I; Root is *marndag-*), white man [syn. **ngarrawanji** (G)]
marndanga, *n.*, (II; Root is *marndag-*), white woman [syn. **gurrinya** (G), **wanmarri** (G)]
Marndanymija, *n.*, No. 8 bore on Anthony Lagoon Station (Wambaya country)
- marndardbarla**, *n.*, (IV), gooramurra [*Eremophila bignoniiflora*] [syn. **jayijala**] (Leaves are warmed on the fire and placed on face to relieve headache. Leaves give off a pleasant odour (especially when warmed).)
marndija, *t.nom.*, long time ago [syn. **ginbila** (G)]
marndiji, *t.nom.*, at a later time, soon
marndurra, *n.*, (IV), 1. body odour; 2. skin group (generic) [syn. **gardibirra**]
marnganinji, *n.*, (I; Gudanji), doctor [syn. **ngunbulugi**]
marnuguja, *n.*, (IV), conkerberry (tree)
marnugujama, *n.*, (III), conkerberry (fruit)
marrababina, *n.*, (II?), peaceful dove [*Geopelia placida*]
marrajana, *n.*, (IV?), pillow
marraji, *n.*, (I; Root is *marraj-*), tablelands kangaroo, big red kangaroo
marranya, *n.*, (IV), yarn, tale, story
marrgulu, *n.*, (IV), egg
marrugbi, *v.s.?*, feel happy (about something) [syn. **ngunkarri**]
marungma, *n.*, (III), edible sap
marunki also **marunkiysi**, *n.*, (I), countryman, relation
marunkirna also **marunkiyrna**, *n.*, (II), countryman, relation
mawula, *v.i.*, play
mawulajana, *n.*, (II?; derived from **mawula**), game (esp. cards)
mawuruma, *n.*, (III?), Tassel Top, Pussycats Tails [*Ptilotus clementii* and spp.]
mayamba, *n.*, (IV?), whirlwind, willy-willy
mayinanjana ?also **mayurnanjanana**, *n.*, (II), female goanna
mayinanji ?also **mayurnanji**, *n.*, (I), goanna

Mida ?also **Miida**, *n.*, place on Anthony Lagoon Station (Wambaya country)

mijanka, *n.*, (IV), bush medicine

milama, *adv.*, 1. again; 2. more

mlarra, *n.*, (IV?), tears

milindi, *n.*, eyebrow

milinya, *n.*, (II), red-winged parrot?

milirrgbarna [mi'liirgbarna], , *n.*, (II; Gudanji), blue-tongue lizard [syn. **gulangunya**]

mimarri, *n.*, (I), snake (generic)

mimayi, *n.*, (I), DH (female ego), ZDH?

mimayirna, *n.*, (II), mother-in-law, SW (female ego), ZSW [syn. **jayulinya**]

mimi, *n.*, (I; This is a Garrwa word, but is often used by Wambaya speakers.) MF, BDS, DS (male ego) [syn. **jaminjila**]

mimirna, *n.*, (II; This is a Garrwa word, but is often used by Wambaya speakers.), MFZ, MMBW, BDD, DD (male ego) [syn. **jaminjilinya**, **jaminjilirda**]

minggalija ?also **minggalinja**, *n.*, (IV), big round grinding stone

minggilyanuma, *n.*, (III), bush passionfruit

mira, *n.*, (IV), hip

mirnanmi, *adv.*, slowly

mirndigirri, *n.*?, dance performed by women during initiation ceremonies in which they slap the tops of their legs together

mirra, *v.i.*, (Root is *mirrang-*), 1. sit; 2. be

mirridimi, *v.t.*, 1. teach; 2. show, demonstrate [syn. **barinymi**, **dirndirrinymi**]

mirridmirrida, *n.*, (II?), python sp. (Lives in salt water.)

mirrinjungu, *v.i.*, lie on one's side propped up on one elbow [syn. **ngurndurrurlu**]

miyagama, *n.*, (III), bush fruit sp.

mudinya ?also **murdinya**, *n.*, (II), needle, injection

mugunjana¹, *n.*, (II), louse

mugunjana², *t.nom.*, lunchtime [syn. **dannгани**]

mugura, *n.*, (IV), spear [syn. **balamurru**]

mujuju, *n.*, (IV?), period, menstruation [syn. **marlaba**]

mujumi, *v.t.*, gather together, put together

mulungu, *n.*, (I), hit man, 'wild blackfella', 'kadaicha man'

munduru ?also **mundurru**, *adj.*, (IV; **munduri** (I), **mundururna** (II); Gudanji), little, short [syn. **bulyingi**, **gubaja** (G), **gurlaanji** (G)]

mundurumi, *adv.*, (derived from **munduru** 'little'; Gudanji?), for a little while [syn. **bibi** (G), **warlugu**]

munggardji, *v.t.*, spill, tip over [syn. **gurlurlardi**]

munggu, *n.*, (IV), ground oven

munggujbila, *n.*, (I), H, HB, ZH [syn. **gari**]

munggujbilinya, *n.*, (II), W, WZ, BW [syn. **gariirda**, **garinya**]

mungguji, *n.*, (I), boss, owner [syn. **bugarru**, **marliyi**, **ngannguyi**]

mungguwa, *v.t.*, roast in ground

munji, *v.i.*, duck, bend over, bend down

munjuna, *n.*, (IV?), elbow

munmagarna ?also **munmagana**, *n.*, (II?), bag [syn. **bayigina**]

munngu, *n.*, (IV), 1. thick part, stump (e.g. of tree); 2. underneath part

munngujaga, *n.*, (IV; derived from **munngu** 'stump' (?) + **jaga** 'leg'), thigh

munngujanga, *n.*, (IV; derived from **munggu** 'stump' (?) + **janga** 'foot'), heel

munngujarlu, *n.*, (IV; derived from **munggu** 'stump' (?) + **jarlu** 'arm'), upper arm

munungguma, *n.*, (hairstring?) belt [syn. **jarlardu**]

munyunyuna, *n.*, (II?), mouse

muralama, *n.*, (III), bush tomato

murdurna, *n.*, (II), 1. strong, fit; 2. hard [syn. **yardugarna**]

murлу, *n.*, (IV), 1. eye; *adv.*, awake

murlurru, *n.*, (IV), turpentine tree [*Acacia lysiphloia*] (Leaves are boiled in water and the resulting liquid is washed with to treat headache, flu and mumps. This is also the tree that is used to smoke out houses.)

murлуwajarna, *n.*, (II; **murlu-wajarna** 'eye-PRIV(II)'), blind woman [syn. **gamamurrunga**]

murluwaji, *n.*, (I; **murlu-waji** 'eye-PRIV(I)'), blind man [syn. **gamamurri**]

murndugurlu, *adj.*, (IV), bent, crooked

murnunguji, *n.*, (I), second-degree initiate

murrgu, *l.nom.*, inside

murrgunbali, *adj.*, (I; **murrgunbalarna** (II), **murrgunbala** (IV)), three [syn. **murrgunji**]

murrgunji, *adj.*, (I; , **murrguna** (II), **murrgunma** (III), **murrgunka** (IV)), three [syn. **murrgunbali**]

murri, *v.i.*, ache, be sore, hurt

murrijbulumi, *v.t.*, (**murri-j-bulumi** 'hurt-TH-CAUS'), make hurt, hurt someone

murrinja, *n.*, (IV), coolibah tree (The bark of this tree is burnt into ashes (**ganburna**) and mixed with chewing tobacco (**warnu**)).

murrinji see **murrinymurrinji**

murrinya see **murrinymurrinya**

murrinymurrinji also **murrinji**, *n.*, (I), name used to replace name of dead male, 'kumunjayi'

murrinymurrinya also **murrinya**, *n.*, (II), name used to replace name of dead woman, 'kumunjayi'

murudidi, *n.*, brain

Murunmurula, *n.*, Place along the Nicholson River (Waanyi country)

muwadana, *n.*, (IV?), boat

Muwardbi, *n.*, Country somewhere east of Elliott (Wambaya/Gudanji country.)

muwari ?also **muwarri**, *v.i.*, be itchy

N

najbi, *v.i.*, 1. burn; 2. *v.t.*, burn something [syn. **daburri** (G)]

namanmi, *v.t.*, put something down firmly

namirra, *n.*, (IV), stone [syn. **guda** (G)]

nananga, *v.t.*, look after, care for [syn. **gunkunmi**]

nanganangali, *v.s.?*, sneak away

nardurna, *n.*, (II; Gudanji), woman [syn. **girriya**, **nayida**]

narra, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji), spear for killing dugong and big fish [syn. **maganmurru** (G)]

narunguja, *n.*, (IV), car, vehicle

nawu, *v.i.*, 1. stand on, sit on; 2. run over (of car)

nawunawuji also **nawunawu**, *v.t.*, stretch

nayida, *n.*, (II), woman [syn. **girriya**, **nardurna** (G)]

nayirrundurna, *n.*, (II), women

ngabararrima, *n.*, (III), white berry, sp.? [syn. **julumarrima**]

ngabuji ?also **ngabiji**, *n.*, (I), FMB, FFZH

ngaburlu, *n.*, (IV), 1. breast; 2. milk

ngadijbi, *v.i.*, be 'paining', be in pain

ngadjirri, *n.*, (I), budgerigar
 [*Melopsittacus undulatus*]
ngajaji, *n.*, (IV), tendon
ngajbi, *v.t.*, see, look
ngajimiji, *n.*, (I), SS (female ego), ZSS
ngajiminya, *n.*, (II), SD (female ego), ZSD
ngajirra, *n.*, (IV), coldness, cold (weather)
 [syn. **garrijarrija**]
ngajirri, *v.i.*, be cold [syn. **garriji**]
ngalangga, *n.*, (IV?), single men's camp
ngalanyi, *v.t.*, scoop something up (e.g.
 tea or sugar into a cup)
ngalirrilili, *n.*, (I?), collar bone
ngalyangalya, *n.*, (IV?; some say this is a
 Garrwa word), calf (of leg) [syn.
gumarra]
ngamaji, *adj.*, (I; Gudanji), big [syn.
bugayi, marliyi]
ngamaganbi, *v.i.*, to hiccup
ngamandurruma, *n.*, (III), bush banana
 [syn. **ngamarragama**]
ngamangama, *n.*, breast-plate decoration
 worn during ceremony
ngamarragama, *n.*, (III), bush banana
 [syn. **ngamandurruma**]
ngambaji, *n.*, (I; **ngambarna** (II),
ngamabaga (IV)), 'what's-his-name',
 'thingummyjig'
Nganaarra, *n.*, Brunette Downs Station
 (Wambaya country)
ngandarrgala ?also **ngarndarrgala?**, *n.*,
 (IV), supplejack [*Ventilago viminalis*]
ngangaba, *n.*, (IV), 1. fire; 2. firewood
 [syn. **guyiga**]
ngangbi, *v.i.*, be open wide, be spread
 apart (of legs)
ngangbulumi, *v.t.*, open wide, spread
 apart legs [syn. **walyulyumi**]
nganggarrga, *n.*, (IV), mouth [syn.
bamarra (G?)]

nganggayi, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji), freshwater
 mussel [syn. **marlangarri** (G),
nguyiminji, jagugayi]
ngangma, *n.*, (III), shit [syn. **gagama**]
nganinyimi, *n.*?, truth
nganjala ?also **nganjarla**, *n.*, (IV?),
 tongue
nganji, 1. seed; 2. seed pod
ngankarra, *n.*, (IV), flu, cold [syn.
ngurlurra]
ngannganmi, *v.t.*?, chew the meat off a
 bone [syn. **nyambarli**]
ngannguyi, *n.*, (I), boss [syn. **bugarru**,
marliyi, mungguji]
nganyangbi, *v.t.*, lick
nganyanggali, *n.*, (I?), bird sp., brown
 goshawk?
ngarabarli, *n.*, (I; **ngara-barli** 'drink-
 AGNT(I)'), one who drinks a lot, a drunk
ngarabarlirna, *n.*, (II; **ngara-barlirna**
 'drink-AGNT(II)'), one who drinks a lot,
 a drunk
ngarabi, *v.t.*, drink
ngaragana, *n.*, (Derived from **ngarabi**
 'drink'), grog [syn. **ilarri, lunggarra**]
ngarajabi, *v.t.*, shape/make a boomerang
ngarajagana, *n.*, (Derived from
ngarajabi 'shape/make a boomerang'),
 instrument used to shape boomerangs
 [syn. **binmala, ngarlarrgu**]
ngaranma, *n.*, subincision (from Ken
 Hale's notes)
ngardarru, *n.*, (IV?), white cockatoo
 feather, worn on head in ceremonies
ngarlana, *n.*, (IV), 1. language; 2.
 traditional languages, as opposed to
 English; 3. word
ngarlani, *v.t.*, clean up, clean out
ngarlarrgu, *n.*, (IV?), instrument used to
 carve boomerangs [syn. **binmala**,
ngarajagana]
ngarliga, *n.*, (IV), woomera

- ngarliji**, *v.i.*, breathe
- ngarlu**, *v.i.*, 1. dance (of men); 2. *v.t.*, dance a dance/ceremony [syn. **ngarlugbi**]
- ngarlugbi**, *v.i.?*, dance (of men) [syn. **ngarlu**]
- ngarlurra**, *n.*, (IV), 1. flu, cold [syn. **ngankarra**]; 2. snout
- ngarlwarli**, *n.*, (I; **ngarl-warli** 'talk-AGNT(I)'), chatterbox, one who talks a lot
- ngarlwarlirna**, *n.*, (II; **ngarl-warlirna** 'talk-AGNT(II)'), chatterbox, one who talks a lot
- ngarlwi**, *v.s.*, talk to someone, speak a language (to someone) [syn. **durdurrgu** (G)]
- ngarninji**, *n.*, (I), body
- ngarnnga**, *v.t.*, bark (at), growl (at)
- ngarrangarra**, *v.i.*, be hot
- ngarrgudi**, *v.i.*, short of breath [syn. **garrankajbi**]
- ngarrijinyma**, *n.*, (III), yam sp. (Grows in the stone country.)
- ngarrinbi**, *v.t.?*, be selfish, possessive of things
- ngarringga**, *v.d.*, take something away from someone
- ngarrinybi**, *n.*, (I), friend, mate
- ngarrinybirna**, *n.*, (II), friend, mate
- ngarrwanji**, *n.*, (I; Gudanji), white man [syn. **marndaji**]
- ngayijirda**, *n.*, (II), FM [syn. **ngayijinya**]
- ngayijinya** also **ngayiji**, *n.*, (II), FM [syn. **ngayijirda**]
- ngijini**, *t.nom.*, yesterday
- ngijininima**, *t.nom.*, tomorrow [syn. **bulinama** (G)]
- ngijiniyarra**, *t.nom.*, the day after tomorrow
- ngila**, *n.*, (II; This is a Garrwa word, but is commonly used by Wambaya speakers), girl [syn. **alanga**]
- ngilwi**, *adv.?*, be all right, be O.K.
- nginginji**, *n.*, (I?), black-winged stilt [*Himantopus himantopus*]
- ngirnii**, *l.nom.*, south [syn. **ngirniwi** (G)]
- ngirniwi**, *l.nom.*, (Gudanji), south [syn. **ngirnii**]
- ngirra**, *v.t.*, steal
- ngirrigbi**, *v.i.?* (Gudanji), hunt [syn. **alalangmi**]
- ngirrw**, *v.i.*, growl (of dog)
- ngiyangbi**, *v.t.*, not know someone
- ngugujabi**, *v.t.*, grind [syn. **wurdurda** (G)]
- ngujari**, *v.i.*, 1. break down; 2. *v.t.*, break something
- ngulungulu**, *n.*, (I?), little grey wallaby?
- ngumuji**, *adj.*, (I; **ngumurra** (IV)), black
- ngumurra**, *n.*, (IV; from **ngumurra** 'black (IV)'), rain cloud
- ngundurirna**, *n.*, (Gudanji), boil [syn. **garrurdarna**]
- ngunjulanyi**, *v.t.*, lift up something
- ngunjulu**, *v.t.*, carry in both arms, carry (i.e. child) on hip
- ngunjurabi** ?also **wunjurabi**, *v.t.*, water something (i.e. plants)
- ngunkarri**, *v.i.*, feel happy about something [syn. **marrugbi**]
- ngunnga**, *v.t.*, like
- ngunngajarda**, *n.*, (I), show-off, someone who likes himself [syn. **bunmajarda**]
- ngunngajardarna**, *n.*, (II), show-off, someone who likes herself [syn. **bunmajardarna**]
- ngunungarri**, *n.*, traditional skirt (Made from possum skin. Worn by women during ceremonies. Also must be worn by a girl during the duration of her first menstruation.)

ngunybajarra, *t.nom.*, next time
ngunybulugi, *n.*, (I), doctor [syn. **marnganyiji** (G)]
ngunybulunguna, *n.*, (II), nurse
ngunybungunbarri, *v.i.*, be sleepy
ngurlungga ?also **ngulungga**, *n.*, (IV), 1. soup; 2. juice
ngurlwayi, *n.*, (I), king brown snake
ngurndurrurlu, *v.i.*, lie on one's side propped up on one elbow [syn. **mirrinjungu**]
ngurnngurli, *v.i.*, cough
ngurraramba, *t.nom.*, night-time
ngurruguma, *v.t.?*, swallow
nguruji, *n.*, (I), cloud
ngururra, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji?), shadow
nguwajbarli, *n.*, (I; **nguwaj-barli** 'be jealous-AGNT(I)'), one who is jealous
nguwajbarlirna, *n.*, (II; **nguwaj-barlirna** 'be jealous-AGNT(II)'), one who is jealous
nguwajbarra, *v.t.*, (**nguwaj-barra** 'be jealous-TRANS'), be jealous of, 'jealousing' [syn. **junggungguwa**]
nguwajbi, *v.i.*, be jealous
nguwani, *v.d.*, (Gudanji), put [syn. **yardi**]
nguwu, *n.*, (I; Gudanji?), water [syn. **galyurringi**, **warnami**]
nguya, *v.t.*, 1. scratch; 2. dig (with stick)
nguyala, *n.*, flea, something that itches
nguyiminji, *n.*, (I?), freshwater mussel [syn. **jagugayi**, **marlangarri** (G), **nganggayi** (G)]
nijbi, *v.i.*, 1. sing; 2. *v.t.*, sing a song/ceremony
nimijbi also **nimi**, *v.t.*, rub
nirrinirri, *n.*, (I?), short-horned grasshopper
nujungama, *adj.*, in your own way, off in your own world

nurranma, *n.*, (III), testicles (from Ken Hale's notes) [syn. **luranyma**]
nyagajbi, *v.i.*, be 'knocked up', be exhausted
nyaganymi, *v.t.*, make tired
nyalima, *v.t.*, 1. heap up, collect; 2. attract, bring
nyambarli, *v.t.?*, chew [syn. **ngannganmi**]
nyanyalu, *n.*, (I?), tea
nyanyayijbarli, *n.*, (I; **nyanyayu-j-barli** 'move around-TH-AGNT(I)'), one who moves/fidgets a lot
nyanyayijbarlirna, *n.*, (II; **nyanyayu-j-barlirna** 'move around-TH-AGNT(II)'), one who moves/fidgets a lot
nyanyayu, *v.i.*, move around, fidget
nyanyayumi, *v.t.*, make move, move someone/something
nyanyuwa, *v.t.*, pick up, collect (e.g. to find and pick up something at the rubbish dump).
nyila, *n.*, (II), needle (of the echidna), spike.
nyilangunya, *n.*, (II), echidna, 'porcupine' [syn. **warrimbila**]
nyinggarna ?also **nyinggana**, *n.*, (II?), stone axe [syn. **ganybalinya**]
nyinggarra, *v.t.*, cut down with axe
nyinimirri, *n.*, (I?), finch
nyirrawurruma ?also **nyirrambuma**, *n.*, (III), little onion plant
nyungga, *n.*, (IV), hair, fur
nyunmi ?also **nyunymi**, *v.t.*, knock back, refuse
nyurranji, *adv.*, all the time, always, forever
nyurrunyurru, *v.t.*, chase [syn. **mardima**]

R

- rawuwanggu**, *n.*, (IV?; Gudanji), (conch?) shell (Makes a noise when blown in to, used as a signal.)
- rimina**, *n.*, (IV?; Gudanji), paddle, oar

U

- urdalyi** see **wurdalyi**
- urrungaji** see **wurrungaji**
- urrunganyimi** see **wurrunganyimi**

W

- waba**, *n.*, (IV), skin [syn. **angaanga**, **gilwa**]
- wadayina**, *n.*, (II), female mountain kangaroo [syn. **judama**]
- wagalagalana**, *n.*, (II), sugar glider
- wagalamarri**, *n.*, (I), Torresian crow [**Corvus orru**]
- wagardbi** also **agardbi** ?also **wagajbi**, *v.t.*, wash
- wagina**, *n.*, (Gudanji), 'river-side' crab [syn. **majigina**]
- wagujirri**, *n.*, (I?), fish sp. (This is a big white fish with poisonous spikes on its back.)
- wagula**, *adj.*, (IV; **wagulyi** (I), **wagulya** (II)), 1. bad, rotten, smelly; 2., *n.*, (IV) sleep (i.e. that you get in your eyes)
- wagunyungga**, *adj.*, left side, left-handed
- wajabiwajabi** ['wajabi'wajabi], *n.*, (I?), black-eared cuckoo [**Chrysococcyx osculans**] [syn. **jirrbilijirrbili**]
- wajangarnja**, *v.i.*, swim
- wajarra**, *n.*, (IV), bauhinia tree [**Lysiphyllum** sp.] (Boil the roots, use liquid to clean sores.)
- wajarri**, *v.i.*, fish
- walabadbi**, *n.*, (I?), wood duck
- walalangarri** also **alalangarri**, *adv.*, very hard, a lot (intensifier)
- walamagamaga**, *n.*, (IV?; Gudanji), salt water
- walanybirri**, *n.*, (I), Australian pelican [**Pelecanus conspicillatus**]
- waliyulu** see **aliyulu**
- walyayi**, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji), dugong
- walyulyumi**, *v.t.*, spread apart, open wide [syn. **ngangbulumi**]
- wamanji**, *n.*, (I), dingo
- wamanya**, *n.*, (II), dingo
- wamba**, *n.*, (IV), snappy gum [**Eucalyptus leucophloia**]
- wamirri**, *n.*, (IV?), plant sp. [**Hakea chbordophylla**] (There is some dispute about this plant. Some claim the correct name for it is **wamuri**.)
- wamuri**, *n.*, (IV?), plant sp. [**Acacia tenuissima**]
- wangarra** also **angarra**, *n.*, (IV?), corroboree
- wanggamayi**, *n.*, (I; Gudanji), dog [syn. **galalarrinji**, **janji** (G)]
- wanjirra**, *n.*, (IV), leaf [syn. **ilyirrga**]
- wankarri**, *n.*, (I?), grey wallaby?
- wanki** see **anki**
- wankuma**, *v.i.*?, wave hand across face (i.e. to shoo flies)
- wankurarri** also **ankurarri**, *v.t.*, lay (egg), give birth (of animal)
- wanmarri**, *n.*, (II; Gudanji), white woman [syn. **marndanga**, **gurrinya** (G)]
- wanmirri**, *n.*, (I), rib [syn. **garlimbaji**]
- wanmurru** see **anmurru**
- wanyga**, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji), armpit [syn. **gardibirra**]
- wara**, *n.*, (IV), 1. face; 2. forehead
- warawara**, *adv.*, face-to-face
- warabulubulu**, *n.*, collared sparrowhawk [**Accipiter cirrhocephalus**]
- waradami**, see **aradami**
- Waralunggu**, *n.*, Borroloola

wararru, *n.*, (IV), paperbark tree [syn. **bajarra**]

wardangarri, *n.*, (I), moon

wardanguji, *n.*, (I), young boy to be initiated

wardbaji, *n.*, (I), butterfly

wardguwardgu, *n.*, (IV?), round fitted headpiece (made of string), worn by initiate during initiation ceremony

warima, *v.t.*, hold on to, stick to

warladi, *v.i.*, peep

warlidaji, *n.*, (I), magpie goose [*Anseranas semipalmata*]

warnami, *n.*, (I), water [syn. **galyurringi**, **nguwi** (G)]

warlugu, *adv.*, for a little while [syn. **bibi** (G), **mundurumi** (G?)]

warnda, *n.*, (IV; Gudanji?), grass

warnnganji, *n.*, (I), fly

warnu, *n.*, (IV), tobacco (esp. chewing tobacco)

warrabubu, *adj.*, red [syn. **girrina**]

warrajbi, *v.i.*, moan, grunt, whinge

warrawarra, *v.i.*, be drunk

warrawulyi, *adj.*, dry [syn. **buyurru**]

warrguma, *v.t.*, slap (with leaves)

warrigila, *n.*, (IV), whitewood [*Atalaya hemiglauca*]

warriji, *n.*, (I), freshwater crocodile [syn. **binbaji** (G)]

warrimbila, *n.*, (II), echidna [syn. **nyilangunya**]

warunggala ?also **warrunggala**, *n.*, (II), riverside kangaroo, female [syn. **yunggumarla**]

wawuna, *n.*, (II), native honey, 'girl-one sugarbag' (Found in the ground.)

wawunji, *n.*, (I), native honey, 'boy-one sugarbag' (Found in trees.)

wayani, *v.s.*, (Gudanji), look for [syn. **ayani**]

wayigurrajbi see **ayigurrajbi**

wayigurru see **ayigurru**

wayiwayigurru, *t.nom.*, (Reduplication of **wayigurru**), late afternoon

wilwili, *v.i.*, flap wings (as if to stay in one place in the air)

winmurri, *n.*, little wire fishing spear

wiringarri, *n.*, barn owl [*Tyto alba*]

wirrilgarra ?also **wirridgala**, *n.*, (II), cockatiel [*Leptolophus hollandicus*]

wubi, *v.i.*, be red

wugalama, *n.*, (III?), tree sp. (apple bush?)

wugbardi also **wugwardi**, *v.t.*, cook

wugwardi also **wugbardi**

wujubardi, *v.t.*, (**wujubi-ardi** 'lie-CAUS'), lie to someone

wujubi, *v.i.*, lie, fib

wulunjurra, *n.*, (IV), corkwood tree [*Acacia sutherlandii*]

wunba, *n.*, (IV), wind [syn. **magurra**]

wundawulyana, *n.*, (II?), kite? (Lives in the river country, looks like an eaglehawk.)

wundugarri, *n.*, (I?), flying fox [syn. **ginyagbanji** (G?)]

wunggurrala, *n.*, (IV), dogwood, desert oak, wirewood [*Acacia coriacea*]

wunjugu, *interrog.*, 1. how; 2. somehow

wurarrgbi, *v.t.*, to scrape

wurdalyi also **urdalyi**, *n.*, (I?), ankle

wurdijirrimi, *adv.*, all around (like in a circle/loop), all over

wurdurda, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), grind (i.e. between hands/stones) [syn. **ngugujabi**]

wurranybi, *n.*, (I), a male dancer in one's initiation ceremony

wurranybirna, *n.*, (II), a female dancer in one's initiation ceremony

wurrgbi, *v.t.*, take off. remove. pull out. clean up

wurrudbanyi, *v.t.*, pull, drag
wurrudbi, *v.t.*, carry around
wurrungaji also **urrungaji**, *adj.*, (I?), warm
wurrungala, *n.*, (IV), windbreak
wurrunganyimi also **urrunganyimi**, *v.t.*, (**wurrungaji-mi** ‘warm-FAC’), make warm [syn. **yunkarri**]
wuru, *v.i.*, dive down (i.e. of hawk)
wurumbumbi, *n.*, (I), dragonfly
wurunburunbi, *v.i.?*, hang down
wurungurra, *n.*, (IV?), lignum

Y

yaba, *n.*, (Gudanji), boy that has already been initiated [syn. **bulingi**]
yabu, *v.t.*, 1. have; 2. take; 3. bring
yagayaga, *v.i.*, be no good, be weak
yagu, *v.t.*, leave alone, leave behind [**yagujbi** (G)]
yagujbi, *v.t.*, (Gudanji), leave behind, leave [syn. **yagu**]
yagurragurra, *n.*, (II), wild fowl, black-tailed native hen [*Gallinula ventralis*]
yalanarrama, *n.*, (III), tree sp. (This tree has small edible berries and the wood is used to make spears.)
Yambayambarna, *n.*, Country around Renner Springs (Warumungu country)
yandu¹, *v.s.*, 1. wait [**jadbi** (G)]; 2. *v.refl.*, rest
yandu², *v.t.*, mind, watch over, look after
yandugururna, *n.*, (II), thunder, lightning
yangaji, *n.*, (I), meat [syn. **ganybirra**, **gunju**]
yangami, *v.t.*, turn around, turn over
yangulanji, *interrog.*, (I; **yangulanya** (II), **yangulanyma** (III), **yangulanja** (IV)), how much, how many
yangulu, *interrog.*, 1. when; 2. sometime
yanjuni, *n.*, (I?; Gudanji), water rat?
yanybi, *v.t.*, get, pick up [syn. **idanyi** (G)]
yardi, *v.d.*, (Requires an allative indirect object), 1. put (down) [syn. **nguwarni**]; 2. *v.t.*, make; 3. to make oneself into something (In this use takes two objects, one of which is reflexive)
yarduga, *adj.*, (IV; **yardugarna** (II), **yadugama** (III)), hard, strong [syn. **murdurna**]
yardugami, *v.t.*, (**yarduga-mi** ‘strong-FAC’), make strong
yarrambaja, *n.*, (IV?), men’s secret business
yarru, *v.i.*, go, come [syn. **dalwi** (G)]
yarruburdu, *v.i.*, 1. walk, walk around; 2. go around (i.e. in car)
yawayi, *v.s.*, be worried that s.o. is talking about you, be paranoid (about)
yawirri, *n.*, (I?), plains kangaroo, sp.? (Described as a white kangaroo from the plains country.) [syn. **marraji**]
yawulyu, *n.*, (IV?), women’s ceremony [syn. **guriija**]
yidarangga see **idarrangga**
yiligirra see **iligirra**
yilijbi see **ilijbi**
yindirra see **indirra**
yinijbi see **inijbi**
yirrilyi see **irriilyi**
yubulala, *n.*, (IV), flower
yugala also **yuguwala**, *n.*, (IV?), smoke, steam
yugu, *v.i.*, cry
yungumarla ?also **yunggumala**, *n.*, (I), riverside kangaroo, female [syn. **warungala**]
yunkarri, *v.t.*, warm something (i.e. by the fire) [syn. **wurrunganyimi**]
yunumarrga, *adv.*, that way, in that direction

yunungani, *adv.*, around the back

yununggu, *adv.*, like that, thus

yurndu, *v.t.*, hit with missile

yurubu, *adv.*, for nothing, just, only

yurula, *n.*, (IV), name

ENGLISH-WAMBAYA FINDERLIST

This finderlist is intended to be used in conjunction with the Wambaya-English word list in Appendix D. Its purpose is to help identify the Wambaya equivalent of an English word so that its full entry can then be located in the Wambaya-English version. It should not be used simply as an English-Wambaya dictionary.

A

- a few, *gamdamdawuga*
 a little bit, *gamdamdawuga*
 a lot, *walalagarri*
 abduct, *lurrgebanyi*
 Aboriginal person, *juwa*
 above, *gayangga*
 absent
 be absent from someone, *laji*
 ache, *murri*
 afterbirth, *marlaba*
 afternoon, *ayigurru*
 late afternoon, *wayiwayigurru*
 again, *milama*
 alcohol, *ilarri, lunggarra, ngaragana*
 algae, *bulinja*
 alive, *anki* (I), *anka* (IV)
 to give life to, *ankami*
 all
 all around (in a circle), *wurdijirrimi*
 all day, *ayigurrajbi*
 all night, *baralala*
 all the time, *nyurranji*
 do all, *ganjimi*
 allow to, *gamarnda*
 alone, *ilijbi* (I), *ilijbirna* (II)
 in your own way, *nujungama*
 always, *nyurranji*
 angry, *jirdalyi*
 angry person, *jidanybarli* (I),
 jidanybarlirna (II)
 be angry, *barla*
 be cross, *baliji*
 ankle, *wurdalyi*
 annoy, *aradami*
 another, *gunya* (IV), *gunyi* (I), *gunyama* (II)
 another camp/country, *magajarra*
 another place, *banggajarra*,
 jabajabayarra (G)
 answer, to, *janyi*
 ant
 ant bed, *jidbi*
 bull ant, *gijana*
 red ant with black abdomen, *girrinyi*
 Anthony Lagoon Station, *Gargarguwaja*
 argue
 argue with, *didbidbunga*
 fight with, *barla*
 give cheek to, *gininyangmi, jidanymi*
 side with someone (e.g. in a fight),
 inma
 arm, *jarlu*
 elbow, *munjuna*
 upper arm, *bulalajarlu, munngujarlu*
 wrist, *gardawurri*
 armpit, *gardibirra, wanyga* (G)
 around
 all around (in a circle), *wurdijirrimi*
 around the back, *yunungani*
 arse, *bunyma*
 ashamed, be, *manngurru*
 ashes, *ganburna, jurlurrburra*
 ashes that are mixed with chewing
 tobacco, *ganburna, gamga*
 ask, *janganja*
 aunt
 father's brother's wife, *gujunganjarda*,
 gujinya, gambaranya, gambararda
 father's sister, *bamangilinya, irdinya*,
 iriyilinya, iriyirda
 mother's brother's wife, *bamangilinya*,
 irdinya
 mother's sister, *gambaranya*,

garrangulinya, gujanganjarda, gujinya
 see also great-aunt
 awake, *murlu*
 to have one's eyes closed but still be
 awake, *lanbi*
 away
 be absent from someone, *laji*
 axe, *ganybalinya, nyinggarna*

B

baby
 newborn baby, *manjala*
 to 'cook' new born babies, *ganbunuma*
 woman who has just had a baby,
jalyarranga
 back, *banduma, didibarra, durrinja*
 around the back, *yunungani*
 back of neck, *jiyarra*
 have one's back to someone, *durrinja*
 lower back, *banduma*
 backbone, *didibarra*
 bad, *bagiga* (IV), *bagiji* (I), *baginga* (II)
 cause to be bad, *baginymi*
 feel bad, *bagijbi*
 rotten, *wagula* (IV), *wagulyi* (I),
wagulya (II)
 bag, *bayigina, munmagarna*
 bald, *banbarla*
 bark (n), *bardgabardga*
 bark string, *jarnaga*
 bark at, *ngamnga*
 barramundi, *jadiyi*
 bathe, *lingba*
 bauhinia tree, *wajarra*
 be, *mirra*
 beard, *jamdama*
 bed, *jalyu*
 make a bed, *jalyuma*
 before, *jaburru*
 begin, *jaburrajbi*
 behind, *banjangani*
 bend, *munji, lunanjarri*
 bend down to, *bunjurrgharra*
 bent, *murndugurlu*
 big, *bajbaga* (IV), *bugayi* (I), *buguwa* (IV),
marliwa (IV), *marliyi* (I), *ngamaji* (I) (G)

'big mob', *gamguja* (IV), *gamgujbala* (IV),
gamgujbalarna (II), *gamgujbali* (I),
gamguji (I), *gamgunya* (II), *gamgunyma*
 (III)
 billy can, *jawaranya*
 bird, *julaji* (I), *julanga* (II)
 barn owl, *wiringarri*
 bird sp., *burriiji, janbalyi, jirrbidbira,*
marinkila, nganyanggali
 black kite, *galunji*
 black-eared cuckoo, *jirrbilijirrbili,*
wajabiwajabi
 black-winged stilt, *nginginji*
 brolga, *darrmanji*
 budgerigar, *ngadijirri*
 bush turkey, *gaminyanji*
 chickenhawk, *garrgarrgayi*
 cockatiel, *wirrilgarra*
 collared sparrow-hawk, *warabulubulu*
 crested pigeon, *garlwarlwana*
 crow, *wagalamarri*
 curlew, *indilyawuna*
 darter?, *dalwarranji*
 diamond dove, *guluguguma*
 dollarbird, *danidani* (G?)
 duck (generic), *jibilyawuna*
 eaglehawk, *ilarrarna*
 emu, *gamanganjana*
 finch, *nyinimirri*
 flock bronzewing, *gunawurruna*
 galah, *gilyinkilyida*
 grebe, *birrida*
 grey fantail, *jugujuguna*
 hawk sp., *gulumbinya*
 heron sp., *ganbagaguna*
 hobby?, *barnanggi, gunggudabudabu*
 jabiru, *garrinji*
 kingfisher?, *danmurrana*
 kite sp., *didilayi, wundawulyana*
 magpie, *gulbalawuji* (G), *iburraji*
 magpie goose, *warlidaji*
 parrot sp., *birriwililyi*
 peaceful dove, *marrababina*
 peewee, *diridibulyi*
 pelican, *walanybirri*
 plover, *dadada, dajarrarrana*
 pratincole, *gurijbijhina*
 quail, *burrunjuna*
 red-tailed black cockatoo, *lirrada*
 red-winged parrot?, *milinya*
 southern boobook owl, *gurruguji*
 spinifex pigeon, *larrana*
 spiny-cheeked honeyeater?, *jariirri*
 spoonbill?, *bulunbuluda*

- straw-necked ibis, *gunymana*
 sulphur-crested cockatoo, *barraala*
 tawny frogmouth, *gulugulinya*
 tern sp., *gigura*, *dudba* (G?)
 white-faced heron, *gawula*
 wild fowl, *yagurragurrana*
 willy wagtail, *jindirribirrinya*
 wood duck, *walabadbi*
 wren?, *jijirda*
- birth
 afterbirth, *marlaba*
 give birth (of animal), *wankurarri*
 give birth (of person), *jaladi*
 newborn baby, *manjala*
 woman who has just had a baby,
jalyarranga
- bite, *dawu*, *gudayibi* (G)
 one who bites, *dawujbarli* (I),
dawujbarlirma (II), *gudayibarli* (I) (G),
gudayibarlirma (II) (G)
- black, *ngumuji* (I), *ngumurra* (IV)
- blanket, *durnajana*
- blanket lizard, *gunbi*, *mankunyi*
- blind
 blind man, *gamamurri*, *murluwaji*
 blind woman, *gamamurrunga*,
murluwajama
- blink (v), *jibarri*
- blood, *ilirri*
- bloodwood tree, *darralyagi*
- blow
 blow away/about (of wind),
burlurlandu
 blow nose, *burrghanju*
 blow on something, *burrghanju*
 blow (wind), *bardbi*
- blue-tongue lizard, *gulangunya*,
milirrgbarna (G)
- boat, *muwadana*
- body, *ngaminji*
 body odour, *mamdurra*
- 'bogey', *lingba*
- boil (n), *garrurdama*, *ngundurrima* (G)
- bone, *galaa*
- boomerang, *juguli*
 hook boomerang, *mankaburruma*
 instrument used to carve boomerangs,
binmala, *ngarajagana*, *ngarlarrgu*
 instrument used to decorate
 boomerangs, *birdbirrga*
- make/shape boomerangs, *ngarajabi*
 put the decorative marks on a
 boomerang, *mangamami*
- Borrooloola, *Waralunggu*
- boss, *bugarru*, *marliyi*, *mungguji*,
ngannguyi
- bottle, *bujili*
- bounce
 bounce child on knee, *gurrugurrumi*
- boy, *alaji*, *juga* (Gw)
 boy to be initiated, *wardanguji*
 boys, *alangmiminji*
- bracelet, *jalinjalinja*
- brain, *murudidi*
- branch, *labarlabarnga*
- bread, *bulyuluma*
- break, *ngujari*
 break down, *ngujari*
 bust, *darrgbi* (G)
 explode, *jijambi*
- breast, *ngaburlu*
- breast plate, *ngamangama*
- breathe, *ngarlijbi*
 be short of breath, *garrankajbi*,
ngarrgudi
- bring, *nyalima*, *yabu*
- bring up (child), *bajijurndu*
- broil, *darrmanji*
- brother
 older brother, *baba*, *bayiliji*
 younger brother, *gagulu*
- brother-in-law, *gari*, *munggujbila*
- Brunette Downs, *Nganaarra*
 people of Brunette Downs area,
gardaalanji
- brush off, *binbinkuma*
- budgerigar, *ngadijirri*
- build, *angbardi*
- bull ant, *gijana*
- burn, *daburri* (G), *najbi*
- burp (v), *jalanggubi*
- bury, *guliyarri*
- bush banana, *ngamandurruma*,
ngamarragama
- bush medicine, *mijanka*
- bush passionfruit, *minggilyanuma*
- bush plum, *darima*

bush turkey, *gaminyanji*
 bush, the, *dudu*, *gurdu*
 business
 men's secret business, *yarrambaja*
 bustard, *gaminyanji*
 busy, be, *aradajbi*
 butterfly, *wardbaji*
 buttocks, *bunyma*

C

calf (of leg), *gumarra*, *ngalyangalya* (Gw?)
 call out to, *ardbi*
 camp, *maga*
 another camp, *magajarra*
 single men's camp, *ngalangga*
 single women's camp, *guwarla*
 car, *narunguja*
 have a car accident, *bardgu*
 run over in a car, *nawu*
 care for, *gunkunmi*, *nananga*
 carry
 carry around, *wurrudbi*
 carry in both arms, *ngunjulu*
 carry on head, *gulayirda*
 carry on hip under arm, esp. coolamon,
 didija
 carry on shoulders, *bigilanyi* (G),
 labalaba
 carve
 instrument used to carve boomerangs,
 binmala, *ngarajagana*, *ngarlarrgu*
 make/shape boomerangs, *ngarajabi*
 put the decorative marks on a
 boomerang, *mangarnami*
 cat, *ganybulanyi*
 catch, *lurrqbanyi*
 caterpillar, *burruburrama*
 cave, *gumayangu*
 ceremony
 ceremonial coolamon with handle,
 januma
 ceremonial ground, *jamanji*
 ceremonial white paint, *jaraji*
 corroboree, *wangarra*
 men's business, *yarrambaja*
 men's ceremony sung after someone's
 death, *jawala*
 the ceremony sung for male initiation,
 gujiga

women's ceremony, *guri ja*, *yawulyu*
see also dance, dance ornament,
 initiation
 charcoal, *janyala*
 chase, *mardima*, *nyurrunyurru*
 chase away, *dula*, *dunkala*, *irriburdu*
 chatterbox, *ngarlwarli* (I), *ngarlwarlima* (II)
 cheek, *gamangga*
 cheeky (of child), *ginjiji*
 'cheeky' (angry)
 be 'cheeky', *jidalyi*
 cheekiness, *barla*
 give cheek to, *gininyangmi*, *jidanyimi*
 make 'cheeky', *lungganymi*
 troublemaker, *jidanybarli* (I),
 jidanybarlima (II)
 chest, *linka*
 chew, *nyambarli*
 chew the meat off a bone, *ngannganmi*
 chickenhawk, *garrgarrgayi*
 child, *alaji*
 boy, *alaji*, *juga* (Gw)
 boy to be initiated, *wardanguji*
 children, *alajaji*, *alalangmiminji* (I),
 alalangmiminnya (II)
 dead child, *guyuwarna*
 girl, *alanga*, *ngila* (Gw)
 chin, *jamdama*
 chop (of tree), *dawu*
 cigarette, *burlinjana*
 circle
 all around (in a circle), *wurdijirrimi*
 clap
 clap (objects) together, *dirdibili*
 clap by hitting tops of crossed legs
 (women only), *budburri*
 clapping sticks, *danmuga*
 claw, *irrilyi*
 clean, *galuli* (I), *galuluma* (II)
 clean bark off, *wurarrgbi*
 clean up, *ngarlani*
 climb, *langanbi*
 clitoris, *giri*
 close, *ganinggiji*
 to come close up, to be close up,
 ganinggi
 to go close behind something/someone,
 ganmanmi
 close (v), *jaji*

- clothes, *danya*
to dress, *jaringma*, *jarrgarranyi*
skirt (traditional), *ngunungarri*
trousers, *jarrawaja*
- cloud, *nguruji*
dark (rain) cloud, *bulurna*
- cockatiel, *wirrilgarra*
- cockatoo
red-tailed black cockatoo, *lirrada*
sulphur-crested cockatoo, *barraala*
- cock-rag, *dungala* (G?)
- cold
be cold, *garriji*, *ngajirri*
cold weather, *garrijarrija*, *ngajirra*
coldness, *ngajirra*
make cool, *garrijanyimi*
- cold (flu), *ngankarra*, *ngarlurra*
- collarbone, *ngalirrilili*
- collect, *nyanyuwa*
- come, *yarru*
come back, *gannga*
come out, *bungbari*
come towards, *bungbari*
come/be close up, *ganinggi*
- conkerberry
conkerberry fruit, *marnugujama*
conkerberry tree, *marnuguja*
- cook, *wugbardi*
brown in coals, *garrunyama*
cooked, *ilanji*
cooking site, *gayirra*
ground oven, *munggu*
roast in coals, *gayirrima*
roast in the ground, *mungguwa*
- cool
make cool, *garrijanyimi*
- coolamon
ceremonial coolamon with handle,
jaruna
deep (water) coolamon, *gamula*,
lujuluju
shallow coolamon (i.e. for carrying
babies etc.), *lawunji*, *lagija*
- coolibah tree, *murrinja*
- corkwood tree, *wulunjurra*
- corroboree, *wangarra*
- cough (v), *ngurngurli*
- country, *maga*
another country, *magajarra*
countryman, *marunki* (I), *marunkima*
(II)
hill country, *dawurdawurra* (G?)
one who belongs to a given country,
magbarli (I), *magbarlima* (II)
one who is from the plains country,
manggurinjji (I), *manggurinya* (II)
people of Brunette Downs area,
gardaalanji
plains country, *mangguru*
- cousin
father's brother's daughter, *babanya*,
bayida (G), *bayilinya*, *gagulinya*,
gagurda
father's brother's son, *baba*, *bayiliji*,
gagulu
father's sister's daughter, *barnjanya*
father's sister's son, *barnga*
mother's brother's daughter, *barnjanya*
mother's brother's son, *barnga*
mother's sister's daughter, *babanya*,
bayida (G), *bayilinya*, *gagulinya*,
gagurda
mother's sister's son, *baba*, *bayiliji*,
gagulu
- cover, *dumajarri*, *jaji*
cover newborn baby over with hot dirt,
ganbunuma
- crab
'river-side' crab, *majigina*, *wagina*
'sea-side' crab, *majigayi*
- crack (n), *girrgila*
- cramp (v), *garrbagarrbalyi*
have a cramp, *garrbanbi*
- crawl, *ilyinmi*, *junku*
- crazy
crazy person, *abajabajirra* (II),
abajabaji (I)
make crazy, *abajabajami*
- creek, *marnangga* (G?)
- crocodile
freshwater crocodile, *binbaya* (G),
warriji
saltwater crocodile, *mardumbarra*
- crooked, *mumdugurlu*
- cross
be cross, *baliji*

cross over
cross over the water (on a bridge),
jagara

crow, *wagalamarri*

cry, *yugu*

cuckoo, *jirrbilijirrbili*, *wajabiwajabi*

cuddle, *anmurru*
rock child, *gurrugurrumi*

cup, *barlugudba*

curlew, *indilyawurna*

cut, *junmi*
chop (of tree), *dawu*

cut down with axe, *nyinggarra*

cut open a goanna, *gurrgurli*
to gash one's head in mourning,
gurlirra

D

dance

a dance performed by women during
initiation ceremonies, *mimdigirri*

a dancer in one's initiation ceremony,
wurranybi (I), *wurranybima* (II)

a man's dance, part of the initiation
ceremony, *gabaji*

a women's ceremony, *guriya*, *yawulyu*

clap by hitting tops of crossed legs,
budburri

to dance (of men), *ngarlu*, *ngarlugbi*

to dance (of women), *gajurru*

to practice dancing, *bawunmi*

see also ceremony, dance ornament,
initiation

dance ornament

bracelet worn around the tops of the
arms, *jalinjalinja*

breastplate, *ngamangama*

long hat worn by men, *gumundungu*

round fitted headpiece worn by young
man, *wardguwardgu*

white cloth headband worn by
women, *barmarrama*

white cockatoo feather worn on head,
ngardarru

daughter

man's daughter, *jajilinya*, *jajirda*,
jawananya (G?)

mother and daughter pair,

gamburugulanga

woman's daughter, *gulinya*

see also granddaughter

daughter-in-law

man's son's wife, *lambarrarna*
woman's son's wife, *jayulinya*,
mimayirra

day

all day, *ayigurrajbi*

dead

be dead, *barlaji*

dead child, *guyuwarna*

dead man, *bibiyurru*

dead woman, *bibiyurruna*

name used to replace name of dead

person, *murrinmurrinji* (I),

murrinmurrinya (II)

deaf

deaf person, *abajabaji* (I), *abajabajirra*
(II)

deafen, *gurdumi*

death

parent who has cut off hair in mourning
for child, *damanggayi* (I),

damanggayirra (II)

men's ceremony sung after someone's
death, *jawala*

to gash one's head in mourning,
gurlirra

deep, *galiba*

desert, *gayarra*

devil-devil, *gardajali*

die, *gudijbi*

be dead, *barlaji*

different

a different place, *banggajarra*,

jabajabayarra (G)

another, *gunya* (IV), *gunyi* (I), *gunyarna*
(II)

another camp/country, *magajarra*

dig

dig out of fire, *galima*

dig with stick, *nguya*

digging stick, *maganja*

dingo, *wamanji* (I), *wamanya* (II)

dirt, *jamba*

brush dirt off, *jundurra*

dirty, *wagula*

dive

dive down (of hawk), *wuru*

doctor, *marnganinji* (G), *ngunymbulugi*

dog, *galalarrama* (II), *galalarrinji* (I), *janji* (I) (G), *janya* (II) (G), *wanggamayi* (G)
dingo, *wamanji* (I), *wamana* (II)
dollarbird, *danidani*
don't know
'I don't know', *gunku*
not to know someone, *ngiyangbi*
doubt (v), *galagbi*
dove
diamond dove, *guluguguma*
peaceful dove, *marrababina*
down, *jangi*, *jayili* (G)
go down, *jalandabi*
drag, *wurrudbanyi*
dragonfly, *wurumbumbi*
dream
a dream, *buwarraja*
dream about, *buwarrajinga*
Dreamtime, *buwarraja*
Dreamtime story, *buwarraja*
dress (v), *jaringma*, *jarrgarranyi*
drink, *ngarabi*
a drunk, *ngarabarli* (I), *ngarabarlima* (II)
alcohol, *ilarri*, *lunggarra*, *ngaragana*
be drunk, *warrawarra*
drop, *bardgujirrimi*
drown, *ginganbi*
drunk (see drink)
dry, *buyurru*, *warrawulyi*
dry season, *buyurru*
dry skin, *gilwa*
to dry something, *banngarrardi*
duck, *jibilyawuna*, *dalwarranji*, *walabadbi*
dugong, *walyayi* (G)
dust, *jundurra*
to kick dust on someone by walking
past, *jundurra*

E

eaglehawk, *ilarrama*
ear, *manka*
ear wax, *mankuluguluda*
early morning, *gambardarda*
east, *gagarra*
eat, *gajbi*
feed, *bundurrimi*
meal, *bundurra*

echidna, *nyilangunya*, *warrimbila*
needle of the echidna, *nyila*
egg, *marrgulu*
elbow, *munjuna*
emu, *gamanganjana*
enter, *larlagbi*
explode, *jijambi*
eye, *murlu*
eyebrow, *milindi*
eyelashes, *ibijibiji*

F

face, *wara*
be facing someone, *juruma*
face-to-face, *warawara*
faint
feel faint, *guruburri*
fall, *bardgu*
fall into hole, *garlarli*
fell something, *bardgujirrimi*
trip someone up, *janmajardi*
far, *marlu*
fart (n), *dirrbi*
fast, *gajigajirra*
fat, *gurija*
father, *irda*
father of boy to be initiated, *banybayi*
see also grandfather
father-in-law, *gardunganji*, *lambarra*
fear
be a 'chicken' (slang), *dumbi*
be frightened, *durra*, *ilagbi*
fearful person, *durrajbarli* (I),
durrajbarlima (II), *ilagbarli* (I) (G),
ilagbarlima (II) (G)
feather, *mardaja*
white cockatoo feather, *ngardarru*
feel, *manku*
feel around, *maramaranbi*
feel bad, *bagijbi*
feel faint, *guruburri*
feel good, *gurijbi*
feel happy (about something),
marrugbi, *ngunkarri*
few, *gardarndawuga*
fight, *daguma*
argue with, *didbidbunga*
fight with, *barla*

pick a fight with someone, *gininyangmi*,
jidanyimi
 side with someone (e.g. in a fight),
inma
 file snake, *bunubununa*
 finch, *nyinimirri*
 find, *aliyulu*
 finger, *labirra*, *mama* (G)
 fingernail, *irrilyi*
 finish, *ganjimi*
 fire, *guyiga*, *ngangaba*
 firewood, *ngangaba*
 fish, *gaguwi*
 barramundi, *jadiyi*
 fish sp., *bulmanji*, *gaguna*, *garama*,
 mankularrana, *wagujirri*
 hollow log used for catching fish,
 lamanma
 little wire fishing spear, *wimurri*
 to fish, *wajarri*
 flat, *bilimbila*
 flea, *nguyala*
 float, *bulubulugbi*
 flow (river), *bardbi*
 flower, *yubulala*
 flu, *ngankarra*, *ngarlurra*
 fly (n), *wamnganji*
 fly (v), *baba*
 fly up (into the sky), *dingbari*
 hover, *wilwili*
 flying fox, *ginyagbanji* (G?), *wundugarri*
 follow, *bardganyi*
 food, *manganyma*
 bread, *bulyuluma*
 meal, *bundurra*
 meat, *ganybirra*, *gunju*, *yanga ji*
 non-flesh food, *manganyma*
 see also fruit
 foot, *janga*, *mandawayi*
 heel, *munngujanga*
 football, *bulyi*
 footprint, *malya*
 for ever, *nyurranji*
 for nothing, *yurubu*
 forehead, *wara*
 foreskin, *gilwa*, *jangurla*
 forget, *gudijbi*

fork (of tree), *labarlabarnga*
 fowl, *yagurragurrana*
 friend, *barnga*, *ngarrinybi* (I), *ngarrinybima*
 (II)
 childhood friend, *magungunu*
 frightened, be, *durra*, *ilagbi*
 see also fear
 frog, *burrgunji*
 fruit, *manja*
 bush banana, *ngamandurruma*,
 ngamarragama
 bush coconut?, *magudidi*
 bush fruit sp., *miyagama*
 bush passionfruit, *minggilyanuma*
 bush plum, *darima*
 bush tomato, *muralama*
 conkerberry, *marnugujama*
 skin of fruit/vegetable, *gilwa*
 white berry, sp., *julamarrima*,
 ngabararrima
 wild orange, *burnaringma*
 see also plant, tree
 fuck, *duri*
 full, *bundurru* (IV), *bundurruma* (II)
 be/get full, *bundurrijbi*
 full up, *banbardarda*
 make full, *bundurrumi*
 fur, *nyungga*

G

galah, *gilyinkilyida*
 game (esp. cards), *mawulajana*
 gather
 collect, *nyalima*
 gather together, *mujumi*
 gecko, *gangbima*
 get, *idanyi* (G), *yanybi*
 collect, *nyalima*
 gather together, *mujumi*
 get something from inside, *larlagbarra*
 pick up, *yanybi*
 get out, *duwa*
 get up (and leave), *duwa*
 gidgee tree, *gardaala*, *gardawala* (G)
 girl, *alanga*, *ngila* (Gw)
 girls, *alangmiminnya*
 give, *jiyawu*
 give an order, *irrinymi*
 give cheek to, *gininyangmi*, *jidanyimi*

- give birth
give birth (of animal), *wankurarri*
give birth (of person), *jaladi*
- glans penis, *gubija*
- glider
sugar glider, *wagalagalana*
- go, *dalwi* (G), *yarru*
get out (of pouch, egg etc.), *duwa*
get up (and leave), *duwa*
go around (i.e. in car), *yarruburdu*
go down, *jalandabi*
go inside, *larlagbi*
go past, *banyimi*, *barulajbi* (G?)
- goanna, *mayinanji* (I), *mayinanjana* (II)
cut open a goanna, *gurr gurli*
goanna sp., *bagarrinji*
plains goanna, *jurr gubarri*, *mangirriji* (G)
- God, *marliyi*
- good, *gurijsi* (I), *gurijbima* (II), *gurijbama*, (III) *gurijsa* (IV)
feel good, *gurijsi*
make good, *gurinyimi*
- goodbye, *alima*
- gossip
gossip about, *inijbi*
to worry that s.o. is talking about you, *yawayi*
- grab, *jimbanyi*, *lurr gbanyi*
- granddaughter
man's daughter's daughter,
jaminjaminya, *mimirna* (Gw)
man's son's daughter, *gangguminya*
woman's daughter's daughter,
guguminya
woman's son's daughter, *ngajiminya*
- grandfather
father's father, *ganggu*
mother's father, *jaminjila*, *mimi* (Gw)
- grandmother
father's mother, *ngayijinya*, *ngayijirda*
mother's mother, *gugunya*, *gugurda*
- grandson
man's daughter's son, *jaminjaminji*,
mimi (Gw)
man's son's son, *ganggumiji*
woman's daughter's son, *gugumiji*
woman's son's son, *ngajimiji*
- grass, *warnda* (G?)
grass sp., *bilama*
green grass, *bigirra*
- grass snake, *bumarna*
- grasshopper, *dajbidajbi*
short-horned grasshopper, *nirrinirri*
- grease (n), *gurija*
- great-aunt
father's father's sister, *ganggunya*
father's mother's sister, *ngayijinya*,
ngayijirda
mother's father's sister, *jaminjilinya*,
jaminjilirda, *mimirna* (Gw)
mother's mother's sister, *gugunya*,
gugurda
- great-nephew
brother's daughter's son, *jaminjaminji*,
mimi (Gw)
brother's son's son, *ganggumiji*
sister's daughter's son, *gugumiji*
sister's son's son, *ngajimiji*
- great-niece
brother's daughter's daughter,
jaminjaminya
brother's son's daughter, *gangguminya*
sister's daughter's daughter, *guguminya*
sister's son's daughter, *ngajiminya*
- great-uncle
father's father's brother, *ganggu*
father's mother's brother, *ngabuji*
mother's father's brother, *jaminjila*,
mimi (Gw)
mother's mother's brother, *gugu*
- grebe, *birrida*
- greedy
greedy person, *gulyambirra* (I),
gulyambirrama (II)
- grey-haired
be grey-haired, *bugurabi*
grey-haired person, *buguramila* (II),
buguramilyi (I)
- grind, *ngugujabi*, *wurdurda* (G)
big round grinding stone, *minggalija*
make soft/fine from grinding, *luyunymi*
small round grinding stone, *burulyi*
- grog, *ilarri*, *lunggarra*, *ngaragana*
- ground, *jamba*
ceremonial ground, *jamanji*
- ground oven, *munggu*
- grow, *baji*
'grow up', *bajijumdu*
- growl, *ngirrwi*
- growl at, *ngamnga*

guts, *gagama*
gutta percha tree, *manyingila*

H

hair, *nyungga*
be grey-haired, *bugurabi*
grey-haired person, *buguramila* (II),
buguramilyi (I)
hairstring, *jagbarri*
hairstring belt, *jarlardu*, *munungguma*
parent who has cut off hair in mourning
for child, *damanggayi* (I),
damanggayima (II)
roll hair on leg to make string,
banjanmi

hairstring belt, *jarlardu*, *munungguma*
half way, *buyunku*
hammer (v), *dardaluma*
hand, *labirra*, *marna* (G)
handle (n), *jarlu*

hang
hang down, *wurunburunbi*
hang up, *langanjardi*

happy
feel happy (about something),
marrugbi, *ngunkarri*

hard, *murduma*, *yarduga* (IV), *yarduga* (IV),
yardugama (II)

hassle (v), *aradami*

hatch, *darrgulumi*

have, *yabu*
keep, *gunugunumi*

hawk
chickenhawk, *garrgarrgayi*
collared sparrow-hawk, *warabulubulu*
hawk sp., *gulumbinya*

head, *damangga*, *guyuguya* (G)
gash one's head in mourning, *gurlirra*

headpiece
long hat worn by men during ceremony,
gumundungu
round fitted headpiece worn by young
man during initiation ceremony,
wardguwardgu
white cloth headband worn by women
during ceremony, *barmarrarna*
white cockatoo feather worn on head
during ceremonies, *ngardarru*

heap up, *dardbiyardi*, *ijijardi*

hear, *ilinga*, *manku*
heart, *gurdurlu*, *marala*
heavy, *jarlwarla*
heel, *munngujanga*
here, *bangarni*, *ginmanji*
heron
heron sp., *ganbagaguna*
white-faced heron, *gawula*
hiccup (v), *ngamaganbi*
hide, *andajarri*
high, *gayangga*
make go high, *gayanggami*
hill country, *dawurdawurra* (G?)
hip, *mira*
hit, *daguma*, *majbi* (G)
hit with hand, *daguma*
hit with instrument, *lurdbi*
hit with something thrown, *yurndu*
slap with leaves, *warrguma*
to knock someone out, *guruburrardi*

hobby (bird), *barnanggi*, *gunggudabudabu*
hold, *warima*
hole, *lagurra*
fall into hole, *garlarli*
put something into a hole, *garlarlardi*

home, *maga*
honey, *wawuna*, *wawunji*
honeyeater, *jariirri*
hook, *ginguli*
hook boomerang, *mankaburruma*

hot
be hot, *linjarrgbi*, *ngarrangarra*
make warm, *wurrunganymi*

house, *barrawu*
how, *wunjugu*
how much, *yangulanji* (I), *yangulanya* (II),
yangulanyma (III), *yangulanja* (IV)

'humbug', *aradami*
hungry, be, *baliji*
hunt, *alalangmi*, *ngirrigbi* (G)
'hunt away', *dula*, *dunkala*, *irriburdu*

hurt, *murri*
hurt someone, *murrijbulumi*
to be in pain, *ngadijbi*

husband, *gari*, *munggujbila*

I

'I don't know', *gunku*
 ibis, *gunymana*
 initiation
 a dance performed by women,
mirndigirri
 a dancer in one's initiation ceremony,
wurranyi (I), *wurranybirna* (II)
 a man's dance, *gabaji*
 boy who has been initiated, *bulingi*,
yaba (G)
 boy to be initiated, *wardanguji*
 ceremonial ground, *jamanji*
 ceremony sung for male initiation,
gujiga
 men's secret business, *yarrambaja*
 parent of boy to be initiated, *banybayi*
 (I), *banybayirna* (II)
 round fitted headpiece worn by young
 man, *wardguwardgu*
 second-degree initiate, *murunguji*
see also ceremony, dance, dance
 ornament
 inside, *murrugu*
 get something from inside, *larlagbarra*
 go inside, *larlagbi*
 itchy, be, *muwari*

J

jabiru, *garrinji*
 jail (v), *jangbidi*
 jaw, *gammangga*
 jealous
 be jealous, *nguwajbi*
 be jealous of, *junggungguwa*,
nguwajbarra
 jealous person, *nguwajbarli* (I),
nguwajbarlima (II)
 joey, *ganarrgulyi* (G?)
 juice, *ngurlungga*
 jump, *dirragbi*

K

kangaroo
 baby kangaroo, *ganarrgulyi* (G?)
 kangaroo sp., *mandida*, *yawirri*
 mountain kangaroo, *judama*, *mandida*,
wadayina
 red kangaroo, *marraji*

riverside kangaroo, *yunggumarla*,
warunggala
 tablelands kangaroo, *marraji*
 keep, *gunugunumi*
 kick, *gugujardi*
 kick dust on someone, *jundurnmi*
 kidney, *idarangga*
 kill, *barlajardi*, *gurdajirrimi*
 king brown snake, *ngurlwayi*
 kiss (v), *jarungbi*
 kite (bird)
 black kite, *galunji*
 kite sp., *wundawulyana*, *didilayi*
 knee, *banggirra*
 knee cap, *gandaniyama*
 kneel down to, *bunjurrbarra*
 knife, *garligarli*, *jabirri*
 instrument used to carve boomerangs,
binmala, *ngarajagana*, *ngarlarrgu*
 instrument used to decorate
 boomerangs, *birdbirrga*
 knock
 knock down, *janmajardi*
 knock over, *gurlurlardi*, *munggard*
 knock someone out, *guruburrardi*
 knock back, *nyunmi*
 know, *jiyanggi*
 'I don't know', *gunku*
 know-all, *jiyanggijbarli* (I),
jiyanggijbarlima (II)
 not to know someone, *ngiyangbi*

L

lacking, *anggarrinja*, *guyalinja*
 lagoon, *barlumberra*
 lancewood tree, *ganawunka*
 language, *ngarlana*
 later, *mamdiji*
 laugh, *gami*, *gamijbi* (G)
 laugh at, *gamijanga*
 lay
 lay egg, *wankurari*
 lay something down, *gulugardi*
 lazy, be, *danbarra*
 leaf, *ilyirrga*, *wanjirra*
 leave alone/behind, *yagu*, *yagujbi* (G)
 leech, *magami*

left side, *wagunyungga*
 leg, *jaga*
 ankle, *wurdalyi*
 calf (of leg), *gumarra*, *ngalyangalya*
 (Gw?)
 knee, *banggirra*
 knee cap, *gandaniyama*
 lower leg, *gandurru*
 thigh, *jaga*, *munngujaga*
 let go of something, *marlinga*
 lick, *nganyangbi*
 lie, *wujubi*
 lie to someone, *wujubardi*
 lie (down)
 to lie on one's back, *ganbalaga*
 to lie on one's back with ankle on other
 knee, *jagina*
 to lie on one's side propped up on one
 elbow, *mirrinjungu*, *ngurndurrurlu*
 to lie on one's stomach, *jirrbali*,
 juruwala
 life, *anka*
 lift (up), *gayanggami*, *ngunjulanyi*
 light (a fire), *lajjarri*
 lightning, *yandugururna*
 to flash lightning, *barnamuluma*
 like, *ngunnga*
 lily root, *darramalama*
 lily seeds, *jiyanma*
 line
 be in a line, *darridarri*
 listen, *ilinga*, *manku*
 little, *bulyingi* (I), *bulyungu* (IV),
 bulyungurna (II), *gubaja* (IV) (G),
 munduru (IV), *munduri* (I), *munduruma*
 (II) (G)
 little bit, *gamdamdawuga*
 little while, *bibi* (G), *mundurumi*, *warlugu*
 live, *mirra*
 liver, *malamba*
 lizard types
 blanket lizard, *gunbi*, *mankunyi*
 blue-tongue lizard, *gulangunya*,
 milirrgbarna (G)
 left-hand lizard?, *gaburri*
 lizard sp., *garngulugulu*, *jalabanya*
 plains lizard, *garrgalyi*
 slippery lizard, *dabuluna*

log
 hollow log used for catching fish,
 lamarma
 long, *gamaa* (IV), *gamayi* (I), *gamama* (III)
 long time ago, *ginbila* (G), *marndija*
 look, *ngajbi*
 stare, *gurrbarra*
 look after, *gunkunmi*, *nananga*, *yandu*
 look for, *ayani*
 look for a boyfriend/girlfriend,
 barrganbi
 lose, *gudijbi*
 louse, *mugunjana*
 luck
 bad luck, *gimurra*
 lunchtime, *dannгани*, *mugunjana*

M

maggot, *gululyi*
 magpie, *gulbalawuji* (G), *iburraji*
 magpie goose, *warlidaji*
 make, *yardi*
 build, *angbardi*
 make a bed, *jalyuma*
 make oneself into something, *yardi*
 roll hair on leg to make string,
 banjanmi
 to shape/make (a boomerang, spear),
 ngarajabi
 man, *juwa*
 dead man, *bibiyurru*
 man who has cut off his hair in
 mourning for his child, *damanggayi*
 men, *juwarda*, *juwarramba*
 old man, *baajbali*, *bungmaji*
 old men, *bungmungmaji*
 white man, *marndaji*, *ngarrwanji* (G)
 young man, *bajaji* (G?), *bulingi*, *yaba*
 (G)
 many, *garnguja* (IV), *garngujbala* (IV),
 garngujbalama (II), *garngujbali* (I),
 garnguji (I), *garngunya* (II), *garngunya*
 (III)
 mark (n), *malya*
 meal, *bundurra*
 meat, *ganybirra*, *gunju*, *yangaji*
 medicine, *mijanka*
 menstruation, *marlaba*, *mujuju*

mess around with someone else's things,

irringgurlu

middle, *buyunku*

milk, *ngaburlu*

mind (v), *yandu*

mirage, *durrugidurrugi*

mischievous, *ginjiji*

moan, *warrajbi*

money, *gijilulu*

moon, *wardangarri*

more, *milama*

morning

early in the morning, *gambardarda*

mosquito, *banggulyana*

mother, *gujinganjarda, gujinya*

mother and daughter pair,

gamburugulanga

mother of boy to be initiated,

banybayirna

see also grandmother

mother-in-law, *jayulinya, mimayirna*

mouse, *munyunyuna*

mouth, *bamarra* (G?), *nganggarrga*

move

move around/fidget, *nyanyayu*

move location, *gugujbi, irrijbi*

move someone/something, *nyanyayumi,*

irrijardi

one who fidgets a lot, *nyanyayijbarli* (I),

nyanyayijbarlirna (II)

mud, *mamarrga*

mussel

freshwater mussel, *jagugayi,*

marlangarri (G), *nganggayi* (G),

nguyiminji

type of big mussel, *jugulambirri*

N

nail, *irriilyi*

name, *yurula*

bush (Aboriginal) name, *gurduminja*

name used to replace name of dead

person, *murrinymurrinji* (I),

murrinymurrinya (II)

navel, *mabuluma*

neck

front of neck/throat, *gurranganyma,*

birnmanma

nape of neck, *jiyarra*

needle, *mudinya*

needle of echidna, *nyila*

nephew

brother's son, *gajagaja* (G), *jajila,*

jawanaji

sister's son, *gulu*

see also great-nephew

nest, *jalyu*

new, *jilija* (IV), *jilinya* (II)

next time, *ngunyajarra*

niece

brother's daughter, *jajilinya, jajirda,*

jawananya (G)

sister's daughter, *gulinya*

see also great-niece

night, *baralala, ngurraramba*

during the night, *baralala*

no, *guyala*

no good, *bagiga* (IV), *bagiji* (I), *baginga* (II)

be no good, *lunggaji, yagayaga*

feel no good, *bagijbi*

make no good, *baginyimi, lungganymi*

noise

to not talk, *jagurdi*

be too noisy for someone, *gurdumi*

make noise, *girrili*

stop noise, *laji*

north, *langga*

nose, *galama*

blow nose, *burrbanju*

rub nose, *bujirringa*

nothing, *guyala*

for nothing, *yurubu*

lacking, *anggarrinja, guyalinja*

now, *jalanyi*

nulla-nulla, *barrgu, gudbajirra*

numb

be numb, *garrbagarrbalyi*

go numb, *mambulyajbi*

nurse (n), *ngunybulunguna*

nurse (v)

nurse child, *anmurru*

rock child, *gurrugurrumi*

O

- oak
desert oak, *wunggurrala*
- oar, *rimina* (G)
- ochre
red ochre, *girrina*
white ochre, *magirra*
- O.K., *alima*
be O.K., *ngilwi*
- old
old man, *baajbali*, *bungmaji*
old men, *bungmungmaji*
old woman, *baajbalarna*, *bungmanya*
old women, *bungmungmanya*
to cause to wrinkle/age, *danggulyanyimi*
- olden times, *jabuburranji*
- one, *gamdawuga* (IV), *gamdawugi* (I),
jandaji
- only, *yurubu*
- open
be open, *ngangbi*
to open, *bunybarrimi*, *ngangbulumi*
to open wide, *walyulyumi*
- order
give an order, *irrinymi*
- other, *gunya* (IV), *gunyi* (I), *gunyama* (II)
another camp/country, *magajarra*
another place, *banggajarra*,
jabajabayarra (G)
- outside, *barlwara*
- oven
ground oven, *munggu*
- owl
barn owl, *wiringarri*
southern boobook owl, *gurruguji*
- owner, *mungguji* (I)

P

- pain
to be in pain, *ngadijbi*
- paint
ceremonial white paint, *jaraaji*
to paint, *jila*
white paint, *magirra*
- paper, *burruburru*
- paperbark tree, *bajarra*, *wararru*
- parrot
parrot sp., *birriwililyi*
red-winged parrot?, *milinya*
- pass
pass by, *banymi*, *barulajbi*
to kick dust on someone by walking
past, *jundurnmi*
- peel off, *galyanyimi*
- peep, *warladi*
- peewee, *dirdibulyi*
- pelican, *walanybirri*
- penis, *junama*
- person, *juwa*
Aboriginal person, *juwa*
people, *juwarda*, *juwarramba*
white person, *marndaji*
- pick up, *idanyi*, *nyanyuwa*, *yanybi*
scoop something up, *ngalanyi*
- pierce, *darrgulumi*, *dudiyarri*
- pigeon
crested pigeon, *garlwarlwana*
spinifex pigeon, *larrana*
- pigweed, *galagama*
- pile up, *dardbiyardi*, *ijjardi*, *mujumi*
- pillow, *marrajana*
- pins and needles, *garrbagarrbalyi*
- place, *maga*
another country/camp, *magajarra*
another place, *banggajarra*,
jabajabayarra (G)
ceremonial ground, *jamanji*
cooking site, *gayirra*
- placename
Anthony Lagoon Station,
Gargarguwaja
Borrooloola, *Waralunggu*
Brunette Downs, *Nganaarra*
Country around Banka Banka station
and Tennant Creek, *Junggurragurra*
Country around Renner Springs,
Yambayambarna
Country somewhere east of Elliott, *Lija*,
Muwardbi
Kiana Station, *Gayana*
Places along McArthur River,
Ganjarrani, *Lanybiya*
Places along the Nicholson River,
Gamalanja, *Jalinjabarda*, *Janurruwa*,
Murunmurula

Places on Anthony Lagoon Station,
Anjirringma, Gibimija,
Marndanymija, Mida

plains country, *mangguru*
 one who is from the plains country,
manggurinjji (I), *manggurinya* (II)

plant
 algae, *bulinja*
 caustic vine, *manjala*
 lignum, *wurungurra*
 little onion plant, *nyirrawurruma*
 pigweed, *galagama*
 plant sp., *birrimbirra, bulunbulunji,*
gunjugunja, wamirri, wamuri
 tassel top/pussycats tails, *mawuruma*
 vine sp., *gurnarlu*
 wild potato, *gambanyuma*
 wild rice, *ginggirra*
 yam sp., *gabalama, jigama,*
ngarrijinyima
see also fruit, tree

play, *mawula*

plover, *dadada, dajarrarrana*

poison, *lunggarra*

poke, *jimbulu*

policeman, *lunggaji*

'poor bugger', *bardibardi* (I), *bardibardima*
 (II), *bayibayi* (I), *bayibayina* (II)

'porcupine', *nyilangunya, warrimbila*

possessive
 be possessive, *ngarrinbi*

possum, *gawunka*

pound, to, *lurdbi*

pratincole, *gurijbijbina*

pregnant, *bundurruma*
 be pregnant, *bundurrijbi*

properly
 do something properly, *gurinyimi*

provoke
 give cheek to, *gininyangmi, jidanyimi*

pull, *wurrudbanyi*

pull out, *wurrghi*

puppy, *gujukuju*

push
 push away, *gugujardi*

put, *nguwani* (G), *yardi*
 put in water, *bulugardi*
 put something down firmly, *namanmi*
 put something into a hole, *garlarlardi*
 put the decorative marks on a

boomerang, *mangarnami*
 put together, *mujumi*
 to put water on something (i.e. plants),
ngunjurabi

python
 children's python, *bubuyima*
 python sp., *mirridmirrida*

Q

quail, *burrunjuna*
 quickly, *gajigajirra*
 quiet
 be quiet, *laji*
 make be quiet, *lajirrimi*
 not to talk, *jagurdi*

R

rain (n), *galyurrunguma*

rainbow, *gangma*

raise, *dulanymi*

rat
 bush rat, *gudingi*
 water rat?, *yanjuni* (G)

raw, *gankima, gurlurdarri*

red, *girrina, warrabubu*
 be red, *wubi*

refuse, to *ngarrinbi, nyunmi*

relation, *marunki* (I), *marunkima* (II)

remember, *ilinga, manku*

remove, *jananmi, wurrghi*
 remove dirt from, *jundurra*

rest, (v) *yandu*

return, *gangga*

rib, *garlimbaji, wanmirri*

right side, *dimdi ja*

ripe, *ilanji*

river, *iligirra, marnangga* (G?)
 flow (river), *bardbi*
 rivers, *ililirri*

riverbank, *jimanka*

road, *garrunyma*

roast
 ground oven, *munggu*
 roast in coals, *gayirrima*
 roast in the ground, *mungguwa*

rock
 rock a child, *gurrugurrumi*

roll
 roll hair on leg to make string,
banjanmi
 roll up into a ball, *burruburrumi*
 root, *indirra*
 rotten, *wagula*
 round, *gurlugurla*
 rub, *nimijbi*
 rub nose, *bujirringa*
 rubbish, *durnbu*
 run, *bardbi*, *bujbi* (G)

S

saliva, *banga*, *jabula*
 salt, *lunggarra*
 saltwater, *walamagamaga* (G)
 saltwater crocodile, *mardumbarra*
 sand, *garlangga*
 sandhill, *garlangga*
 sap
 edible sap, *marungma*
 say, *durdurrgu* (G), *ngarlwi*
 scar, *gilwa*
 ornamental scars, *burruna*
 scrape, *galyanymi*, *wurarrgbi*
 scratch, *irrijabi*, *nguya*
 scrub, the, *garuga*
 season
 dry season, *buyurru*
 wet season, *garnumba*
 see, *ngajbi*
 stare, *gurrbarra*
 seed, *nganji*
 lily seeds, *jiyanma*
 seed pod, *nganji*
 selfish
 be selfish, *ngarrinbi*
 send, *gamarda*
 send away, *gugujardi*
 sex
 fuck, *duri*
 have sex with, *gajbi*
 shade, *manjungu*
 shadow, *ngururra* (G?)
 shake, *birrirri*
 shake something off, *durmdurlimi*
 shake something., *binbinkuma*
 shallow, *gurranja*
 ‘be shamed’, *manngurru*
 shell, *gilwa*, *rawuwanggu* (G)
 shield (v), *gamdani*
 shit (n), *gagama*, *ngangma*
 Shit!, *idii*
 shiver (v), *birrirri*
 short, *gubaja* (IV), *gubaji* (I) (G), *gurlaanji*
 (I), *munduru* (IV), *munduri* (I),
mundururna (II) (G)
 shoulder, *bigala* (G), *marlanganji*
 carry on shoulders, *bigilanyi* (G),
labalaba
 show, *barinymi*, *dimdirrinymi*, *mirridimi*
 a show-off, *bunmajarda* (I),
bunmajardarna (II), *ngunngajarda* (I),
ngunngajardarna (II)
 to show off, *jinggali*
 shut, *jaji*
 shy, be, *ilagbi* (G)
 sick
 be sick, *gurda*
 make feel nauseous, *gurluribi*
 make sick, *gurdajirrimi*
 sick person, *gurdanymila* (II),
marlumarlu (I), *marlumarlurna* (II)
 to be sick from having been ‘sung’,
balaji
 side-by-side
 put side-by-side, *ganjurrardi*
 sift, *gamanybi*
 silver box gum, *buyarragu*
 sing, *nijbi*
 sing for something, *angarrurru*
 to be sick from having been ‘sung’,
balaji
 sister
 older sister, *babanya*, *bayida* (G),
bayilinya
 younger sister, *gagulinya*, *gagurda*
 sister-in-law, *gariirda*, *garinya*,
munggujbilinya
 sit, *mirra*
 sit on, *nawu*
 sit with legs straight out, *gardurrardi*

- sit with one's legs crossed (yoga style), *bamgala*
 skin, *angaanga*, *waba*
 dry/peeling skin, *gilwa*
 skin of fruit/vegetable, *gilwa*
 skin group (generic), *gardibirra*, *mamdurra*
 see 1.2.3 for list of skin names
 skirt (traditional), *ngunungarri*
 sleep, *gulugbi*
 be sleepy, *ngunbungunbarri*
 heavily asleep, *gurdagurdama* (II),
 gurdagurdi (I)
 one who sleeps a lot, *gulugbarli* (I),
 gulugbarlima (II)
 sleep (i.e. in the eyes), *wagula*
 to have one's eyes closed but still be
 awake, *lanbi*
 slowly, *mirnanmi*
 smell
 (to give off) smell, *buja*
 (to perceive) smell, *majanga*
 body odour, *mamdurra*
 smelly, *wagula* (IV), *wagulyi* (I),
 wagulya (II)
 smile, *gami*
 smoke (n), *yugala*
 smoke (v), *burlinja*
 smooth, *damarla*
 make smooth, *damanyimi*
 snail
 freshwater snail, *mamanggi*
 snake, *mimarri*
 children's python, *bubuyima*
 file snake, *bunubununa*
 grass snake, *bumama*
 king brown snake, *ngurlwayi*
 python sp., *mirridmirrida*
 snake sp., *indura*, *judangunya*
 water snake sp., *bujarda*, *ganbuwi*
 snappy gum, *wamba*
 snatch, *jimbanyi*, *lurr gbanyi*
 sneak
 sneak away, *nanganangali*
 sneak up on, *bunjunymi*
 sneeze, *jinya*
 snore, *bawurrbi*
 snot, *ngarlurra*
 soak, *burlugardi*
 soft, *mambulya*
 go soft, *mambulyajibi*
 make soft, *mambulyami*
 make soft/fine from grinding, *luyunymi*
 someone, *gayini* (I), *gayinima* (II), *gayina*
 (IV)
 something, *gayini* (I), *gayinima* (II), *gayina*
 (IV)
 somewhere, *injani*
 son
 man's son, *gajagaja* (G), *jajila*, *jawanaji*
 woman's son, *gulu*
 see also grandson
 son-in-law
 man's daughter's husband,
 gardunganji, *lambarra*
 woman's daughter's husband, *mimayi*
 soon, *marndiji*
 sore, *iliga*
 be sore, *murri*
 boil (n), *garrurdama*, *ngundurrima* (G)
 soup, *ngurlungga*
 south, *ngirmii*, *ngirmiwi* (G)
 speak, *durdurrugu* (G), *ngarlwi*
 spear, *balamurru*, *mugura*
 little wire fishing spear, *winmurri*
 sharp stone for spear head, *janganji*
 spear for killing dugong and big fish,
 maganmurru, *narra* (G)
 spear (v), *dalyaganyi*, *dudiyarri*
 spider, *marawunji*
 big black spider, *garruji*
 spill, *gurlurlardi*, *munggardji*
 spinifex, *burinyma*
 spinifex wax, *ginima*
 spit
 spit at (i.e. in anger), *jugbi*
 spit on/at, *jabulami*
 spittle, *banga*, *jabula*
 split
 make a split (i.e. in wood), *gilinmi*
 stab, *darrgulumi*, *jimbulu*
 stand, *garranbi*
 make stand up, *garranjardi*
 stand on, *nawu*
 star, *jinkiji*
 milky way, *garrunyma*
 star formation said to be a goanna's
 backbone, *durrinja*
 stare, *gurrbarra*

steal, *ngirra*
 grab, *lurrgbanyi*

step
 step on, *nawu*
 step over someone's outstretched legs,
gardurranyi

stick (n), *darranggu*
 clapping sticks, *danmuga*
 digging stick, *maganja*
 fighting stick, *barrgu, gudbajirra*

stick (v), *gagbi*

still
 be still (of wind), *laji*

stilt (bird), *nginginji*

sting, *jimbulu*

stomach, *juruma*

stone, *guda* (G), *namirra*
 big round grinding stone, *minggalija*
 sharp stone for spear head, *jangani*
 small round grinding stone, *burulyi*
 stone axe, *ganybalinya, nyinggarna*
 stone knife, *garligarli, jabirri*

stop
 stop someone/something from making
 noise, *lajirrimi*

story, *marranya*
 tell a story, *babarra, didima*

straight, *dirndija*
 make straight, *dimdinymi*

stretch, *nawunawuji*

string
 bark string, *jarnaga*
 hair string, *jagbarri*
 hair string belt, *jarlardu, munungguma*
 roll hair on leg to make string,
banjanmi

strong, *murdurna, yarduga* (IV), *yardugama*
 (II), *yardugama* (III)
 make strong, *yardugami*

subincision, *ngaranma*

subsections
 skin group (generic), *gardibirra,*
mamdurra see 1.2.3 for list of skin
 terms

suck (something), *bungbungbi*

sugarbag, *wawuna, wawunji*
 sugarbag wax, *binyirda*

sulk, *bagurubi, gurdurdu*

sun, *gambada*
 to get warm (in the sun), *banngarru*

sundown
 until sundown, *ayigurrajbi*

sunrise
 around sunrise, *gambardarda*

supplejack, *ngandarrgala*

swallow, *ngurruguma*

swear, *bamdanyi*
 swear word, *bamdanybarla*

sweat (v), *girundajbi*

swell up, *lumbilumbi*

swim, *wajangamja*
 'bogey', *lingba*

T

tadpole, *burrulyi*

tail, *banjanganima, judiyama*

take, *yabu*
 grab, *lurrgbanyi*
 take off/out, *jananmi*
 take something away from someone,
ngarringga

talk, *durdurrgu* (G), *ngarlwi*
 chatterbox, *ngarlwarli* (I), *ngarlwarlima*
 (II)
 talk about someone else, *inijbi*
 to not talk, *jagurdi*
 to worry that s.o. is talking about you,
yawayi

tall, *gamaa* (IV), *gamayi* (I), *gamama* (III)

tea, *nyanyalu*

teach, *dimdirrinymi, mirridimi*

tear (v), *gilinmi*

tears, *milarra*

tell, *babarra, didima*
 tell someone to be quiet, *lajirrimi*
 tell someone what to do, *irrinymi*

tendon, *ngajaji*

testicles, *luranyma, nurranna*

that way, *yunumarrga*

there, *gilyaga, ginki*

thigh, *jaga, munngujaga*

thingummyjig, *ngambaji* (I), *ngambarna* (II),
ngambaga (III)

think about, *manku*

- thirsty, be, *gurranji*
 this way, *ginkanyi*
 three, *murrgunbala* (IV), *murrgunbalarna* (II), *murrgunbali* (I), *murrgunji* (I), *murrgunka* (IV), *murrgunma* (III), *murrgurna* (II)
 throat, *bimmanma*, *gurrananyma*
 through
 right through, *laragibarli*
 throw, *banjarri*
 thunder, *yandugururna*
 thus, *yununggu*
 tickle, *gijigijibi*
 tie
 tie up, *jangbidi*
 untie, *jananmi*
 time
 at a later time, *marndiji*
 long time ago, *ginbila* (G), *marndija*
 next time, *ngunybjarra*
 now, *jalanyi*
 olden times, *jabuburranji*
 tired
 be tired, *nyagajbi*
 be sleepy, *ngunybungunybarri*
 make tired, *nyaganymi*
 tobacco, *warnu*
 ashes that are mixed with chewing tobacco, *ganburna*, *gamga*
 to 'feel funny in mouth for tobacco', *gagabara*
 today, *jalanyi*
 toe, *janga*
 toenail, *irrilyi*
 tomorrow, *bulinama* (G), *ngijininima*
 the day after tomorrow, *ngijiniyarra*
 tongue, *nganjala*
 tooth, *gujangga*, *lija*
 track, *janga*, *malya*
 to track, *birdarri* (G), *jarrgi*
 tree, *darrangu*
 bauhinia, *wajarra*
 bloodwood?, *darralyagi*
 beefwood, *jilinggirra*
 branch, *labarlabamga*
 conkerberry, *marnuguja*
 coolibah, *murrinja*
 corkwood, *wulunjurra*
 desert oak, *wunggurrala*
 fork, *labarlabamga*
 gidgee, *gardaala*, *gardawala* (G)
 gooramurra, *jrayijala*, *marndardbarla*
 gutta percha, *manyingila*
 lancewood, *gamawunka*
 leaf, *ilyirrga*, *wanjirra*
 pandanus?, *manyarra*
 paperbark, *bajarra*, *wararru*
 root, *indirra*
 silver box gum, *buyarragu*
 snappy gum, *wamba*
 stump (of tree), *munngu*
 supplejack, *ngandarrgala*
 tree sp., *barlanggubarlanggu*, *gajura*, *garagara*, *wugalama*, *yalanarrama*
 turpentine, *murlurru*
 whitewood, *warrigila*
 wild orange, *bumariga*
 see also fruit, plant
 trouble
 make trouble for someone, *garndarra*
 trouble maker, *jidanybarli* (I), *jidanybarlirma* (II)
 trousers, *jarrawaja*
 truth, *nganinyimi*
 'tucker', *manganyma*
 turn
 turn around, *gunyarri*, *yangami*
 turn over, *gunyarri*, *yangami*
 turpentine tree, *murlurru*
 turtle
 long-neck turtle, *gulamandarrina*
 two, *gujarra* (IV), *gujarri* (I), *gujarrama* (II), *gujarrama* (III), *gujarrawulu*

U

- unable
 be unable to, *dabudaburri*
 make unable to, *dabudabunymi*
 uncle
 father's brother, *barnangila*, *irda*
 father's sister's husband, *gambara*, *jugu*
 mother's brother, *gambara*, *jugu*
 mother's sister's husband, *barnangila*, *irda*
 see also great-uncle
 untie, *jananmi*
 urine, *gumbu*

V

vagina, *gindarni*, *jindinarri*, *lurruguma*
 vehicle, *narunguja*
 very hard, *walalangarri*
 vine
 caustic vine, *manjala*
 vine sp., *gumarlu*
 voice, *gurranganyma*
 vomit (v), *jabarnda*

W

wait, *jadbi* (G), *yandu*
 wake somebody up, *dulanymi*
 walk around, *yarruburdu*
 wallaby
 grey wallaby sp., *wankarri*, *ngulungulu*
 want
 to ‘feel funny in mouth for tobacco’,
 gagabara
 to want to do something, *garajbi*
 warm, *wurrungaji*
 get warm (in the sun), *banngarru*
 make warm, *wurrunganymi*, *yunkarri*
 wart, *jaabi*
 wash, *wagardbi*
 bathe, *lingba*
 water, *galyurringi*, *nguwi* (G?), *warnami*
 cross over the water (i.e. along a
 bridge), *jagara*
 float in water, *bulubulugbi*
 saltwater, *walamagamaga* (G)
 to water something (i.e. plants),
 ngunjurabi
 wave
 wave at, *banya*
 wave hand across face (i.e. to shoo
 flies), *wankuma*
 wax
 ear wax, *mankuluguluda*
 spinifex wax, *ginima*
 sugarbag wax, *binyirda*
 weak
 be weak, *dabudaburri*, *yagayaga*
 make weak, *dabudabunymi*
 weather
 cold weather, *garrijarrija*, *ngajirra*
 dry season, *buyurru*
 wet season, *garumba*

well
 do something well, *gurinyimi*
 west, *bayungu*
 wet, *jirrgula*
 be/get wet, *jirrgulyi*
 make wet, *jirrgunymi*
 wet season, *garumba*
 what, *gayini* (I), *gayinima* (II), *gayina* (IV)
 ‘what’s-his-name’, *ngambaji* (I),
 ngambarna (II), *ngambaga* (III)
 when, *yangulu*
 where, *injani*
 where from, *injannga*
 which, *gayini* (I), *gayinima* (II), *gayina* (IV)
 whinge, *warrajbi*
 whiskers, *jarndama*
 whisper, *jalyalyi*
 whistle, *burlinja*
 white, *jarragurra*, *magirra*
 white man, *marndaji*, *ngarrwanji* (G)
 white woman, *gurrinya* (G), *marndanga*,
 wanmarri (G)
 whitewood tree, *warrigila*
 who, *gayini* (I), *gayinima* (II), *gayina* (IV)
 why, *gayinanka*
 wicketty grub, *buringi*
 wife, *gariirda*, *garinya*, *munggujbilinya*
 ‘wild blackfella’, *mulungu*
 willy wagtail, *jindirrijbirrinya*
 willy-willy, *mayamba*
 wind, *magurra* (G?), *wunba*
 blow away/about (of wind),
 burlurlandu
 blow (of wind), *bardbi*
 whirlwind, *mayamba*
 windbreak, *wurrungala*
 wing, *jarlu*
 woman, *girriya*, *narduma* (G), *nayida*
 dead woman, *bibiyurrurna*
 old woman, *baajbalarna*, *bungmanya*
 old women, *bungmungmanva*
 white woman, *gurrinya* (G),
 marndanga, *wanmarri* (G)
 woman who has cut off her hair in
 mourning for her child,
 damanggayirra
 woman who has just had a baby,

jalyarranga
women, *nayirrundurna*
young woman, *bulungurna*,
gurdangirra
woomera, *giminka*, *ngarliga*
word, *ngarlana*
worry that s.o. is talking about you,
yawayi
wrinkle
one who is wrinkled, *danggulyana* (II)
to be/get wrinkled, *danggulyijbi*
to cause to wrinkle/age, *danggulyanyimi*

wrist, *gardawurri*

Y

yam sp., *gabalama*, *jigama*, *ngarrijinyma*
yawn, *jaru*
yellow, *dankurra*
yesterday, *ngijini*
young man, *bajaji* (G?), *bulingi*, *yaba* (G)
young woman, *bulungurna*, *gurdangirra*

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