A grammar of the Wirangu language from the west coast of South Australia

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A GRAMMAR OF THE WIRANGU LANGUAGE FROM THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

L.A. Hercus

Pacific Linguistics
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The Australian National University
Canberra

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PREFACE

Until September 1993 I had no familiarity with Wirangu, although I had frequently thought about this language while working on the two neighbouring languages, Kuyani and Mirniny. I had recorded fragments of Mirniny in the sixties and wanted to help Nicholas Thieberger with his dictionary of Mirniny. I went to Ceduna to seek approval for this work and found that people there were particularly anxious to see work done on Wirangu. Members of the Women's Group told me that some of the older women still had knowledge of the language and particularly of vocabulary. So we started working on the present grammar and on a dictionary. By 'we' I mean three of us older women: Gladys Miller, Doreen Miller and myself. It was my role to record and analyse the material they provided. We had occasional help also from Molly Peel, and particularly from Lexie Kent, and later on from Iris Burgoyne. We first went through the vocabulary lists compiled by Daisy Bates, made available to us by Tom Gara, and most of the items were recalled. This was a matter of special personal satisfaction for Doreen Miller and Gladys Miller: it was their grandmother, Lucy Washington *Mindyiya* of Euria Rockhole who had given Daisy Bates much of her material. We then did some systematic language elicitation and also listened to and worked from the tapes made by the late John Platt thirty years earlier. We left no stone unturned looking for other speakers and other sources of information. Over a number of visits (financed by the Australian Research Council) to Ceduna and to Bookabie I was able to lay the basis of the present work.

Thanks are due to the help and encouragement of a number of people, to many members of the women's group, and particularly to Marilyn Miller the accountant, ever ready to help with computers and other problems. I owe much to the moral and practical support of Vlad, Betty and Bianca Potezny, Wanda Miller, Lynn Kelch, Corrie Gaskin, Maureen Scott, Robert Larking and Heather Coleman.

Tom Gara, Jane Simpson and Bob Dixon have given valuable insights from their own areas of expertise, and Jane in particular has helped me all along with her unique knowledge of southern South Australian languages. Cliff Goddard has given me the use of his 1983 manuscript 'Matutjara, a re-analysis based on Platt, 1972'. This is the only work that discusses in detail the points of difference between Kukata and the other Western Desert languages. Philip Clarke of the South Australian Museum with his extensive South Australian historical background brought to my attention important data from Tindale and, especially, the notebook of R. Bedford of which I previously had no knowledge. Philip Jones of the South Australian Museum helped me with historical information and provided the photo of the person who to me epitomises the Wirangu of the Gawler Ranges, Whipstick Billy.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1. STANDARD ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

ABL	ablative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	advervially used form
ALL	allative case
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
CONT	continuative
DAT	dative case
EL	elative
EMPH	emphatic clitic
ERG	ergative case
GO	associated motion
IMM	immediate future
IMP	imperative
INC	inceptive verbaliser
INCH	inchoative aspect marker
INST	instrumental case
IRR	irrealis
LEST	apprehensional
LOC	locative case
NOM	nominative
NOW	immediate present
PAST	past tense
POS	possessive
POT	potential
PRES	present tense
PTC	participle
PURP	puposive
RECIP	reflexive
REFL	reciprocal
SER	serial form
SPEED	speed-marking suffix
s.v.	sub voce (refers to a dictionary entry)
SWITCH	switch-reference marking suffix

2. LANGUAGE-NAME ABBREVIATIONS

The names of languages have usually been written in full, but in some tables they have been abbreviated as follows

ADN	Adnyamathanha
K	Kaurna
KUY	Kuyani
PNK	Parnkalla
WD	the Western Desert languages
WIR	Wirangu

3. SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE VOCABULARY

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
intr	intransitive
n	noun
tr	transitive
v	verb
DB	Daisy Bates
var.	variant

4. SYMBOLS

The method of transcription of Wirangu words is explained in Chapter 2. The following phonetic symbols are used, in phonetic transcriptions within square brackets, whenever these are essential to explain particular features:

subscript ̪	a dental consonant
subscript ̣	a retroflex consonant

and in quotations from J.M. Black:

ð	the voiced dental fricative
ŋ	the velar nasal
ə	shwa, an unaccented neutral vowel
ɔ	an open o
:	indicates in phonetic script that the preceding vowel is long
double vowel	indicates in ordinary transcription that the vowel is long. In monosyllables the vowel is long by rule and has not been so marked (§2.2.2(b))
‘	before a consonant marks an accent in the following syllable
"	before a consonant marks a half accent in the following syllable

Bold text has been used for the transcription of material that has been recorded

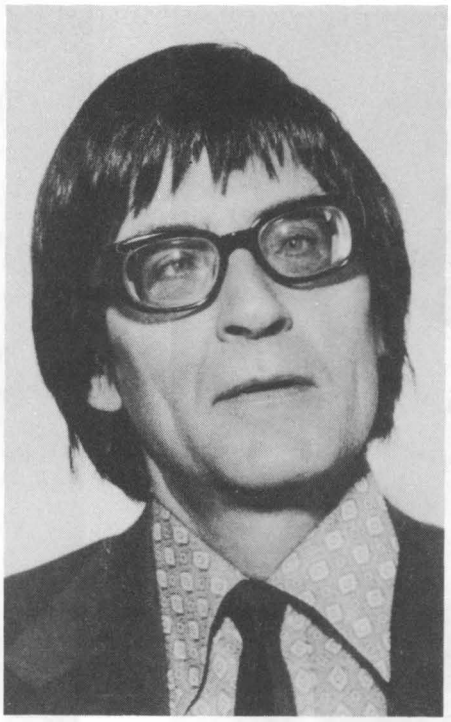
Other symbols occasionally used are:

*	hypothetical form, not recorded by modern speakers
>	develops into
<	is derived from

5. Vernacular forms are rendered in bold; historical forms as recorded by e.g. Daisy Bates are rendered in roman and enclosed in single quotes.

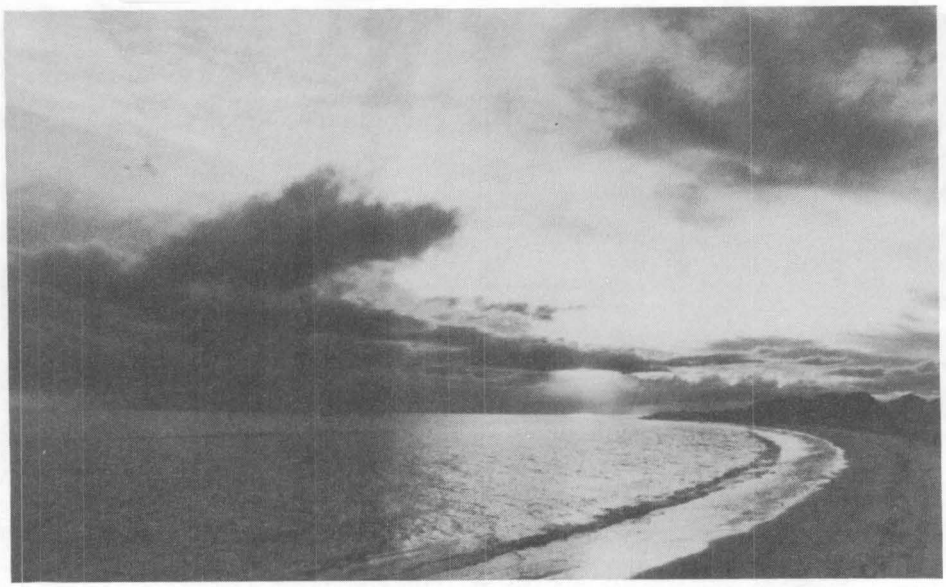
LENA MILLER (courtesy of Doreen and Glady Miller)

J.M. BLACK (courtesy of his granddaughter, Mrs Andrews)



JOHN PLATT (courtesy of Mrs Heidi Platt-Kendrick)

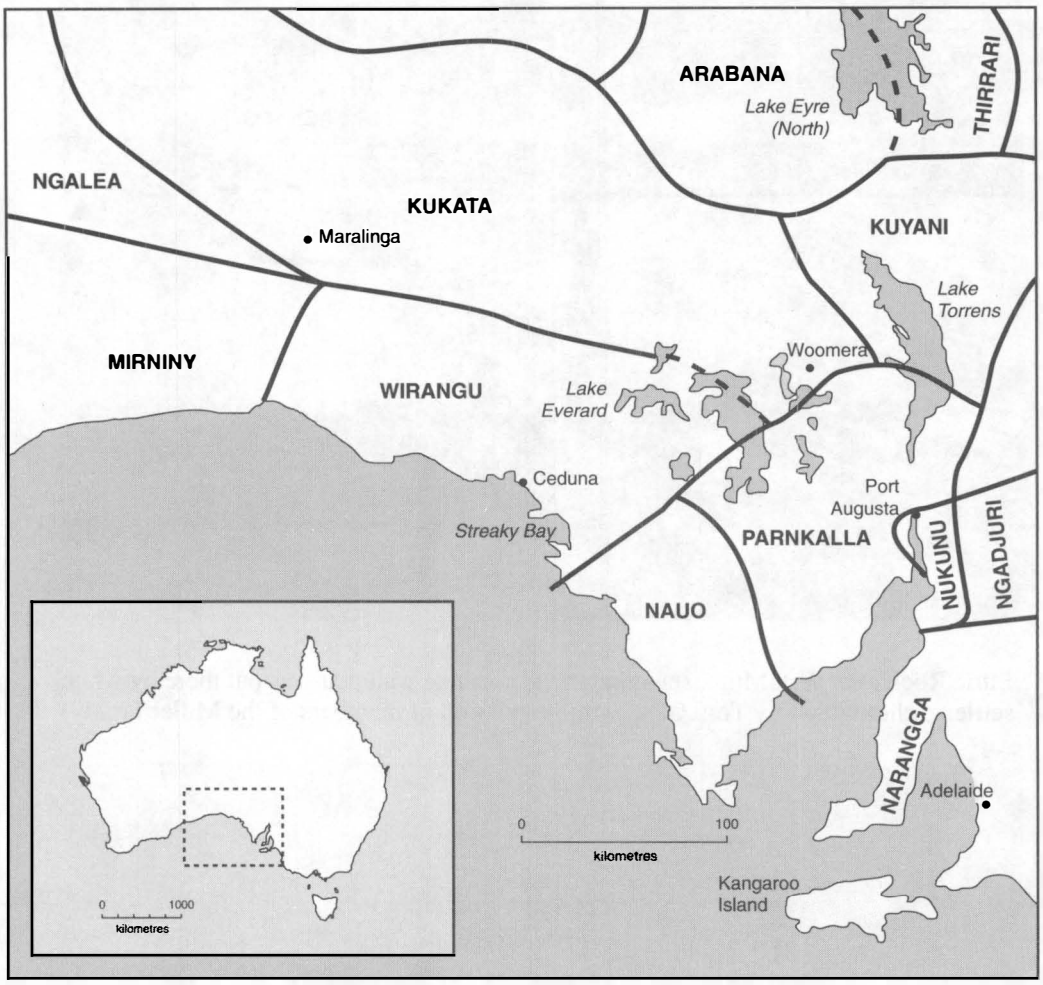
The main Wirangu speakers, Doreen Miller (far left) and Gladys Miller, with Luise Hercus and Iris Burgoyne (photograph by David Nathan)



A storm approaching the Wirangu coastline (courtesy of Pam Macdonald)

Euria Rockhole. W.J. Miller standing on the concrete wall that was put there by white settlers (photograph by Tom Gara, with permission of members of the Miller family)

The Church at Koonibba, a focal point of the mission (photograph by Robert Larking)



MAP: WIRANGU AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES
(After Tindale 1974)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Because of the profound and rapid changes that have taken place over the last two centuries it tends to be widely believed that before then, by contrast, conditions were static, and that patterns of occupation of the country had not changed over 40,000 years. This is far from the truth, and there certainly was some movement of populations. One cannot point to any stationary period, nor to any time that was the correct time in land occupation: there is a continuous curve of change.

There is underlying sociolinguistic and ethnographic evidence to show that the coastal people, the Wirangu, had affiliations with their neighbours to the east and north-east, with the Kuyani and the Nauo groups, and with the Parnkalla and the Nukunu people of Spencer Gulf. All these people spoke languages belonging to the **Thura-Yura** group. This group also included Adnyamathanha from the Flinders Ranges, Narangga from Yorke Peninsula, Ngadyuri from the Peterborough area and the Kaurna language once spoken in the Adelaide area. The Thura-Yura people in turn had connections to the whole of the Lake Eyre Basin.

Wirangu people originally had the same matrilineal moiety system as their eastern neighbours, with a division into **madhaʀi** and **gaʀarru**. This is attested for the Wirangu area of the Gawler Ranges by Provis (in Taplin 1879:99)[1] and by statements recorded by the writer in the sixties from Parnkalla and Nukunu speakers whose grandparents had intermarried with Wirangu people. As for the more westerly parts of Wirangu country, Daisy Bates (n.d.[2]), in her vocabulary notes from "Ngindilya, Narbunga and Manginga" of Fowlers Bay, quotes them as saying, in a list of divisions of people, "Madari dark ones and Karara light ones", so evidently they too were conscious of a moiety division and this must have belonged to the Wirangu as a whole. The genealogies recorded by Tindale for people from Koonibba show the moiety affiliation of each person, "Matturu" and "Karawara" as he calls them, and they show the system operating strictly. This matter is also discussed by Elkin (1976:221–222).

Wirangu people had similar birth-order names to those of their eastern neighbours, as attested by the names 'Guni', 'Yariya' and 'Warriya', found in Tindale's documentation from Koonibba and in Provis (Taplin 1879:99). They also had a pronominal system that reflected kinship organisation. Amid the displacement of people and the different outside

---

1 There has been some discussion over this: Howitt (1904:191) stated that the moiety system extended as far west as Eucla, while Elkin (1938-9:73) thought of the Wirangu social organisation as being of the Western Desert type. He himself contradicts this immediately when discussing the 'pirangura' betrothal custom.

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influences the moiety division and the corresponding pronoun system appear to have been abandoned by early this century.

In his account of initiation Provis (Taplin 1879:99–100) uses the term 'burtnaba' for a young man who has been through the first stage of initiation: this is exactly the same term as the Parnkalla and Kuyani **pardnapa**, Adnyamathanha **vardnapa**: sharing this particular term is of major cultural significance.

Tindale in his 1928 report refers to a special head ornament used in the 'Kuri' dance at Fowlers Bay, one particular example of which was given to the Museum in 1882. This dance was probably of Parnkalla origin. The name means 'circle, ring', and the ceremony appears to have been restricted to Thura-Yura people: Teichelmann and Schürmann as well as other Kaurna sources refer to it. Attested as it is for both Adelaide and Fowlers Bay well before 1882, the 'Kuri' dance was certainly not one of the 'new' corroborees that spread far and wide, like the Mudlunga and the Wandyi-Wandyi. The 'Kuri' dance thus forms one more special social link between Wirangu people and their eastern neighbours. Tindale also refers to joint ceremonies between Parnkalla and Wirangu people at Lake Wargany on western Eyre Peninsula.

Kukata people had a very different cultural association; their original links were with the vast Western Desert group. Kukata language and culture were similar to that of the Yankunytjatjara and other northern neighbours: the relatively minor linguistic differences are evident from the work of Platt (1972) and particularly from a manuscript summary by C. Goddard (1983). The Kukata gradually came into the area from the north-west. R.M. Berndt (1985:128) referring to Eyre Peninsula wrote as follows:

> According to the available information then, while the Gugada traditionally came as far south as the north-western end of the Gawler Ranges and to at least part of Lake Gairdner they were also spreading from the north-west into Eyre Peninsula...It is tempting to speculate that the Wirangu and Nauo were proto-historically the original inhabitants of a large part of Eyre Peninsula.

The Kukata in their turn were being driven towards the south and southeast by waves of migration from other Western Desert groups, the Antikirinya and the Pitjantjatjara.

P. Brock (1993:63) writing about the head of Bight makes similar observations to those of R.M. Berndt:

> The Wirangu (also referred to as Julburra speakers) extended further east along the coast and as far north as Ooldea. But territorial definitions cannot be precisely described as populations were not static in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and perhaps never had been.

It therefore seems that Wirangu people had lived in areas inland at least to Ooldea[2] and Wilgena and the western Gawler Ranges before the main thrust of Kukata migration: Wilgena is in fact at the end of a long line of myth coming from the Simpson desert (Reuther X:132–137; Hercus 1995:37).

Gara and Cane (1988:41) give the following summary of other early sources:

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2 See also Berndt and Berndt (1942:323).

> The territory of the Wirangu tribe extended along the coast from White Well[3] to Streaky Bay and inland to Ooldea and the Gawler Ranges (Tindale 1974:219). The local groups between Fowlers Bay and Streaky Bay were referred to as the Titnie or Hilleri tribe by Richards (Taplin 1879) and Howitt (1904:47).

Tindale (1974:219) had discussed the south-eastward movement of Kukata people. With regard to the Wirangu he wrote:

> In earliest historic times they were contracting their boundaries southward before Kokata people. By 1850 they had lost access to the area north of latitude 31°. A native water at Putjukal (132° 36′E x 30° 27′S) is still remembered as a Wirangu water once well within their territory. Pi:la at Lake Bring also was in their traditions a Wirangu water. Ooldea was the dominant drought relief water used by all surrounding tribes.

Yalata became a pastoral station between 1858 and 1860 (Brock 1993:64) and from then on Wirangu lands and Wirangu people were disrupted by European settlers as well as by the continued impact of Kukata migration. The Koonibba Mission was not established until 1898. It became a haven for Wirangu people, but they were joined by Mirniny people from the far west coast and Kukata people from the north. The first missionary, Wiebusch, had tried to document and to learn just the Wirangu language, but by the time that C.M. Black visited the mission in 1915 all three languages were in use at the mission. This led to the decline of the Wirangu language, Kukata becoming dominant.

The history of Wirangu people has been well documented by Tom Gara (see Gara and Cane 1988) and by Peggy Brock. In her work *Outback ghettos* she traces the role of particular families and their struggles. There are also many insights into the history of the coast people in the work *Survival in our own land* by C. Mattingley and Ken Hampton (1988). The Wirangu language was under siege from both Kukata and English, and had some minor competition from Mirniny: it was said to be almost extinct in the late 1920s (Brock 1993:64). So it is one of the most amazing aspects of Wirangu history that at least the main features of this language should have survived so well to this day among a small group of older people. Younger people and even teenagers have varying degrees of knowledge of items of vocabulary.

1.2 THE POSITION OF THE WIRANGU LANGUAGE

1.2.1 NAMES FOR THE LANGUAGE

(a) Wirangu

The name 'Wirangu' seems to have been restricted originally to the language of just the eastern part of Wirangu country. In September 1927, C. Sullivan (in Tindale 1927) wrote:

> The local natives call themselves 'Weerung', but on closer questioning admit that they are Kokata people who have moved from further inland, but they say the language they speak is Weerung. If so, probably many Kokata words are in use too.

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3 It seems likely from the evidence of placenames and other sources that Wirangu people sporadically also visited the inhospitable area between White Well and the West Australian border.

> Very few of old Weerung tribe left, may be a few at Koonibba Mission Station. The country inhabited by this tribe lies between Venus Bay and Point Brown on the coast and inland to the Gawler Ranges.

He does not offer any name for the language of the people further along the Bight. A similar situation is reflected in notes by Alex Bolam, included in Tindale (1927): he was a most knowledgeable person, working as station-master at Ooldea for many years.[4]

Black (1917:8) gives a definition for an even more restricted area: "Wiruŋ', the language of the natives near Denial Bay". He quotes the term without the final vowel because this form was frequently used according to the rules discussed below in §2.2.3.

Daisy Bates (1918:153), who deals with what is obviously a much wider area, the west coast of South Australia, calls the language 'wiraŋu woŋga' (in Black's spelling), and in her own spelling 'Wirongu'. Black, who helped to edit this work, notes in his introductory comments: "The language dealt with here is essentially the same as that spoken at Murat Bay". Daisy Bates refers to the language that she is documenting repeatedly as "Wirongu". She gives a much narrower location however when talking about local groups (Bates 1918:161–162) and identifies the "Wirongu" as "on Tarcoola road". Elsewhere (Bates n.d.3) she gives a similar narrow location "west from Wiljina" (i.e. Wilgena, which is close to Tarcoola, on the eastern side). The broadest early interpretation comes from Pastor Wiebusch (n.d.): "Wyranga, from Streaky to Fowlers".

So it seems that the term 'Wirangu' which originally referred specifically to eastern groups of Wirangu people, adjoining Parnkalla, had gradually become extended to include those living further west towards the Head of Bight. This extended term represented a reality: the language at Murat Bay was indeed much like the language of Fowlers Bay and beyond to the Head of Bight. Being convenient and appropriate, this language name ultimately became the standard accepted term.

Daisy Bates at the beginning of Bates (n.d.3) gave an etymology for the name 'Wirangu': "Wirongu wongi dialectic name for 'cloud'".

Speakers of Wirangu like many other speakers of Australian languages had some names for groups of people according to particular characteristic words that they used, so the **Mardu-wangga** were a Western Desert group who said 'mardu' for 'true' (see §1.2.4(b) below). The term Wirangu however does not appear to have a similar etymology; it is never interpreted to mean 'those who said **wira** for sky (or 'cloud')'. Tindale (1928) in the notes from his 1928 expedition gives a fascinating and convincing interpretation:

> The tribal and language name Wirrangu is stated by aborigines to be an abbreviated way of saying 'wirra-wonga' i.e. 'sky talk', sometimes translated as 'heavenly talk'.[5] A Parnkalla name for these people is Wirabidni. They had come into contact with them occasionally at Lake Wangary on visits during ceremonies.

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4 Bolam was also the author of a highly informative small book *The trans-Australian wonderland*, Melbourne, 1923.

5 There is however no satisfactory explanation why the word for 'speech', **wangga**, should give rise to a final **-angu** in this language name rather than **-angga**.

The Parnkalla term 'bidni' (§3.3.1) means 'originating from', so 'Wira-bidni' which is quoted by Tindale, means 'coming from the sky'. This word points towards what was probably an origin myth of the Wirangu people. It was therefore not surprising that since they 'originated from the sky' their language should be called 'sky talk'.

Over recent years there has been some change in the pronunciation of the word **Wirangu**: younger people tend to pronounced it as **Wiranggu**, with a 'g' sound, presumably because of the influence of the English spelling.

(b) 'Wanggan'

This language name appears to have been used for the speech of all the Wirangu area. The first published record of the name is by P.T. Richards, in his entry about Fowlers Bay in Taplin (1879:103): "the natives belong to the Titnie tribe, they call their language Wangon". It was also used for the speech of the far east of Wirangu country, as Bedford (§1.3.11) quotes Whipstick Billy from the Gawler Ranges as saying: "my not Kukatha, my Wangan, my Willeuroo too".

'Wangon' was given by Tindale (1974:219) as an alternative name for the language: he thought that this may have been derogatory and may have referred to the word 'guna', 'excrement'. It is presumably just a transcription of the present tense and citation form of the verb **wanggarn** 'to speak'; and Wirangu, for those who spoke it, was indeed the language par excellence. An alternative name for the not too distant Nukunu language at the top of Spencer Gulf was 'Wanggadya', which similarly was their present tense form of the verb 'to talk'. The language name 'Wanggan' is not in use now.

(c) Yulbara

The term Yulbara was sometimes used to refer to Wirangu people and to the Wirangu language. It is based on the Western Desert word **yulparira** 'south' and was apparently used by Kukata people to refer to their southern neighbours. When Kukata people themselves had moved into that country the term appears to have been retained to mean 'the original southern people'.

Pastor Wiebusch (see §1.3.5 below) called his manuscript "The Yulbara language". J.M. Black (1917:4) however, who went to Koonibba in 1915 when Wiebusch was still there, has only the entry: "Julbura name of one of the tribes". Daisy Bates repeatedly uses the term with slightly varying spellings and explanations:

> Julbari wonga (julbari 'south'), Fowler Bay, Great Bight, and towards Eucla (1918:161)
>
> Yulbara wonga, seacoast (n.d.2)
>
> Ulbarara, coast (n.d.1)

Notes from Alex Bolam to Tindale (1928) restrict the "Youlbara" to the area west of Fowlers Bay. The term Yulbara is now no longer used.

(d) Wilyaru

This name for the people and the language of the eastern part of Wirangu country appears in a number of sources. Howitt (1904:47) writes: "Extending west from Pt Lincoln, as far as Point Brown, and inland to the Gawler Ranges, is the Nauo or Willuro tribe". The reason for this confusion between the Nauo and the eastern Wirangu is that some of the coastal land then occupied by Wirangu people, particularly the area around Venus Bay, had originally been Nauo country. An important piece of documentation for the term 'Wilyaru' is in Bedford (n.d.). He quoted Whipstick Billy's comment (see (b) above): "my not Kukatha, my Wangan, my Willeuroo too". By this, Whipstick Billy probably meant that he had been through the Wilyaru ceremony. It appears that this term was used to refer to the Gawler Ranges Wirangu people who practised this ceremony like their eastern neighbours. The first attestation of this as a tribal and, probably, language name is by James Bryant, writing about people at Yardea in the Gawler Ranges (in Taplin 1879:103): "The name of the tribe is Willeuroo". It is suggested there that the term may have been derived from the Parnkalla word for 'west', but this according to Schürmann was 'wiyerni': Kuyani **wilya-wilyaʀa** does mean 'the setting sun', and **wiluraʀa** is the Wirangu word for 'west' borrowed from Kukata. This explanation however seems much less likely than the explanation from the ceremony, as the name for the people and the language is generally 'Wilyaru', spelt in various ways, not 'Wilyara'. Evidence in Elkin (1976:218) points in the same direction. He discusses **wilyaru** as an eastern form of higher initiation and 'djibari' as a western form:

> Early this century, a mixed group of Wirangu and Parnkala came from the Gawler Ranges to Denial Bay (Wirangu territory) and made one of my informants **wilyaru**. Actually there were some Wirangu who were **wilyaru** and some who were 'djibari'. As elsewhere in Australia, groups on common tribal borders took part in each other's initiation rituals.

The last Wirangu Wilyaru man died in the seventies and the term is not known any more.

(e) Kartawongulta

P.T. Clode, writing in Taplin (1879:102) and referring to the people at Venus Bay stated: "They call their language Kartawongulta". This name has not been attested elsewhere, but it can probably be analysed as **gardu** 'man' + **wanggadha** (the participial form of **wanggarn** 'to speak'). This is not an unusual type of language name; Yardli-yawara on the east side of the Flinders Ranges has a similar meaning. This particular name however does not appear to have continued in use among Wirangu people.

(f) Nhangga

This word meaning 'man' has, like the equivalent term in other Aboriginal languages, come to mean 'Aboriginal person' as opposed to 'white person'. It can also more specifically refer to a person who actually says **nhangga** for 'man': it has therefore become another term for Wirangu people and the Wirangu language. The term is used as such for instance by Limb (in Tindale 1925–28). Over recent years the Wirangu word **nhangga** has been extended in meaning. It is used widely outside Wirangu country in other parts of South Australia and notably Adelaide as a general term for 'Aboriginal person'. It is found in many recent publications, usually spelt 'nunga', for instance in the work of C. Mattingley

and K. Hampton (1988). 'Nunga talk' has therefore come to mean an utterance in any South Australian Aboriginal language.

(g) Tidni

This is one of the less common names for the Wirangu language and Wirangu people, and particularly the more westerly Wirangu people. It was first mentioned by P.T. Richards writing from Fowlers Bay in his contribution to Taplin (1879:103): "The natives belong to the Titnie tribe". It was obviously known to Howitt's correspondents as he writes (1904:47): "The Tidni tribe, also called Hilleri extends from Pt Brown to the head of the Great Australian Bight and about 50 miles inland". The name does not appear in the primary published literature again, and in 1927, C. Sullivan, answering a questionnaire from Tindale (1927) wrote: "The names Tidni, Nowu, Tangana were not recognised". The name 'Tidni' was presumably used for the more distant Wirangu people by the Kuyani, as opposed to the immediately adjacent Wirangu people who practiced the Wilyaru. The term 'Tidni' cannot be from any neighbouring language other than Kuyani, because of the fact that Parnkalla did not have initial 'ti' and the north-westerly languages did not have the prestopped consonant 'dn'. **Thidni** in Kuyani means 'remote', 'far distant', and this corresponds to the Adnyamathanha Flinders Ranges word **idni**, which has the same meaning (McEntee and McKenzie 1992:20).

(h) Hilleri

This name occurs twice in the early published literature. The first mention is in the contribution by James Bryant from Yardea, Gawler Ranges, who gives no location but states: "The Hillery tribe and the northern tribe knock out the front teeth". Howitt in 1904:47, as quoted in (g) above, states: "The Tidni tribe, also called Hilleri extends from Pt Brown to the head of the Great Australian Bight and about 50 miles inland". Yilrea seems to be another form of this name (Tindale 1974:219). I have been given a convincing explanation by J. Simpson (pers. comm.) that the name 'Hilleri' comes from the Parnkalla word 'ilari', 'strange, unknown' (Schürmann s.v. 'ilari'). This is absolutely in keeping with the other available pieces of information. The first is from Elkin (1976:218) who quotes a statement made by one of R.H. Mathews's correspondents:

> J.L. Higgins wrote Sept 1899, that when he was living at Devonport Creek "35 years ago" (i.e. in the late 1860's) there were many natives about. They were nearly all "Wiluroo Blacks" but a few "Illarie natives had come in from the Back", from south-west of the Musgrave Range.

So 'Hilleri' i.e. 'Ilari' was used both for Wirangu people (as by Bryant) and for Kukata people coming in from the north-west (as by Higgins), because both were 'strangers' to the Parnkalla. The other piece of information is from Tindale (1974:219), who states: "Tidni and Hilleri (names applied by Pangkala and Kujani)". 'Tidni', as shown under (g) above, comes from Kuyani, and 'Ilari' obviously comes from Parnkalla. In his entry on the Ngadyuri people (1974:214), Tindale mentions that the term was also applied to Ngadyuri people who were at that time living beyond their former borders at Quorn and Riverton, where they would indeed have been 'strangers'.

(i) Warna-biri, 'Wambira'

A version of this term, which means 'sea-coast', is first mentioned by Schürmann in the expression 'Wambiri bidni yurarri', 'people from the sea-coast', but it is not clear to whom this might refer. It could be interpreted as denoting a southern group of Parnkalla people (Tindale 1974:216), or as a Kukata name for the Wirangu (1974:219). The term appears in the manuscript by Wiebusch in an entry: "Wombyra talk past Fowlers Bay". As Wiebusch was writing at Koonibba he meant 'to the west of Fowlers Bay', and so the term would only apply to the westernmost part of the Wirangu-speaking area. The term seems to have been used by this stage mainly to refer to Mirniny people. Sullivan (in Tindale 1927b) notes: "Womberry, between Eucla and Kalgoorlie". Tindale appears to be in agreement with this and states (1974:248): "Wonbil also Wonburi, Kokata names for the Jirkala-mirning". In any case, the term never had wide currency as a name for the Wirangu language, and it is not known today.

(j) Ngadhu wangga, Ngadha wangga

Daisy Bates (1918:161) mentions the term 'Ngadha Wangga'. She writes (in Black's spelling): "ŋaða waŋga (ŋadha 'I, me') near the Wirangu (?)". This represents a version of the Wirangu first person singular pronoun **ngadhu** 'I' and it refers to the people who said **ngadha** for 'I'. There is confirming evidence that people were called by the word they used for 'I': Wiebusch refers to the 'Ngadu' as 'the coast people'. This may yet be another term that the Kukata could have used to refer to Wirangu people, or it may have been a term by which Wirangu people themselves distinguished those who said **ngadhu** for 'I' from those who said **ngadha** or **ngadyu**: Eyre's 'ajjo, I' could imply that the western Wirangu said **ngadyu** for 'I' (see §2.1.4 and §4.2.2).

Unfortunately there is no present-day recollection of these terms being used for the language or its speakers.

1.2.2 PUBLISHED CLASSIFICATIONS

Taplin (1879:104) implied close links between Parnkalla and Wirangu when he stated: "It is evident that all the tribes which roam over the Peninsula and the west coast are the same people".

The first detailed statement about the affiliations of the Wirangu language comes from J.M. Black (1917:3):

> The language is closely related to Parnkalla (spoken in the southern part of Eyre Peninsula) and more distantly to the extinct Adelaide language, and others on the eastern side of Spencer Gulf. In fact all the languages from Adelaide northwards along the Flinders Range and westward and northward in a great sweep to the Everard Ranges[6] and beyond Fowler Bay, probably to the western Australian border, are so closely allied in their vocabulary that they must be considered as one group, which might be known as the Tindo family, from the name for 'the sun', which is common in almost all of them.

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6 Black is here including Arabana and what was originally lower Southern Aranda country.

Tindale in his 1940 map obviously thought of Wirangu as a separate entity and not a dialect of anything else, as he drew firm lines around what was originally Wirangu country.

O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) and O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966) working as they did nearly half a century after Black, came to a totally different conclusion from him: they show Wirangu as the only member of a separate 'Nanga' subgroup of languages. They have the concept of a wider group of 'Nyungic languages' of which 'Nanga' is a subgroup, as is Thura-Yura and Mirning-Ngadyuma-Kalarko. In other words they draw a deep demarcation line between the Karnic languages of the Lake Eyre Basin and the 'Nyungic languages' which include separate subgroups, the 'Wati' languages or Western Desert proper, the Thura-Yura subgroup, the 'Nanga' subgroup, the Mirniny-Ngadyuma-Kalarko subgroup and so forth.

Then in 1967, after having done some work with Wirangu speakers in 1966, in between working on Kukata, J.T. Platt upset current thinking by suggesting that Wirangu was very closely related to Kukata and together with it formed a special subgroup of the Western Desert languages.

G.N. O'Grady and Terry J. Klokeid (1969:302) responded with a brilliant paper which used lexicostatistical data to show the errors of classifying Wirangu with Kukata as a separate Western Desert subgroup. They wrote:

> We suspect that because of the intense contact between speakers of Kukata and Wirangu numerous lexical items in the latter are, in fact, recent loans from the former.

They concluded (1969:310):

> This language is related to other communalects of western South Australia at a level of remoteness which is sufficient to warrant its classification as a separate subgroup – one of 12 which make up the Nyungic group of the Pama-Nyungan family.

Oates and Oates (1970) re-labelled the Nyungic group as "Western Desert Type Languages" but otherwise agreed with O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966) in having Wirangu stand on its own as a separate subgroup. In her supplement to the work, L. Oates (1973:140) specifically makes the point that G.N. O'Grady and Terry J. Klokeid had made valid arguments for this.

S.A. Wurm (1972:128) strangely enough followed Platt's ideas about the close relationship between Wirangu and Kukata: he listed a 'Nyangga' subgroup of the Pama-Nyungan group: this subgroup was said to consist of Kukata and Wirangu. Unfortunately this classification has led to Wirangu being taken as part of the Western Desert altogether, and this is the classification followed by Wurm and Hattori (1981: map 21). Similarly C. Mattingley and K. Hampton (1988) show the whole of the West Coast of South Australia in their map as simply part of Western Desert country. This extreme classification implies that Wirangu is actually part of the Wati subgroup of Western Desert languages, on a par with Kokata, Yankuntjatjara and Pitjantjatjara. This classification has no linguistic basis: it is in contrast to every single published work of Platt and O'Grady, and of Wurm (1972), all of whom at least had Wirangu in a separate subgroup. It has even been accepted in the ISL classification (Ethnologue: Australia, Pama Nyungan, South-West) and it appears as such on the World-Wide Web. So a classification that is based on a misinterpretation of Platt (1967) is now spread across the world.

J. Simpson and L. Hercus (1996) have attempted to show on the other hand that Wirangu is not a Western Desert language at all, but an outlier of the Thura-Yura group of languages, and that many of the similarities with Kukata are, as already suggested by O'Grady and Klokeid (1969), due to recent borrowing.

1.2.3 WIRANGU AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

(a) Parnkalla and Kukata

The close relationship of Wirangu to the Thura-Yura group of languages to the east and north-east and to Parnkalla in particular has been pointed out throughout this work. The number of Kukata borrowings tends to obscure this fact particularly with regard to comparisons based on cognate densities. O'Grady and Klokeid (1969:304ff.) in their important article have given a chart showing the cognate densities between Arabana (from west of Lake Eyre), the Warburton Ranges language, Pintupi-Pityantyatyara, Kukatya-Yankuntyatyara-Antikirinya, Kokata-Ngaliya, Wirangu, Mirniny and Parnkalla. They found that there was a 47% cognate density between Wirangu and Kokata (here called Kukata) and only 39% between Wirangu and Parnkalla. They then gave a separate chart, making a random selection and simply taking the first ten words of the list. This is a chart of cognation between Wirangu, Arabana, Pintupi, Ernabella Pityantyatyara, Kukatya, Yankuntyatyara, Antikirinya, Kukata, Ngaliya, Mirniny and Parnkalla. We will replicate this chart here, with a few changes in spelling. We will omit the Western Desert languages apart from the ones that are immediately relevant to the particular items, namely Kukata and also Ngaliya.

The words in italics have been added to the chart: they are Wirangu words that have been replaced by borrowed words, but are still known. Parnkalla *kamba* has been added: according to Schürmann it means 'to cook', 'to bake'. The Wirangu verb **gamba-** has the same meaning, and it is only the intransitive stem **gambari-** that means 'to burn (intr.)'.

TABLE 1.1: SAMPLE LIST OF COGNATES
(After O'Grady and Klokeid 1969)

English	Arabana	Ngaliya	Kukata	Wirangu	Parnkalla	Mirniny
armpit	kidlyi-kidlyi	–	ngakuly	ngakuly, *gaburu*	kapurru	ngukara
ashes	thultara	unu	unu	maparla	tyimballa	mupa
belly	kudnaardi	tyuni	tyarta	tyarta	worna	wirla
big	parnda	purlka	purlka	marnartu, *marna*	manna	makurlu
bite	purtha	patya	patya	patha	paia	patha
black	waka	maRu	maRu	mangkuRu	man-urru	kartaya
blood	kubmari	arlkulyu	arlkulyu	irldu	kartintye	yarlkultya
bone	warlpu	tarka	tarka	warlbu	walbo	kampu
breast	ngama	mimi	mimi	mimi, *ibi*	ngama	kurnku
burn	ngarda	kampa	kampa	kampa	*kamba*	mumarta

According to the original list, (ignoring the italics), Wirangu shares 5 out of the 10 items with Kukata, that is close to the 47% noted for the 100-word list, it shares only 3 out of the ten with Parnkalla, and 2.5 with Mirniny, as the cognation between *marna* and *makurlu* is by no means certain. Only one item is shared with Arabana.

If

a. we take into account the forms in italics, i.e. the older Wirangu forms, and *ibi*, which is the usual word for 'breast' and is borrowed from Pitjantjatjara,
b. we ignore the borrowings replacing the Wirangu words,
c. we include the Parnkalla word *kamba*, and
d. we agree that the Parnkalla word *tyimparla* is perhaps originally a compound with a second member that resembles the last syllables of Wirangu *maparla,* and therefore count this as a half cognate,

then the main count becomes quite different:

3 out of ten words are shared with Kukata

5.5 out of ten words are shared with Parnkalla. The scores for Arabana and Mirniny remain the same.

It is clear from this count that the closest association of Wirangu is with the Thura-Yura language, Parnkalla. The fact that this is a genetic rather than a diffusional relationship is indicated by grammatical features (see Hercus and Simpson 1996). One can also see some more subtle semantic links. There are a number of expressions in which Wirangu follows the Gulf and Lake Eyre Basin languages, and not Kukata; for instance, 'thumb' in Wirangu is **maʀa ngundyu** 'mother of hand', and 'big toe' is **dyina ngundyu** 'mother of foot',[7] as in the Thura-Yura and Lake Eyre languages,[8] not 'father of hand' as in Kukata, though the word **ngundyu** is in fact a borrowing from Kukata.

The undoubted similarities with Kukata are not entirely due to recent borrowing. There are probably older diffusional forces at play, as it is highly likely that Kukata and other Western Desert people were northerly neighbours to the Wirangu for a long time before they became immigrants into Wirangu country. The borrowings were not all from Kukata into Wirangu; there are quite a number of cases where there has been some diffusional force working in the opposite direction, examples being the word **maga** 'no', 'not', **nhangga** 'man', **yugarilya** 'the Seven Sisters', 'wanji ukaralja' (quoted by Platt 1972:57 as being inexplicable within Kukata), **guba** 'whitefellow' (from Parnkalla 'kupa', 'dead', also attested in Narangga), the ablative marker **–ngurni**, the roughly similar LEST marker and a number of other features, all of which distinguish Kukata from the other Western Desert languages. R.T. Maurice, writing to R.H. Mathews in 1900 from Yalata, said that nearly all the 'original' coast blacks had died out and that present-day (1900) ones had come in from the sandhill country hundreds of miles back. According to Elkin (1976:219) he stated further that:

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7 **Ngundyu** itself is a Kukata borrowing replacing the traditional Wirangu word **wiya.** This word was obviously avoided as the second member of a compound because it was identical to the well-known Western Desert Kukata word **wiya** 'no, nothing'. To anyone with the remotest knowledge of any Western Desert language **maʀa-wiya** would have meant 'hand-without', 'not having any hands'.

8 With the exception of Parnkalla, which has 'marra ngankalla', 'hand-stomach' for 'thumb'.

> the immigrant Aborigines used the coastal (Wirangu) talk, but if any of them visited their own country, as some of them did in Maurice's exploring and prospecting journeys, they changed to their own language on entering that country.

One could speculate that if the three languages, Parnkalla, Wirangu and Kukata, had not been totally overwhelmed by English there might have gradually evolved a *Sprachbund*, a regional linguistic convergence area between the immigrant Kukata and the locally resident Parnkalla and Wirangu people on Eyre Peninsula and the West coast. It is the initial stages of such a development that have given the illusion of there being a 'Nanga' subgroup of languages.

(b) Parnkalla dialects

Parnkalla, just like Wirangu, consisted of what was originally (§1.2.4(a)) a number of local forms of speech loosely grouped into dialects. For Parnkalla we know of at least three dialects, Parnkalla, 'Pangkarla', and Arra-Parnkalla (see (d) below). There are two vocabularies in Curr's compilation that can be attributed to 'Pangkarla' or the northern dialect: that from Marachowie in Curr (1887:134), contributed by H.L. Beddome, and that by A.D. Sawers (1887:130) from the (eastern) Gawler Ranges; the western Gawler Ranges were Wirangu country (§1.1). The vocabulary from Wonaka is more complex in its affiliation. These northern vocabularies contain a number of words which are not found in Schürmann's (1844) great work, which is based on the Port Lincoln area. These words however are found in Wirangu. Among them are, from the (eastern) Gawler Ranges list by Sawers:

'kurrta', 'excrement', Wirangu gurda*,

'kurra', 'grass', Wirangu **gara**,

'pialla', 'cold', Gawler Ranges (Marachowie 'byala', 'very cold'), Wirangu **bayala**

and from the Marachowie list:

'nanga' , which is given as an alternative for 'ura', 'man' (Wirangu **nhangga**)

'weea', which is given as an alternative for 'nammie', 'mother' (Wirangu **wiya**)

'juno', which is given as an alternative for 'wabma', 'snake' (Wirangu **dyunu**)

'wolye', 'eagle', Parnkalla 'willu', Wirangu **waldya**

'dgindoo', 'sun', Parnkalla 'yurno', Wirangu **dyirndu**

'winnin-innie', 'walk' (cf. Wirangu **winarn**). This is given as an alternative for 'ookutta', (i.e. Parnkalla 'ngukata').

The intricate links between northern Parnkalla and Wirangu are particularly well illustrated by the word for 'elder brother':

northern Parnkalla (Marachowie)	'murree'
Wirangu	**mariya**
but: Parnkalla (Schürmann)	'yunga'
Gawler Ranges Wirangu	**yunga**

It seems that **maʀiya**, which is typically Wirangu, was also used by northern Parnkalla people, and **yunga**, which is typically Parnkalla-Kuyani-Adnyamathanha, was also used by Wirangu people speaking the Gawler Ranges dialect. There has thus clearly been some convergence and consequent overlapping between the northern Parnkalla dialect and the Wirangu dialect of the Gawler Ranges, and this affected more than just vocabulary (§1.2.4(a)).

There is an isolated case where the Sawers list from the eastern Gawler Ranges appears to coincide with Kuyani rather than with Schürmann's Parnkalla: 'bambi', 'bowels', Kuyani **pampi**.

There are also rare examples of the preservation of initial dentals, characteristic of Kuyani:

chikatta 'sit', Kuyani **thikata**, Parnkalla 'ikkata'
tidni 'foot', Kuyani **thidna**, Parnkalla 'idna'

In all the other relevant words in the Sawers list from the Gawler Ranges there has been the standard Parnkalla lenition of initial **th**.

Another notable feature of the 'northern Parnkalla' vocabularies is the evidence of Kukata borrowings, with the exception of two words which are not found in 1844 in Schürmann's Parnkalla:

eebe 'breast' (Marachowie), Kukata **ipi**
manga 'hair' (Marachowie), Kukata **mangka**

Less certain is:

pee 'skin' (Sawers), 'peeyee' (Wonoka), Kukata **piyi**: this may be an inherited northern dialectal form, as it is shared by Kuyani.

(c) Mirniny

One minor fact emerges about the Mirniny words in Table 1.1 above: 'kampu', 'bone' obviously has no cognates in the area, but the word occurs in Diyari and other eastern Karnic languages in the meaning of 'skeleton'. This is also found in some western Queensland languages (Breen 1990:14), so Mirniny is not quite such an outsider as it may seem. There is however definitely no very close relationship between Wirangu and Mirniny. Wirangu must therefore be regarded as the furthest western outlier of the Thura-Yura language group, and there is no case for including Mirniny with that group.

(d) 'Nauo' (Nyawa)

One would have expected Nauo to have a close relationship with Wirangu: Nauo once adjoined Wirangu immediately to the east and south-east. The Nauo however were almost extinct by Schürmann's time and all we have is eight words from Schürmann (1846:28–29) and a few verb forms, as well as a few words from Tindale (1928 and 1939). There is evidence of a Nauo woman living outside original Nauo country at Wilgena in 1900 (Elkin 1976:216), but nothing was recorded from her. Much later, in the notes to his 1928

manuscript, Tindale states: "A single old man of this tribe, Tommy Arbor[9] by name, was said to be still living at Iron Knob". But no one appears to have written down any words from Tommy. Those few items of Nauo that are available do indeed indicate a close and probably genetic proximity to Wirangu. Schürmann's list includes 'tyendu', 'sun' (Wirangu **dyirndu** as opposed to Parnkalla 'yurndo') and a present tense form in ' -nna', which again is closer to Wirangu **-n** than it is to Parnkalla. The purposive suffix in Nauo is given as '-yu', which differs from both Parnkalla '-ru' and Wirangu **-gu** but could be interpreted as being closer to the latter. There is one fascinating entry in Schürmann's Nauo list, 'wamo, house'. This word is not known from Wirangu, but it is the same as **wamu**, the ordinary Mirniny word for 'camp', and shows that there may have been distant links between Nauo and Mirniny along the coast.

Cumulative evidence shows that Wirangu and Nauo people, along with groups as far east as the Adelaide[10] area, shared traditions about an evil mythical being called **Maldhabi**. Provis in Taplin (1879:99), writing about Wirangu people, stated that if a clever man failed to heal a sick person it was "because Multabi was too strong". According to Tindale (1928), based on information from Frank Kent, a white man who had been working in the 1870s at Coffin Bay when a few Nauo people were still camped nearby, **Maldhabi** was a small humanoid creature, "who they were sure could not be killed even with gunshot":

> On one occasion when the natives were down on the lower flat part of the Peninsula near Mora 'Pt Long Nose' they said that 'Maldabi' was going to send a big water to drown them, and they fled hastily to the higher country to the south. Shortly there was a very high tide which flooded much of the low country and surrounded the bases of the sandhills. The natives returned some ten days later and were surprised that 'Maldabi' had not washed the white men away.

The other two Nauo words in this list apart from 'Maldabi' are: 'gardo', 'blackfellow', which is obviously the same as Wirangu **gardu**[11] 'initiated man' (there appears to be no cognate form in Parnkalla), and 'yanmura', 'white man', which has no known cognates at all. The evidence points strongly towards a close and presumably genetic relationship between Nauo and Wirangu, but it is altogether too scanty to permit any hard and fast conclusions.

Aboriginal traditions about the Nauo language are divided. Moonie (fourth son) Davis spoke about this to L. Hercus (tape 14, September 1965). His father was Parnkalla from Warrakimba near Neuroodla Siding and his mother was Kukata; he was born about 1895. He viewed the Nyawa entirely from the Parnkalla angle and thought of their language as a dialect of Parnkalla:

> There were different Parnkalla, there's way down the Nyawa Parnkarla, the Pangkarla and there's Arrapankarla, they are a bit different...Down from Pt Lincoln is the Nyawa Pankarla. My father could talk all that, if you talked one you could talk the lot; they were only a little bit different.

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9 He was also sometimes referred to as Tommy Harbour.

10 Even further east, among Narrinyeri people, there were evil mythical beings called 'Mulapi' (Berndt and Berndt 1993:205).

11 This word is of major significance because of its links with the west, via Nyungar all the way to the Kartu languages of the southern Pilbara, named so from their word 'kartu' for 'man'.

Mick McLean (Wangkangurru) did not come from the area but was keenly interested because the northern Wilyaru (see §1.2.1(d)) traditions ended in Nyawa country. He said (tape 592, 1973):

L. Just before you go, Mick, you pronounce them Nyawa?

M. Nyaawa; these people been down the coast Franklin harbour, I don't know how far.

L. They were like Parnkalla?

M. Different from Parnkalla, a little more like Wirangu, but they could talk both languages in those days, a very long time ago.

Unfortunately the chances of finding more information are minimal.

1.2.4 DIALECTS OF WIRANGU

(a) Main dialects

Wirangu, like other Australian languages, was not a uniform mode of speech and local groups differed from each other in various minor matters, particularly of phonetics and vocabulary. There was not one dominant form of the language: but it is most likely that here as elsewhere the speech of a number of local groups came to form a dialect. From the early evidence of the contributions to Taplin (1879) and Curr (1885–87) it seems that there were at least two main dialects of Wirangu, one belonging to the Gawler Ranges and to the people who had settled around Venus Bay, and another belonging to areas further west. The main features of this dialectal distinction affected vocabulary as well as grammatical characteristics: pre-stopping of nasals and laterals (§1.3.4), and the pronunciation of laminals (§2.1.4). In these matters the dialect of the Gawler Ranges had some similarity with the adjacent Parnkalla and Kuyani languages. This dialectal distinction persisted till the sixties, and can be noted quite clearly from the tapes recorded by J.T. Platt. It is only today that relative uniformity has been reached with the loss of the Gawler Ranges dialect.

(b) Local groups

Daisy Bates (1918:161–162) gives a list of "Tribal or Local Group Names", some which are far removed from Wirangu country. Among the many names she lists there as being in "the Boundary Dam area" there is 'badu wangga' (from **badu** the Kukata word for 'man') and 'wadi wangga' (from the Pitjantjatjara word for 'man').

Among other more distant people she notes: "Jagarga waŋga (jaga 'woman') Eucla area". This obviously refers to Mirniny people who use the word **yaga** for 'woman'. She also lists groups of people who must have been Wirangu:

Wirongu woŋga (from wira 'cloud' and 'woŋga' speech)	Tarcoola road (see §1.2.1(a) above).
ŋaða waŋga (ŋadha 'I, me')	near the Wirangu (§1.2.1(i) above).

Waia woŋga (waia 'woman')	Boundary Dam area. [This probably stands for **Wiyana-wangga**, people who said **wiyana** for 'woman'][12]
Warbail woŋga (warbail 'woman')	Boundary Dam area. [This must stand for **Warbil-wangga**, people who said **warbil** for 'woman'].

There is no information available as to the exact original location of these separate groups: both **warbil** and **wiyana** are known to modern speakers, and older sources do not give us any clear indication. It is possible that **warbil** was a more westerly form as its equivalent appears in Eyre's Head of Bight list, but it is also listed for Murat Bay by Black (1917:8), as is **wiyana**. All that we can conclude is that there were no doubt local differences, but these disappeared with the concentration of people at Koonibba.

1.3 Previous work on Wirangu

1.3.1 Eyre

Work on Wirangu has a long and distinguished history. The very earliest record from the area, namely that of Eyre (1845, vol.2, p.395) is labelled 'from the head of the Bight' and is undoubtedly in Wirangu. There are 25 words in this list, of which 15 can readily be interpreted as being Wirangu, such as:

Eyre	English	Wirangu speakers
tchin-du	sun	**dyirndu**
kal-ga	star	**galga**
mail	eye	**mil**
ajjo	I	**ngadhu**
kal-la	fire	**garla**
mum-ma	father	**muma**
gum-mera	one	**gumaardu**

The spelling of two further words is harder to interpret, but the only comparable words occur in Wirangu (not in Mirniny or any other neighbouring language):

wy-e-bolia	woman	**warbil**
yal-da	yes	this word is possibly based on the Wirangu word **ya** 'yes' with the addition of a suffix

A further word is of particular interest is:

gal-pin	egg

The older Wirangu word for egg is *bibi (see §1.3.4), and modern Wirangu has the Kukata borrowing **ngugurn**. The word 'galpin' however has a close parallel: 'culvin' is quoted (Bedford n.d.) as being the word for 'pheasant egg' used by Whipstick Billy from

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12 There could be some misunderstanding here, as the Wirangu word **wiyana** means 'woman', but Daisy Bates' 'waia' looks more like Wirangu **wiya** 'mother'.

the Gawler Ranges (§1.3.11 below). In ordinary modern Wirangu **gabiny** means 'mallee hen', which appears to be a variant pronunciation for 'galbiny', and it is most probable that Eyre was given the word for 'mallee hen' instead of the general word for 'egg'. A cognate word 'kalbanya', 'Australian pheasant' is found in Parnkalla.

In the case of the word for 'water' it seems that Wirangu, like Parnkalla and Narangga, had two alternative and closely related words, **gawi** and **gabi**, the latter being identical to the Western Desert form. Eyre (1845, vol.2, p.395) quotes: 'kau-we', 'gaip-py' 'water'. The spelling 'kau-we' clearly represents **gawi**, which is the widespread Thura-Yura word for 'water'. It is also found in the name of the important Illcumban Well near the Head of Bight, 'Yeer Comban Cowie', recorded by Eyre (1845:295). The spelling 'gaip-py' no doubt represents **gabi**,[13] and the modern names of many rockholes in Wirangu country end in **-abi** (see the list in §2.1.2(e) below). Eyre at various times in the account of his travels in volume I of his book mentions place names, locations where he obtained water, on the eastern side of Fowler's Bay: 'Mobeela gaippe', 'Beelimah gaippe', 'Berinyana gaippe', and 'Wademar gaippe'. These contain the full form of the word for 'water'. The full form used in these names may not have been the colloquial ones; they may represent the way the words were analysed for Eyre. The word 'e-rai', 'tooth' also gives a glimpse of an earlier phases of the language: **yira** is now used for 'mouth' and **gardirdi** (shared with Mirning and Kukata) has gradually replaced it in the meaning of 'tooth'. Daisy Bates (1918:155) however still shows the older state of affairs with an entry 'jara, mouth'. 'Kun-nal', 'wife' probably represents Wirangu **guna-ngal** 'have sex'.

An interesting form is 'janna', 'you'. There are two other published attestations of this word: in the list supplied by J. Bryant from Yardea to Taplin in 1879 we find 'channa thou', and in the 1886 Streaky Bay list by Richardson we find 'tchanna'. This is a now obsolete 'polite' form of the second person pronoun and is discussed below (§4.2.5).

The three remaining words in the Eyre list have remained a mystery. They are:

oon-da-ga	rain
me-lah	woman (Jane Simpson has pointed out a possible equivalent in Kaurna)
gerga	no (the other word for 'no' that is quoted, muk-ka, represents Wirangu **maga**)

Eyre thus gives us a rare early glimpse of the Wirangu language.

1.3.2 TAPLIN

Taplin's important compilation of 1879 contains three Wirangu vocabularies. They are particularly valuable in that they come from far-flung areas of Wirangu country:

1. from Venus Bay, which according to Tindale (1974) and Berndt (1985) was in Nauo country, near the Wirangu boundary, but it seems that the Nauo had practically disappeared by Schürmann's time in the 1840s

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13 This could have been an alternative form in Wirangu, just as it was in Parnkalla (see §1.2.3(c) above). **Gabi**, presumably reinforced by the presence of an identical term in Kukata, is now the only accepted form.

2. from Yardea in the Gawler Ranges, which was not far from Kuyani country
3. from Fowlers Bay towards the west of Wirangu country.

Taplin evidently did not realise that these vocabularies belonged to one language and in his chart he interposed a Parnkalla vocabulary (from Port Lincoln) in between them. The briefest glance at some of the first few items makes the situation clear:[14]

	P.T. Clode Venus Bay	A. Cole Yardea	James Bryant Pt Lincoln	P.T. Richards Fowlers Bay
sun	chinto	chindo	yurno	chintoo
star	calca	calca	purdli	colga
cloud	werrilah	werrica	mabinga	wiriah

The Yardea list contains a few items that are very close to Kuyani and Parnkalla, e.g. 'kinea' for 'stone', which is obviously related to the Kuyani and Parnkalla **kadnya** rather than to Wirangu **parnda**. 'Kalbelli', 'two' is related to Parnkalla 'kalbelli' and Kuyani **kalpila**; 'wilkia', 'dog' is closer to Parnkalla and Kuyani **wilka** than to standard Wirangu **yilga**. On the whole however there is an overwhelming similarity between the three Wirangu vocabularies.

There are several items in these lists that have since disappeared from the language, such as a word **gura** for 'woman', Venus Bay 'coora', Yardea 'coore', and there are even more items that have now been replaced by Kukata borrowings: A typical example is:

heat Venus Bay 'pookerah' Yardea 'buccia' Fowlers Bay 'onerah'

Pukara* is a Thura-Yura word (Parnkalla-Kuyani **pukara** 'hot weather'), and 'onerah' (Daisy Bates 'unurn') is probably a version of the Wirangu word **ngarnara** 'hot weather', related to Kuyani **ngarnara** 'hot weather' and Parnkalla 'ngannara', 'north east wind'. The word most commonly used now is **biriya** 'heat, hot weather' from Kukata.

The various forms of the word for 'boomerang', Venus Bay 'watnah', Yardea 'wadna' and Fowlers Bay 'wodana', are cognate with Parnkalla-Kuyani **wadna** 'boomerang' and have since been replaced by Kukata **garli**.

The work of Taplin also contains a remarkable contribution from a policeman named C. Provis, who was to contribute later also to Curr's work. He had been for some time at Streaky Bay and had obviously learnt a lot about Wirangu people and the Wirangu language. He made some judgemental statements that were outrageous even for his times, but he did provide extra vocabulary and some detailed ethnographic information. He even gave valuable notes with regard to his method of spelling: he was the only non-German from last century to differentiate – be it by the use of asterisks – between *a* and *u* sounds. His big mistake (Provis 1879:93) was to attribute much of Wirangu country and all the Wirangu language material to Kukata people:

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14 The word list for Port Lincoln is given by Taplin as coming from James Bryant, and the Wirangu vocabulary from Yardea in the Gawler Ranges is attributed to Mr A. Cole: these attributions are in a crowded list on p.153, whee there could easily have been a slip. In several other separate statements the roles are reversed in Taplin's work, notably on p.93. It is quite certain from the further evidence of R.H. Matthew's correspondents that the Port Lincoln contribution is from A. Cole, and the Yardea contribution from James Bryant.

> The name of the tribe is Ku-ka-tha.
>
> The country inhabited by this tribe lies between Venus Bay and Point Brown on the coast and inland to the Gawler Ranges...

This mistake has had lasting effects: some subsequent writers, notably Bedford, simply mistook Wirangu for Kukata.

1.3.3 List of kinship terms

The work of Taplin (1879:158) also contains a list of kinship terms from Fowlers Bay contributed by P.T. Richards. This list is curious in that it differs from all other sources. It has here been rearranged with the modern Wirangu forms, though they might not have exactly the same meaning:

Richards's term	Modern Wirangu	Meanings given by Richards
mumma	**muma**	father
		father's father
kine	**gany**	father's brother
weah	**wiya**	mother
		father's mother
kongeah	**ganggiya**	mother's sister
		father's sister
		father's father's sister
		father's mother's sister
		mother's mother's sister
		mother's father's sister
muddern	**mard(a)n**	father's second wife (Richards suggests it just means 'woman'; it actually means 'wife')
cutcho weah		stepmother, second mother (Kukata 'other mother'))
pungaroo	**bangunu**	younger brother
		mother's brother
munia, murnia	**maʀiya**	father's sister's husband
		elder brother
		father's father's brother
		father's mother's brother
		mother's mother's brother
		mother's father's brother
pooldoo	**buldu***	son
		sister's child (female speaking)
		brother's child
		father's sister's child
		mother's brother's child
nuttey		daughter
manangee		sister's child (male speaking)

This list gives the impression of being contrived – it was in any case part of a questionnaire, and the distinctions made do not correspond to what was subsequently noted by Daisy Bates and by modern speakers. One no doubt accurate and archaic feature in the vocabulary is the fact that men used a different term for 'sister's child' from that used by women: this points to a moiety division. Many well-known kinship terms such as **bagarli** 'mother's father' and **gabarli** 'grandmother' are conspicuous by their absence. the distinction made between maternal and paternal grandfather and many other important aspects appear to have escaped the notice of the contributor P.T. Richards, or they may have been left out as part of a simplification process to fit in with the questionnaire. In any case, no significant conclusions can be drawn from this list of kinship terms, despite its early date.

1.3.4 CURR

The next evidence for Wirangu comes from the compilation by Curr (1885–1887) who has two lists under the heading 'No.40. Streaky Bay'; one by D.K. Richardson (1887) containing 102 items, and another by C. Provis (1887) containing 104. Curr had sent out a questionnaire, and the two contributors show practically the same omissions from the questionnaire. Some of these are significant; for instance neither of the vocabularies has a word for 'canoe', and that was because Wirangu people are said not to have used canoes in the very old days.

If we look at the first four words in the two Streaky Bay lists just at random, we can see without a shadow of doubt that those two vocabularies are straight Wirangu, simply varying transcriptions of the same thing.

	Richardson	Provis	Wirangu speakers
Kangaroo	warroo	waroo	**waru**
Opossum	pilta	pirlta	**birlda**
Tame dog	yelka	yelga	**ilga** (now 'wild dog')
Emu	kurlea	warritcha	**garliya**

But we can also see changes taking place, as is illustrated by the words discussed below.

The word for 'tame' dog is now **buba**, and even more commonly known is **baba**, which is a borrowing from Kukata. The original Wirangu word **ilga** has however survived in the meaning of 'wild dog'.

Garliya (Richardson 'galiya'), is from the Kukata word **garlaya** 'emu', and the Streaky Bay vocabularies show that in the 1880s this borrowing was in the process of replacing the original Wirangu word, *waridya, which corresponds to Parnkalla 'waradya', spelt 'warraitya' by Schürmann (1844) and 'waritcha' by Provis, and to Kuyani and Adnyamathanha **warratyi** 'emu'.

Bibi was no doubt the original Wirangu word for 'egg' and it occurs in Provis's list while Richardson has the Kukata equivalent 'ngampo' i.e. **ngambu**. The word used most frequently by Wirangu people now is **ngugurn**, which is also of Kukata derivation. **Bibi** is found in Parnkalla (Schürmann 'bebi') and in Kuyani, Adnyamathanha has **vipi**.

Other now superseded words in these lists are **gardu** 'man' (here spelt 'kurda') which is found in what is obviously the more traditional Wirangu list by Provis, also attested by

'Whipstick Billy' (§1.3.11 below) and still used by modern speakers in fixed locutions, while Richardson has 'niunga' which is the modern **nhangga.**

The list given by Sawer (Curr 1886:130) and labelled 'Gawler Ranges' is probably from the eastern Gawler Ranges, and there can be no doubt whatever that it is a Parnkalla vocabulary. Provis's list is from Streaky Bay and is Wirangu, but there is a possibility that his main informant may have come from the western, the Wirangu part of the Gawler Ranges. There are a lot of items on this list which are in keeping with what we know about the Wirangu speech of the western Gawler Ranges: one of the characteristic features of this dialect is sporadic pre-stopping. This can be seen in the use of a word like **wabma** 'snake', which is found not only in Parnkalla and Kuyani, but also over a wider area in the Lake Eyre basin. Richardson's vocabulary on the other hand has 'djoono', 'snake', modern Wirangu **dyunu**.

Other typical Gawler Ranges words in the Provis list are

mootla	nose	Modern Wirangu speakers: **mulha, mulya**
yoonga	elder brother	**maʀiya**

(The Kuyani-Adnyamathanha and Parnkalla word for 'elder brother' is **yunga**).

There are many instances in both vocabularies of older words such as 'walbu', 'boy', here listed as 'baby', now replaced by Kukata **urla**; 'yeera', 'teeth' now 'mouth' and replaced 'as teeth' by **gardirdi**; and 'ngangguwin', 'beard', Provis 'ngornka', Richardson 'ngangwin', now replaced by Kukata **gandya**.

1.3.5 WIEBUSCH

Pastor Wiebusch, who was the first missionary at Koonibba, was anxious to learn Wirangu and hoped to write a grammar and vocabulary, as he told J.M. Black (1917:3). He was at Koonibba from 1901 to 1916. During this period he compiled a vocabulary of some 500 words, which is preserved in the Lutheran archives. Wiebusch was a careful listener and, being used to writing German, he generally adhered to a very consistent German spelling. There are some instances however where he did write 'u' for 'a' as in 'buto' for **bada** 'fat'. He did not give any sentences, just the occasional phrase. His work is invaluable for the understanding of some Wirangu words that are no longer known, such as 'manu, string made from hair to keep the hair together', and 'wanu, hard'. He has also included some placenames from the vicinity of Koonibba.

Later Koonibba missionaries, particularly Pastor Hoff in the 1920s, and much later Pastor Temme, are said to have spoken the language quite well, but no written work by them has become available.

1.3.6 BLACK

J.M. Black was a highly gifted amateur linguist who went on a short visit to Koonibba in 1915 and noted some 200 words of 'Wirrung'. Unlike any of the earlier writers Black could hear the difference between the two -r- sounds, was aware of vowel length and could hear a number of distinctions between consonants, particularly dental and palatal sounds. He was aware of the velar nasal 'ng' and transcribed it with the international phonetic symbol 'ŋ'. He

also gave phrases as examples and these contain a few grammatical forms. His work heralds a new phase in the study of Wirangu, one of careful observation and scientific accuracy.

1.3.7 TINDALE: LIMB

N.B. Tindale of the South Australian Museum was a remarkable man – among his many great qualities was his ability to use every opportunity to document Aboriginal culture. On several occasions in 1926 and in 1927 he made notes on Wirangu vocabulary as pronounced to him by a plaster-cast maker named Robert Limb who happened to be employed at the Museum at that time. Limb was brought up at Fowlers Bay and learnt Wirangu in his childhood in the1870s: he was evidently a reasonable speaker and was even able to sing two Wirangu songs, which Tindale transcribed. One of these songs was obviously exceedingly rude, and the other consists only of two words – so they do not do justice to Wirangu traditions. At this stage Tindale had not yet perfected his brilliant system of transcription, and so the list – clearly in Tindale's handwriting – is inferior to his later work. The vocabulary collected from Limb comprises only one hundred words, which are (with the exception of two doubtful entries) all known from other sources. There is however some social background information, and there are a few placenames, as well as names of a few Wirangu and Mirniny people who were at Koonibba in the mid-1920s.

1.3.8 SULLIVAN

At the time when he was working with Robert Limb (1926–1927) Tindale sent out a questionnaire, as had been done half a century earlier by Taplin and Curr, asking for some anthropological information, Aboriginal vocabulary and particularly names of birds. His answers included a nine-page communication about 'Denial Bay Aborigines' from Charles Sullivan. Some of the information was used years later by H.T. Condon (1955) in his work 'Aboriginal Bird Names – South Australia'. Sullivan provided a general word list of about hundred items, and even a few short sentences. These are all comprehensible in terms of modern Wirangu, though Sullivan's spelling is extremely anglicised, usually copying the nearest-sounding English word. Thus he writes:

'mutton'	for **mard(a)n**	wife
'mucka koondil'	for **maga gurndirl**	don't hit (me)
'kucka punta'	for **gaga barnda**	bald head

Sullivan's work is nevertheless invaluable particularly from the point of view of bird names.

1.3.9 TINDALE

Tindale undertook an expedition to Koonibba himself in August 1928: perhaps he was inspired by his indirect contact with west-coast people through Limb and Sullivan. Tindale describes the work as an "Anthropological Expedition", and so the listing of vocabulary was of only secondary importance to him. Only about forty general items of vocabulary are given. There is however a lot of social background information on topics ranging from plant use to string games, and at least some of the relevant Wirangu terms are given. Tindale obviously consulted Kukata as well as Wirangu people at Koonibba, and he kept the

information separate on the whole, yet one note of a few lines on 'the Kukata language' actually refers to Wirangu. A major section of the report consists of details of the kinship system. Interestingly enough the system as described by Tindale contains more Kukata words than are used by modern speakers: thus he gives a term 'malainy', i.e. **malany**, from Kukata to mean 'younger sister'. Wirangu however, like a number of other Australian languages, does not generally differentiate between younger siblings by gender: **bangunu** means 'younger brother or sister'. Modern Wirangu does however have a special term **buyalu** meaning 'the youngest one in a family if it is a sister', 'baby sister'. A straight borrowing from Kukata that does not appear to have had an equivalent in Wirangu is 'ingilyi' (Kukata **inkilyi)** co-parents in law, i.e. the relationship between the parents of a married couple. The kinship table, though clearly Wirangu, reflects Kukata influence at its height, Wirangu seems to have fought back since then.

The most important word list by Tindale is a 1929 typescript, based on his 1928 expedition and entitled 'Vocabulary of the Wirrangu and Kukata languages'. It consists of about 350 entries, some of them of considerable cultural significance, such as a special word for a returning boomerang. The spelling used in these lists is still the traditional one.

In Tindale's 1939 comparative Australian word lists many of the items for Wirangu have been left blank. There are only about 30 entries, and these show a lot of Kukata influence, e.g. 'kata' is given for 'head' and 'tjuni' for stomach. Like Tindale's (1928) kinship table, this list shows Kukata influence at the strongest.

The work of Tindale is unique and most important in giving a wider social and ethnological perspective to the study of Wirangu.

1.3.10 BATES

By far the greatest contribution to Wirangu vocabulary comes from Daisy Bates. She spent most of the time between 1915 and 1918 at the Wirilya camp near Yalata, in Wirangu country, where there were also many Mirning people. Her first and only major published work on Wirangu is the 1918 article 'Aborigines of the West Coast of South Australia. Vocabularies and Ethnographic Notes', communicated to the Royal Society of South Australia by J.M. Black. In a footnote Black states that his share of the work had "been almost wholly confined to transliterating the native words and arranging the vocabulary alphabetically". He also notes that the language is "essentially the same as that spoken at Murat Bay". This vocabulary consists of around 500 words, including special sections on tribal or local group names and kinship terms. There is also a section on placenames, but these are Mirning from the Eucla district.

According to Tindale's map Ooldea is right on the boundary of Wirangu, Mirniny and Kukata country, and this is confirmed by other evidence (see §1.1 above). Many Wirangu people stayed at Ooldea off and on, and during her sixteen years there, from 1919 onwards, Daisy Bates got to know them on a personal basis. She gradually got to know more of the Wirangu language. According to older people who remember her she spoke it quite well. Her written vocabulary is extensive and the present work was started by going through her lists and recording the older Wirangu people pronouncing those of the words that they recognised. Daisy Bates has three main Wirangu word lists:

1. From "Minbunga and Minjia (Lucy) of Yuria". This is the most extensive of the vocabularies with about 650 items as well as several pages of short sentences. This is here referred to as n.d.1.
2. From Binilya, a blind woman "of Baldu, Kajjining, Uldaring, Kurgara, Bilari, Birinya Rock-hole, Munju Rock-hole near Jardijarra". This consists of around 300 items and a few short sentences and notes. There are some Kukata words included, and Daisy Bates notes on the cover: "Wirongu wongi (dialectic name for cloud) dhunadha (mixed with) Kugurda wonga". This is here referred to as n.d.2.
3. A brief vocabulary of some 120 words and some proper nouns and general information from "Nginilya, Marbunga and Mannginya (girl) of Fowlers Bay". This is here referred to as n.d.3.

The sentences are all of a very basic kind and do not yield much grammatical information, but the vocabulary information is invaluable. There is a certain amount of consistency in her spelling, for instance 'j' usually stands for sound transcibed here as 'dy'. Nevertheless, as with the writers from last century, the notation of 'a' and 'u' remains uncertain and largely dependant on the spelling of vaguely similar English words. Her contribution is unique not only in the volume of information, but also on account of the understanding of the cultural background.

1.3.11 BEDFORD[15]*

In August 1952 Mrs R. Bedford deposited a notebook, the work of her husband, at the South Australian Museum. The contents were then evidently typed up by Museum staff and checked later that month by Tindale. The work of 12 pages has the title 'Manuscript notes on blackfellow tribes and language of Eyre's Peninsula, by R. Bedford'. The author was a farmer, obviously from the Yaninee area north-west of Wudinna on Eyre Peninsula. He took a keen interest in Aboriginal people and he quotes material in his manuscript from Taplin and from Daisy Bates. The importance of the manuscript lies in the fact that it contains original data as well as the material copied from Taplin and Bates. It seems that in 1921 the Bedfords and some of their neighbours (this is not clear) befriended an old Aboriginal man named Whipstick Billy who 'came as a boy from the Gawler Ranges', and whose language, from the items of vocabulary given, was clearly Gawler Ranges Wirangu. Unfortunately Bedford was misled by Provis in Taplin (§1.3.2 above) and confused Wirangu and Kukata. He quotes Provis's additional list (Taplin 1879:98) under the heading 'Kukatha Tribe'. He obviously must have mentioned his ideas on Kukata to Whipstick Billy, who is quoted as saying: "my not Kukatha, my Wongan", and "my Willeuroo too". From this Bedford concluded with hesitation that Wongan was part of a Willeuroo tribe. What is far more likely is that Billy was using the term **wanggarn** 'speak' as a name for the Wirangu language (see §1.2.1(b) above) and that he stated that he was a Wilyaru man, one that had gone through the Wilyaru cicatrisation ceremony.

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15 I am indebted entirely to Philip Clarke for information about this document.

1.3.12 PLATT

J.T. Platt started his work for an MA thesis on Kukata for Monash University in September 1966. In between working on Kukata he recorded ten tapes of Wirangu phrases and sentences, mainly with Rosie Peel at Thevenard, but also with Lena Miller as well as Gordon Bilney, Teddy Hart and Phyllis Croft at Whyalla, and with George Glennie at Andamooka. The last-named four speakers all had associations with the Gawler Ranges, and the tapes therefore enable us to obtain some insight into the dialectal features of Wirangu. The tapes refreshed the memories of the modern speakers, but the grammatical information on them is limited to past, present and future tenses and simple case forms. There is no real interaction between linguist and speakers and hence no spontaneous conversation. It is doubtful whether John Platt ever had a chance to work on these tapes, but they have been invaluable for the present study.

Platt's written contribution comes from his 1967 article 'The Kukata-Kukatja distinction': This contains a list of 25 Wirangu words and phrases compared to 'Kukatja' and 'Kukata'. By this stage he had clearly not had time to study the Wirangu language. The list – though it shows excellent hearing of the language – contains for instance an entry 'ngantjapala' as an alternative to 'ngantja', 'bad': this is the phrase **ngandya bala** 'bad, this one'. The article was controversial with regard to language classification (see §1.2.1 above) and Platt did not publish any further work on Wirangu before his untimely death.

1.3.13 O'GRADY

G.N. O'Grady has had a very special interest in the Wirangu language. He worked mainly with Rosie Peel at Thevenard at various times in the fifties. His major published contribution is his brilliant 1969 article with Terry Klokeid 'Australian linguistic classification: a plea for coordination of effort' (see §1.2.1 above). This contains a 100-word list of great accuracy, based on his own fieldwork, which has obviously involved a careful phonological analysis. He made a 500-word list available to the vocabulary project of the then Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Throughout his numerous papers on comparative Australian linguistics there are frequent references to his data on Wirangu, which he is still working on, and the outcome of this will be a definitive study of the language and will supersede the present work.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

The phonology of Wirangu is very similar to that of many other Pama-Nyunggan languages, with six series of stops and nasals.

TABLE 2.1: THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

	velar	labial	lamino-palatal	lamino-dental	apico-alveolar	apico-domal
stops	g	b	dy	dh	d	rd
nasals	ng	m	ny	nh	n	rn
lateral			ly	lh	l	rl
rhotics					r	R
glides		w	y			

Only the consonants enclosed within thick lines can begin a word in Wirangu; the extreme rarity of initial **d** has been indicated by lack of shading.

2.1.1 VOICING

In Wirangu, plosive consonants are generally unaspirated and voiced or at least semi-voiced. The voiced series of consonants has therefore been used here in the transcription of Wirangu words, i.e. **g**, **b**, **d** have been used instead of **k**, **p**, **t**. Voicing is particularly strong in plosives occurring in nasal–plosive clusters. This is reflected in spellings from the past: thus we never find spellings like 'wangka' for **wangga** 'speech'.

In initial position plosives are usually at least partly devoiced. Among old spellings we frequently find transcriptions such as Wiebusch 'pyrum-pyrum, rainbow bird', as opposed to Daisy Bates 'birun-birun', and both 'talka' and 'delga' are given by no less an authority than Black (1917:385) for the same word. This partly devoiced pronunciation of the initial consonant is reflected also in placenames such as Koonibba, Cundilippy, Cooragila, Charra, Talawan, Pidinga and Penong, as opposed to Bookabie and Lake Bring.

As seen from this list of placenames, the devoicing applies particularly to the velar plosive, which is commonly written in older records as 'c', 'k' and in medial position as 'ck'. A typical set of spellings of this kind is the transcription in Taplin's compilation of the word **gaga** 'head' as 'cocker', 'caca', 'cocki' and 'kok-a'. It seems that in the case of the

velar the devoicing was strongest in precisely this sequence, and presumably assimilation is involved as in the corresponding labial sequence (§2.1.3): **g** (pronounced as 'k') + vowel + **g** (pronounced as 'k') as in the example just quoted and in the tribal name 'Kukata'.

The alveolar **d** on the other hand is always strongly voiced on the few occasions where it occurs initially, as in **daʀi** 'ankle' and **darga** 'bone', and it is always voiced medially, as in **yadu** 'good'. The retroflex plosive does not occur initially, and it too tends to be strongly voiced medially. Thus the only difference between **mudi** 'fish' and the word **murdi** 'knee' (borrowed from Kukata) is in the point of articulation of **d** and **rd** respectively, and not in the amount of voicing.

Lateral–plosive and rhotic–plosive clusters tend to be partly devoiced; thus **baldha** 'skin, clothes' can sound more like 'paltha' and has often been transcribed by early writers as 'polta' or 'palta' and **garba** 'house' appears as 'karpa'.

In comparison with other Thura-Yura languages, such as the neighbouring Kuyani, and Schürmann's rendering of Parnkalla[1] the impression for Wirangu is one of much greater incidence of voicing.

2.1.2 NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL CONSONANTS: VELARS

Apart from the difference in voicing, **g** is very similar to the English 'g' as in 'garden' and **ng** is like the English velar nasal in 'sing'. The digraph **ng** is used here in the transcription of Wirangu words for the single sound of the velar nasal [ŋ], this means that when there is a -**g**- following the velar nasal this has been written as well. Thus:

phonetic [ŋ] as in English 'si<u>n</u>g' is written here as **ng**
phonetic [ŋg] as in 'hu<u>n</u>gry' is written as **ngg**
phonetic [n + g] as in 'sun-god' is written as **n.g**

(a) Initial **ng+ i**

Wirangu shares the characteristic with the Lakes languages that the sequence **ng + i** (as for instance in Kukata **ngintaka** 'perentie') is not found in initial position at all. It is extremely rare even in medial position and occurs only across morpheme boundaries, i.e. when the **ng** and the **i** belong to separate morphemes, as in the case of verbs with stem-final **ng** followed by the optative future marker **-irl**:

bangirl (bang+ irl) 'I will get up', from **bangarn** 'to get up'.

(b) Initial **g + i**

This is extremely rare, occuring in only half a dozen words in a vocabulary of over 1,500. On the rare occasions when **g** is followed by the front vowel **i**, the **g** is distinctly fronted and approaches the palatal position as in **girgin** 'bird: kestrel'. This type of fronting is found in

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1 In the relatively few items of Parnkalla that have been remembered into modern times voicing is prevalent, but this may be due to Wirangu influence, as most of the people concerned had strong associations with Wirangu.

other Aboriginal languages. Examples of **-gi-** in medial position are more common than initially: **bilgi** 'dirt', **birgirn** 'to set alight', and this sequence readily occurs across morpheme boundaries as in **yargirl** 'I want to have a taste', from **yargarn** 'to taste'.

This fronting is even more noticeable when **i** is in turn followed by a palatal. Thus the word **gidya** 'child' could easily be misheard as 'dyidya' and the same applies to the initial **g** of **gidyi-gidyilmarn** 'to tickle', and **giya** 'spear'.

(c) Lenition of **-g-**

Medial **-g-** is sometimes reduced to the glide **-w-** in the word **yugarn, yuwarn, yiwarn** 'to stand'. This was noted only in the speech of people from the Gawler Ranges, and resembles a similar development that has taken place in Parnkalla, 'yuwata, to stand'. The same development has taken place in the verb **bagarn, bawarn** 'to strike', 'to strike a fire by friction', which can be reduced further to the short form **barn.** In Parnkalla too the medial consonant appears to have been lost: 'ba-ata', 'to scrape'. Black (1917:3) must have heard a medial **y** in this word as he writes 'baia kɔla', 'make a fire'.

There are occasional instances of lenition of medial **-g-** in a few other words in the speech of people from the Gawler Ranges. The reduplicated word **garli-garli** 'bent, like a boomerang' was pronounced also as **garli-warli** in the phrase **iwara garli-warli** 'a crooked path'. Similarly **nhagana** 'he saw' has been heard as **nhawana.**

Initially **g** is sometimes weakly articulated before **u**, this has led to **gubi-gubi** 'whirlwind' being transcribed as 'whoopa' by Provis in Taplin (1879:98). O'Grady indicates in his vocabulary that he has heard **wurnarn** for **gunarn** 'elbow' and **wurndarn** for **gurndarn** 'to hit', and some speakers hesitate between **gunbu** and **yunbu** 'happy'. Initial **g** also appears to have been lost before **i** in **(g)idha** 'now' and its numerous derivatives. These instances probably represent the westernmost reflection of the lenition of initial consonants, which is a prominent feature of Adnyamathanha; it is confined in Parnkalla to initial dental and palatal plosives, but is absent from Kuyani. It was evidently an incipient tendency in Wirangu.

(d) The suffix **-gardu, -garda**

This is an emphatic suffix attached to a restricted group of nominals which on the whole indicate number and size. It is also frequently attached to the third person pronoun and to deictic pronouns. This suffix is clearly related to the suffix **-rda** found in Arabana-Wangkangurru deictics (Hercus 1994:124), to **-arta(ye)** which is added to some Aranda deictics following the case marker (Wilkins, pers. comm.), and to **-arte** which is added to Kaytej deictics, quantifiers and some interrogative pronouns (Koch, pers. comm.). The Wirangu suffix thus forms part of a long swathe of diffusional development that probably started in the north. The Wirangu variant **-gardu** is much more common than **-garda**. In unusual circumstances, such as repetition when an utterance has not been understood, or when there is extreme emphasis the suffix remains entire:

yamba	in the distance	**yambagardu**	far, far away
marna	big	**marnagardu**	absolutely huge

On all other occasions the initial **g-** of this suffix is elided after nominals ending in **-a** and reduced to **y** after nominals ending in **-i**:

marna(g)ardu	big
nyindiyardu	very clever

but

burdugardu	very short

For further implications of this lenition see §2.2.2(b) below.

(e) The word **gabi** 'water' in placenames

The widespread Thura-Yura word for 'water' **gawi** is found in the name of the important Ilcumban Well near the Head of Bight, 'Yeer Comban Cowie', recorded by Eyre (1845, vol.1, p.279). The names of many other rockholes in Wirangu country end in **-abi**, from the word **gabi** 'water', with loss of the initial **g**. This is usually further shortened to **-bi** after a final **u** or **i**. Examples are:

Bookabie	**Bugabi**	stinking water
Cockatoo Water	**Yanggunabi**	cockatoo water
Coorabie	**Gurabi**	magpie water
Cundilippy	**Gurndilibi**	auntie water
Hasting's place	**Mumbulubi**	? water
Possum Rockhole	**Birldabi**	possum water

But in words of two syllables, when there is a final **u**, it is elided before the **-a** of **-abi**:

Korgabie	**Gurgabi (gurgu+gabi)**	mulga water

The loss of the initial **g-** of the word for 'water' in placenames is widespread over the Thura-Yura languages, as for instance in the name Terowie in Ngadyuri country (see Hercus and Potezny, forthcoming). The implication of this loss of velars on the vowel system is discussed in §2.2.2(b).

2.1.3 NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL CONSONANTS: LABIALS

The labial consonants **b**, **m** and **w** are not subject to allophonic variations except with regard to the amount of voicing in the case of **b.** Both initial and medial **b** tend to be voiced when they occur in the sequence: **b** + vowel + **b** as in **buba** 'dog', **biba** 'paper'. This is in contrast to the situation with the velar plosive, which is devoiced in this environment (§2.1.1), but they are both liable to assimilation in voicing. There is optional elision of the reduplicated initial **b-** in the word **barlgu-barlgu** 'white' also heard as **barlgu-warlgu**. There are rare instances in the Gawler Ranges dialect of pre-stopping of medial **m** (see §2.1.7) as in **wabma** 'snake' for **wama**.

2.1.4 NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL CONSONANTS: LAMINALS

The languages geographically close to Wirangu are much divided in regard to the laminal distinction. The neighbouring Thura-Yura language Kuyani has a full laminal distinction: there is a phonemic distinction between **dh** and **dy**, **nh** and **ny** both initially and medially. **Lh** and **ly** do not occur at the beginning of words, but are distinguished medially.

In Parnkalla laminal plosives do not occur initially on account of initial consonant lenition and so the distinction is only found medially. Problems of spelling do not permit us to speculate about the nasals. Western Desert languages however do not have a laminal distinction at all.

In Wirangu the situation is complex: when the vowel **-i** follows an initial laminal there is no distinction and only the palatal series is found as in **dyina** 'foot' and **nyirn** 'sit'. Before **a** and **u** initial **nh** is sometimes interchangeable with **ny**, as in **nhangga/nyangga** 'man', **nhandyi/nyandyi** 'over there', and **nhada/nyada** 'waist'. The palatal pronunciation is the rule with people belonging to the Gawler Ranges who, in the recordings made by J.T. Platt, do not appear to make any initial laminal distinction.

The modern Wirangu speakers make a clear distinction in some words between **dh** and **dy**, both initially and medially, and there are a number of minimal pairs initially:

dhamu	how?
dyamu	uncle
dhana	behind (pronounced as **dyana** by Gawler Ranges speakers in the 1960s)
dyana	you sg. (but also occasionaly heard as **dhana**)
dhagarn	to cut, to break
dyagarn	to find

There are only two minimal pairs medially:

ngadyu	mine
ngadhu	I

idha	now (older form **gidha***)
gidya	child

There are implicit distinctions in some words, but not others: **ngandha** 'bad' is never pronounced ***ngandya** by modern speakers, but there is free variation between **bindhara** and **bindyara** 'saline swampy country'. There was a variant **ngandya** 'bad' used by Gawler Ranges people as recorded by Platt, but this form did not occur elsewhere. Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]) actually draws attention to this on the basis of the speech of Lucy Washington. She writes: "Bad, that is very bad 'Ngantha balla'" ('th' hard).

Particularly telling is the fact that the most conservative part of the grammatical system, the verbal suffixes, are quite distinctive and show no possibility of variants: the 'preparatory' future suffix is always **-dyu**, and the serial suffix is always **-dha**. Any other pronunciation is simply not acceptable.

An interesting exception to the minimal pairs is the form 'ajjo' for 'I' given by Eyre (1845, vol.2, p.395 – see also Ngadhu Wangga §1.2.1 above). Eyre's 'ajjo' must stand for

ngadyu. If this is really an ergative form[2] it would lead us to believe that by Eyre's time the far west of Wirangu country had no laminal distinction. Wirangu was on the western fringe of the area where a laminal distinction was established, and it is possible that this distinction never reached the far west of Wirangu country. The language of the Gawler Ranges clearly had no laminal distinction, but in the central areas of Wirangu country the distinction was at least partially maintained. This distinction in Wirangu was evidently constantly undermined by the influence of Western Desert languages where there was only one series of laminals: typical of this is the Kukata borrowing **mulya** 'nose' which is now used as well as the original Wirangu **mulha**.

2.1.5 NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL CONSONANTS: APICALS

The following table summarises the situation regarding apical contrasts:

TABLE 2.2: APICAL CONTRASTS

	Thura-Yura languages	Wirangu	Western Desert
initial	generally no initial apicals	only isolated cases	initial apicals common
medial	medial apical contrast	medial apical contrast	medial apical contrast
pre-consonantal	no pre-consonantal contrast	only isolated cases	preconsonantal contrast
final	not applicable	no apical contrast	not applicable

(a) Initial apicals

In Wirangu only the alveolar plosive is found initially, and that very rarely: the few recorded examples are characteristically borrowed words:

dadyu trousers (from English)
darga thin, skinny person (from Kukata **darga**, bone)
daʀi ankle (from Kukata)

It is clear that these are mainly borrowed words and that initial apicals were probably not originally permissible in Wirangu.

(b) Medial apicals

In the medial position there is a clear medial apical contrast:

murdi knee (from Kukata) **mudi** fish
bidu open **birdu** string

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2 It is quite possible, as Jane Simpson points out (pers. comm.), that the speaker in fact was purposely using the genitive form **ngadyu**. In speaking to a foreigner he may have used 'foreigner talk', where the genitive is substituted for the ergative. There are examples of this in Wyatt (1879) and Williams' (1839) 'pidgin Kaurna'.

bala	this one	**barla**	ankle
malu	shade	**marlu**	red kangaroo (from Kukata)
wana	digging stick (also in Kukata)	**warna**	sea
manda	ground (from Kukata)	**marnda**	headband

These contrasts inevitably include borrowings from Kukata, but there are plenty of subminimal pairs not involving borrowing, such as:

garndi	rock	**gandu**	rock-wallaby
manu	gullet	**marna**	a lot

(c) Preconsonantal and final apicals

In the Thura-Yura languages as well as in Arabana-Wangkangurru there is no apical distinction in clusters with peripheral plosives. Nevertheless there appear to be traces of minimal pairs in the pronunciation of some Wirangu speakers:

warlga	edible solanum berry	**walga**	frost
warlba	wind	**walba**	hill

It is extremely hard to hear any difference between these words and there is no consistent apical distinction: thus in one of J.T. Platt's recordings the brilliant speaker Rosie Peel says: "**walba** is 'wind' and **walba** is 'hill' too". What minimal differentiation there might be is highly likely to be due to the influence of Kukata pronunciation.

It is equally impossible to hear the distinction between apicals at the end of a word: there are no indications of any minimal pairs and it does not appear that any difference was made. In this grammar and dictionary the present tense and the immediate future markers are written as retroflex, **-rn** and **-rl**, because this seemed nearer the articulation, but there was actually no meaningful distinction.

2.1.6 NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL CONSONANTS: GLIDES

(a) Initial **y**

At first sight initial **y** does not have any phonemic value: there is only one case of a minimal pair involving the presence of an initial **y**, which is **argarn** 'to imitate, to mock', and **yargarn** 'to taste', but this latter word is a borrowing from Kukata. This does not mean that there is free variation as to the presence or absence of initial **y**. There are just a few words where such a variation is permitted, which are mostly borrowings from Kukata and just a few other words such as **yambil**, **ambil** 'shoulder', **yugara**, **ugara** 'young woman'. Apart from these isolated variants however the use of initial **y** is prescribed: the modern speakers were emphatic and consistent about where there was an initial **y** and where not. Thus **yadu** 'good' was never pronounced as '**adu**', and **yamba** 'far away' was never '**amba**'.

It seems therefore that the relatively rare loss of initial **y** before **a** and **u** is due to the influence of Kukata. On the other hand there are no words in which **y** is consistently pronounced before **i**, although there are optional pronunciations, such as **yilga**, **ilga** 'dingo'. Initial **y** has therefore not been written in this environment.

(b) The consonant **w**

There are no words in which initial **w** is pronounced consistently before **u**, and relevant words have been transcribed as beginning with **u-**. An initial **w** could only be heard when there was a final vowel in the preceding word, particularly a final **-u.** The words in question are practically all borrowed from Kukata.

2.1.7 RHOTICS

A feature in which Wirangu resembles the Western Desert languages rather than Thura-Yura is the presence of only two r-sounds. A strongly trilled **-rr-** contrasts with the alveolar flap in Thura-Yura: this distinction may have been absent from Wirangu, or it may have only recently been lost because of Kukata influence. In Thura-Yura the trilled **rr** is not a particularly frequent phoneme and there are not many clear examples of correspondences of Thura-Yura words with **-rr-** and Wirangu equivalents. It seems however that in Wirangu the alveolar flap and possibly also **d**, but never the retroflex **ʀ**, are used where the other Thura-Yura languages have the trill. For example, Wirangu **piri** 'nail' 'claw' corresponds to Thura-Yura **pirri.** The spelling 'be:ri' used by Black (1917:3) implies that at that time the **-r-** was certainly not trilled. **Dyara** 'excrement' is likely to be cognate with Adnyamathanha **yarra** 'crutch' (<**tharra**).

It is furthermore likely that there is also a connection between the following:

KUY-ADN	**ngarra-** 'to hit', and Wirangu **ngurirn** 'to hit'
KUY	**yakarra** 'young woman', and Wirangu **yugara**, 'young woman'
KUY	**yakarra-mathanha** 'Seven Sisters', and Wirangu **yugarilya**

Wirangu **gudu** 'all the time' is probably cognate with KUY **kurru** 'all, complete', ADN **urru.** The absence of the trilled r-sound certainly sets Wirangu apart from the other Thura-Yura languages. In keeping with the spelling used for the neighbouring Kuyani language and for Arabana-Wangkangurru (Hercus 1995) the use of **ʀ** has been retained for the retroflex consonant.

2.1.8 PRESTOPPING

This development was characteristic of numerous languages, both Thura-Yura and further north: it involved the strengthening, after an accented vowel, of medial nasals and laterals to plosive plus nasal and plosive plus lateral respectively. Thus in Arabana '*kanha', 'stone' came to be pronounced as **kadnha**, and '*malanthi', 'bad' as **madlanthi**. It seems that this was a relatively recent development (Hercus 1972).

The speech of people with associations to the Gawler Ranges quite clearly showed prestopping of laterals in some words. Thus George Glennie and Phyllis Croft, talking to John Platt in 1966, regularly said **gudlu** for 'red kangaroo', **midla** for **mila** 'spearthrower', **madlyiri** for **malyiri** 'dry', **mudlha** for **mulha** 'nose' (attested also by Provis 1879:148 'motla'). Tindale (1928), like Provis, has 'mudla' for nose, probably from Yaldildi, a Gawler Ranges Wirangu man who worked with him.

Prestopping was only sporadic in the speech of the people from the Gawler Ranges who were recorded in the sixties; thus **garla** 'fire' was never heard as **gardla,** which is the standard Kuyani form. Pre-stopping is also only sporadic in the earlier data.

There are only isolated examples of the pre-stopping of nasals: thus **wadna** has been heard, in the sense of 'boomerang' (Parnkalla and Kuyani **wadna** 'boomerang'), and there are examples from the earlier publications:

Provis 'wabma', 'snake' (cf. Parnkalla and Kuyani **wabma)**

buga-bidni* for **burgu-birna** 'ghost' (Provis 'poorkabidne', Richardson 'pokobidney')

The use of pre-stopped consonants spread by diffusion over a wide area of Thura-Yura and languages to the north, and it seems likely that it was only beginning to arrive in the Gawler Ranges not long before the catastrophic decline of the language.

2.1.9 GLOTTAL STOP: THE SEQUENCE **-rd(i)n**

Tindale (1928) in his earliest work in the area occasionally used the symbol ', which he said represented 'a click sound', to stand for the retroflex consonant. He used this in the transcription of the word **mard(i)n** 'wife' as 'mur'din'. In Wirangu speech as recorded both in the sixties and in the nineties this word is pronounced in a special way: the vowel **i** can be reduced to a shwa or lost altogether, and the articulation of the retroflex stop is retracted. This articulation is not found in any other environment in Wirangu (for the elision of vowels in similar sequences see §2.2.3).

Initial **u** and **i** may sometimes be preceded by what seems like a hint of a glottal stop: Wiebusch appears to have heard this too, as he writes 'huldi' for 'to come'.

2.2 VOWELS

2.2.1 VOWEL PHONEMES

(a) Allophones

Wirangu has the normal three-vowel system, **a**, **i** and **u**, and there is very little allophonic variation.

The vowel **a** is slightly rounded and raised to an open [ɔ] position if it is in the initial syllable, is preceded by **w** and followed by a velar or labial consonant:

waga	gecko	is pronounced	[wɔga]
wangga	speech	is pronounced	[wɔŋga]
wama	manna	is pronounced	[wɔma]

In other environments **a** remains unchanged, as in:

wardu	wombat	pronounced	[waḍu]

The vowel **a** when following an initial **y** does not appear to have been similarly raised, even when a laminal follows, and for instance **yaldha** 'large frog' is pronounced as [yalða].

The vowel **i** is lowered to an e-sound in the accented syllable if it is followed by **r**; similar allophonic variants of **i** before rhotics are not uncommon in Pama-Nyungan languages. Examples are: **yira** 'mouth,' originally 'tooth', pronounced as [yera], and **biri** 'nail' pronounced as [beri]. This allophonic variation does not occur before the retroflex **ʀ**, and **biʀa** 'moon' for instance is always pronounced [biʀa].

A very slight lowering of **i** can be observed before **l**, hence **ilga** 'dog' has been transcribed as 'yelga' and 'yelka'; by Provis and Richardson respectively (Curr 1887), and it has been heard as [ɛlga].

(b) Sporadic change affecting vowels

There is an occasional tendency for **u** to be unrounded after an initial **y** and therefore there are sporadic instances of pronunciations such as

(y)ingga for **yunggarn**	give
(y)iwarn for **yuwarn, yugarn**	stand

2.2.2 ACCENT AND VOWEL LENGTH

(a) Accent and pitch

The regular accent in Wirangu is on the first syllable of a word, as is the case in all the surrounding languages. It is a fairly heavy stress accent (here marked by ' preceding the stressed syllable). The accent is accompanied by a high pitch intonation. There is a secondary stress on the third syllable of words of more than three syllables (this is here marked by " preceding the syllable that bears the secondary accent). There are however a few situations in which this can vary. In emphatic vocatives and imperatives the accent can shift to the final syllable, which can then show vowel distortion as in:

['wiya]	mother	["wi'yai]	eh, mother!
['uḷḍiga]	come here!	["uḷḍi'gei]	eh, come here!

In words formed with the addition of the suffix **-gardu**, **-garda** (see §2.1.2(d)) the main stress optionally falls onto the long **a** that is created by elision of the initial **g** of that suffix, if the stem ends in **-a**:

marna ['maṇa]	big	**marnaardu** ["ma'ṇaaḍu]	very big
guma ['guma]	one	**gumaardu** ["gu'maaḍu]	one and only

The initial syllable in these words has a secondary accent.

Optionally however the main accent may remain on the first syllable. This pronunciation was favoured when extreme urgency and emphasis was to be expressed; a high pitch is then used on the first syllable:

marna ('marna)	big	**marnaardu** ('ma"maardu)	absolutely enormous
yamba ('yamba)	far	**yambaardu** ('yam"baardu)	very far

(b) Vowel Length

Vowel length is not phonemic in Wirangu, it is conditioned. All monosyllabic words have long vowels, the only exception is the rare particle **ba** 'and', which may be considered proclitic. Examples are:

ma	[ma:]	food
wa	[wa:]	face
yu	[yu:]	windbreak
kany	[ka:ɲ]	uncle
mil	[mi:l]	eye
ngal	[ŋa:l]	to eat

Length is maintained in the case forms of monosyllables as for instance in the locative of **wa** 'face', **wanga** [wa:ŋa] 'in front, facing', and in some verbal forms: these are discussed in the relevant sections. This has not led to a situation where there is ever a contrast based on length. Because it is conditioned, length has not been indicated in the spelling of monosyllables.

There are a few instances of long **-a-** in words other than monosyllabics; these are borrowings from, for instance, English, and here length has been indicated by a double vowel:

dhaarda	shirt
maadha	boss

Another source of a long vowel **aa** is the loss of the initial consonants in the suffix **-(g)ardu**, **-(g)arda** discussed above (§2.1.2(d)), as in **minyaardu** 'small' and **balaardu** 'that one'.

There is no doubt that phonemic length exists for the vowel **a** in the accented syllable in the neighbouring Thura-Yura languages Kuyani and Adnyamathanha, with minimal pairs such as **marni** 'fat' and **maarni** 'husband'. These languages also have a long vowel in the second syllable: this occurs when there has been elision of the initial **k-** of the word **kaka** 'fruit' which can act as a suffix as in **mina(k)aka** 'iris of the eye', and Kuyani **kadnya(k)aka** 'small piece of stone, money'. Arabana, the language adjoining Kuyani immediately to the north, shows a similar development, not only with the suffix **-kardi**, which is similar in meaning and function to the Kuyani-Adnyamathanha **-kaka** (Austin, Ellis and Hercus 1976) but also with several grammatical suffixes. It looks therefore as if there had been a regional development involving the loss of the initial **-g-** of suffixes. This development encompassed Wirangu, Kuyani-Adnyamathanha and the Karnic language Arabana. It was diffusional rather than genetic, because the Simpson Desert language Wangkangurru, which is very closely related to Arabana, does not show any signs of this feature.

2.2.3 VOWEL ELISION

(a) The sequence **dn**

There are just a few instances where a vowel is lost so as to create the sequence **dn**. This occurs in specific words all over Wirangu country, and is by no means confined to the Gawler Ranges where **dn**, **dnh** occurs as a result of the pre-stopping of nasals (§2.1.8).

Apart from the special case of **mard(i)n** discussed above (§2.1.9) there is **madh(a)nha** 'death-adder', derived from Kukata (Western Desert **mathanya**). This is usually pronounced **madnha.** Other examples are **wad(a)n**, in **wadn-ma** 'twisted food', 'a kind of shell-fish' and **dyid(i)n-dyid(i)n***, name of a plant, a kind of daisy, probably *Helipterum floribundum.* The sound-sequence **dn** occurs very frequently in Wirangu as part of the associated motion marker complex based on **-gad(i)rn** (also borrowed from Kukata). It is used in expressions such as: **buyu badyirn-gad-n** 'going along smoking' and

2.1 **Bala-ngu ma ngalgu-rn-gad-n.**
he-ERG food eat-PRES-GO-PRES
He is eating as he is walking along.

The same sequence occurs medially when this marker is used in the past tense, as in

2.2 **Bala-ngu ma ngalgu-rn-gad-na.**
he-ERG food eat-PRES-GO-PAST
He was eating as he was walking along.

The verb **widirn** 'to touch, to get hold of' also shows loss of vowel and a resultant sound sequence **dn**, as in **nhanggangu widna** 'the man got hold of it'.

The sound change resulting in the sequences **dn**, **dnh** does not occur in all the words where it would be applicable. It does not occur for instance in **madana** 'the others, the rest', and hardly ever in the verb **gadirn**, when it is used as an independent verb 'to carry'.

There is one other isolated instance of a similar sound-sequence involving a lateral consonant, and this is **gard(a)l** 'hole'.

There is no convincing explanation as to why this particular development should occur and why it should be restricted in the way it is. However, there appears to be the beginning of a similar development in Adynamathanha, where the suffix **-mathanha** 'group' is often pronounced as 'mathnha', as in the name of the people and the language 'Adnyamathnha'.

(b) Elision of final vowels

In ordinary Wirangu conversation, not necessarily rapid speech, final vowels are sometimes elided. This happens only if the resulting final consonant is a permissible final in Wirangu (§2.3). Most frequently affected are the final vowels of the case markers of the locative and ergative, **-nga** and **-ngu**, which thereby become indistinguishable (as they are in Parnkalla without there being any loss of vowel). Elision can occur regardless of whether the following word begins with a consonant or vowel. Examples are:

with -**ng(a)**, locative

2.3 **Malu-ng' nyina!** (for **Malu-nga nyina!**)
shade-LOC sit.IMPER
Sit in the shade!

2.4 **Garla-ng' gambi-rn.** (for **Garla-nga gambi-rn.**)
fire-LOC burn-PRES
(It) is getting burnt in the fire.

with **-ngu**, ergative-instrumental

2.5 **Wiyana-ng' gabi indi-na.** (for **Wiyana-ngu gabi indi-na.**)
woman-ERG water spill-PAST
The woman spilt the water.

2.6 **Ngadhu gadyi-ng barldi-rl.** (for **Ngadhu gadyi-ngu barldi-rl.**)
I spear-ERG hit-IMM
I'll hit it with a spear.

Sometimes it it is not clear whether the case is locative or ergative:

2.7 **Dyirndu-ng' idhara gamba-rn.** (for **Dyirndu-nga idhara gamba-rn.**)
sun-LOC now burn-PRES
Now he is getting hot in the sun.

or

2.8 **Dyirndu-ng' idhara gamba-rn.** (for **Dyirndu-ngu idhara. gamba-rn.**)
sun-ERG now burn-PRES
Now he is getting hot from the sun.

It is not just the final vowel of a *suffix* that can be elided; the final vowel of a stem can also be subject to elision:

2.9 **Banh(i) nhangga-gu buba.**
this man-GEN dog
This is the (Aboriginal) man's dog.

A sentence that has been recorded a number of times is:

2.10 **Ngadhu Wirang' wangga-rn.**
I ERG Wirangu speak-PRES
I speak Wirangu.

Black (1917:8) quotes a similar sentence and therefore calls the language 'Wirrung', without the final **u**.

Verb forms appear to resist this elision; thus the final **-a** of the past tense suffix **-na** is never elided. Historically however there is little doubt that the present tense marker **-rn** is related to the Adnyamathanha-Kuyani **-nta** (§5.5.2(a)).

2.3 PHONOTACTICS

2.3.1 PERMISSIBLE FINAL CONSONANTS

Unlike the other Thura-Yura languages Wirangu permits some consonants in final position:

TABLE 2.3: PERMISSIBLE FINAL CONSONANTS

	velar	labial	lamino-palatal	lamino-dental	apico-alveolar	apico-domal
stops	g	b	dy	dh	d	rd
nasals	ng	m	ny	nh	n	rn
lateral			ly	lh	l	rl
rhotics					r	R
glides		w	y			

The consonants in boxes occur in final position; **r**, **l**, and **m** however are extremely rare, which has been indicated by absence of shading in the table above, while **n** and **rn** do not appear to be differentiated in this position. There is only one instance of a final plosive (not included in the table above), and that is **Ganyiburad**, the name of a rockhole near Koonibba.

This contrasts with the Thura-Yura system, which has only vocalic finals; it is more in line with some of the southern Western Desert languages where continuants other than glides are permissible in final position. Examples of words with the rarer final consonants are:

gurdyur	bird: black swan
dir-dir*	bird: honeyeater, and some words borrowed from Kukata, such as **dyugur** 'dream'
ilam	near (Gawler Ranges); this is the only example of final **m**
ngal	to eat
nguyung	lie, untruth
mildhing	bat

Final **n/rn** and **rl** are extremely common, especially in verb forms.

2.3.2 PERMISSIBLE CLUSTERS

Final and initial consonant clusters are not permissible. There is only one exception, and that is **gw**, in **gwarda** 'now, directly'. This appears to be a shortened form of **guwarda**, which is heard sometimes. The word is derived from Western Desert **guwari**.

(a) Medial clusters

The following are the permissible medial clusters:

TABLE 2.4: CLUSTERS WITH PERIPHERAL CONSONANTS

rn.g/n.g	**(nyg)**	**ngg**	**rnb/nb**	**(nyb)**	**mb**
rlg/lg	**(lyg)**		**rlb/lb**	**(lyb)**	
(lm)			**rnm/nm**		

The clusters given in brackets in this table and the next are extremely rare.

TABLE 2.5: CLUSTERS WITH NON-PERIPHERAL CONSONANTS

nd	**rnd**	**ndy**	**ndh**
(dn)	**(rdn)**		
ld	**(rld)**	**ldy**	**ldh**

The clusters in this table are all homorganic.

(b) Comments on rare medial clusters

nyg

This is found only in the seam of a compound, **widhinygardu** 'long', and in the rare variant pronunciation **winygama/win.gama** 'new, different'.

lyg

In the recorded vocabulary this is found in only one word, **malygara** 'clever man or woman', 'witchdoctor'.

lyb

There are four words in the recorded vocabulary that contain this cluster. They are:

gulybi	inside
walybira	kind, good
dhalybi	piece, small part
walybala	whitefellow

rnm/nm

The distinctions between **rn** and **n**, and **rl** and **l** respectively are neutralised in pre-consonantal position (§2.1.5), the spelling **rn** is used here for the present tense form of verbs. The cluster is common in the seam of compounds such as:

gandyirnmarn	to pick up
gunbirnmarn	to hide
inggirnmarn	to ask for

One further similar case is:

dhanmarn	to dig up

All these are compounds based on the transitive verbaliser **ma-**, which is well known to give rise to unusual clusters in languages to the north and east, notably Arabana-Wangkangurru and Paakantyi.

The cluster **rnm/nm** is extremely rare intramorphemically, the only examples being:

Munmadyi	name of a person
yanma	in front
dhanmarda	bitter quandong

lm

This cluster is attested only in the seam of two compounds where the second member is the transitive verbaliser **-ma**:

bilyalmarn	to make a noise (from **bilyal** 'noise')
gidyi-gidyilmarn	to tickle

rnng/nng

This cluster is attested only in the kinship term **warn.ngu** borrowed from Kukata, and in the specialised term **mun.ngari*** 'female relative who attends a woman's initation ceremony', known from Daisy Bates' transcription 'mun-ngarri'.

It seems therefore that the possibilities of clustering in Wirangu are not strongly distinctive, but are probably wider than what they were in Parnkalla, where nasal+ non-peripheral plosive and lateral+ non-peripheral plosive clusters were often though not always simplified, so that original Thura-Yura 'nd' became 'nn' and 'ld' became 'll' as in:

Wirangu	**bindhara**	Parnkalla	'pinnara'	saltlake
	barldarn		'pallata'	to split

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF NOUNS

3.1 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NOMINAL SYSTEM

3.1.1 ADJECTIVES

Like many other Australian languages (Dixon 1980:274), Wirangu does not make a strong distinction between nouns and adjectives: adjectives are semantically determined in that they denote qualities and attributes. They are not morphologically different from nouns and can function as nouns, thus **minya** 'little' can function as an adjective as in **gidya minya** 'a little child', but it can also function independently like a noun meaning 'little one', 'little bit' as in:

3.1 **Minya nganha yunggi-ga!**
small.one me give-IMP
Give me a small one! (said to someone dishing out plates of food).

Adjectival phrases involving inalienable possession can function both as nouns and as adjectives, such as: **bada marnaardu** 'fat much', 'stout' or 'a very stout person'; **dyarda yadu** 'stomach good', 'happy', 'a happy person'; **mil-bamba** 'eye-blind', 'a blind person'. But if they indicate a temporary state of affairs they are purely adjectival, such as **dyina mingga** 'foot sore':

3.2 **Nganha dyina mingga.**
I foot sore
I am sore-footed.

3.1.2 NUMBER

In Wirangu as in many other Aboriginal languages, number is not usually marked, so **wiyana** 'woman' might refer to one woman or to several: **wiyana urldina** means either 'the woman came' or 'the women came'. When 'two' are involved however, number is usually marked by the addition of the numeral **gudhara** 'two', borrowed from Kukata, so if one wanted to say 'the two women came' one would have to use **-gudhara** which follows the noun as a postposition: **wiyana-gudhara urldina.** The early vocabulary from Yardea in the Gawler Ranges contains the word 'kalbelli' for two, and this points to the probability that Wirangu originally had a dual marker **-(a)lbili** like Parnkalla. The Wirangu word **bulali** var. **bulili** probably contains an abbreviated form of the same dual suffix. The presence of such a suffix is further corroborated by the adverb **dyurdiya-bila** 'on both sides', recorded from Gawler Ranges people by John Platt.

If there is any emphasis on the plural it can be marked by the addition of the term **-muga** 'many', used as a suffix. So **wiyana-muga** means 'a lot of women', 'the women mob' (without any derogatory implications), and **nhangga-muga** means 'a lot of men, a lot of people' as in **nhangga-muga gurndarirn** 'a lot of people are having a fight'. The plural marker **-muga**, similar to **murka** 'a lot' found in Kukata and other Western Desert languages, can be used with inanimates as well as animates, so one can say **barnda-muga** 'a lot of stones' or 'a lot of money', and **gurdi-muga** 'a lot of quandong trees'.

If there is a need to emphasise that a really large number is involved, the adjective **marna** 'great' is added to the noun phrase. The derivative adjective **marnaardu** 'very great' adds even stronger emphasis: these adjectives can precede or follow the noun which is marked with the plural, as in **marna garlaya-muga** (many emu-PL) 'a large group of emus' and **nhangga-muga marnaardu** (people-PL many) 'a large group of people'. **Muga** is a plural marker and not an independent word: it follows the stem, and case suffixes are then added as in **wiyana-muga-gu garba** (woman-PL-GEN house) 'the women's house'.

The word **gidya** 'child' has a distinctive plural form, **gidyara** 'children' as in the sentence:

3.3 **Nganha Duck Pond wina-rn, gidya-ra-nga nyirn-gu.**
I Duck Pond go-PRES child-PL-LOC sit-PURP
I am going to Duck Pond to stay with (my) children.

For emphasis the plural marker **-muga** can be added to **gidyara**, although this is already plural, and so one can say **gidyara-muga** 'a host of children'. It is likely that the special pural in **-ra** originated from the pronoun system: the deictic pronoun **banha** 'this' has a plural form **banhara** 'these', 'these people' (§4.3.2), there is also a possibility of a more distant connection with the normal Parnkalla plural marker written as '-rri' by Schürmann, and attested for instance in the Parnkalla (eastern Gawler Ranges) vocabulary by Sawers (1887:130) 'kycherri', 'children'.

The word **yugara** 'young woman' is the only other noun in the language that is separately marked for number, it has a distinct collective form **Yugarilya** with the special meaning of 'a group of young women, the Pleiades'. This word has been borrowed into Kukata as **wanyi ukaralya**. Jane Simpson (pers. comm.) points out the Parnkalla cognate of this suffix, 'ilyaranna', as discussed by Schürmann (1844:4):

> There is another form for the plural number which may be properly called the *intensive plural,* as it is only used when a great number or quantity is to be expressed. It is formed by adding the syllables *ilyaranna* to the singular...

This represents yet another minor link between Parnkalla and Wirangu.

3.1.3 REDUPLICATION

(a) Reduplication in nouns

There are several sets of nouns and adjectives which are inherently reduplicated. The most obvious category consists of the names of birds; this kind of reduplication is a widespread phenomenon and is not confined to birds with onomatopoetic names. It seems that in Wirangu, as in other Australian languages, the names of large birds such as **waldya** 'eagle', **gurur** 'swan', are not usually reduplicated. With the reduplicated bird names the entire word is reduplicated, and not just one syllable:

dyuliny-dyuliny	grass-parrot
wanyi-wanyi	nankeen kestrel
nyi-nyi	chat sp., white-faced or crimson
dyinda-dyinda	willie wagtail

Apart from the names of birds, there are a few other words in Wirangu which are inherently reduplicated: these include names of some other small creatures:

bandyi-bandyi	centipede (lit. 'rib-rib')
binda-binda	butterfly (from Kukata)
dyuli-dyuli	bat sp. (cf. also **mildhingi)**

Curious cases of only partial reduplication are **baldyindyir** 'coachwhip bird' and **ban-ban-bilarla** 'white-winged chough', named in imitation of its call.

Some names of small plants are also inherently reduplicated:

gurdu-gurdu	wild onions
dyunggu-dyunggu	fringed lily, the bulbs of which were eaten
dyid(i)n-dyid(in)*	plant: given by Black as 'djidndjidn, *Helipterum floribundum*', a kind of daisy, and alternatively *'Pholidia Weldii'*
birldi-birldi	pigface

These reduplicated words all share the characteristic that they refer to something small.

There are just a few other nouns which are inherently reduplicated and which are different from those listed above in that they refer to something that moves around or is moved around repeatedly:

widyi-widyi[1]	whirlwind, sometimes replaced by the Kukata borrowing **gubi-gubi**, also reduplicated
widyi-widyi[2]	toy throwing stick
bubi-bubi	message stick

Optional reduplication in nouns is not common, but when it occurs it shows one or other of the same two underlying meanings; firstly small size and relative insignificance:

garla	fire, firewood	**garla-garla**	small pieces of kindling
warda	tree, any object	**warda-warda**	something or other, I don't know or care what
ngura	camp	**ngura-ngura**	children's toy camp, cubby house

and secondly repetition:

dhudu	thud	**dhudu-dhudu**	trampling, stomping of feet in a dance

It is not possible to find out what was the significance of the reduplication in the word

bindya-gurdi-gurdi	mysterious wild people, killers.

(b) Reduplication in adjectives

Adjectives differ considerably from nouns as regards the semantic significance of reduplication: the idea of smallness or insignificance is absent; in fact the opposite is the case: importance or intensity can be conveyed by reduplication.

Some adjectives are inherently reduplicated; they are based on nouns and mean 'full of the characteristic qualities of':

garndi	stone (from Kukata)	**garndi-garndi**	hard as stone
barnda	stone, rock	**barnda-barnda**	rock hard
garla	fire, firewood	**garla-garla**	burning hot
dyildyan	wrinkle	**dyildyan-dyildyan**	wrinkly, shrivelled
garli	boomerang (from Kukata)	**garli-garli**	crooked, bow-legged

This type of formation is shared with the languages of the Western Desert rather than with those to the east and could be due to Kukata influence on Wirangu. This possibility is supported by the speakers' indicating that there was something novel about these words, and that particularly the term **garli-garli** 'bow-legged' was rather a witty expression.

Some other adjectives are inherently reduplicated without being connected to any noun:

barlgu-barlgu	white
mirna-mirna	greedy
wirdu-wirdu	long and skinny
ngaru-ngaru	round

For reasons which are not clear the words for 'round' in the neighbouring languages are all inherently reduplicated: Parnkalla 'kurru-kurru', Kuyani **papu-papu**, Kaurna 'mukumukurru', Wangkangurru **biʀa-biʀa**: it could be because the concept of 'round' involves some continuity.

Some ordinary single adjectives can be reduplicated for emphasis:

murdu	short (from Kukata)	**murdu-murdu**	really short and stumpy
burdu	short	**burdu-burdu**	really short and stumpy
marna	many, large	**marna-marna**	very numerous, very large

For example:

3.4 **Marna-marna urldi-na.**
many-many come-PAST
A huge crowd came.

Reduplication of adjectives can have a distributive meaning, as in the phrase **winygama winygama yunggarn** 'other-other give' to divide something up among different people, to share out:

gumanha	one	**gumanha-gumanha**	one here or there, a few
minya	little	**minya-minya yunggarn**	give a small piece each
winygama	new, different	**winygama winygama**	various different ones

The semantics of reduplication vary between Aboriginal languages (Dineen 1990). Though other languages have similar semantics of reduplication to those found in Wirangu, they do not have an identical distribution of reduplicated nominals.

3.1.4 COMMENTS ON THE CASE SYSTEM

The structure of the Wirangu case system is very similar to that of the other Thura-Yura languages, and Parnkalla in particular. It has an elative case 'originating from', as well as an ablative, but it does not share in the syncretism between locative and instrumental that is characteristic of Parnkalla. The case system, like that of most other Pama-Nyungan languages, is typically absolutive-ergative: the intransitive subject and the transitive object are in the absolutive, that is to say they are unmarked by any ending. The transitive subject is marked by an ergative ending. Thus in Wirangu for 'the man saw the girl'one normally says 'man-by girl saw' or 'girl man-by saw'. The word for 'man' is marked with the ergative case ending, here translated as 'by', and the transitive object 'girl' remains unmarked. So whereas in English one can tell by the position of the words who did the seeing and whether one means to say 'the girl saw the man' or 'the man saw the girl', in Wirangu one can tell by the case marking 'by' alone. Thus the following two sentences are equally acceptable:

3.5 **Nhangga-ngu wanyi nhaa-na.**
man-ERG girl see-PAST
The man saw the girl.

3.6 **Wanyi nhangga-ngu nhaa-na.**
Girl man-by see-PAST
The man saw the girl.

If one wanted to say 'the girl saw the man' one could similarly say either of the following:

3.7 **Wanyi-ngu nhangga nhaa-na.**
girl-ERG man see-PAST
The girl saw the man.

3.8 **Nhangga wanyi-ngu nhaa-na.**
man girl-ERG see-PAST
The girl saw the man.

It is the case marker **-ngu** that tells us who is doing the 'seeing'.

An intransitive sentence like 'the man came' is rendered in Wirangu as:

3.9 **Nhangga urldi-na.**
man come-PAST
The man came.

Here the word for 'man' remains unmarked because the sentence is intransitive.

The Wirangu case system has survived well; even people with limited knowledge of the language do not generally, under the influence of English, omit the ergative ending.

3.1.5 CASE SUFFIXES

TABLE 3.1: WIRANGU CASE-SUFFIXES

Case	Suffix	Allomorph
Absolutive	**-ø**	
Ergative-Instrumental	**-ngu**	plosive + **u**
Dative-Possessive-Allative	**-gu**	
Locative	**-nga**	plosive + **a**
Ablative	**-ngurni**	
Elative	**-birna**	
Vocative	**-yi**	

The case markers **-ngurni** and **-birna** differ from all the others in that they not only have two syllables, but bear at least a secondary stress; they have a greater degree of structural autonomy, though they only can occur as bound forms. This is identical to the situation in Kuyani.

3.1.6 THE USE OF ALLOMORPHS

There is very little evidence of allomorphic variation in Wirangu case markers; the normal suffixes are simply added to the stem, however many syllables it has, whether it is a proper noun or not, or refers to an animate or inanimate, and generally whether it ends in a vowel or consonant. The final vowel of the suffix may of course be occasionally elided in the case of words whose stem ends in a vowel (§2.2.3(b)). Thus when a word ends in **-l** such as **mil** 'eye' one can simply add **-nga** to mark the locative, as in:

3.10 **Madyi-ng gurnda-na mil-nga!**
husband-ERG hit-PAST eye-LOC
Your husband hit you in the eye!

Similarly one can say **gardal-nga** 'in a burrow'.

There is however one case where a homorganic plosive is substituted for the **-ng** of the suffix. This is **dharl-du** from **dharl** 'true' as in:

3.11 **Wiya dharl-du wangga-rn.**
mother truth-INST speak-PRES
(My) mother is right.

There is one example, in the work of Black, which shows that after words ending in a nasal the locative suffix consisted of the homorganic plosive plus **-a**. Black (1917:7) lists the obviously borrowed word for 'train' as 'tre:n' and gives as example: 'tre:nda uldi-na', 'they came by the train'.

It seems likely that the use of the allomorphs with nouns ending in consonants represents the older situation with such words, and that the use of the normal suffixes in these circumstances is a recent analogical development.

3.1.7 POSITION OF CASE MARKERS

Case, as in many Pama-Nyungan languages, is usually marked only once in a noun phrase, usually at the end:

3.12 **Wiyana winygama-ngu nganha biri-na.**
woman other-ERG me scratch-PAST
The other woman scratched me.

3.13 **Dhala wina-rn? Garba marnaardu-gu wina-rn.**
where go-PRES? house big-ALL go-PRES.
Where are you going? We are going to the big house, the community hall.

One can also say:

3.14 **Garba-gu marnaardu-gu wina-rn.**
house-ALL big-ALL go-PRES
We are going to the big house, the community hall.

Here the allative marker is repeated, but this was felt to be an emphatic or stilted way of putting it.

3.2 COMMENTS ON THE CASES

3.2.1 THE ABSOLUTIVE

The absolutive as indicated above is represented by the stem form of a noun without the addition of a suffix. As shown above, it serves as intransitive subject. In the following few examples nouns in the absolutive case, and therefore unmarked, have been underlined:

3.15 **Mardn urldi-rn.**
wife come-PRES
(My) wife is coming.

The absolutive also serves to express the transitive object:

3.16 **Ngadhu mardn yarldi-rl.**
I wife call-IMM
I'll call (my) wife.

The absolutive also serves as subject of a reflexive or reciprocal verb:

3.17 **Nhangga-muga gurnda-ri-rn.**
man-many hit-RECIP-PRES
A lot of men are fighting (lit. 'hitting one another').

Or it can serve as the subject of a verb that takes only the equivalent of a cognate object, such as dancing a dance or singing a song:

3.18 **Nhangga dyudyu gandu-rn.**
people corroboree dance-PRES
People are dancing a corroboree.

The absolutive is also the standard citation form:

3.19 **Ngana wangga yaldyi? Pityantyara?**
what language 'yaldyi' **Pityantyara**
(From) what language is the word 'yaldyi'? Is it Pityantyara?

3.2.2 THE ERGATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL

(a) The ergative

The ergative marks the transitive subject of a sentence, the agent of an action that can take a direct object, regardless of whether the object is expressed or not:

3.20 **Minya urla buba-ngu badha-na.**
little boy dog-ERG bite-PAST
The dog bit the little boy.

3.21 **Gidya-ngu wiyana nhagu-rn.**
child-ERG woman see-PRES
The child is watching the woman.

3.22 **Gidyara-ngu ngal-dhirdi.**
children-ERG eat-LEST
The children might eat (it).

Inanimate agents can also take the ergative case:

3.23 **Garla-ngu gamba-na.**
fire-ERG burn-PAST
The fire burnt it.

(b) The instrumental

The instrumental case is marked by exactly the same suffix as the ergative. It expresses the means or the instrument by which an action is carried out.

3.24 **Dyurla-ngu dhaga-rn.**
stone.knife-INST cut-PRES
(I) am cutting it up with a stone knife.

The ergative and the instrumental frequently occur together in the same sentence:

3.25 **Nhangga-ngu giya-ngu baʀu baga-rn.**
man-ERG spear-INST game spear-PRES
The man is spearing game with (his) spear.

3.26 **Urla bala-ngu winygama urla warda-ngu gurnda-na.**
boy this-ERG other boy stick-INST hit-PAST
This boy hit the other boy with a stick.

3.2.3 THE DATIVE-ALLATIVE-POSSESSIVE

Wirangu differs from the other Thura-Yura languages in that it has, like Kukata, the suffix **-gu** in this complex series of functions, whereas Parnkalla, Kuyani, and Adnyamathanha all have **-ru**.

(a) The dative

The main function of the dative is to express the indirect object in both transitive and intransitive sentences:

3.27 **Baʀu bugaʀa, bala-ngu buba-gu yungga-ga!**
meat rotten he-ERG dog-DAT give-IMP
The meat is rotten, (so) give (it) to the dog!

3.28 **Wiyana gulga-rn nhangga-gu.**
woman call.out-PRES man-DAT
The woman is calling out to the man.

With verbs of 'going' the dative case expresses what one is trying to go and get:

3.29 **Garla-gu ngama-rn.**
firewood-DAT go-PRES
(He) is walking around for firewood.

3.30 **Galda-gu wirn.**
lizard-DAT go
(I) am going out for sleepy lizards.

A similar sense of aim and purpose is conveyed by the dative in the following:

3.31 **Gabi-gu yanda-rn baldha malgi-rn.gu.**
water-DAT wait.for-PRES clothes wash-PURP
(I) am waiting for some water to wash my clothes.

3.32 **Dyidi nganha malyiri gabi-gu!**
throat I dry water-DAT
My throat is dry for water!

Close to this is yet another nuance conveyed by the dative case, 'for the sake of', 'on account of':

3.33 **Maga waldya-gu wayi.**
not police-DAT frightened
(I) am not scared of the police.

(b) The allative

This case expresses the goal towards which one is moving; this may be a place (3.24 and 3.35) or an event (3.36):

3.34 **Ngadhu Bugabi-gu wina-rn.**
I Bookabie-ALL go-PRES.
I am going to Bookabie.

3.35 **Ngayi ngura-gu wina-rn.**
I home-ALL go-PRES
I am going home.

3.36 **Dyudyu-gu wina-rn.**
corroboree-ALL go-PRES
(He) is going to the corroboree.

(c) The possessive

The possessive marks the owner of something that is possessed, as in:

3.37 **Banh(i) nhangga-gu buba.**
This man-POS dog
It is this man's dog.

3.38 **wiyana-muga-gu garba**
woman-lot-POS house
the women's house

3.39 **nhangga-gu daadyu**
man-POS trousers
men's trousers

With inalienable possession the possessive case is not normally used; a compound noun was formed instead, with the possessor in initial position:

3.40 **Waru-dharga bala.**
kangaroo-bone this
That's a kangaroo bone.

3.41 **garn.gu-galybi**
crow-wing
a crow's wing

The thing inalienably possessed could be treated as an attribute of the possessor:

3.42 **Ngana ini bala wiyana?**
what name this woman
What is this woman's name?

3.43 **Gidyara yalgarda ngayi.**
children three I
I have three children.

This is a common construction in verbless sentences (§5.8.3). In sentences containing a verb, when the owner is obvious, inalienable possession is not marked:

3.44 **Nganha maʀa-ga, bilbi-nga ila-ga!**
me take-IMP shoulder-LOC put-IMP
Pick me up and put me on (your) shoulder! (said on behalf of a child, wanting to see a football match)

Younger speakers, under the influence of English, do however mark inalienable possession and there are phrases like the following on record: **nhangga-gu dyina** (man-POS footprint) 'a human footprint', and **buba-gu wipa** (dog-POS tail) 'the dog's tail'. These examples must however be regarded as showing recent developments.

(d) Special case forms

-malda

The suffix **-malda** has been attested only in the word **dhardu-malda** 'in the opposite direction, away from here', where it appears to have an allative function:

3.45 **Dhardu-malda wina-rn.**
there-towards(?) go-PRES
He is going in the opposite direction.

-mara

There is in Wirangu a word **ngara** 'nothing', 'empty', 'vain' which corresponds to Parnkalla 'ngarra', Kuyani-Adnyamathanha **ngara** 'wrong', 'lie'. When used in the common locution 'for nothing', 'in vain', instead of the expected dative/purposive marker, this word takes a suffix **mara.** This is probably a form of the transitive verbaliser **ma-**, and may ultimately be similar in formation to adverbs formed with the verbaliser **ma-** in Arabana (Hercus 1997):

3.46 **Ngara-mara gurnda-na.**
nothing-making kill-PAST
(He) killed him for nothing.

3.47 **Ngana-gu urldi-rn? Ngara-mara urldi-na.**
what-DAT come-PRES nothing-making come-PAST
What are (you) coming (here) for? (I) have come for nothing (for no particular reason).

If this supposition is correct, this would be one more link between Wirangu and languages to the north-east.

3.2.4 THE ABLATIVE CASE

The ablative case signifies 'away from', 'out of' and it is marked by the suffix **-ngurni**:

3.48 **Wiyana-ngu warda mara-rn manda-ngurni, garla**
woman-ERG stick take-PRES ground-from fire
yadu-ma-rn.
good-make-PRES
The woman is picking up a stick off the ground, she is getting a fire going.

3.49 **Mara-ngurni mara-na.**
hand-ABL take-PAST
(He) took (it) out of my hand.

3.50 **Gabi-ngurni urldi-na.**
water-ABL come-PAST
He's got out of the water.

The ablative is relatively restricted in use, being confined to the sense of 'movement away from'. The consecutive meaning of 'resulting from', sometimes associated with the ablative, is conveyed by other cases, as for instance the dative with verbs of fearing (§3.2.3(a)) and the locative with verbs of emotion (§3.2.5(c)). The ablative is a case form and contrasts with the elative, which is a stem-forming suffix meaning 'originating from' (§3.3.1). The ablative suffix **-ngurni** is clearly Thura-Yura and is shared by the neighbouring Thura-Yura languages (Parnkalla 'ngunne', Kuyani and Adnyamathanha **-ngurni**). It appears to have been borrowed into Kukata (Platt 1972:55 'gagaṛaṇuṇi', 'from the East').

3.2.5 THE LOCATIVE CASE

(a) Location in place

The locative case marks position in place, in time and amid general circumstances. The locative conveys only a general notion of position: relative details are usually understood, so the translation can be 'in', 'at', 'on', or 'by'. Thus **warna-nga** (sea-LOC) can mean 'by the sea' and 'on' or 'in the sea' – the context normally leaves no room for doubt. This is a common feature of Australian languages. Examples are:

3.51 **Mirdi-nga yuga-rn.**
back-LOC stand-PRES
(He) is standing at the back.

3.52 **Gidyara manda-nga nyina-rn.**
children ground-LOC sit-PRES
The children are sitting on the ground.

3.53 **Gabi-nga widiwidi-na.**
water-LOC drown-PAST
(He) drowned in the water.

The locative can be followed by a locational adverb giving more specific positional information:

3.54 **Banhara ngura-ng' gulbiny nyina-rn.**
these.people camp-LOC inside sit-PRES
These people are sitting inside the house.

3.55 **Bidi-nga ganini nha-ga!**
bed-LOC under see-IMP
Look under the bed!

3.56 **Barnda-nga gan.ga yuga-rn.**
rock-LOC on.top stand-PRES
(He) is standing on top of a rock.

The locative marker was however omitted by some speakers in this type of phrase, possibly under the influence of English:

3.57 **Barnda-gan.ga yuga-rn.**
rock-on.top stand-PRES
(He) is standing on top of a rock.

The locative is frequently used, instead of the allative, when a destination has already been reached or is about to be reached:

3.58 **Manda-nga warna-na.**
ground-LOC fall-PAST
(It) fell on the ground.

3.59 **Gabi-nga dharba-rn.**
water-LOC enter-PRES
(He) is getting into the water.

(b) Location in time

Examples of the locative showing position in time are:

3.60 **Nganha maldhi-nga urldi-na.**
I night-LOC come-PAST
I arrived in the night.

3.61 **Minyura-nga mingga-ri-na.**
cold-LOC sick-INC-PAST
In the winter (I) got sick.

(c) Additional functions of the locative

The locative is used with the person addressed or asked with verbs of speaking and asking :

3.62 **Ngadhu gidyara-nga wangga-rn.**
I children-LOC talk-PRES
I am talking to the children.

The dative is used however when a sense of direction is involved, such in as calling out to someone as in sentence 3.28 above.

The locative is also used to express the object of emotions such as anger:

3.63 **Dyirlbi warla nganha-nga?**
old.man angry who-LOC
The old man is angry with whom?

The locative is used as a comitative, for humans company only, particularly when the company of relatives is involved. It is usually followed by the clitic **-du**, which has a restrictive meaning like 'just', as in

3.64 **Gabarli-nga-du wiya-nga-du wina-rn.**
grandmother-LOC-just mother-LOC-just go-PRES
(I) am walking with just my mother/grandmother (not anybody else).

3.65 **Gidya-nga-du urldi-rn.**
child-LOC-just come-PRES
I am coming with just my child.

3.66 **Ngadhu wina-rn gidyara-nga nyirn-gu.**
I go-PRES children-LOC sit-PURP
I am going away to stay with my children.

The locative can mark a general circumstance or situation as in:

3.67 **Mil marnaarda-nga nganha dyilga-rn.**
eye big-LOC me stare.at-PRES
(He) is staring at me with (his) eyes wide open.

3.68 **Maga wina-rn warlba marnaardu-nga.**
not go-PRES wind big-LOC
I am not going out when there is a big wind blowing.

The locative clearly has a wide range of locational and circumstantial meanings; its range is similar to the use of the preposition 'along' in Central Australian pidgin. The locative is also used in a very special way in absolute constructions: it marks the subordinate verbless sentence where there is switch-reference:

3.69 **Nganha minya wanyi-nga wilbara marna winawina-nda.**
I small girl-LOC buggy many go.about-SWITCH
When I was a little girl, there were lots of buggies around.

3.2.6 THE VOCATIVE

The vocative is used when calling out to someone, seeking attention or addressing them in general conversation. There is therefore a wide range of different grades of emphasis. The vocative is not marked by any special suffix, and the stem form is used:

3.70 **Eh dyilbi, banyi urldi-ga!**
eh old.man here come-IMP
Come over here old fellow!

When there is great emphasis the accent is moved onto the final syllable, which can undergo vowel distortion, as in:

3.71 **Yadu, yadu, yadu wiyeyi!**
All right, all right, all right mother! (from **wiya** 'mother')

As there is a wide variety of degrees of accentuation and as this is exactly parallel to the situation with the imperative suffix (§2.2.2(a)) one has to think in terms of vowel distortion rather than postulate the optional addition of a suffix **-yi**.

3.3 STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

3.3.1 THE ELATIVE MARKER **-birna**

This suffix shares some of the characteristics of case markers as it conveys the notion of 'originating from'. It is close to the ablative in meaning but differs in that it does not indicate case relations within a sentence: it forms nominals that can be further declined as adjectives or nouns. Examples are:

Burgu-birna	'coming out of the mist', 'wild killers'
gabi-birna	alcohol, 'coming from drink'

This type of derivation can be formed not just from nouns but also from location nominals and adverbs:

gadha-birna	coming from some other place
gan.ga-birna	upper, from up top, as in **gan.ga-birna nyimi** 'upper lip'
gini-birna	lower, from below; as in **gini-birna nyimi** 'lower lip'
idha-birna or **idhara-birna**	new, coming from right now
wildyara-birna	old, coming from long ago

There is one isolated example of derivation from a verb:

gamba-na-birna (cook-PAST-EL) coming from having been hot, i.e. cooked food.

This suffix is closely parallel to and cognate with the the Parnkalla **-bidni** (Schürmann 1844 s.v. -bidni). The Parnkalla suffix is used in exactly the same type of combinations as **-birna**, but it usually loses its first consonant, e.g. 'kalkar-idni', 'of old'. Schürmann describes the situation with great clarity:

> 'bidni, when attached to nouns and other parts of speech gives them the power of an adjective.'

The Yeltapirna Creek, flowing north from the Gawler Ranges into Lake Gairdner, thus has a typically Wirangu name, and this confirms the view that this was Wirangu country (§1.1). Older Wirangu people from the Gawler Ranges, presumably copying their Parnkalla neighbours, used the form **-bi(d)ni**, but only when referring to the much feared **Burgu-birna**. This is amply attested: Provis 'poorkabidne', Richardson 'pokobidney', Whipstick Billy 'purkabini'. According to Tindale (1928:45) Parnkalla people referred to their Wirangu neighbours as 'Wirabidni', 'originating from the sky' (see §1.2.1(a)).

3.3.2 'HAVING' SUFFIXES

Wirangu, like the most closely related language, Parnkalla, differs from most other Thura-Yura languages in not having a distinctive descriptive adjective-forming suffix that means 'full of', 'having'. Words meaning 'much', 'many' or 'great' usually fulfil that function in Wirangu, such as **dyilga-muga** (burr-many) 'full of burrs' as in **manda dyilga-muga** 'a place full of burrs'.

3.72 **Nhangga warla-marnaardu.**
man row-great
The man is a troublemaker.

3.73 **Barnda-marna bala.**
money (lit. pebble)-much this one
He has a lot of money

3.74 **Ngabiri bardi-marna.**
red.mallee grub-much
The red mallee tree is full of grubs.

A suffix **-(y)ambuli**, **-(y)ambul**, derived from the word **(y)ambu** 'lap' (from Kukata) is used occasionally with the meaning 'having on one's lap':

3.75 **Wiyana gidya-yambul nyina-rn.**
woman child-lap.on.having sit PRES
The woman is sitting with a baby on her lap.

There is a definite and distinctive suffix meaning 'having something unpleasant', 'lousy with'. This is **-bandin**, as in **gurlu-bandin** 'covered in lice', and **guna-bandin** 'covered in manure'. This is not to be confused with the Kukata borrowing **barndirn** 'to smell': **guna-barndirn** means 'smelling of manure'.

3.3.3 PRIVATIVE SUFFIXES

(a) **-yudu**

The commonly used privative suffix in Wirangu is **-yudu** 'without', borrowed from Kukata:

3.76 **Nganha barnda-yudu.**
I money-without
I haven't got any money.

3.77 **Ngadhu bal gaʀi, gabi-yudu.**
I die soon water-without
I'll die directly, I've got no water.

3.78 **Gidya-yudu bala.**
child-without she
She hasn't got any children.

The suffix was even used to form a double negative:

3.79 **Maga guma rabidi-yudu.**
not one rabbit-without
(This place) is without a single rabbit.

(b) **-maga**

The negative particle **maga** can be affixed in a privative meaning as in **gidya yuʀin-maga** lit. 'child ears-not', 'a totally disobedient child' and

3.80 **Nganha gidya-maga.**
I child-not
I haven't got any children.

(c) **-min.ga**

It is probable that this rare negative particle was originally widely used in Wirangu as a privative marker, but had its function taken over by the borrowed **-yudu**. The privative **-min.ga** marks an emphatic absence of anything, as one of the speakers explained: "When some-one says to you **barnda yunggiga** 'give (me) some money', you might say say **nganha barndamaga**, but if they keep pestering, you would say **nangah barndamin.ga**":

3.81 **Nganha barnda-maga.**
I money-not
I haven't got any money.

3.82 **Nganha barnda-min.ga.**
I money- totally without.
I haven't got any money at all (I haven't got a cent).

(d) **-gardu**

This suffix has been heard only in the following fixed locutions, especially applied to children:

mil-gardu	translated as	blind, got no eyes, won't look
yuri-gardu	translated as	deaf, got no ears, won't listen

The derivation given by modern speakers was unexpected. They recalled that the noun **gardu** was an old word for 'a fully initiated man'. Such a person was exempt from some of the more tedious jobs such as getting firewood and water, and he could not be shown by women how to do anything nor could he be told to do anything. The term was therefore sarcastically used for any disobedient child, meaning 'he thinks he is an initiated man with regards to his eyes or ears', i.e. 'he won't look or listen'.

3.3.4 The comparative suffix **-mimara**

This suffix has independent accentuation. It is added to a noun which is the object of comparison. The resulting word could be used adjectivally, as in the following verbless sentences:

3.83 **Ngadyu-ngura-mimara ngura bala.**
my-house-like house this
This house is just like mine.

3.84 **Ngadyu-buba-mimara buba bala.**
my-dog-like dog this
This dog is just like mine.

The suffix **mimara** can be used to qualify intransitive verbs:

3.85 **Puni-mimara wali-ri-rn.**
horse-like run-REFL-PRES
(He) runs like a horse.

3.86 **Gidya waru-mimara barli-ri-rn-gadn.**
child kangaroo-like hop-REFL-PRES-GO
The child goes hopping along like a kangaroo.

It can also qualify a transitive verb:

3.87 **Gabi-mimara yargi-rl!**
water-like taste-IMM
This tea tastes like water! (lit. (I) taste (it, this tea) like water!)

There is some diversity in the Thura-Yura languages as to how 'like' is expressed. In the northern Thura-Yura languages Adnyamathanha and Kuyani it is expressed by the suffix **-li** added to the object of comparison. In Parnkalla it was expressed by the longer suffix 'mirrinye', which presumably had some independent accentuation. Schürmann (1844) gives the following example: 'warru mirrinye pilla mirrinye', 'similar to a kangaroo, to an oppossum'.

The Wirangu suffix **mimara** is obviously closer to the Parnkalla way of expressing similarity than to anything else.

3.3.5 OTHER NOMINAL STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

(a) -(g)ardu, -(g)arda

There is only one very common suffix, and that is **-(g)ardu**, with the less common variant **-(g)arda** (for loss of the **g** see §2.1.2(d)). It can be used with a limited set of stative adjectives indicating size, big, small, long. It can also be used with some locational and temporal nominals, with deictics and the third person singular pronoun, as well as some particles, e.g. **maga** 'not' and **gudu** 'for good'. It is an emphatic marker, corresponding roughly in meaning to the English 'very', or 'that very one':

marna	big	**marnaardu, marnaarda**	very big
minya	small	**minyaardu, minaarda**	very small

There is a distinct pattern in the use of this suffix: it occurs only when it is at the end of a noun phrase, that is when it is in a distinctive and emphatic position. Thus one says:

marna barnda	much money	*but*	**barnda marnaardu**	a vast amount of money
minya wiyana	a small woman	*but*	**wiyana minyaardu**	a very small woman

This suffix has affiliations far afield in Aboriginal languages (§2.1.2(d)).

(b) -(i)lya

There are very few other nominal stem-forming suffixes in Wirangu, and none that have any wide use.

-(i)lya is a nominal derivative found only in one ordinary adjective, **garndilya** 'stubborn, determined' (from **garndi** 'rock'). The suffix is however found frequently at the end of personal names: **Nyindilya, Binilya, Dhabilya,** and placenames: **Bandinilya, Wirilya**. It is unlikely that this is the same suffix as that involved in the formation of the plural name **Yugarilya** 'the Seven Sisters' (see §3.1.2).

(c) -dha

The suffix **-dha** is occasionally added to kinship terms. The speakers insisted that this implied no change in meaning. It is just possible that the suffix might originally have had a generalising rather than particularising effect, so that **muma-dha** for instance, though given simply as an alternative for **muma** 'father', might have meant originally 'any person in the category of father'. Examples of the use of this suffix are:

3.88 **bagali-dha-ngurni**
grandfather-SUFFIX-from
from grandfather

3.89 **Gabali-dha** **bala.**
grandmother-SUFFIX this.one.
This is grandmother.

3.90 **Wiya-dha-ngu** **gurnda-na**.
mother-SUFFIX-ERG hit-PAST
Mother smacked (me).

It is highly likely that an alternative form **-dya** is found in the term **madyidya** 'initiated man', i.e. a man who is capable of being married, which is based on **madyi** 'husband'.

The equivalent of the suffix **-dha** also occurs in Adnyamathanha-Kuyani in the word **ngamitha** 'adult female' based on **ngami** 'mother', and there are terms ending in 'tya' in other Thura-Yura languages Kaurna 'ngammaitya', 'a woman in general'; 'ngapitya', 'grandchild' (of paternal grandmother); 'ngauwaitya', 'father-in-law'. The Wirangu suffix **-dha** is thus clearly part of Thura-Yura. Furthermore it probably represents an ancient link to languages further east, as in Paakantyi on the Darling River the majority of kinship terms have the suffix **-tya**, as for instance: **kampitya** 'father', **kaakutya** 'elder brother', **parlutya** 'younger brother' (Hercus 1993). The general principle of having special kinship term suffixes is more widespread still (Nash 1992:123).

There is one instance of a suffix **-dha** with the Kukata word **manda** 'ground': it is **manda-dha** 'something that has been picked up from the ground'. This is simply a Kukata borrowing containing the widespread Western Desert associative suffix **-tya**.

3.4 COMPOUND NOUNS IMPLYING CLASSIFICATION

Kukata; like the other Western Desert languages uses the word for 'meat' and the word for 'vegetable food' as optional classifiers preceding the name of the source of the meat, so that one can say 'meat-kangaroo', 'meat rabbit' instead of just 'kangaroo' and 'rabbit'.

The situation in Pamkalla is very different: the word for 'meat' does not appear to be generally used in any classificatory sense, but the word **mai** 'vegetable food' is sometimes used following the name of a source of vegetable food, thus in Schürmann (1844) we find:

nondomai	fruit of the nondo (Acacia sp.)
nurgok mai	the edible flower of a very small shrub
pindamai	cherry fruit

and three edible fungi:

pullimai	species of fungus
tultumai	a species of fungus
kanyamai	a species of fungus, mushroom

It is noticeable that the classificatory '-mai' is here attached only to the names of some of the more obscure sources of food.

A parallel situation seems to exist in Wirangu: the word **ma** 'vegetable food' is attached only to the names of some minor sources of food, mainly shellfish. These were not evidently mobile and were not considered to be animals:

barnda-ma	type of shellfish, lit. 'stone food'
wad(a)n-ma*	twisted shell, Turbo sp. 'twisted food'
nhamu-ma	type of shellfish, a vagina-shaped shell
muna-ma	limpets, 'hat food'

bildha-ma	mussels, 'pip food'
minu-ma	edible seed of a wattle named **minu**

The names of more prominent items of food, such as quandong, were never so compounded with the word **ma**.

The only other word that is used to form similar classificatory compounds is **gabi** 'water', and its earlier equivalent **gawi**, which appear in the names of rockholes in Wirangu country, such as:

Bookabie	**Bugabi**	'Stinking water'
Coorabie	**Gurabi**	'Magpie water'

These placenames have been discussed above (§ 2.1.2(e)).

3.5 LOCATION NOMINALS

3.5.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

In Wirangu the words indicating location are complex: they run a whole gamut of possibilities from ordinary nominals which are fully inflected, to location nominals and to indeclinable adverbial particles. With this full range of possibilities it is difficult to draw the demarcation line between nominals and adverbial particles. Adverbially used forms have been discussed as particles (§6.1 and §6.2) if they do not belong to a nominal or pronominal stem, and if they are invariable and cannot take any suffix other than the emphatic **-(g)ardu**.

Thus 'behind' and 'in front', when referring to a person, can simply be expressed by the case forms of the ordinary nouns **wa** 'face' and **mirdi** 'back'; hence one can use the locative forms **wa-nga** 'in front' and **mirdi-nga** 'at the back'. One can also use the allative and the ablative as in **mirdi-gu** 'to the back' and **wa-ngurni** 'from in front', as in:

3.91 **Rabidi wa-ngurni urldi-na.**
rabbit face-ABL come-PAST
The rabbit came out just in front (of him).

The word **dhananga**, var. **dyananga** 'behind' is clearly marked with the locative ending and is based on an ordinary noun. On the other hand **yargulu**, though it looks like an old ergative form, has no connections with any nominal stem; it is always invariable and must be regarded as a temporal/locational particle (§6.2):

3.92 **Nyurni yargulu wini-ga, nganha dhana-nga!**
you in.front go-IMP I behind-LOC
You go in front, I'll come behind.

3.5.2 GENERAL LOCATION NOMINALS

Some of the words indicating location are location nominals. These differ from ordinary nouns in that, when used without a case marker, they in themselves imply the locative case. Examples are:

gan.gaʁa 'on top'

3.93 **Gan.gaʁa yuga-rn.**
on.top stand-PRES
(He) is standing up on top.

ganini 'below'

3.94 **Ganini yuga-rn.**
below stand-PRES
(He) is standing below.

They can also imply the allative case:

3.95 **Gan.gaʁa garlba-rn.**
on.top climb-PRES
(He) is climbing to the top.

But an allative suffix may optionally be added:

3.96 **Ganini-gu wina-rn.**
below-ALL go-PRES
(He) is coming down.

The ablative however always has to be expressed by a suffix:

3.97 **Gan.gaʁa-ngurni urldi-rn.**
on.top-ABL come-PRES
(He) is coming down from the top.

The situation with **gulybi** 'inside' is the same, except that a locative suffix can optionally be added, as in **gulybinga** 'on the inside'. The use of these words as postpositions after nouns in the locative has been discussed in §3.2.5(a).

The words **ila, ilaardu** 'close by', **yamba, yambaardu** 'far away', **(y)ambi** 'over there, some distance away, **dhardu** 'away', **gadha** 'further away', **gaba** 'on the other side', and the Gawler Ranges word **dyurdiya-bila** 'on both sides' also follow this pattern, the allative and locative being represented by the bare stem, optionally so in the case of **ila** and **gadha**, and always so in the case of **yamba**, **yambaardu**, **(y)ambi** and the others.

The stem can be used in the locative function:

3.98 **Yamba bala nyirn.**
far it sit
It is a long way off.

3.99 **Gaba yuga-rn.**
on.the.other.side stand-PRES
(He) is standing on the other side.

3.100 **Nhangga ambi yuga-rn.**
man there stand-PRES
The man is standing over there.

but

3.101 **Ila** (or **ilaardu**) (or **ila-nga**) **nyina-rn.**
close (close-LOC) sit-PRES
(He) is staying nearby.

Similarly 'he is sitting further away' can be rendered by:

3.102 **Gadha bala nyirn.**
there he sit

or

3.103 **Gadha-nga bala nyirn.**
there-LOC he sit

The following are examples of the bare stem being used in the allative function:

3.104 **Nhangga garɪ ila barlg-irl.**
man soon close come.up-IMM
The man will soon come near.

3.105 **Nhangga gadha bala wi-rn.**
man further he go-PRES
This man is going further away (instead of coming here).

3.106 **Ngadhu yamba wi-rn.**
I far go-PRES
I am going far away.

With **ila** 'nearby' the allative can be marked optionally and **ila-gu** can be used instead of **ila** as in **ilagu urldirn** 'he is coming close'. The derivatives **ilabu** and **iladyi** have a purely locative meaning. There is a form 'jambula' quoted by Black (1917:4) as meaning 'from a distance': this is probably an old locative form of **yamba** (§4.2.3). **Dhardu** 'away from here' conveys the allative:

3.107 **Nganha dhardu wina-rn.**
I away go-PRES
I am going away from here.

Dhardu however can also take a special allative marker (§3.2.3(d)).

All of the above location nominals vary only in whether they can express the allative or locative or both by means of their stem form. With the exception of **dhardu** they all form the ablative like any other nominal, e.g. **ila-ngurni** 'from close by', **gadha-ngurni** 'from further away'.

3.5.3 LOCATION NOMINALS BASED ON PRONOMINAL STEMS

There are a number of pronominally based location nominals that have arisen both from 'living' pronouns and from pronouns which are no longer used. They correspond roughly in meaning to 'here', 'there', and 'where'.

(a) **(i)nha** and its derivatives

The stem form of the deictic pronoun of vicinity is **inha**, usually shortened to **nha** (§4.3.1). This can be used on its own as a location nominal implying the locative case as in:

3.108 **Ngadhu nha-n nyirn!**
I here-EMPH sit.PRES
I'm over here!

3.109 **Gabi nha!**
water here
The water is here!

Sometimes however the locative case marker **-nga** is added, as in:

3.110 **Gidya marna in.gi-rl nha-nga.**
child many play-IMM here-LOC
A lot of children are playing here.

Like all other location nominals, **nha** can express the ablative only with the addition of the ablative marker, as in **nha-ngurni winarn** 'he is going away from here'.

There are a number of derivatives of **nha** which in themselves function as independent location nominals:

Nhala is an old locative form (§4.2.3) which functions as a location nominal in the sense of 'here, round about here', as in **nhala urldiga!** 'come here!'. Although this secondary stem **nhala** can implicitly denote either the locative or the allative, the allative marker may be optionally added to form a new allative case **nhalagu**, as in:

3.111 **Nhangga banhiwa urldi-rn, maga nhala-gu.**
people right.here come-PRES not here-ALL
The people are coming right here, not just round about here.

Nhardu and **nhaga**, both extended forms of **nha**, are location nominals that are used only rarely.

The form **(nh)andhi**, var. **nyandyi** 'over there' is another extended stem derived from **nha**; it can be used in both allative and locative functions. An example of the locative use is:

3.112 **Nhandyi balaardu wangga-rn.**
there he talk-PRES
He is talking over there (we can hear him but can't see him).

Nharandyi 'there, in the middle distance' is another extended stem based on **nha**, with similar functions. An example of the allative use is:

3.113 **Nharandyi wina-rn.**
there go-PRES
(I) am going over there.

But one can also add an allative marker and say **nharandyi-gu winarn** '(I) am going over there'.

(b) **banhi, banyi, banyiwa**

The stem of **banhi, banyi** 'this right here', based on the third person pronoun **banha**, serves as a location nominal to indicate the locative and the allative, as in:

3.114 **Banhi urldi-na.**
right.here come-PAST
(He) came right here, i.e. to this very spot.

A fairly common derivative is **banhiwa**: this mainly serves in an allative function 'in this direction, this way', as opposed to **gadya** 'the other way':

3.115 **Nhangga nha urldirn, banhiwa.**
man here come right here
The man is coming here, to this very spot.

There does not appear any other word in which **-wa** is used as a derivative suffix in Wirangu. There are close similarities in Parnkalla where derivatives of the third person pronoun 'panna', 'pannitye' are used in exactly the same way, and 'parni' in Kaurna fulfils the same function.

(c) **yambi, ambi** 'there'

This location nominal implies the allative and the locative, but the ablative has to be marked by **-ngurni.** It is not based on any current Wirangu deictic pronoun, but on an older stem **ya-** 'that'. This is present also in the adverbial particle **yamu, yamurdu** 'thus', 'exactly like that', and in Parnkalla and Kuyani-Adnyamathanha deictic pronouns.

(d) **indha, (in)dhala** 'where?'

The nearest Thura-Yura languages, Parnkalla, Kuyani and Adnyamathanha all have a word **wanha** to mean 'where', but Arabana further to the north has **indya** as the base of the word for 'where' and various cognates are widespread elsewhere (see Dixon 1980:373). **Indya** is practically identical to the oldest form of the Wirangu word, **indha**. This oldest form was still used occasionally by the speakers recorded by J.T. Platt in the 1960s, as a locative and as an allative, as in **indha wirn** 'where are (you) going?'. The more common **(in)dhala** is an old locative derived from **indha**, parallel in formation to **nhala** 'here' (§3.5.3(a)). It has in turn become a location nominal, where the stem implies both the locative and the allative, as in **(in)dhala nyinarn** 'where are (you)?' and **(in)dhala wirn** 'where are you going?'. The initial syllable is elided except in slow and deliberate speech.

Although **indha** itself can naturally imply the locative, and **(in)dhala** contains an old locative marker **-la**, the locative suffix **-nga** is sometimes added, and one can say:

3.116 **(In)dhalanga nyurni**
where you
Where are you?

As is the case with all the other location nominals, the ablative is never implied and has to be marked by the ablative suffix **-ngurni**:

3.117 **Dhala-ngurni urldi-na?**
where-ABL come-PAST
Where did you come from?

It seems that as regards the location nominals, Wirangu had generally retained the Thura-Yura system, and there is a likelihood that the interrogative goes back to an even older stratum.

3.5.4 POINTS OF THE COMPASS

Exactly the opposite is the case with the words designating the points of the compass: they all closely resemble the corresponding words in the Western Desert languages, and must have been borrowed from Kukata (Platt 1972:55 and 27 has 'gagarara', 'east' and 'alindjara', 'north'. These words inherently convey the locative and the allative, and can be marked only for the ablative. They are:

gagararra	east
yulbarira	south
wilurara	west
alindyara	north

Hence **alindyara nyinarn** means 'to dwell in the north', without any locative marking on the word **alindyara**, but one has to say the following with the word **alindyara** marked with the ablative suffix **-ngurni**:

3.118 **Alindyara-ngurni urldi-na.**
north-ABL come-PAST
(He) came from the north.

The point-of-compass words all have derivatives, referring to the type of wind that comes from that direction. These can be used adjectivally with the word **warlba** 'wind', or as nouns. They are:

gaganil	east (wind)
yulbarnil	south (wind)
wilural	west (wind)
alinyal	north wind

The system that lies behind the formation of these words is not quite clear, and the words do not correspond completely to Western Desert, as Yankuntjatjara has **wilinil**, and the nearest to **alinyal** is 'alindyinil' found to the north of Yankuntjatjara (Goddard 1987:3).

3.6 TEMPORAL NOMINALS

In Wirangu the words indicating time, like those indicating location, are complex and run a whole gamut of possibilities from ordinary nominals which are fully inflected, to temporal nominals and to indeclinable adverbial particles. Words referring to times of day and to seasons are case forms of ordinary nominals, such as **dyirndu-nga** 'in the day-time', from **dyirndu** 'sun', and **minyuru-nga** 'in the cold' (Gawler Ranges **bayala-nga**) 'in the winter-time'.

3.6.1 General temporal nominals

(a) **gari**

The temporal nominal **gari**, var. **gaRi** 'fairly soon', 'shortly' can be used with the dative marker **-gu**, as in the sentence:

3.119 **Gari-gu ila-ga.**
shortly-for put.down-IMP
Put (the food) down for a little later on.

(b) **maldhulu**

The word **maldhi** 'night' is of particular interest. The locative **maldhi-nga** means 'at night', but there is a derivative **maldhulu** which means both 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday', i.e. 'separated from today by nightfall'. Parnkalla shares the same word: 'malti' means 'night' and 'malturlo' means 'morning' and 'tomorrow' (for the final **-ulu** see particles listed under §6.2.1). Wirangu examples are:

3.120 **Maldhulu nyurni maRa-rn-gadn.**
tomorrow you take-PRES-GO
(I) will pick you up on my way tomorrow.

3.121 **Nyurni baRu maldhulu maRa-na.**
you meat yesterday take-PAST
You picked up some meat (from here) yesterday.

It is highly likely that one can say **maldhulu-ngurni*** 'from yesterday (tomorrow) on', and possibly also **maldhulu-birna***, 'originating yesterday (tomorrow)', but these forms have not been recorded.

(c) **wildya-**

The stem **wildya-** is semantically closely akin to **maldhi.** In Adnyamathanha and Kuyani **wiltya** is the word for 'night', a function that in Parnkalla and Wirangu belongs to the word **maldhi**, but **wiltya** remains in use as a temporal nominal. In Parnkalla 'wiltya' gives rise to words referring to both the future and the past in a more general way: 'wiltyadli', 'in future, by and by', 'wiltyaparrari', 'tomorrow' and 'wiltyarra', 'yesterday, some days ago'.

This is closely akin to the Wirangu situation except that **wildya-** here refers only to the past. The following forms are found:

wildyara
wildyaardu (in combination with the suffix **-(g)ardu**, **-(g)arda** (§3.3.5)
wildyurda

These all mean 'some time ago', 'long ago' and they can all be followed by the elative suffix **-birna** to form adjectives meaning 'originating from', as in **wildyara-birna** 'old' (lit. 'coming from long ago'), as in **dyudu wildyara-birna** 'an olden-times corroboree'. This corresponds closely to Parnkalla 'wiltyaridni', 'of yesterday'. The temporal nominals are particularly good examples of the close connection between Wirangu and Kuyani-Adnyamathanha, and the even closer connection between Wirangu and Parnkalla.

There are however further implications here: Parnkalla and Wirangu have derivative temporal/locational forms in **-ra**, and there is an intricate web of connections as shown in the table below:

TABLE 3.2: COMPARISON OF SOME TEMPORAL/LOCATIONAL FORMS

English	Wirangu	Parnkalla	Kuyani	Arabana	Wangkangurru	Kukata
night	**maldhi**	malti	**wiltya**	**wanga, kalka** evening	**wanga, kalka** evening	**munga mungardji** in the evening
tomorrow	**maldhulu**	malturlo wiltya-parrari	**wiltya-wiltya**	**wangara**	**wangali, ngukulu**	**munga-badjadja, mungaḷu** by and by
yesterday, some time ago	**wildyara**	wiltyarra kalkarra	**kalka, walta-ngalangka**	**kalkara**	**kalkawalta**	**mungaḍa** in the past
yet, still	**idhara**	itharra (there)	**kari**	**anti**	**antili**	**guwariba**
soon	**gari**	kari	**kari**	**anti**	**antili**	**guwaṛa**
recently	**idha**		**yangkithara**	**ipara** (before)	**ipali** (before)	**guwari** earlier
where	**indha (in)dhala**[1]	wana	**wanha**	**intyara**	**intyali**	**nja:l**

(The **-ra** forms have been underlined for conspicuousness).

The Kukata forms have been taken from Platt (1972). There is a possibility that the **ṛa** form in Kukata might be related to **-ra**.

As the table shows, the similarities between Wirangu and Parnkalla are great. Arabana and Wangkangurru are dialects of one language, but Arabana is within the sphere of diffusion of the **-ra** affix for temporal and some locational forms, and Wangkangurru is not. The use of the suffix **-ra** for locational forms appears to be most widespread in Parnkalla:

kattara	a long way off (Kuyani **kathara**)
ngunnara	yonder (from ngunna 'that')
patha, pathara	there

Possibly connected with this derivational process is Wirangu **gan.ga, gan.gaʀa** 'above', Parnkalla 'karnkarra', 'above'.

This whole system represents a characteristic northern Thura-Yura and Arabana process of derivation in which Wirangu has some share. This, like some other features such as the lenition of **g** (§2.1.2(c)) places Wirangu on the south-western end of a diffusional area which comprises Arabana, Adhnyamathanha, Kuyani and Parnkalla. This diffusion precedes the arrival of Kukata within the area, and (with the doubtful exception of **guwaṛa**) Kukata has no part in it.

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1 **-la** is an old locative ending; see §4.2.3.

3.6.2 TEMPORAL FORMS BASED ON PRONOUNS

(a) **banhi, banyi, banyini**

Banhi/banyi 'right now' is also used for locations (§3.5.3(b)), but **banyini** is only used in a temporal sense 'earlier today'. Examples are:

3.122 **Nganha banyi urldi-na.**
I right.now return-PAST
I have only just got back.

3.123 **Nganha banyini urldi-na.**
I today return-PAST
I got back earlier today.

In Parnkalla, derivatives of 'panna' (e.g. 'pannityinge', 'there') have a purely locational meaning.

(b) **idha, idhara**

These words are not connected with any pronominal form within modern Wirangu, but they are linked to historical pronominal forms; they are related to the Parnkalla deictic pronoun 'itha', 'that', and its derivative 'ithara', 'there', and to Kaurna 'itto', 'these' and 'itti', 'sooner, ere, before, first'. It seems that originally, as it did far away to the east in Paakantyi on the Darling, this particular set of pronominal forms had an original initial **k**, which was lost relatively recently in Wirangu, as Wiebusch (n.d.) has what is probably an archaic form 'kydera'.

Idha means 'just recently', 'as yet':

3.124 **Nyurni baʀu idha maʀa-na.**
you meat just get-PAST
You've only just got some meat (why do you want more)?

The derivative **idha-birna** 'originating from just now' is a very commonly used adjective, as in **idha-birna gidya** 'a new-born baby', **baldha idha-birna** 'a new dress'.

Idhara means 'still', 'as yet', 'this minute', as in:

3.125 **Balaardu idhara nhala.**
he still here
He is still here.

3.126 **Ma idhara gamba-rn.**
food still cook-PRES
I am still cooking the food (so you can't have it just yet).

The speaker is however assuring the other person that she is hurrying. The sense of 'this very minute' led both Wiebusch, quoting 'kydera' and Daisy Bates, quoting 'idara', to give the meaning of 'quick' to this word.

The derivatives **idhaardu, idhaarda** mean 'only just now', 'today', 'still':

3.127 **Nganha idhaardu urldi-na.**
I only.just.now come-PAST
I have only just got here.

3.128 **Nhangga idhaarda nyina-rn.**
man now.still sit-PRES
The man is still sitting there right now.

The temporal nominals are of particular comparative interest. There are however a number of other words indicating time that have no link to the nominal system and are temporal particles. They are discussed in §6.2.1.

3.7 NUMERALS

The Thura-Yura languages on the whole have only the first three basic numerals, and higher numbers are made up by combinations, such as 'two plus two'. Wirangu on the other hand has five basic numerals. These are inflected as nominals.

Guma, gumaardu 'one', also has the sense of 'alone'. as in **guma(ardu) nyinarn** 'to sit down alone, to live alone'. The combination **gumanha-gumanha** 'one-one' has an additive meaning, 'several'.

Gudhara, var. **gudyara** 'two' is identical to the Kukata word and is probably a borrowing. The word list by Cole from Yardea in the Gawler Ranges (Taplin 1879) has a word 'kalbelli, two' which corresponds to the Parnkalla and Kuyani forms.

Yalgarda 'three'. On several occasions an alternative form **marn.guwa** was heard. This may have been a borrowing from Kukata, or a genuine Wirangu form, cognate with Kaurna 'marnkutye', 'three'. The Gawler Ranges word for 'three' was **gulbari**, as in Parnkalla and Kuyani.

Gabu 'four'. This word can also mean 'a few', 'a small group'. It was listed as 'three' by both Richardson and Provis in Curr (1887), and as 'four' by Tindale.

Wima, wimaardu 'five', 'a group consisting of at least five or more'.

From this evidence it seems likely that Wirangu did in fact basically conform to the norm and originally had only three numerals. The words **gabu** and **wima** appear to have become specialised as numerals from a more indefinite sense of 'a few', 'a group'.

CHAPTER 4

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF PRONOUNS

4.1 THE USE OF PRONOUNS

4.1.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

In Wirangu, as in many other Aboriginal languages, the use of personal pronouns differs considerably from their use in English: when it is obvious who or what the subject of a verb is, the pronoun does not need to be expressed. Thus one can say:

4.1 **Maldhi-nga urldi-na.**
night-LOC come-PAST
(X) came at night.

It would simply depend on whoever was the topic of conversation whether this is to be interpreted as 'I', 'you', 'he', 'she', 'it', 'we' or 'they' arrived in the middle of the night. As long as matters are clear there is no need to say **ngadhu urldina** 'I came', **nyurni urldina** 'you came' and so forth. Similarly one can form a minimal sentence and say the following without mentioning who the perpetrator(s) or victim(s) were:

4.2 **Gurnda-na.**
kill-PAST
(X) killed.

Even to the experienced this renders the interpretation of stories difficult at times. It makes the pronouns, when they are used, more emphatic than what they are in English.

The pronominal system is usually very conservative and least prone to change. In the development of many languages, as for instance in Romance and Indo-Aryan, one can see the pronouns maintaining various case distinctions long after these had disappeared from the nominal system. The situation in Wirangu is quite different and particularly interesting: Wirangu shares some of the developments that were taking place in the Thura-Yura pronominal system, but it shows further profound changes as the elements of the old Thura-Yura personal pronoun system were broken down under the influence of Kukata. The result is that in Wirangu there are more case distinctions in the nominal than in the pronominal system. This is clearly evident in the second person singular pronouns, and to a lesser degree in the first person singular.

The basic situation is that the Western Desert languages, including of course Kukata, had a subject–object system in the first and second person pronouns, while the Thura-Yura languages had an ergative system, as in the nouns, and originally a subject–object distinction as well. The breakdown occurred as these systems came into contact.

4.1.2 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

Possessives in general and particularly genitive forms of pronouns are not normally used with nouns when inalienable possession is implied, as in the case of kinship terms and body parts. In most circumstances it is so obvious whose relatives are being referred to that it is not necessary to mark possession. Comments about body parts usually take the form of verbless sentences with the owner of the body as the subject, thus 'my foot is sore' is rendered as: **Nganha dyina mingga** 'I foot sore' (see §3.1.1 above). Similar examples are:

4.3 **Wiya gumaardu-mil.**
mother one-eye
(My) mother has only got one eye.

4.4 **Nyurni mangga wirdinygardu.**
you hair long
Your hair is long.

4.5 **Dyidi nganha malyiri gabi-gu.**
throat I dry water-DAT
My throat is dry for water.

This tradition is being gradually undermined by English, and modern speakers occasionally use phrases such as **ngadyu dyina** 'my foot'.

4.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

4.2.1 DECLENSION OF FIRST PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUN

The data on the Wirangu first person pronoun given in the ensuing sections can be summarised as below. Gawler Ranges and rare forms are given in brackets:

Case	Form
Nominative	**nganha, ngadhu, (ngayi)**
Nominative in verbless sentences	**nganha, (ngayi)**
Ergative	**ngadhu**
Accusative	**nganha**
Possessive	**ngadyu, ngadyi, nganhiya, (ngayugu)**
Dative	**nganha, nganhagu, ngandyigu, ngadyi-gu**
Locative	**nganhanga, (nganhala)**
Comitative	**nganhadinga***

Every time **nganha** occurs in the above table, it implies that there is a Gawler Ranges variant **nganya.**

Every time **ngadhu** occurs in the table it implies that there is a variant 'ngadha' that occurs occasionally in Daisy Bates' material. There is also the possibility of the use of 'ngadyu' in the far west of Wirangu country (§2.1.4).

4.2.2 HISTORY OF THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUN

(a) The Nuclear Cases

The old Thura-Yura and Wirangu forms were:

TABLE 4.1: NUCLEAR CASES OF THE FIRST PERSON PRONOUN

Transitive subject	**ngadhu**	(ADN, KUY, WIR, PNK, KAU)
Intransitive subject	**ngayi**	(ADN, KUY, WIR, PNK, KAU)
Object	**nganha**	(KUY, WIR)

The developments appear to have been as follows: in the other Thura-Yura languages, but only optionally in Kuyani, intransitive subject **ngayi** 'I' has replaced the old accusative form **nganha**.

There is evidence that this development was more widespread than Thura-Yura: it was shared by the southern dialects of Paakantyi along the Darling River.

Therefore (except for the lingering remnants in Kuyani there is in these languages no longer a distinction between the intransitive subject and the object in the first person pronoun. This means that from an older intransitive nominative-accusative-ergative system in the first person pronoun these Thura-Yura languages have gone to the same absolutive-ergative system that governs nouns (§3.1.4).

In Wirangu a similar development was in the process of taking place, but it has worked the other way: the object form **nganha** (var. **nganya**) 'me' replaced the old intransitive subject **ngayi**. Very rarely too a form **nganyi** was heard. The old intransitive subject **ngayi** is attested from last century by Provis (1879 and 1887) as 'ngie' and 'ngai-i', 'I', but it is hardly ever used by modern speakers, one of the few instances was recorded by J.T. Platt:

4.6 **Ngayi gwarda gada-mingga.**
I now head-sick
I've got a headache now.

(The speaker used the Kukata word for 'head' instead of the usual Wirangu **gaga**).

So in Wirangu too the system was effectively being reduced to an absolutive-ergative system as is the situation with nouns. Wirangu however differs from the other Thura-Yura languages in that it was the old object case **nganha** that has almost completely ousted the old intransitive subject case **ngayi**.

The main original functions of these pronoun forms have been retained in Wirangu.

For the transitive subject function:

4.7 **Ngadhu garla dhaga-rn.**
I (ERG) wood cut-PRES
I am cutting firewood.

For the object function:

4.8 **Maga nganha mirga-rn.**
not me startle-PRES
Don't startle me!

This distinction remains intact and competent speakers never use **nganha** as a transitive subject, and no one ever uses **ngadhu** as an object. The intransitive subject is where the breakdown occurs.

Since Kukata made no distinction in the pronouns between the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, a further breakdown occurred in Wirangu and **ngadhu** came to be used in both transitive and intransitive sentences. This situation was well established by early this century. Black (1917:7) mentions that **ngadhu** is 'by me, causative case', but he gives as example 'ngadu uldina tjikibi nguni', 'I come from Streaky Bay'. Modern speakers still say the same, alternating between **ngadhu urldina** 'I came' and **nganha urldina**. Similarly we can see:

nganha as intransitive subject:	**nganha wirn**	I am going
ngadhu as intransitive subject:	**ngadhu wirn**	I am going

Ngadhu cannot however fulfil all the functions of an intransitive subject: the older speakers never used **ngadhu** in verbless sentences, only **nganha**, and very rarely **ngayi**, so people said **ngayi yadu** or **nganha yadu** 'I am well', never ***ngadhu yadu**.

Daisy Bates' manuscripts and her 1918 published works give a number of variants of the word **ngadhu**: 'ngadhu' is the most common spelling, but she also writes 'ngadha' and (1918:156) 'Naiju' (Naidju) (where J.M. Black's orthography is used). There is some confusion in her spelling generally and following English she often writes 'u' for 'a', but not the reverse, and so it is likely that there really was a variant pronunciation 'ngadha' for **ngadhu**. This is confirmed further by Provis (1879) who writes 'ngotha'.

Eyre's 'ajjo' (§1.3.1) shows that that there was a nominative **ngadyu** in western Wirangu country : variation between **dh** and **dy** has been discussed above (§2.1.4).

Occasionally in Daisy Bates' mansucripts we find **ngayulu** (in various spellings) and rarely ***ngayu,** with loss of the the old ergative suffix. These are recognised by speakers as borrowings from Kukata and had only a temporary existence in Wirangu.

Black (1917:4), who is not known for making mistakes, gives a form 'jaŋa', i.e. 'yanga' as an alternative first person 'I'. Nothing like this is recorded elsewhere in Wirangu, but the word is uncomfortably reminiscent of the Aranda **yinga** for 'I' (intransitive).

The first person pronoun shows that in Wirangu, although the old intransitive subject-object-agent system has broken down, the actual forms survive with some overlapping of function, and these forms are transparently akin to Thura-Yura.

(b) The genitive and dative

Like the nuclear case forms, the genitive-dative forms are predominantly Thura-Yura. Wirangu speakers from the Gawler Ranges recorded by Platt always used **ngadyu** for the genitive, identical with the Kuyani form:

4.9 **Nganha miʀa-rn-gad-n ngadyu dyamu.**
I hear-PRES-GO-PRES my grandfather
I am thinking about my grandfather.

This is also the form used by modern speakers, as in:

4.10 **Dhala ngadyu nyurdi?**
where my bag
Where is my bag?

Wirangu people occasionally still also use **ngadyi** (as in Parnkalla). This is attested already by Provis in Taplin (1879:97) as 'ngaiitshi', and in Tindale (1928). There is also another and probably more emphatic form of the possessive, **nganhiya** 'my own'. Furthermore the Kukata form **ngayugu** 'mine' appears to have been borrowed early this century. Black (1917:6) quotes a sentence 'ngajugu matn ngadu jaldil', 'I am calling my wife'. This borrowing appears to have been transitory and the word is not generally used by modern speakers. It is the Thura-Yura based forms that prevail.

The most common form of the dative is **nganha-gu**, as in:

4.11 **Nganha-gu warni-ga!**
me-DAT throw-IMP
Throw that to me!

The old object form **nganha** can also be used as indirect object; this was recorded from modern speakers:

4.12 **Nganha baʀu yungga!**
me meat give
Give me some meat!

Daisy Bates records 'Ngana ballarda yonggan', which is equivalent to:

4.13 **Nganha balaarda yungga-rn.**
me this give-PRES
Give it to me.

Another form of the dative, **ngandyigu**, has also been heard from Gawler Ranges speakers recorded by J.T. Platt. Modern speakers have furthermore been heard to say **nganhagu**, based on **nganha**, as in:

4.14 **Nyurni nganha-gu wangga-ga!**
you me-DAT speak-IMP
Say something to me!

The dative **ngadyigu**, along with the genitive **ngadyi** from which it is derived, has moreover acquired the additional specialised meaning 'for one's own ego', 'selfishly', and can therefore be used with reference to another person, as in:

4.15 **Ngadyi-gu yuga-dha nha-rn.**
my-DAT stand-PTC see-PRES
She is standing there, looking at them for herself
(a little girl who has seen some lollies).

Whereas nouns simply use the locative to imply 'in company with' (§3.2.5(c)), pronouns had a special comitative suffix **-dinga**, consisting of the locative **-nga** preceded by **-di.** This does not appear to be used any more, but it is found in the Bates manuscripts several times, as in 'nganadinga', i.e. **nganha-dinga*** 'with me'. There is a close parallel to this suffix in Parnkalla; Schürmann's dictionary has numerous examples of a suffix 'dninga' as in 'ngadlidninge, with us two' (Wirangu **ngalidinga** 'with us two') and he states (1844:6):

> -dninge or -rdninge expresses the place or locality where a person or thing is to be found: it seems however only to be applicable to proper nouns and pronouns...

and he quotes 'Yutalta Yarridninga, Yutalta is with Yarri'. Here, as in all the other examples, the meaning is distinctly comitative, as in Wirangu **-dinga**.

4.2.3 SURVIVAL OF OLDER DECLENSIONAL FORMS IN PRONOUNS

Adnyamathanha and Kuyani maintain an old locative in **-la** in pronouns. In Wirangu the locative of the first person singular is usually formed with the normal locative suffix **-nga**, hence **nganya-nga**, **nganha-nga** 'with me', as in:

4.16 **Nganha-nga nyina!**
me-LOC stay
Stay with me!

However Black (1917:6) under 'ngana', 'me' gives a sentence: 'Ngana la jaldil?', 'Are you calling me?' This sentence clearly contains a locative form **nganhala**, since the locative is used with verbs of speaking and calling (§3.2.5(c)). This was confirmed by J.T. Platt's (1966) tapes, where a speaker was heard to use exactly the same form of the locative:

4.17 **Nganha-la gadyi nyindima-na.**
me-LOC spear show-PAST
He showed me a spear.

There are also remnants of the **-la** locative amid the locational nominals. The oldest form of the word for 'where?' is **indha** (see §3.5.3(d)). This is used occasionally as an allative as in **indha wirn** 'where are you going?' (attested also in phrases by Daisy Bates). **indha** survives in **indha-birna** 'where from, originating from where', and in **indha-ngurni** 'where-from'. The word for 'where, in what location?' is **(in)dhala**: the final **-la** must be a locative marker. It is no longer recognised as such and so one can say **indhala nyurni winarn?** or **dhala nyurni winarn?** 'where are you going?', and one can say **(in)dhala-birna** 'coming from where?' and **indhala-ngurni** 'where from?'. It is possible that Black's 'jambula, from a distance' (from **yamba** 'far away') shows the same form, and so does **nhala** (§3.5.3(a)). In retaining the locative in **-la** Wirangu is in line with Kuyani and Adnyamathanha, but contrasts with Parnkalla, which appears to have only 'wanna', 'wannanga'.

4.2.4 PERSONAL PRONOUNS: SECOND PERSON SINGULAR

(a) Nuclear cases

The second person pronoun, like the first, originally had at least an absolutive–ergative distinction, as in the other Thura-Yura languages, but there is little evidence of it now. The

neighbouring most conservative Thura-Yura language, Kuyani, has a three-ways distinction with the forms **nhina** (NOM), **nhinanha** (ACC) and **nhuntu** (ERG).

Black (1917:4) gives the only clear evidence we have that there originally was a distinct ergative in the second person pronoun in Wirangu. He lists this as **yurni*** 'ju:ni', 'by you, causative' and as in the case of the first person he quotes an example of an intransitive sentence: 'ju:ni waŋga wiruŋ', 'you talk Wirrung'. He quotes 'nu:ni', 'thou' as a nominative form and gives two examples of its use with the verb 'to go'. This 'nu:ni' clearly stands for **nhurni***, and corresponds to Provis (1886) 'no-one'. So it seems that early this century, when Black did his fieldwork, the original nominative-ergative distinction had faded in the second person pronoun and the original ergative form was taking over as subject of intransitive verbs. There was thus a system in place that was exactly parallel to the present situation of the first person:

Intransitive subject	**yurni***, **nhurni***
Transitive subject	**yurni***
Object	no examples, presumably **nhurni***

It is not clear what happened after this, but **yurni*** certainly disappeared. Wiebusch gives 'nuni' for 'you' and says it is for someone 'unrelated' and 'njura' for 'you, strangers'. This is the last evidence we have of a form equivalent to **nhurni***: all subsequent sources give **nyurni**, usually spelt 'nyuni', or 'njuni'. Where this came from is not quite certain: it is highly likely that the combined influence of the plural pronoun **nyura** and of the Kukata second singular pronoun **nyuntu** brought about a change from **nhurni*** to **nyurni**.

The reduced system noted by Black has broken down now and there is no further sign of any ergative. The new form **nyurni** is used in all nuclear functions not only today, but already in Daisy Bates's data, as well as in J.T. Platt's recordings. The following examples illustrate this, the first example for each function being from Daisy Bates, the second from a modern speaker:

TRANSITIVE SUBJECT

'Nyuni kundarna' (DB)

4.18 **Nyurni kurnda-na.**
you kill-PAST
You have killed (him).

4.19 **Ngana nyurni yadu-ma-rn?**
what you good-make-PRES
What are you making?

INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT

Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]) writes: 'Nyuni ngantha', 'you are no good'. This is equivalent to:

4.20 **Nyurni ngandha.**
you bad
You are bad.

4.21 **Dhala nyurni wi-rn?**
where you go-PRES
Where are you going?

OBJECT

Daisy Bates writes: 'Ngadha nyuni yungun maba', 'I will give you food' which is equivalent to:

4.22 **Ngadhu nyurni yunggu-rn maba.**
I you give.CAUS-PRES food
I will give you food.

This indirect object represents the only example in the works by Daisy Bates. For a parallel usage in the first person see §4.2.2(b)).

There are numerous examples from modern speakers:

4.23 **Buba-ngu nyurni gaRi badyi-rl.**
dog-ERG you soon bite-IMM
The dog is going to bite you directly.

As is evident from this, all the nuclear cases of the second person singular in Wirangu are expressed by one single form, **nyurni**.

(b) The genitive and dative

Unlike the first person pronoun, the second person singular does not have a separate form for the genitive: there is no record in the language of the old Thura-Yura possessive nhun(g)gu* 'your' (Parnkalla 'nunko', Adnyamathanha and Kuyani **nhungku**). All we have are newly derived forms with the genitive-dative-allative marker **-gu**. The earliest record of a second person possessive is from Black (1917:5) who gives 'nunjugu', 'yours' and this same form **nhunyugu** was used just once by a speaker recorded by J.T. Platt in the sixties. Recent speakers, who say only **nyurni** for the nuclear cases of the pronoun, have a possessive form derived from this, namely **nyurnigu**. This is also the only second person singular possessive used by Daisy Bates. Recent examples are :

4.24 **Maga nyurnigu ngura nhala.**
not your camp here
It's not your place here.

4.25 **Nyurnigu mardn bala?**
your wife she
Is she your wife?

and in the dative function:

4.26 **Maga nyurni-gu wayi!**
not you-DAT frightened
(I'm) not scared of you!

The stem form is frequently used instead of the possessive, particularly in the case of inalienable possession, or when a double possessive is involved, as in the sentence quoted by

Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]): 'Nganaga nyuni gabbi ini?', 'What is the name of your country?' This is equivalent to

4.27 **Nganaga nyurni gabi ini?**
what you water name
What is the name of your water (i.e. rockhole)?

The locative is formed from **nyurni** with the addition of the locative marker **-nga**:

4.28 **Ngadhu nyurni-nga miʀa-rn.**
I you-LOC hear-PRES
I am listening to you.

A comitative has been attested by Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]): 'Ngadhu nyuni-dinga we-en', 'I am coming with you'.

4.29 **Ngadhu nyurni-dinga wirn.**
I you-COM go
I am coming with you.

Apart from the collapse of the nuclear case system the second person singular pronoun clearly followed the regular case marking found in nouns. This collapse of the nuclear case system is shared by the following personal pronouns:

i. All second person pronouns.
ii. The first person dual and plural.

4.2.5 THE SPECIAL PRONOUN **dyana**

The very first documentation on the Wirangu language, the word list by Eyre (1845) contains the entry: 'janna', 'thou'

There are two other published attestations of this word: in the list supplied by A. Cole from Yardea to Taplin in 1879 we find 'channa thou', and in the 1887 Streaky Bay list by Richardson we find 'tchanna'. This form survived: a second person singular pronoun **dyana** was used as a polite form, but only occasionally, by the most senior of the speakers recorded by Platt in 1966. It was used particularly to address John Platt himself; when for instance he asked – as all of us have– for a translation of 'I have a sore foot' people would answer:

4.30 **Dyana dyina mingga.**
you (polite) foot sore
You have a sore foot.

and for 'I was getting cold last night':

4.31 **Dyana minyura ngarbi-na maldhi-nga.**
you (polite) cold lie.down-PAST night-LOC
You slept cold last night.

One kindly person even said **dhana wara** 'you poor thing', i.e. 'I feel sorry for you'. People from the Gawler Ranges preferred **dyana**, and presumably those from the far west as indicated by Eyre's 'janna', people from the central Wirangu area said **dhana** (see §2.1.4).

There is one recorded locative form in answer to the sentence: 'He showed me a spear'.

4.32 **Dyana-nga gadyi nyindima-na.**
you.polite-LOC spear show-PAST
(He) showed you a spear.

Dyana represents the well-known Pama-Nyungan third person plural pronoun reflected in Kuyani by **thadna**, Adnyamathanha **yadna** (cf. also Kukata **tyana**). It was a 'polite' substitution of the third person plural for the second singular: Schebeck (1973:5) notes that in Adnyamathanha **yadna-mathanha** 'them people' was used to refer to persons of one's own or alternate generation level and of one's own moiety. It seems that as a second person pronoun form it was used in addressing strangers, and presumably senior people of one's own group. It has become obsolete now.

4.2.6 PERSONAL PRONOUNS: THIRD PERSON SINGULAR

The third person pronouns in Wirangu belong both to the personal and to the deictic pronoun system. They differ from the other personal pronouns not only in the use of case, but also in the fact that they can be followed by the emphatic suffix **-(g)ardu**, **-(g)arda** used only with deictics, the interrogative pronoun, and with a limited group of adjectives (§2.1.2(d)).

(a) The pronoun **bala**: case system

This pronoun, whose origin is discussed in §4.2.7 below, was more emphatic and had more of a demonstrative function that the English equivalent, since it was used only in circumstances where there was a need to single out the the third person, otherwise it was simply not expressed (§4.1.1). It follows the same case system as nouns. Examples of the use of case forms are:

Absolutive **bala** as in:

4.33 **Bala urldi-na.**
he come-PAST
He has come.

4.34 **Wildyurda bala miʀa-na.**
long.ago it hear-PAST
(I) heard it long ago (i.e. 'I've heard it all before, I don't believe it').

Ergative **balangu**:

4.35 **Gadyi bala-ngu yadu-ma-rn.**
spear he-ERG good-make-PRES
He is making a spear.

The dative-genitive-allative is **balagu**, as in **balagu wangga** 'his language', **balagu ngura** 'his camp'.

(b) The pronoun **bala**: use

The anaphoric use of the pronouns **bala** and **banha** clearly marks them as being third person pronouns, but at the same time they can have a deictic function. The pronoun **bala** is a very common deictic of general vicinity 'that'. If used adjectivally, it normally follows the noun, as in:

4.36 **Gidya bala gandyi-ga!**
child that keep-IMP
Look after that baby!

4.37 **Gabi bala warni-na.**
water that throw-PAST
(I) threw that water out.

The pronoun **bala** only very rarely precedes the noun:

4.38 **Bala nhangga ingginma-rn.**
that man ask-PRES
(He) is asking that man.

The use of **bala** is particularly common in apposition to the main noun phrase, but separated from it:

4.39 **Nhangga-ngu wiyana wayidha-rn bala.**
man-ERG woman frighten-PRES that.one
The man is making that woman frightened.

4.40 **Buba warla bala, wangga-rn.**
dog angry he bark-PRES
That dog is angry, it is barking.

4.41 **Warda gaRi warni-rn bala.**
tree soon fall-PRES that.one
That tree is going to fall down.

Bala also serves as subject of verbless sentences, always following the complement. In this environment it can be interpreted either as a demonstrative or as a personal pronoun:

4.42 **Yadu dyudu bala.**
good corroboree that (it)
It is a good corroboree.

4.43 **Walybala-gu ngura bala.**
white.man-GEN house that (it)
That (it) is a white man's house.

4.44 **Nyurnigu wanyi bala?**
your girl she
Is that (she) your girlfriend?

The use of **bala** following an adjective complement is so common that it has sometimes been interpretated as part of the adjective: this was done by Platt, **ngantyapala** 'bad' for **ngantya bala** 'it is bad', and even **yatunpala** (with the clitic **n**, see §6.3.1) for **yadu-n bala** 'it is good'.

When **bala** is repeated in such circumstances it means that another attributive sentence is implied:

4.45 **Dharl bala, bala.**
true it it
It is true, it is.

Though **bala** always follows the complement in these verbless sentences, it can precede another noun phrase in apposition:

4.46 **Ngandha gidya bala, warla-marnaarda.**
nasty child he row-big
He is a nasty child, a real troublemaker.

(c) **balaardu, balaarda**

The extended forms of the pronoun, **balaardu**, **balaarda**, are practically synonymous with the simple **bala** and are used in much the same circumstances. They can occur as third person intransitive subject, 'he she, it', as the circumstances determine:

4.47 **Balaardu gari yaniny nyina-yi-rn.**
she soon awake be (sit)-CONT-PRES
She will soon be awake.

4.48 **Balaardu ilanga urldi-rn.**
he close.by come-PRES
He is coming close.

They may also serve as demonstrative pronouns:

4.49 **Nhangga balaarda gaʀi wadyi-wangga-rn.**
man that soon begging-speak-PRES
That man will be asking us for something directly.

When however the noun is not expressed the two functions are not clearly distinguishable:

4.50 **Balaardu nyurni dyirga-rn.**
that.one (he) you stare.at-PRES
That person (or 'he') is staring at you.

The extended forms occur occasionally with case markers, particularly in the genitive **balaardugu**, but usually the simple form **bala** is preferred before case markers.

The extended forms can occur in apposition to the subject noun phrase:

4.51 **Gidya wayi balaardu.**
child frightened that.one
That child is frightened.

Unlike **bala**, however, the extended forms are not common as sole subject of verbless sentences, except with interrogatives:

4.52 **Ngana balaarda?**
what it
What is it?

4.53 **Ngana-gu mardn balaarda? Nyurnigu?**
who-GEN wife she yours
Whose wife is she? Yours?

The extended forms carry a little more emphasis than the simple **bala**, but it is difficult to render this minor semantic difference in any translation.

4.2.7 ALTERNATIVE THIRD PERSON PRONOUN **banha**

Very closely related to **bala** in form and function is **banha, banhi** 'this', 'that', 'the one that we are talking about', 'he, she, it'. In the other Thura-Yura languages immediately to the east, this is the normal third person pronoun: Kuyani **panha**, Adnyamathanha **vanha**. In fact the four languages, Wirangu, Kuyani, Adnyamathanha and Parnkalla share the characteristic of having two sets of pronouns based on the stem **ba-**, with the respective extended stems **bala** and **banha**; in Parnkalla (Schürmann 1844:11) the two stems seem to supplement one another.This old **ba-** stem has affiliations far afield, as shown for instance by Dench (1994). All these pronouns follow the absolutive-ergative system like nouns. The Western Desert languages including Kukata also have these two stems, but it is yet a third form, **balu**, based on the **bal-** stem, that functions as personal pronoun.

In Wirangu **banha**, like **bala**, is used as personal pronoun (nominative in this example):

4.54 **Banha wildyara yuwa-na.**
he yesterday stand-PAST
He (the baby we have been talking about) stood up yesterday.

Just as commonly **banha** is used as deictic (accusative in this example):

4.55 **Waliri! Baru banha ngalgu!**
hurry meat that eat
Come here quickly! Eat this meat!

As with **bala** the two functions cannot be clearly distinguished. An example of the ergative is:

4.56 **Banha-ngu gabi ngal.**
that-ERG water drink
He (that one) is drinking water.

As is the case with **bala,** when **banha** is the subject of an equational sentence it usually follows the complement:

4.57 **Maga wayi banha.**
not afraid that one
He is not afraid.

The two pronouns **banha** and **bala** are so close to each other in meaning that occasionally they can be used to refer to the same person or thing in adjacent clauses:

4.58 **Nhangga bala wina-rn-gadn marna maldhi-ng'**
man this.one go-PRES-GO.PRES big darkness-LOC

wina-rn banha.
go-PRES this.one
This man goes round walking, (even) when it is pitch dark this one walks about.

The genitive of **banha, banhi** is **banhi-gu**, as in **banhi-gu ngura** 'that person's camp'. The plural form of this pronoun is **banhara** 'they, these people'.

4.2.8 PERSONAL PRONOUNS: DUAL AND PLURAL PRONOUNS, FIRST PERSON

Many Pama-Nyungan languages distinguish between exclusive and inclusive forms of the dual and plural of the first person pronouns. The exclusive form excludes the person addressed and is equivalent in the dual to 'we two, he or she and I', while the inclusive form is equivalent to 'we two, you and I'. The northern Thura-Yura languages, Parnkalla, Kuyani and Adnyamathanha have an elaborate system of kinship pronouns, and therefore do not need to distinguish between exclusive and inclusive forms of the first person pronoun. It is highly probable that Wirangu originally had the same kind of system, and that the exclusive–inclusive distinction was not made, but with the decay of the kinship pronouns this distinction was introduced.

(a) Dual

The dual 'we two' is expressed by the widespread pronoun **ngali,** rendered by **nga(d)li** in the Gawler Ranges. There is also a variant form **ngaling**, which appears sporadically up to the time of the Platt recordings of 1966, but is no longer used now.

There is no case marking in the nuclear cases; **ngali**, like the second person singular pronoun **nyurni** can be used as transitive or intransitive subject as well as object. This is confirmed, for the transitive subject at least, in early documentation, i.e. in the additional information provided by Provis to Taplin (1879): 'ngod-li yelg-a buk-a-na', 'we killed the dog.' This is equivalent to the following, where **ngali** is not marked for the ergative case:

4.59 **Nga(d)li ilga buga-na**
we.two dog kill-PAST
We two killed the dog.

In the peripheral cases however **ngali** takes the normal markers:

Dative-Genitive	**ngaligu**
Locative	**ngalinga**
Comitative	**ngalidinga**

Examples are **ngali-gu garba** (we two-GEN house) 'the house belonging to us two', and:

4.60 **Ngali-dinga nyina-ga!**
we.two-COM sit-IMP
Stay with us two!

4.61 **Ngali-nga wangga-rn.**
we.two-LOC speak-PRES
(They) are talking to us two.

The first person dual pronoun thus fits exactly into the same mould regarding case marking as the second person singular.

(b) Inclusive and exclusive

It remains uncertain whether this distinction was modelled on Kukata, or whether it arose spontaneously; the former is more likely. The special marking for the exclusive is not obligatory, and the simple form **ngali** is commonly used to imply the exclusive, as in the examples quoted above. When the exclusive nature of the dual is to be emphasised, the third person pronoun **bala** precedes **ngali**, hence **bala ngali** '(he or) she we two'. This is found already in the work of Black (1917):

'Bala ngaling Tyikibi-ngurni uldin'
he (she) we two Streaky Bay-ABL come
'We two come from Streaky Bay'

The inclusive is formed by putting the second person singular pronoun **nyurni** before **ngali**:

4.62 **Nyurni-ngali wangga-rn.**
you-we.two speak-PRES
We two, you and I, will have a talk.

4.63 **Nyurni-ngali wina-rn-gu.**
you-we.two go-PRES-PURP
We two, you and I, will have to go.

The combination **nyurni-ngali** forms a unit: the position of the two words can never be reversed and case markers are attached only to **ngali**, as in:

4.64 **Nyurni-ngali-gu garba bala.**
you-we.two-GEN house that
That house belongs to both of us, you and me.

(c) Older forms of the dual

Pastor Wiebusch in his manuscript quotes 'ngalu' for 'we two' and there are some uncertain occurrences of this in the Platt tapes. This word has a close parallel in Parnkalla as Schürmann (1844) quotes a form 'ngadluru, of us two' which must consist of 'ngadlu' plus the Thura-Yura genitive marker '-ru'. Whether this old form 'ngadlu' had any kinship implications remains unknown.

Wiebusch quotes 'maldu, us' and 'maldragu, belonging to us two'. It is tempting to think that these spellings result from a mishearing of 'ngadlu', 'ngadlagu', which would be quite acceptable Gawler Range variants of 'ngalu' (§2.1.8). Wiebusch did not however generally make mistakes of this kind, and so the explanation for these forms remains doubtful.

(d) The first person plural

The first person plural pronoun 'we' is **ngalurlu**, as in **ngalurlu winarn** 'we are all going'. As in the other first and second persons dual and plural (§4.2.9(a)) there is no distinction between the nuclear cases. The pronoun **ngalurlu** seems to have been felt as an exclusive as well as inclusive form. It is definitely exclusive in the sentence:

4.65 **Ngalurlu wina-rn, ngalurlu yaramardu wina-rn.**
we go-PRES we also go-PRES
We are going (there), we are going as well (as you).

In the genitive this pronoun has an abbreviated stem, **ngalur-**, as in **ngalurgu wangga** 'our language', and as in:

4.66 **Buba ngalurgu banha yabardu-gu.**
dog ours this all-GEN
This is our dog, it belongs to all of us.

There are other recorded forms of the first person plural pronoun: **ngalili** referred to a large crowd of people, as was stressed a number of times by speakers: "**ngalurlu** is more than two, **ngalili** is a big mob", "**ngalili** we all, a big mob". The genitive of this pronoun is **ngaliligu** 'our'.

A first person plural pronoun **ngalani** 'we' was recorded by Platt from Gawler Ranges people, but this form has now been lost along with the Gawler Ranges dialect.

In Daisy Bates' manuscripts there is a kinship-linked first person plural **ngaldhara*** 'we three or more sisters or brothers, also grandmothers and grandchildren', i.e. 'we of the same moiety and of the same or alternate generation level'. This term is now no longer used.

4.2.9 PERSONAL PRONOUNS: DUAL AND PLURAL PRONOUNS, SECOND PERSON

The dual and plural pronouns of Thura-Yura are very similar in their basic stem form to the corresponding Western Desert forms, except that in Thura-Yura that there is some variation according to kinship. It is therefore not easy to tell whether the Wirangu forms have been influenced by Kukata or not.

(a) Dual

Nyubali, identical to the corresponding Kukata word, is the common form of the second person dual pronoun. A variant form **nyubili** was heard occasionally and is also attested by Daisy Bates. This could have been an older form as it contains the Thura-Yura dual marker **-bili**, but it could, on the other hand, represent a case of vowel assimilation.

Nyubali/nyubili, like the singular pronoun, is invariable in the nuclear cases (§4.2.4(a)):

4.67 **Dhala-ngurni nyubali urldi-na?**
where-ABL you.two come-PAST
Where did you two come from?

4.68 **Nyubili wini-ga!**
you.two go-IMP
You two go!

4.69 **Nyubali gurnda-na.**
you.two kill-PAST
You two killed (it).

The genitive case form is **nyubaligu/nyubiligu**, as in **nyubaligu garba** 'the house belonging to you two'.

There are rare instances of a form **nyurni-gudhara** 'you two'. This is a literal translation of the English, 'you (sg)' is followed by 'two', and it is no doubt a very recent creation:

4.70 **Ngana nyurni-gudyara wangga-ri-rn?**
what you-two talk-RECIP-PRES
What are you two talking about to one another?

(b) Plural

Nyubuli is the second person plural form used by modern speakers: it is felt to be distinct from the second person dual form. It follows the same declension system as the other second person pronouns, with no differentiation of the nuclear cases.

4.71 **Nyubuli wi-rn.**
you.PL go-PRES
You people are going.

4.72 **Nyubuli nhagurdu ngal?**
you.PL this eat
Are you people going to eat this?

The genitive is formed as normal with **-gu**, hence **nyubuligu garba** 'the house belonging to you people'. It seems however that **nyubuli** is not the oldest second person plural pronoun; that is **nyuri**, which alongside **nyura** is the ordinary form for Black and for Daisy Bates. What the exact relationship is between these forms and Thura-Yura **nhura** 'you plural', as well as Kukata **nyura** is by no means clear. Speakers in the sixties and even now occasionally use **nyura** as in:

4.73 **Nyura ngananha nhaa-na?**
you.PL what see-PAST
What did you see?

Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]) too quotes a sentence 'nyura wen', which represents **nyura wi-rn** 'you (pl) are going'.

Of particular interest is the genitive form **nyurilu** 'yours', attested by both Daisy Bates and Black. It seems that this form has retained the Thura-Yura genitive suffix **-ru** (§3.2.3) dissimilated to **-lu**. The corresponding Parnkalla words are 'nuralli', 'you' and 'muralluru', 'your'.

There are several instances where speakers recorded in the 1960s use a second person plural pronoun **nhuga** as in:

4.74 **Nhuga dhalanga yuga-rn?**
you.PL where stand-PRES
Where are you?

It is most probable that this is an abbreviated form based on the old Thura-Yura second person pronoun base **nhu-** with the addition of a plural marker **-ga**, which is shared with the third person plural. There is a possibility that it is an abbreviated form of the plural marker **-muga**, used with nouns (§3.1.2).

4.2.10 PERSONAL PRONOUNS: DUAL AND PLURAL PRONOUNS, THIRD PERSON

The dual and plural forms of the third person pronoun are derived from the singular. Like the singular they make the absolutive-ergative distinction, just like ordinary nouns. The dual has the basic form **bala-gudhara** 'he, she, it – two' which can be abbreviated to **baladhara.** The extended singular **balaardu** is the basis of a variant form **balaardu-gudhara** 'they two'. Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

4.75 **Baladhara gurndi-ri-rn gadyi-ngu.**
they.two hit-RECIP-PRES spear-INST
The two of them are fighting with spears.

4.76 **Bala-gudhara-gu bubabala.**
they-two-GEN dog it
The dog belongs to them two.

4.77 **Balaardu-gudhara-ngu gurnda-na.**
they-two-ERG hit-PAST
The two of them hit (me).

The third person plural pronoun quoted by both Daisy Bates and the modern speakers is **baladhaga**. This is obviously based on the singular pronoun **bala** but the origin of the second part of the word is not clear, except that a final **-ga** is found also in the second person plural (§4.2.9(b)). Examples are:

4.78 **Baladhaga yuga-rn.**
they stand-PRES
They are standing round.

4.79 **Nganha warla nyina-rn baladhaga miRa-dha.**
I angry sit-PRES them hear-PTC
I get angry when I hear them (talking).

There is only one alternative form which is used just occasionally for the third person plural; this is **balan-muga**, literally 'he, she, it – mob'. This pronoun is probably of fairly recent origin.

4.3 DEICTICS

In Wirangu the distinctions between the various deictic pronouns is not very fine, there is a general distinction between 'this right here', 'the thing we are just talking about', and something further removed. The stem forms of the deictics, not the extended forms, end in

-a, but they differ from all other classes of words in that they have variants with a final **-i**. This may have some regional implications: the simple Arabana- Wangkangurru deictics all end in **-i**.

4.3.1 DEICTICS: IMMEDIATE VICINITY

The earliest known form of the pronoun of immediate vicinity in Wirangu was **inha.** This was used only by the oldest people recorded by J.T. Platt in the1960s. It is cognate to and indeed identical with the Parnkalla 'inna', 'this, that', and Kuyani **(i)nha**, Adyamathanha **inha** and with similar forms in the other Thura-Yura languages, e.g. Kaurna 'inna'. Provis (1879:97) quotes 'yet-ni', 'he, she, it'; this represents the same pronoun and corresponds to **i(d)nhi** used by Gawler Ranges people. **Inha** was usually shortened to **nha**. This is the only form that is still known, and it is used as a location nominal (§3.5.3(a)).

Some derivatives of **nha** function as deictic pronouns of immediate vicinity, notably **nhagurdu** 'this very same one here'. This is the most commonly used of the derivatives as in:

4.80 **Nhagurdu wirn.**
this.one.here go
This one here is going.

A slightly less common variant is **nhagurda**.

The dual form of this deictic pronoun is **nhagudhara** 'these two here', as in:

4.81 **Nhagudhara-gu garba bala.**
these.two-GEN house it
It's the house belonging to these two people.

There is also also a plural **nhaladhaga** which appears to be based on the analogy of **baladhaga** 'they':

4.82 **Nhaladhaga wirn.**
these.here go
These people are all going.

There are two other rarely used derivatives of **nha** which function as deictics of immediate vicinity:

nhanha 'this', as in:

4.83 **Widyi nhanha**
throw this
Throw this (thing) away!

and

nhanggu 'this', as in:

4.84 **Nhanggu-ng' gabi gambi-rl.**
this.one-ERG water heat-IMM
She (here) will heat up the water.

4.3.2 GENERAL VICINITY

The most common deictic pronouns of general vicinity, **bala** and **banha**, double as third person pronouns and have been discussed under that category. There was however one older form that was still used till the 1960s, and this was **nhinhi, nhinha**, with variants with initial **ny-**. Examples from the recordings by Platt are:

4.85 **Nhinhi waru ilabu yuwa-rn.**
that kangaroo close.by stand-PRES
That kangaroo is quite close.

4.86 **Nhangga-nga nyinha-nga dyilgi-rl.**
man-LOC this-LOC stare at-IMM
They are going to stare at this man.

Nhinhi/nyinhi seems to be unmarked in the ergative case. There are several examples of this as for instance:

4.87 **Nhinhi warda nhada-na, maRa-na.**
that.one thing find-PAST take-PAST
That person found the thing and took it.

There are no relevant examples for **nhinha**. It is only **nhinha** however that has an extended form **nhinhaarda**:

4.88 **Nganha nyinharda yungga-ga!**
me that give-IMP
Give me that!

Provis (1879:97) quotes 'ni-a', 'this here', which may be a related deictic pronoun, but there is no further evidence for this.

4.3.4 FURTHER DISTANCE

The only deictic pronoun of distance known to modern speakers, but not often used, is **nhandhi**, var. **nyandyi** 'that further away' as in **nhandyi wanggarn** 'that person over there is talking'. A related form **nharandyi** means 'further away still'. The stem form of both these pronouns can also function as locational adverb. The plural form has not been recorded but there is a dual **nhandyi-gudhara** 'those two over there'.

Wiebusch regarded this as a third person pronoun and his manuscript quotes:

'ngnandigu'[1] 'his'
'ngandigudragu' 'theirs two'

It seems that the pronouns of further distance were of more common occurrence in the past, and the notion of distance is now more frequently expressed by the corresponding adverb.

[1] The initial 'ngn' is presumably intended for to represent 'ng'.

4.4 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

4.4.1 THE BASIC INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

The Wirangu interrogative pronoun is **ngana** 'who?', 'what?'. This is identical to the situation in both Parnkalla and Kaurna, where there is just one form, 'nganna', for 'who?' and 'what': the northern Thura-Yura languages Adnyamathanha and Kuyani however have two separate stems.

The case forms of the interrogative pronoun are based on the simple stem. The ergative is **nganangu**:

4.89 **Ngana-ngu gurnda-na?**
who-ERG kill-PAST
Who (or what) killed (him)?

The dative-genitive is **nganagu**:

4.90 **Nyurni ngana-gu nhaa-na?**
you what (or who)-DAT look-PAST
What (or who) did you look for?

4.91 **Ngana-gu garba-nga nyirn?**
who-GEN house-LOC sit
Whose house is (she) staying in?

The locative is **ngananga**:

4.92 **Ngana-nga bala ngunyi-ri-rn?**
what-LOC this.one laugh-REFL-PRES
What (or who) is she laughing at?

An extended form with the suffix **-(g)ardu**, **-(g)arda** is also found. This suffix, as shown above (§2.1.2(d)) occurs only with a limited group of adjectives, deictic pronouns and the interrogative:

4.93 **Nganaardu bala-gu ini?**
what this.one-of name
What is his name?

4.94 **Nganaarda balaarda?**
what this
What is this?

As is evident from the examples above the interrogative is always sentence-initial unless there is a personal pronoun subject. This initial positioning is a widespread feature in many languages, and Wirangu simply conforms to this.

4.4.2 THE INTERROGATIVE AS INDEFINITE PRONOUN

As commonly elsewhere in Australia, in Wirangu too the interrogative pronoun can serve as indefinite pronoun when reduplicated. Thus **ngana-ngana** means 'whoever it might be', 'anybody', but at the same time it can also mean 'anything'. Only this basic form has been attested, and there is no evidence of the secondary interrogatives being used as indefinites.

The interrogative location nominal **dhala** (§3.5.3(d)) however is frequently used as an indefinite when followed by the word **mindya** 'nothing', so **dhala-mindya** means 'nowhere in particular, somewhere or other, I don't know where'.

4.4.3 SECONDARY INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There is in Wirangu a secondary distinction between 'who' and 'what'. The notion of 'who' can be expressed by a derivative of **ngana,** namely **ngananha** 'who?', formed with the suffix **-nha**, which is widespread in both the Thura-Yura and Karnic language groups and beyond as a proper noun marker. The word **ngananha** may well have arisen within Wirangu by a process of parallel evolution to the Kuyani-Adnyamathanha **nganhanha** 'who', and the Western Desert **ngananya** 'who, what name?'

The extended form **ngananha** always refers to persons, as in:

4.95 **Ngananha nyurni?**
who you
Who (are) you?

4.96 **Ngananha urldi-na.**
who come-PAST
Who came?

4.97 **Nyurni ngananha nhaa-na?**
you who see-PAST
Whom did you see?

The interrogative **ngananha** can also be used with reference to a personal name. This function is evident from modern speakers as well as from Daisy Bates (1918):

'nganana jini' (i.e. **ngananha ini**) 'what (is your) name?'

The extended form **ngananha** is only found in the absolutive form: it can NEVER be marked for case. Case forms can ONLY be made from the basic pronoun **ngana** 'who?', 'what?'.

Similarly restricted in use is the Wirangu interrogative pronoun **nganhangga** 'what?': it can only occur in the absolutive. The word **nganhangga**, like English 'what' can be used to form a sentence all on its own in the sense of 'What is it?'. The only other common sentence in which this word occurs is:

4.98 **Nganhangga balaardu?**
what this
What is this?

As pointed out by Dixon (1980:372) there are very few Australian languages that do not differentiate between persons and things in interrogatives. He mentions Walmatyara, and Yukulta from the Gulf of Carpentaria. Kaurna and Parnkalla fit into this rare category, and Wirangu resembles them in that there is only one basic pronoun for 'who?' and 'what' and that pronoun is in fact identical in form to the Parnkalla and Kaurna pronoun. Wirangu however resembles Adnyamathanha-Kuyani in preserving in the guise of **nganhangga** 'what' another interrogative stem, **nganha**, which in those languages has come to mean 'who'. It seems that shifts of meaning between 'who' and 'what' are not at all uncommon (Dixon 1980:374). The interrogative pronouns thus show Wirangu and Parnkalla to be

similar to the southern Thura-Yura languages mainly represented by Kaurna and Parnkalla, but they also have some resemblances to the adjacent northern group, represented by Kuyani and Adnyamathanha.

CHAPTER 5

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF VERBS

5.1 THE STRUCTURE OF THE WIRANGU VERB

5.1.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

It is the verbal system of Wirangu that shows most clearly how this language belongs to the Thura-Yura group; it might be considered an outlier, but it certainly belongs. There is no sign of the Western Desert type of conjugations and many of the old Thura-Yura suffixes have been retained. How varied and yet cohesive this system is can be shown by the Table 5.1 (below), as compiled by Jane Simpson (in Hercus and Simpson 1996), giving the present tense forms of just a few common verbs in all the available Thura-Yura languages:

We can see from this table how closely Wirangu fits with the other languages despite the introduction of some Kukata borrowing such as **nyinarn** 'to sit' and **ngarbirn** 'to lie down'.

5.1.2 VERB ROOTS AND THE VERBAL WORD

(a) Verb roots

Wirangu verb roots always follow the pattern

(C)V(C)C

such as **dhag-** 'cut', (CVC), **urld-** 'come' (VCC) and **ngalg** 'eat' (CVCC).

Except in a limited group of 'short verbs' (§5.3) the root is always followed by a stem-forming vowel which may be either be predetermined or be of semantic significance (§5.2.1):

ROOT + V = STEM

hence **dhaga** 'cut', **yarldi** 'call', **ngalgu** 'eat'. This stem forms the minimal verbal word, used only in one type of imperative.

Verb stems can also be formed by means of verbalising affixes.

TABLE 5.1: SOME COMMON THURA-YURA VERBS

ENGLISH	KAURNA	NARUNGGA	NUKUNU	NGADYURI	PNK	ADN	KUYANI	WIRANGU
speak	*wānggandi*	*wonggani* *wonggadja*	**wangka-tya**	*guri' wangu-tja*s 'to sing'	*wanggata*	**wangka-ta/tha**	**wangkata**	**wangga-rn**
go	*padnendi ~* *murrendi* *wenendi*	*bamadja* 'come or go'	**manhatya**	*wanda-ta* 'I am going'	*ngukata*	**nguka-nta/ntha**	**ngukanta**	**winarn** short: **wirn**
give	*yunggondi*	*junggwidja*	**yungkatya**		*nungkutu*	**nhungkuta**	**nhungkuta**	**yunggarn**
see	*nakkondi*	*nagudja, nagwidja*	**nhakutya**	*naku-ka* 'look!'	*nakkutu*	**nhakunta**	**nhakunta**	**nhagurn** short: **nharn**
lie down	*wandendi*	*wandidja*	**wantitya**	*mejawanti* 'sleep'	*wanniti*	**wantita**	**wantita**	**ngarbirn**
stand	*yuwandi*		**yuwatya** **yuwanta**		*yuwata*	**yuwanta**	**yuwanta**	**yugarn/yuwarn**
fall	*wornendi*	*woneidja*	**wartnitya**		*worniti*	**wardninta**	**wardninta**	**warnirn**
get	*mankondi*	*manggwi-dja*	**mangku-tya**	*munggu-ta* 'catch'	*mankutu*	**mankuta**	**mankuta** **marinta**	**mararn**
scare	*waienendi*		**wayina** 'frightened'	*weini-nda,* *wa:ni-ka*	*waiinniti*	**wayi-ninta** 'be scared'	**wayi-ninta** 'be scared'	**wayi** 'scared'
strike	*kundandi*		**kurntatya**		*kundata*	**urndata**	**kurndata**	**gurndarn**
cook	*kambandi*	*kambarni*	**kampatya**	*umbata*	*kambata*	**ampata**	**kampata**	**gambarn**
stab, hit	*punggondi* *paltandi*	*bungwi-dja*			*pungkutu* *paltata*	**varldanta** **withinta**	**parldanta** **wityinta**	**barldarn** **widyirn** 'throw weapon'
die	*padlondi*	*parluni* 'death'; *barludja* 'died'	**parlunta,** **thintatya**	*indata* 'dead'	*padlutu*	**inda-ta**	**padlunta**	**balurn** short: **bal**; **balanu** 'dead'
sit	*tikkandi ~*	*tikatja*	**thikatya**	*ikanga* 'to sit'	*ikkata*	**ikanta**	**thikanta**	**nyinarn**

The information on Ngadyuri is from Berndt and Vogelsang (1941), on Nukunu from Hercus (1992), and on Narungga and Kaurna from Jane Simpson's compilation of all available data. Where there are only written sources and no recorded data, words have been given in italics.Words attested in modern recordings are given in bold.

(b) The verbal word

In Wirangu the full verbal word consists of the following:

STEM ± ASPECTUAL AFFIX ± VOICE MARKER + TENSE MARKER

There may be more than one aspect marker:

STEM ± ASPECTUAL AFFIX ± ASPECTUAL AFFIX ± VOICE MARKER + TENSE MARKER

as in

dhaga (stem) + **ga** (aspectual suffix) + **rn** (present tense marker)

STEM + ASPECT + TENSE

dhagagarn '(he) cuts to pieces'

and

dhaga (stem) + **ga** (aspectual suffix) + **ri** (voice marker) + **rn** (present tense marker)

STEM + ASPECT + VOICE + TENSE

dhagagarirn '(they) cut each other to pieces'.

When there is more than one aspectual suffix there is clearly an accepted sequence, but examples are far too few to enable one to establish a distinct hierarchy. The full verbal word may also include the associated motion marker complex, which consists of the present tense used as stem and followed by **gad(i)**. This is always followed by a tense marker.

Furthermore, emphatic clitics can be added at the end of a verbal word, and so theoretically the most complex verbal word would be:

STEM ± ASPECTUAL AFFIX ± ASPECTUAL AFFIX ± VOICE MARKER + ASSOCIATED MOTION COMPLEX + TENSE ± CLITIC

There is however no word in the recorded material that incorporates all these possibilities. Among the more lengthy are:

5.1 **Ngalgu-la-dh-i-rn.**
drink-BEN-NOW-CONT-PRES
(They) are now going on drinking amongst themselves.

This represents:

STEM + ASPECTUAL AFFIX + ASPECTUAL AFFIX + TENSE

5.2 **Wanggga-ri-rn-gad-n.**
speak-RECIP-TENSE- GO-PRES
They are talking to each other as they go along.

This represents:

STEM + VOICE MARKER + ASSOCIATED MOTION COMPLEX + TENSE

5.2 VERB STEMS

5.2.1 INHERITED STEM-FINAL VOWELS

All three vowels are used to form verb stems in Wirangu, and the distribution of these vowels is an inherited feature. There is therefore in the majority of cases agreement as to the stem-final vowel in verbs that are shared by Wirangu, Parnkalla, Kuyani and Adnyamathanha and Kaurna; this is shown by a list compiled by Jane Simpson in Hercus and Simpson (1996). Examples are:

for **-a** final

Wirangu	**dyilgarn**	to stare at
Parnkalla	'yilkata'	
Wirangu	**yandarn**	to put down
Parnkalla	'yendata'	

for **-u** final

Wirangu	**ngalgurn**	to eat
Parnkalla	'ngalgutu'	
Wirangu	**nhagurn**	to see
Parnkalla	'nhakuttu'	

for **-i** final

Wirangu	**mildirn**	to scratch
Parnkalla	'midlitti'	
Wirangu	**balgirn**	to shoot
Parnkalla	'palkiti'	to crackle
Kaurna	'perkendi'	crepitate, sound; 'perkiappendi', shoot

The inherited stem-final vowel does not assign verbs to any particular grammatical or semantic category in Wirangu. By far the most common final is **-a**; **-i** is quite common, but **-u** is extremely rare. This distribution is shared with the other Thura-Yura languages, but a similar situation is found beyond that, in the neighbouring Paakantyi or Darling River language group, while in Karnic to the north **-u** stems are absent altogether.

5.2.2 CHANGES TO THE STEM-FINAL VOWEL, **a > i**

(a) Repetitive-continuative forms

As discussed above, the vast majority of Wirangu verb stems end in **-a** and the inherited stem-final vowel makes no difference in meaning to the verb. Thus the numerous verb stems in **-a** do **not** necessarily imply a single action; there are many that are continuative by the very essence of their meaning, such as **winarn** 'to go', **nyinarn** 'to sit' and **argarn** 'to copy'. Neither do primary **-i** stems imply repetitive-continuative action, e.g. **balgirn** 'to shoot'. The vowel is simply etymological, based on Thura-Yura, or through a formation within Wirangu, e.g. **birirn** 'to scratch' from the noun **biri** 'nail, claw'.

There are however a number of cases where a verb has both a stem in **-i** and a stem in **-a**, and the **-i** stem appears to be secondary and to stress continuous or repeated action. Thus

bamarn means 'to climb', as in **warda gan.gara bamana** 'he climbed to the top of the tree'. This corresponds to Parnkalla 'babmata', 'to rise', **bamirn** means 'to come up gradually', as in **dyindu bamirn** 'the sun is coming up'. Other examples are:

warnarn	to drop something, to fall (intransitive)
warnirn	come down (rain), to throw around
barldarn	to stab, to spear, also to split
barldirn	to punch repeatedly, to chop up
gurndarn	to hit, to kill
gurndirn-gadn	to kill one thing after another
in.garn	to play
in.girn	to play around, to go on playing

The secondary stems formed with **-ri** are either inceptive or reciprocal in meaning and the notion of a continual process or of repeated action is therefore prevalent.

With the associated motion marker **-gad-** 'to do while going along' (§5.7.1) the use of verb stems in **-i** appears to have become obligatory: A verb like **nyinarn** 'to sit', 'to be' is naturally continuative and does not need an **-irn** ending to become continuative; nevertheless before **-gad-** it becomes **nyinirn**, as in:

5.3 **Nyurni dyarda-gunbu nyini-rn-gad-n.**
you stomach-good sit.CONT-PRES-GO-PRES
You will be happy as you go along.

(b) Origins

There is in Wirangu a stem-forming verbal suffix **-yi-** which conveys a continuative meaning and is used especially with intransitive verbs such as **nyinarn** 'to sit', and **nhangga marna nyinayirn** 'a lot of people are sitting about all the time'. It is highly likely that the derivative **-i-**stems have arisen from this suffix in an earlier phase of the language, and that the final two syllables were reduced to one:

-a-yi- > i, e.g. **warna-yi-rn*** 'to fall continuously' **> warn(ay)irn > warnirn**.

5.2.3 CHANGES TO THE STEM-FINAL VOWEL, **a >u**

(a) Causative forms

Just as primary **-i** stems do not have a repetitive-continuative meaning, primary **-u** stems do not have a causative meaning. This is obvious from verbs like **balurn** 'to die', **nhagurn** 'to see'. Some intransitive **-a** stems may however become transitive **-u** stems and they then imply a causative:

yugarn	to stand
yugurn	to stand up a post or other object; **Gadyi bala yuguga!** 'Stand that spear up!'
wanggarn	to speak, to make a noise
wanggurn	to instruct; **Banha dyudu wangguga!** 'Teach (me) the song!'

yunggarn	to give
yunggurn	to hand around, to share out; **Dyi indidha yunggurn** '(I) might pour the tea to hand it around'; **Dhagadha yunggurn** '(I) might cut up (the cake) to hand around'

A different situation is represented by:

warldarn	to hide, to cover over
warldurn	to make something shut, e.g. a door

This is borrowed from the Western Desert verb **warldurni** 'to cover over' and the **-a** stem in Wirangu is secondary.

(b) Origins

The origin of these causative stems is of interest: they are probably linked with the suffix **-ngu** which in Parnkalla (Schürmann 1844:15) and Adnyamathanha is used to make intransitive stems transitive. Parnkalla examples are:

wanggata	to say, speak, talk
wangganguta	to tell, inform
wannata, worniti	to fall
worningutu	to let fall, drop
wiriti	to be averted
wirringutu	to avert

It is possible that in Wirangu the initial **-ng** of the suffix **-ngu** was lost and then the original stem vowel that preceded it was also lost: the process would have been something like:

yugangurn* > yugawurn* > yugurn to stand something up

The situation may however be more complex than this, since with the exception of **waldurn**, which is a borrowing, all the secondary **u**-stems have a root-final **g**.

(c) Note on ambitransitive verbs

Parnkalla and Adnyamathanha use the suffix **-ngu** as indicated above to differentiate transitive from intransitive verbs, e.g. to differentiate 'to drop or let fall' from 'to fall'. This is not an absolute rule and there are evidently some verbs that are ambitransitive, i.e. they can be used both as transitive and intransitive verbs. Thus Adnyamathanha **warna-** can mean 'to overfill (v tr)' and 'to overflow' (v intr). In Wirangu the possibility of using transitive **-u** stems, as shown in (a) above, is limited and there are therefore a few more distinctly ambitransitive verbs. This does not lead to any confusion because the case system indicates clearly whether the transitive or intransitive verb is used. Thus in Wirangu **warnirn** can mean 'to fall' or 'to throw around, to go on throwing', and yet the following sentences are quite clear:

5.4 **Gabi warni-rn.**
water fall-PRES
Rain is falling (v intr).

5.5 **Barnda warni-rn bala-ngu.**
Stone throw he-ERG
He is throwing (v tr) stones around.

Other common ambi-transitive verbs are **indarn, indirn** 'to spill, pour out' (v tr) and 'to overflow, come dripping out' (v intr), and **gambarn, gambirn** 'to heat up, to cook' (v tr), and 'to be hot'.

5.2.3 Reduplicated verb stems

There are a few verbs that are by nature reduplicated, and the simple form never occurs, examples are:

dyidi-dyidirn	to shiver
yari-yarirn	to show off
gidyi-gidyirn	to itch

The verb **wada-wada-marn** 'to forget' is a borrowing from Kukata.

Where there is a simple verb, the reduplicated stem means that the action of the simple verb is repeated. The reduplicated verb can also be a distributive, indicating that a lot of people are performing the action. Repetition is implied for instance in the following:

indirn	to spill, to pour out, to come pouring out (v tr and v intr)
indi-indirn	to drip (v intr)
nyildirn	to cry
nyildi-nyildirn	to cry continually, to shed tears over and over again

The distributive meaning prevails in the following:

ngarbirn	to lie down
ngarbi-ngarbirn	to camp (as a group of people)
yugarn	to stand
yuga-yugarn	to stand around (said of several people)

5.2.4 Derivatives with **-ma**, transitive verbaliser

The most frequently used stem-forming verbal suffix in Wirangu is the widespread **-ma-** 'to make'. The principal function of this suffix is to form transitive verbs from nominals. Among the numerous examples are:

yadu	good	**yadumarn**	to make good, to prepare
ngandha	bad	**ngandhamarn**	to ruin
dyula	soft	**dyulamarn**	to loosen, to untie
iri	sharp, pointed	**irimarn**	to sharpen

Transitive verbs with **-ma-** can also be derived from location nominals and adverbs:

gan.ga	high up	**gan.gamarn**	to lift up
guda	not, can't	**gudamarn**	to chase away

As is the case in many Australian languages, English verbs are never borrowed as such directly into Wirangu, but are borrowed as verb + **-ma**:

warma-**marn**	to warm up
dyila-**marn**	to steal

-ma can very rarely be used to form derivative transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. They imply 'bringing about a condition' rather than 'making something or somebody act in a certain way' and do not therefore have the same strictly causative meaning as the **u**-stems (§5.2.3(a)):

gumbirn	to hide, be hidden	**gumbirnmarn**	to hide something
gidyi-gidyirn	to feel itchy	**gidyi-gidyilmarn**	to tickle

Both these verbs were originally borrowed from Kukata (cf. Yankunytjatjara **kumpini** 'to be hidden' (v intr) and **kityikityini** 'to tickle' (v tr) and this rare usage of **-ma** may be linked to a perceived need for further derivation within Wirangu.

It is more common for **-ma** to form derivative stems from transitive verbs, without much change of meaning except for a nuance implying 'completely'. It is not unusual for the speed-marking suffix **-rn** to precede the **-ma** (§5.2.7(d)):

mirgarn	to shock, to startle	**mirga-mirgamarn**	to startle
gandyirn	to get hold of	**gandyirnmarn**	to take

There is however an exceptional case with considerable distinction in meaning:

ilarn	to put down	**ilarnmarn**	to pull out

There are allomorphic differences in some of the suffixes used with verbs formed from **-ma**, particularly the imperative. These are discussed in the relevant sections. The main feature is that the verbs formed with **-ma** are associated with the simple verb **marn**, **maʀarn** 'to get'; they are in fact basically compound verbs (§5.8.1). In some parts of the conjugational system, such as for instance before the immediate future marker, the long form is substituted. This association with the simple verb is perhaps of a secondary nature in Wirangu, since many Pama-Nyungan languages have the transitivising suffix **-ma** without any parallel simple verb.

5.2.5 Intransitive verbalisers

(a) The suffix **-ri**

Apart from its other functions as reflexive-reciprocal (§5.3) the suffix **-ri** also serves as intransitive verbaliser. It is used to form verbs from nominals. These verbs are stative and inceptive:

minyuru	cold	**minyururirn**	to be cold, to get cold
dyirndu	sun	**dyirndurirn**	to be or get hot and sunny

mingga	sick	**minggarirn**	to be sick, to become sick
yadu	good	**yadurirn**	to be well, to get better

Thus **dyina minggarirn** can mean '(my) foot is sore', or 'my foot is getting sore', and **gidya minggarina** can mean 'the child was sick' or 'the child got sick'.

There are isolated instances of the use of **-ringa,** which is based on **-ri**, as a stem-forming suffix meaning 'to become':

walyi* (from Mirniny)	bad	**walyiringarn**	to deteriorate
marna	big	**marnaringarn**	to grow

The use of **-ri** as an intransitive verbaliser is widespread and is shared by the Thura-Yura and the Western Desert languages, but the combination **-ri-nga-** is particularly common in the Western Desert languages and has probably been borrowed from Kukata into Wirangu.

There are two verbs in Wirangu that are formed with the intransitive verbaliser **-ri**: they differ from the derivative verbs mentioned above in that they are based not on a nominal, but on a verb. One is:

wali-walirirn to come hurrying along, to fly

This is appears to be based on **walarn** 'to run', and perhaps originally conveyed the notion of 'to get moving quickly'. The ultimate derivation is from Kukata, WD **wala-wala** 'quickly', **walaringanyi** 'to hurry'. The other verb of this kind is **warndirirn, warnda-warndirirn** 'to hang, to hang down (v intr)'. The corresponding Parnkalla word, according to the normal Parnkalla sound change of **-rnd-** to **-rn-** is 'warnirriti', 'to be hanging, to be suspended'. Kuyani and Adnyamathanha have a simple verb **warnda-** 'to hang down', which is reflected in the first part of the Wirangu reduplicated verb **warnda-warndirirn** 'to hang down'. The similarity between the Parnkalla form 'warnirriti' and Wirangu **warndirirn** makes it likely that this unusual function of the intransitive verbaliser is well established historically.

(b) Other intransitive verbalisers

-gi

This suffix is used occasionally as an intransitive verbaliser in the 'inceptive' function of **-ri** and can alternate with it as in:

nhandu	wet	**nhandugirn, nhandurirn**	to get wet
marnaardu	big	**marnaardugirn, marnaardurirn**	to grow up

as in:

5.6 **Gidya marnaardu-gi-na.**
child big-become-PAST
The child grew up.

-gidi

The suffix **-gi** is also found in combination with **-di** (§5.2.7(b)) as a compound suffix **-gidi** to form verbs implying a change, such as **minyura-gidirn** 'it is getting cold', **bunggaʀa-gidirn** 'it is getting rotten'. The verb **nguʀi-nguʀi-gidirn** '(he) is becoming silly' is an alternative to the equally frequent **nguʀi-nguʀi-rirn**, and **wada-wada-gidirn** 'to become forgetful' is felt to be the same as **wada-wada-rirn**.

These verbs are always inceptive, never stative. They are what Goddard (1987:118) calls 'transformation verbs'. As Gladys Miller explained: "you put **-gidina** on when something turns, like 'it got cold' or 'it went bad' **ngantha-gidina**, you can say **mingga-gidina** and **minggarina** means the same thing" (i.e. '(she) got sick').

The suffix **-di**, i.e. 'ti' (without a preceding **-gi**) fulfils this function in Parnkalla:

kabmiti	wise, aware, knowing
kabmititi	to become wise, learn
kurruttiti	to become stiff
mundultiti	to become a European or white man, to live in European manner

The use of this suffix is one of the many special features that are shared just by Parnkalla and Wirangu.

5.2.6 A BENEFACTIVE STEM?

The neighbouring languages to the north-east have a 'benefactive' which is conveyed by a stem-forming suffix. In Kuyani this suffix is **-ngu/ngku**, in Arabana-Wangkangurru it is **-l(a)**. The benefactive is a grammatical category that appears to have spread through diffusion (Hercus 1984:148). The benefactive implies that an action is done for somebody else, be it for their benefit or detriment. The use of the benefactive suffix in these languages renders an intransitive or reciprocal verb transitive (as in sentence 5.7 below), but does not affect a transitive verb. There are some isolated verb forms in Wirangu containing a suffix **-l(a)** that can be explained only as a benefactive.

gidyi-gidyirn	to feel itchy, as in **manyiri gidyi-gidyirn** my throat is itchy
gidyi-gidyi-l-marn	to tickle someone
gambirn	to burn (v tr)
gambilarn	to burn, make something burn up (v tr), as in **garla gambilarn** he is burning some wood
ngalgunyarn	to eat up
ngalgunyalarn	to eat up (something belonging to somebody else?)
gandyirn	to keep
gandyi-la-rn	to keep something (for someone else)

A speaker was recently heard to say:

5.7 **Nhangga-muga-ngu gabi ngalgu-la-dh-i-rn.**
man-many-ERG grog drink-BEN-NOW-CONT-PRES
A lot of people are (there) grogging on together.

The verb, interpreted as **ngalgu-la-dh-i-**rn implies that 'they are drinking for one another', i.e. shouting drinks for one another and egging each other on to drink.

There is also one possible instance of a benefactive in Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]), 'to knock down', 'kundadha wannilgun', which can be interpreted as:

Gurnda-dha warni-l-g-u-rn.
hit-SER fall-BEN-COMPL-CAUS-PRES
As (he) hits, (he is) causing another person to fall right over.

One of the most fascinating features of Wirangu is that it forms a distant part of the linguistic diffusion area of the Lake Eyre Basin, and the benefactive is an example of this.

5.2.7 ASPECTUAL STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

(a) **-nga**

Apart from its use in combination with **-ri** (§5.2.5(a)) this suffix is added to the continuative stem of a few verbs with what appears to be mainly an intensive meaning:

wanggarn	to speak	**wanggingarn**	to tell off
dyurgurn	to vomit	**dyurgingarn**	to push out
warnirn	to drop something	**warningarn**	let go of
gurgardirn	to hop	**gurgardingarn**	to hop about

The immediately neighbouring Thura-Yura languages do not appear to have this suffix.

(b) **-di**

The suffix **-di**, noted above (§5.2.5(b)) in combination with **-gi**, can also occur separately in Wirangu. It is added as an aspectual suffix to verb stems, possibly as an inchoative marker:

gadirn	to carry	**gadidirn**	to start off bringing something

There is one example in Platt's tapes. In response to the sentence: 'the man brought some meat yesterday' a Gawler Ranges man says:

5.8 **Nhangga-ngu baʀu wildyara gadi-di-na.**
man-ERG meat yesterday carry -INCH-PAST
The man started bringing meat yesterday.

-di also figures in combination with **-nga** in a rare compound stem-forming suffix **-di-nga** (§5.2.7(a)):

nhadarn	to search for	**nhadadingarn-**	to start looking around

(c) **-dha**

This rare suffix is known mainly from the extensive manuscript data by Daisy Bates, but there are just a few instances of it in modern speech:

dhanbirn	to dig	**dhanbidharn**	to bury
dyubarn, dyuburn	to cover over, bury	DB dhu butha ('th' hard)	to bury (DB)
wandirirn	to hang down	DB wandi-i-dhal (this is an 'immediate future' form)	to hang down
gurndarn	to kill	DB kunda than ('th' hard)	to kill

This last verb appears with **-dha** repeatedly in the Bates MSS as 'kundutharn', and 'kundu than'. The stem-forming suffix **-dha** conveys immediacy and urgency of action and can be rendered by 'immediately', 'right now'. Obviously it can therefore never occur before a past tense marker. A possible example of its use is Daisy Bates' sentence 'ngaidju kundu than', 'kill you I will', though this could also possibly be interpreted as an example of the potential (§5.6.2) with the addition of a final emphatic **-n** (§6.3.1). Daisy Bates mentions the 'hard' th-sound of this suffix with persistence: this would indicate that there was never any variant pronunciation with **dy** (§2.1.4).

Very rarely the 'NOW' stem in **-dha** is changed to **-dhi** to indicate repetitive-continuative action as described in §5.2.2(a):

5.9 **Nhangga-muga-ngu gabi ngalgu-la-dh-i-rn.**
man-many-ERG grog drink-BEN-NOW-CONT-PRES
A lot of men are drinking continuously amongst themselves right now.

A sentence from Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]) contains a further example of this suffix, this time in combination with the inceptive -**di**: 'Grass is growing', 'kara wanti dhiddin'. This can be analysed as follows:

5.10 **Gara warndi-dh-i-di-rn.**
grass grow-NOW-CONT-INC-PRES
The grass is just now beginning to grow.

The fact that after all these years one can still analyse the sentences quoted by Daisy Bates in such detail speaks for her perceptive transcription.

(d) **-rn**. Present tense as stem-forming suffix

Adnyamathanha (Schebeck 1974:24) like Kuyani has a present tense marker **(n)ta/ntha**. The Wirangu present tense marker **-rn** corresponds to this suffix both as a cognate morpheme and through similarity in function (§5.5.2). In Kuyani the present tense marker can be used as a stem-forming suffix implying speedy action, or action undertaken before departing, as in the Kuyani sentence **yuwantarinta**, analysable as:

5.11 **Yuwa-nta-ri-nta.**
stand-SPEED-REFL-PRES
(He) stands up quickly by himself.

This Kuyani verbal word contains the present tense suffix twice, firstly as a stem-forming suffix indicating speedy action, and finally in its ordinary function as present tense marker.

There are isolated remnants of this usage in Wirangu: there are some instances the manuscript material of Daisy Bates where **-dha** is added not to the stem, but to a present tense marker which indicates speedy action. Thus 'to push' is rendered as 'yulgun dharn'. This can be analysed as **yulgu-rn-dha-rn**[1] (push-SPEED-NOW-PRES) 'to push now in a hurry, (or before you go)'.

Similarly 'frighten the flies away from your eyes', is rendered as 'yumbara marrandhagga mel nguning'. This can be analysed as follows:

5.12 **Yumbara** **maʀa-rn-dha-ga** **mil-ngurni!**
fly chase.away-SPEED-NOW-IMP eye-ABL
Chase the flies away from your eyes quickly now!

This use of the present tense form as speed marker is a feature of Arabana-Wangkangurru (Hercus 1994:196) as well as of Kuyani, and the limited presence of it in Wirangu is probably the remnant of an earlier diffusion of this feature.The present tense marker in Wirangu is also used as part of the associated motion complex. and in combination with the apprehensional and purposive markers (§5.6.4 and §5.6.5).

(e) The completive suffix **-ga, -iga**

This is a fairly commonly used stem-forming suffix, implying that the action of the verb has been carried out completely. It is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples are:

yadarn	to wait	**yadagarn**	to await an arrival
windyirn	to leave	**windyigarn**	to let go
dyanarn	to break	**dyanigarn**	to break off
dhagarn	to cut, to tear	**dhagagarn**	to cut or tear to shreds
gurndarn	to hit	**gurndagarn**	to chop up

There do not appear to be any immediate parallels to this suffix in the most closely related Thura-Yura languages.

(f) The continuative suffix **-yi**

The use of this continuative stem-forming suffix is quite common, especially with intransitive verbs such as **nyinarn** to sit:

5.13 **Nhangga** **marna** **nyina-yi-rn.gadn.**
man many sit-CONT-ASSOC
A lot of people are sitting about on their way (to town).

5.14 **Gidyara** **in.ga-yi-rn.**
child play-CONT-PRES
Children are playing about.

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1 As this has not been recorded it is not clear whether **-rn** was assimilated to the following **-dh** to form a homorganic cluster.

5.15 **Ngadhu gabi-gu ngama-yi-rn.**
I water-DAT go-CONT-PRES
I'm going (around looking) for some water.

This suffix has no immediate cognates in the Thura Yura languages, but there is a suffix '-ntu' in Parnkalla (Schürmann 1844:15) which fulfils the same function, as in 'padnata', 'to go' and 'padnantutu', 'to keep walking about'.

(g) The suffix **-nya**

The function of this extremely rare suffix is not clear, it appears to be an intensive:

gambirn	to cook, to heat
gambinyarn	to burn
ngalgurn	to eat
ngalgunyarn	to eat up
dyagurn	to lick
dyagunyarn	to lick, to lick up something

There are no known parallels to this stem-forming suffix in the neighbouring languages.

5.3 SHORT VERBS

5.3.1 THE NINE SHORT VERBS

John Platt (tape 235b, recorded in September 1966) asked the Wirangu speaker George Glennie: "What is the difference between **ngal** and **ngalgurn**?" and George Glennie replied: "Same, but cut that word short". This is the exact explanation: instead of the normal verb stem which consists of at least two syllables (§5.1.2(a)) a group of nine commonly used verbs have a short stem which consists of only one syllable. For seven of the nine verbs the minimal form of the verb includes the present tense marker, while two, **ngal** and **bal** represent the present tense without any markers. The relevant verbs are as follows:

	Short form	Long form
eat, drink	**ngal**	**ngalgurn**
die	**bal**	**balarn**
strike a fire	**barn**	**bagarn, bawarn**
get	**marn**	**maʀarn**
see	**nharn**	**nhagurn**
to fall	**warn**	**warnirn**
to hear	**mirn**	**miʀarn**
sit	**nyirn**	**nyinarn**
go	**wirn**	**winarn**

The presence of a few verbs with a short stem is characteristic of some Karnic languages, notably Arabana-Wangkangurru and, probably by diffusion (Austin, pers. comm.), also

Ngamini. The system according to which these short verbs operate is the same in all these languages, including Wirangu, but the actual verbs are different. They share one feature, they are commonly used. The following are examples of these stems in their function as present tense forms:

5.16 **Nhangga gari bal.**
man now die
The man is about to die.

5.17 **Buba-ngu baʀu ngal.**
dog-ERG meat eat
The dog is eating the meat.

5.18 **Ngadhu galda marna marn.**
I lizard many get
I am getting a lot of sleepy lizards.

5.19 **Maga nharn.**
not see
(I) can't see (it).

5.20 **Dyarda yadu nyirn.**
stomach good sit
(I) am all right.

The short verb stems can be used in the formation of other tenses and modal forms, but special rules apply to them. These will be discussed in the relevant sections. Of particular interest is their use with the purposive (§5.6.5).

5.3.2 SPECIAL USES OF THE SHORT VERB **ngal**

The verb **ngal**, short form of **ngalgurn**, normally means 'to eat', or 'to drink' and 'to swallow' in general, but it can be used in quite different connotations. For example, the word **guna** in Wirangu, as over much of Australia means 'excrement', 'bowels', but like its Pamkalla equivalent 'kudna' it can also mean 'intercourse'; the verb 'to have sex' is derived from this with the verb stem **ngal**, so **guna ngal** means 'to have sex', literally 'to have a real taste of it'.

The other special uses of **ngal** are in conjunction with the serial form of a verb (§5.6.2(d)).

Dyilgarn means 'to stare at'; this has a serial form **dyilgadha** 'while staring'. The verbal expression **dyilgadha ngal**, literally 'to swallow while staring at', means 'to stare fixedly at someone or something', 'to swallow with one's eyes'.

Wargarn means 'to blame', 'to growl at'; this has a serial form **wargadha**. The verbal expression **wargadha ngal**, literally 'to swallow while growling at' means 'to tell someone off thoroughly', 'to chew them up', or as Gladys Miller put it: 'to give them a serve'.

A different type of phrase, not involving the serial form, can be used with the verb **warlarn** with almost the same meaning 'to speak angrily to someone', so one can say **guda nganha warliga-ngal** 'don't tell me off!', using the imperative of the verb **warlarn**.

Another fixed locution involves the present tense form of another verb. This is **badharn ngal** 'to chew on something', literally 'to chew eat', and it is an example of the present tense being used as a stem form (5.2.7(d)).

Only the short verb **ngal** can be used in these special locutions, never the full verb **ngalgurn**. It seems that this short verb form was particularly adaptable as it represented both the stem form and present tense form of the verb.

5.4 RECIPROCAL AND REFLEXIVE STEMS

Reciprocal and reflexive stems are intransitive, as the subject of the action is at the same time the object. The ergative is therefore never used. Thus one has to say:

5.21 **Nhangga-ngu nhangga winygama gurnda-na.**
man-ERG man other hit-PAST
The man hit another man.

5.22 **Yugara-ngu nganha mildi-na.**
girl-ERG me pinch-PAST
The girl pinched me.

But when the reciprocal/reflexive is used, the subject is absolutive:

5.23 **Nhangga gurnda-ri-na.**
men hit-RECIP-PAST
The men hit one another.

5.24 **Yugara gudhara mildi-ri-na.**
girl two pinch-RECIP-PAST
The two girls were pinching each other.

5.4.1 THE RECIPROCAL SUFFIX **-ri**

The use of the suffix **-ri** to mark the reciprocal is shared with Kuyani and Parnkalla, Adnyamathanha has the compound form **-ngu-ri**:

Parnkalla	yabmiti	to abuse	yabmirriti	to abuse one another
Kuyani	**yabmi-**	to swear at	**yabmiri-**	to swear at one another
Wirangu	**wanggingarn**	to swear at	**wanggingarirn**	to swear at one another

In Wirangu the continuous-repetitive stem in **-i** (§5.2.2) is generally used before the reciprocal marker, because the reciprocal implies that an action is double at the least, as each person does it to the other:

gurndarn	to hit	**gurndirn**	to hit repeatedly	**gurndirirn**	to fight
barldarn	to stab	**barldirn**	to stab repeatedly	**barldirirn**	to stab one another

This is the preferred usage, but it is not obligatory, and exceptions are often heard such as **gadying' bagarirn** 'they are fighting with spears' with the **a**-stem **baga-** 'to strike with a sharp implement', and **warla-warlarirn** to have an argument, with the **a**-stem **warla-**.

The reciprocal form can be used with intransitive verbs to convey the idea that the activity is confined to the two or more people who form the subject. In these circumstances the repetitive-continuative form is not used:

wanggarn to speak

5.25 **Baladhaga wangga-ri-rn.**
they.PL talk-RECIP-PRES
They are talking amongst themselves.

winarn to go, to go out

5.26 **Gudhara wina-ri-rn.**
two go-RECIP-PRES
The two of them are going out together.

nyinarn to sit

5.27 **Baladhaga gabi-gabi-nga nyina-ri-rn.**
they.PL grog-grog-LOC sit-RECIP-PRES.
They are sitting by themselves having a drinking party (lit. on the drink).

The same applies with di-transitive verbs:

yunggarn to give **yunggarirn** to share out, to give to one another

5.28 **Nhangga-muga baʀu yungga-ri-rn.**
man-PL meat give-RECIP-PRES
The men share out the meat amongst themselves.

5.4.2 THE REFLEXIVE

The reflexive is identical to the reciprocal in Wirangu. The same applies to Kuyani, and Kaurna also has the reflexive marker **-ri**:

bakkendi to cut bakkirendi to cut oneself

Parnkalla and Adnyamathanha however add an extra syllable and their reflexive markers are 'nga-ri' and **ngka-ri** respectively. Kuyani furthermore has a special reflexive incorporating thew word for 'self'.

Examples of reflexive verbs in Wirangu are:

5.29 **Buba biri-ri-rn.**
dog scratch-REFL-PRES
The dog is scratching himself.

Sometimes the word **ngarlara** 'self' is added, not as a bound form as in Kuyani, but as a free form:

5.30 **Ngana-ngu gurnda-na? ngarlara gurnda-ri-na.**
who-ERG hit-PAST self hit-REFL-PAST
Who hit you? I hit myself (on a tree).

The sentence below has also been heard, where **ngarlara** 'self' on its own marks the reflexive:

5.31 **Ngarlara gurnda-na.**
self hit-PAST
I hit myself (on a tree).

This may have been modelled on English.

5.5 THE TENSE-MOOD SYSTEM

5.5.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

In the introduction to his great work on Parnkalla, Schürmann (1844:16), before listing the complex verbal paradigms states:

> The subjoined paradigm will show the conjugation of the verb...It should be borne in mind that the language is as yet imperfectly known, and that consequently many more modifications of the Verb may be used by the natives of which we have no knowledge.

Sadly, if one substitutes 'may have been used' this is much more applicable to Wirangu than to Schürmann's work: what we are able to describe here is no doubt a verbal system greatly reduced in complexity firstly under the impact of Kukata, and secondly because of gradual language loss. It is only due to the brilliant memory of the last speakers that we have any detailed information at all, even if it may not be complete. The following table sets out the main tense-mood suffixes of Parnkalla, Adnyamathanha and Wirangu, showing certain or probable genetic relationships between suffixes. The information on Adnyamathanha is from Schebeck (1974:21ff.), on Kuyani from Hercus (1995), and on Parnkalla from Schürmann (1844).

TABLE 5.2: COMPARATIVE TABLE OF TENSE-MOOD MARKERS

PARNKALLA		KUYANI		WIRANGU	
Present	-ta	Present and partipial form	**-(n)ta, -(n)tha**	Potential and serial participle	**-dha**
				Present	**-rn**
Subjunctive	-ra	Irrealis	**-ʀa**	Immediate future	**-rl**
Imperative	-ka	Imperative	**-ka**	Imperative	**-ga**
Perfect	-intya				
Perfect subjunctive	-intya+ra				
		Completive	**-angk(u)**		
Imperfect	-na	Past	**-nanta**	Past	**-na**
Intensive future	-nga	Potential	**-nga**		
		Future	**-(n)tyu/**	Preparative	**-dyu**
				Purposive	**-gu**
		Continuative	**-aku**		
		Apprehensional	**-angka**		**dhirdi**
		Dubitative	**-nya**		

5.5.2 THE PRESENT TENSE

(a) The present tense suffix

The present tense in Wirangu is marked by the suffix **-rn**. As pointed out in §2.1.5(c), there is no apical distinction in final consonants, and the suffix could just as well be written as **-n**. The spelling **-rn** has only been adopted because this seems closer to the articulation. In Adnyamathanha and Kuyani the corresponding forms are **-(n)ta**, **-(n)tha,** with elision of the **-n-** if the preceding syllable contains a nasa–plosive cluster. Further to the north in the Karnic languages Arabana-Wangkangurru the corresponding suffix is **-rnda**. All these suffixes are obviously related in form and in function (cf. 5.2.7(d)). It is therefore highly probable that the present tense marker **-rn/n** of Wirangu represents a reduced form of the Adnyamathanha-Kuyani present tense suffix **-nta, -ntha**. The corresponding Parnkalla form '-ta' simply represents the same suffix, with a generalisation of the allomorph that shows loss of the nasal, and the same applies to Kaurna (Simpson, pers. comm.). In other words Parnkalla and Kaurna have generalised the form without nasal, Wirangu has generalised the form with nasal, and, being the only language in the group that permits final consonants, it has furthermore lost the final syllable.

(b) Uses of the present tense

The present tense describes an action that is taking place at the moment of speaking, as in answer to the question "What is he doing?" someone might say:

5.32 **Bala-ngu garla gurndagurnda-rn.**
He-ERG wood chop-PRES
He is chopping firewood.

or

5.33 **Giya yadu-ma-rn.**
spear good-make-PRES
(He) is making a spear.

or

5.34 **Bala garba-nga nyina-rn.**
he house-LOC sit-PRES
He is sitting at home.

The use of the present can also imply an impending future, as in:

5.35 **Maga ngalgu-rn!**
not eat-PRES
I am not eating it! (I am not eating it now, and I don't intend to.)

and with short verbs:

5.36 **Ngadhu maga nhala nyirn!**
I not here sit
I am not staying here! (I am not staying now, and don't intend to).

Sometimes when the future is to be expressed the adverb **gari** is used in exactly the same manner as in Parnkalla (Schürmann 1844:19) 'ngai kari ngukata', 'I shall go by and by':

5.37 **Ngayi gari wina-rn.**
I directly go-PRES
I'll go directly.

5.5.3 THE IMMEDIATE-FUTURE TENSE

This tense is marked by the suffix **-rl**, added to the stem of the verb. It is possible though by no means certain that this suffix, which has some underlying nuance of volition, is cognate with the irrealis marker **-ra** of Adnyamathanha, Parnkalla and Kuyani. It is possible that in Kaurna the **-dla** of 'ntyerla' ~ 'ntyidla' (LEST) is a reflex of the same suffix.

There are only few instances of the use of this tense in Wirangu in the material from Black, Wiebusch and Daisy Bates. Modern speakers never use the tense spontaneously, but know about it. The bulk of the examples come from the elicited data on John Platt's tapes from the sixties. It is not easy to decide on the finer nuances of meaning. The tense certainly refers to an action that is being carried out in the present or the immediate future, and there appears to be an underlying notion of continuity and of volition, so probably the closest rendering in English would be 'I will want to be doing...'

Black only has two examples, one being 'ngajugu matn ngadu jaldil', 'I am calling my wife (my lubra by me calling)'.

Because the tense does have some meaning of continuity, the **-i-** forms of the stem are generally used (§5.2.2). This is shown by the only other example in the work of Black: 'wadjil', 'sorry'. This stands for **wadyirl** '(I am) feeling sorry' from **wadyarn** 'to feel sorry', 'to grieve'. However, the following is the response to Platt's elicitation 'I will be sad':

5.38 **Dyarda wadya-rl.**
stomach feel sorry-IMM

The more usual way of putting this is **Dyarda wadyirl**.

Amongst the very few other instances of an **a**-stem that is retained before **-rl** is 'yugal' translated as 'to push' by Wiebusch. This must represent **yulgarl** '(I am) pushing'. **Nyurni yugarl** 'you are going to stand up' has been heard as well as the more frequent **nyurni yugirl**. Stems formed with **-ma** (§5.2.4) however tend to retain the **a**-stem in the immediate future, e.g. in Platt's elicitation: 'I am going to ask the man a question'

5.39 **Nyurni nhangga-ng gari ingginma-rl.**
you man-LOC directly ask-IMM
You are going to be asking the man some questions.

5.40 **Bala-ngu nhangga winygama dyarda-yadu-ma-rl.**
he-ERG people other stomach-good-make-IMM
He is going to make those other people happy.

Nevertheless even the **-ma** stems can become continuative before the immediate present suffix, as is shown by an example from the manuscript by Pastor Wiebusch: 'jadumil', 'to make do' i.e. **yadu-mi-rl** (lit. 'will make good').

The one short stem that is used commonly in the immediate future is **nharn** 'to see', as in:

5.41 **Bunguru-ngurni nyina-dha nha-rl.**
bush-ABL sit-SER see-IMM
He is sitting watching us from the bushes.

There are very few instances of **u**-stems in the immediate future tense in Wirangu, one example from the sixties is **baga badyurl** 'he'll smoke tobacco'. Normally **u**-verbs also take an **-i** stem, as in **dyudyu gandirl** 'they will be performing a corroboree', from **gandurn** 'to dance'. Typical examples of the use of the immediate future are:

5.42 **Maʀa wabi-rl.**
hand wave-IMM
(I) will wave my hands.

5.43 **Barnda gandyi-rl.**[2]
pebble keep-IMM
(I) will keep the money.

5.44 **Ngadhu warda ganggi-rl.**
I stick pick.up-IMM
I will pick up sticks.

5.45 **Wiyana-ngu ilama-rl.**
woman-ERG pull.out-IMM
The woman is going to pull it out (a plant).

5.46 **Urla winygama gaʀi widi-rl.**
boy other soon grab-IMM
(He) will catch the other boy directly.

5.47 **Ilgi ila-ga, ngarbi-rl.**
bed put.down-IMP lie.down-IMM
Put a bed down (for me), (I) will lie down.

5.48 **Ngadhu nyurni gurndi-rl!**
I you beat-IMM
I'm going to give you a beating!

Sometimes the immediate future carries a slightly threatening imperative meaning, as in this last sentence and in:

5.49 **Guda nganya mild-irl!**
not me pinch-IMM
Don't (you) pinch me!

The very pervasive influence of the English future 'going to' is occasionally noticed with the immediate future in Wirangu, as in the following elicited sentence from the Platt recordings:

5.50 **Nganha garla wina-rn gambi-rl.**
I fire go-PRES burn-IMM
I'm going to light a fire.

---

2 cf. Wiebusch 'konjil, to keep'.

5.5.4 THE PAST TENSE

The Wirangu past tense is identical in form to that found in Parnkalla, as described by Schürmann (1844:17), and the suffix used is **-na**. The past tense simply refers to an action in the past and there is no evident distinction between a perfective and an imperfective past. Typical examples of sentences in the past tense are:

5.51 **Wildyara miʀa-na.**
before hear-PAST
(I) heard (it) before! (i.e. that's an old excuse and I don't believe it!)

5.52 **Ngadhu nhada-na.**
I find-PAST
I found (it).

5.53 **Kurnda-na.**
kill-PAST
(He) killed (him).

5.54 **Balaarda mandyaardu wina-na.**
he also go-PAST
He went as well.

5.55 **Minya urla baba-ngu badha-na.**
small boy dog-ERG bite-PAST
The dog bit a little boy.

5.56 **Garla maga-ri-na.**
fire nothing-become-PAST
The fire went out.

Verbs formed with the transitive verbaliser **-ma** take the long stem in the past tense just as they do before the preparatory future suffix:

gudamarn	to chase	**gudamaʀa-na**	he chased
ilamarn	to pull out	**ilamaʀa-na**	he pulled out

Similarly the short verbs are not found in the past and the long stems are used instead:

wirn, winarn	to go	**wina-na**	he went
marn, maʀarn	to take	**maʀa-na**	he took

There are exceptions to these rules. The short verb **nharn** 'to see', for example, adds the past marker to the bare stem, and the stem vowel remains long by analogy with the present tense, which is monsyllabic and therefore has a long vowel (§2.2.2(b)):

nharn	to see	**nhaa-na**	(I) saw

The short verb **ngal** 'to eat or drink' can of course be represented by the long stem **ngal gu-** to form a past tense **ngal guna** '(he) ate or drank', but there is also a short form of the past, without even the full suffix, and this is **ngala** '(he) ate or drank'.

5.5.5 RARELY USED PAST TENSE FORMS

There is one isolated examples in the recorded language material from the sixties of what may be past perfect forms:

5.57 **Warda dyana-dyardi.**
thing break-PERF
(I) have broken this thing. (from **dyanarn** 'to break')

There is also an expression from modern speakers: **dyina bagardi** 'a cracked foot' (from **bagarn** 'to crack').

There is one other similar form noted by Tindale, 'kulgadi' corroboree'. This is gurlgardi*, from **gulgarn** 'to sing', and it presumably meant 'what has been sung'.

Unfortunately there is no further information on this past tense form.

5.5.6 THE IMPERATIVE

(a) The suffix **-ga**

A command may be expressed in several different ways. The most common method is with the imperative suffix **-ga**; secondly the bare stem can be used to act as an urgent and immediate command; and thirdly the present tense form can be used to issue a more general command. A feature shared by all methods of forming the imperative is that the verb is practically always sentence-final, and usually pronounced at a raised pitch.

The imperative suffix **-ga** is common to all the northern Thura-Yura languages and is simply added to the stem. Typical examples of its use in Wirangu are:

5.58 **Windyi-ga!**
leave-IMP
Leave it!

5.59 **Nhagu-ga**! (var. **Nhaga-ga!**)
look-IMP
Look!

5.60 **Yuga-ga!** (var. **Yugi-ga!**)
stand-IMP
Stand up!

5.61 **Yugu-ga!**
stand.CAUS-IMP
Make (him, the drunk person) stand up!

5.62 **Gamba-ga!** (var. **Gambiga!**)
cook-IMP
Cook (it)!

The second person pronoun subject can be expressed before the imperative in Wirangu, as in the sentence:

5.63 **Maga madyi winygama maʀa-ga! nyurni guma nyina-ga!**
not husband new get-IMP you one sit-IMP
Don't get another husband! Stay on your own!

There seems to be a preference for the use of the **i**-stem (§5.2.2) in the imperative, for reasons which are not clear. Thus the verb **winarn** 'to go' which usually just has an **a**-stem, forms an imperative **winiga!** 'go!' and a stem form imperative **wini**. Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]) must have heard the same as she writes 'Thardu ini', 'go away', which can be read as **Dhardu wini!** 'Go away'.

The only short verbs that can take the **-ga** imperative are **marn** and **barn**, maintaining vowel length:

5.64 **Gidya-n ma-ga!**
child take-IMP
Take that child away!

5.65 **Garla ba-ga!**
fire make-IMP
Light a fire!

This last sentence corresponds to Daisy Bates' (n.d.[1]) 'kala yarra bugga', 'make a fire by friction'.

When a command is called out the suffix **-ga** can be accented and raised in pitch and it is furthermore liable to vowel distortion, like the final of a vocative (§2.2.2(a)), as in:

5.66 **Wini-gai!** ["wini'gai!]
go-IMP
Go away!

A similar situation prevails with imperatives in most Australian languages.

Verbs formed with the transitive verbaliser **-ma** cannot add this suffix as such, they can add it only to an extended form of the stem ((c) below).

(b) The stem form

Particularly when an urgent command is called out the bare stem form is used without any suffix: this is the only circumstance in which the absence of a suffix is permissible (§5.1.2(b)). The verb is always final in these urgent command sentences:

5.67 **Banhi urldi**
here come
Come here!

5.68 **Wini!**
go
Go away!

5.69 **Waliri!**
hurry
Hurry up and come!

5.70 **Nganha yungga** (var. **ingga**, §2.2.1(b))
me give
Give (it) to me!

5.71 **Nganha gabi yungga!**
me water give
Give me some water!

5.72 **Miʀa! Wangga miʀa!**
hear word hear
Hear! Hear (my) word!

In these imperatives there is no shift of accent, but the main accent is stronger than normal; thus **miʀa!** 'listen!' has a heavy stress accent on the first syllable, and the pitch is raised on that syllable.

The stem form is often used with short verbs; this of course includes the present tense (§5.3.1). This is favoured particularly in negative commands:

5.73 **Maga wardu-baʀu ngal!**
not wombat-meat eat
Don't eat wombat meat!

5.74 **Maga nha wirn!**
not there go
Don't go there!

5.75 **Maga baldha nharn! Barnda maga-ri-na.**
not clothes look.at pebble nothing-become-PAST
Don't look at the dresses (in a shop)! (Our) money has run out.

(c) The imperative of **-ma** verbs

Verbs formed with the transitivising suffix **-ma** usually change to the long stem **-maʀa** and use that stem form in the imperative (a variant **-mara** has also been heard):

5.76 **Warda ila-maʀa!**
plant put-make (long stem of verb, from **ila-ma-** to pull up)
Pull up that plant!

5.77 **Warda yadu-maʀa!**
thing good-make (long stem of verb, from **yadu-ma-** 'to make good')
Finish what you are doing!

5.78 **Maga baldha nhandu-maʀa!**
not clothes wet-make (long stem of verb, from **nhandu-ma-** 'to make wet').
Don't get your clothes wet!

For further emphasis the imperative suffix can be added to this extended stem form:

5.79 **Garla yadu-maʀa-ga!**
fire good-make-IMP (long stem **yadu-maʀa**,
from **yadu-ma-** 'to make good' **+ga**
Fix up the fire!

(d) The present tense as imperative

For general commands, without any major emphasis, the present tense form in **-rn** can be used as an imperative (the first example is one of those rare cases where the imperative verb is not sentence-final):

5.80 **Baʀu yungga-rn balaardu!**
meat give-PRES he
Give the meat to him!

5.81 **Maga maʀa-rn! Ngadyu.**
note touch-PRES mine
Don't touch it! (That's) mine.

5.82 **Nyubali yungga-rn!**
you.two give-PRES
You two give (it)!

5.83 **Manda-nga ilgi ila-rn!**
ground-LOC bed put-PRES
Put the bed on the ground!

5.84 **Maga nganha gurnda-rn!**
not me hit-PRES
Don't hit me!

This form of imperative showed only a slightly stronger than normal stress accent on the first syllable of the verb.

5.6 SEMI-PARTICIPIAL FORMS

5.6.1 THE PREPARATORY FUTURE **-dyu**

The suffix used in the formation of this tense is clearly cognate with the Adnyamathanha **-(n)dyu** which Schebeck (1974:23) very perceptively analyses as a 'hypothetical future', a 'conclusion' or a 'consequence'. In Kuyani the meaning of this suffix simply refers to a conclusion, which may even have occurred in the past 'and so it happened that'. In Wirangu the suffix **-dyu** implies 'preparing for something', 'getting ready to'. It is normally used as a main verb, but can also be used as a participial form. The meaning was felt to be quite distinct from the purposive: it implied readiness and preparedness

None of the early Wirangu sources have any examples of this kind of future. The earliest examples come from Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]), and they do not make the meaning clear, as for instance:

(i) 'bullardu uldiju barni' 'tell to come to me'.

This can be analysed as:

5.85 **Balaardu urldi-dyu banhi.**
he come-PREP here
He is getting ready to come here.

The modern speakers did not accept the translation given for this sentence by Daisy Bates.

(ii) 'nyuni waru nyaddaju we'en' 'are you hunting kangaroos?'

This can be analysed with **-dyu** in a participial function:

5.86 **Nyurni waru nhada-dyu wiya-rn.**
you kangaroo look.for-PREP walk-PRES
You are walking off getting ready to look for kangaroos.

Typical examples of modern Wirangu usage of the preparatory future are as follows, as main verb:

5.87 **Ngadhu wangga-dyu.**
I talk-PREP
I want to talk (to you) (lit. I am ready to talk.)

5.88 **Balaardu ma gamba-dyu.**
she (he) food cook-PREP
She is getting ready to cook some food.

5.89 **Ngadhu buyu badha-dyu.**
I smoke bite-PREP
I am getting ready to smoke a cigarette.

5.90 **Ngadhu nha galda gurnda-dyu.**
I there lizard kill-PREP
I'm ready to kill a sleepy lizard over there.

5.91 **Baldha baga-dyu.**
clothes sew-PREP
(I) am getting ready to sew clothes.

Part of this last sentence also appears in Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]) as 'boggaju', 'to mend'. And as participial form:

5.92 **Ngadhu ngura-gu wina-rn ma gamba-dyu.**
I home-ALL go-PRES food cook-PREP
I am going home ready to do the cooking.

5.93 **Wangga wangga-dyu yuga-rn.**
word speak-PREP stand-PRES
(He) is standing there ready to talk.

5.94 **Baldha baga-dyu nyirn.**
clothes sew-PREP sit
I am sitting ready to sew clothes.

5.95 **Nganha ma ngalgu-dyu nyirn.**
I food eat-PREP sit
I am sitting down ready to eat.

(a) The preparatory future with short verbs

Of all the short verbs, only **ngal** appears before the preparatory future marker, alternating with the long form:

5.96 **Nganha gabi ngal-dyu.**
I water drink-PREP
I am just getting ready to drink some water.

5.97 **Ma ngalgu-dyu.**
food eat-PREP
(He) is ready to eat dinner.

The other short verbs never occur before **-dyu** and the corresponding long form is always substituted, thus '*marn-dyu' is considered incorrect and **maʀadyu** 'ready to get' is the only permissible form:

5.98 Truck **urldi-rn manda maʀa-dyu**
truck come-PRES sand get-PREP
The truck is coming, ready to collect sand.

5.99 **Ngadhu wina-rn ma maʀa-dyu.**
I go-PRES food get-PREP
I am going, ready to get the food.

The long form is also used in derivative verbs formed with **-ma**, such as **yadumaʀadyu** 'ready to fix up', from **yadumarn** 'to fix up'. This usage is parallel to what is found with the imperative suffix (5.4.7(c)).

5.6.2 THE POTENTIAL AND SERIALISER FORM **-dha**

(a) **-dha** forms as main verb: the potential

The **-dha** suffix is cognate with the Adnyamathanha-Kuyani present tense suffix **-(n)ta/ -(n)tha** Parnkalla 'ta'. The **-dha** form of the verb has a dual function. It can be a main verb and also a subordinate verb. As a main verb it express the notion of what might happen, with a strong optative nuance, and in this function the **-dha** form has been glossed as Potential. There is one published example of this in the work of Black (1917:5): 'paɹu kundada ŋagu [probably for ngadhu] telga', 'I would like to kill and eat a sheep'. This can be analysed as:

5.100 **Baʀu gurnda-dha ngadhu dhalyga!**
meat kill-POT I hopefully
I could gladly kill a meat-animal (but I won't get a chance)!

The potential is used to indicate any kind of possibility, even if not necessarily wished for; it can be used for a possibility in the past as well as the present and future:

5.101 **Nhangga-n muga wildyara dyudyu gulga-dha.**
people-indeed many long ago corroboree sing-POT
Many people might have sung corroborees (here, but I don't know).

5.102 **Yambaardu wini-ga! in.ga-dha.**
long.way go-IMP play-POT
Go a long way off! (You) might play (there).

The most common use of the potential refers to things one might wish to do. On his tape 237b, September 1966, John Platt asked the brilliant Wirangu speaker Rosie Peel to tell a story. Realising that she had no audience, Rosie just mused to herself disjointedly about things she might do, collect food of various sorts, cook and eat, and visit relatives. This brief monologue contains a number of potential as well as serial forms. Typical of the potential forms is:

5.103 **Garla bawa-ga! mudi gamba-dha.**
fire light-IMP fish cook-POT
Light a fire! (I) might cook some fish.

(b) **-dha** forms in peripheral serialisation

-dha forms are used in circumstantial clauses to mark the subordinate verb, and one could regard them simply as temporal participles. This does not however cover all possibilities. The Wirangu situation is identical to that described by Goddard (1985:98–105) for Yankunytjatjara and his terminology and interpretation are equally applicable to Wirangu. He regards the Yankunytjatjara forms as serial participles. Following Foley and van Valin (1984:189ff.) he describes the loosest form of serialisation as 'peripheral serialisation'. He states (1985:101):

> Any number of verbs may be strung together in this way as long as they represent consecutive or simultaneous actions by a single subject. There may in addition be the implication of causality.

Usage closely similar to Goddard's Yankunytjatjara examples is reflected in the following sentences from Rosie Peel:

5.104 **Gumaardu gamba-dha gadirn-gad-n.**
one cook-SER take.home-GO-PRES
(I) might cook an (extra) one, and take it with me on my way home.

5.105 **Marnaardu maʀa-dha yungga-rn.**
big.lot get-SER give-PRES
When (I) get a big lot, (I) give it away.

Sirnilar sentences have been elicited in a different context:

5.106 **Nhangga dyarda yadu-ri-rn dyudu miʀa-dha.**
people stomach good-become-PRES song hear-SER
People will be very happy when they hear that song.

5.107 **Gidya gari mingga-ri-rn balaarda warda ngalgu-dha.**
child soon sick-become-PRES this stuff eat-SER
That child is going to get sick if he eats this stuff.

The only published relevant sentence in Wirangu is of this kind. It is quoted in the work by O'Grady and Klokeid (1969:302) in a discussion about Kukata borrowings that were subsequently rejected by speakers: *maŋu* [3]*ŋaṇa ṉaṭa pukuḷkina* 'on seeing me, (my) wife became happy'. *Pukuḷkina* 'became happy' was described as a 'halfbred word' and better replaced with *tyaṭa yatuʀina*. *Ṉaṭa* corresponds to **nhaadha** (§5.6.2(d)) in the present transcription and is the serial form of the short verb **nha-** 'to see'. O'Grady evidently regarded the phrase as temporal. A further example from Rosie Peel, in the Platt recordings, is:

5.108 **Gudhara biʀa-nga nyina-dha urldi-rn.**
two moon-LOC stay-SER return-PRES
I'd stay for two months and come back.

and from a modern speaker:

5.109 **Nganha warla nyina-rn baladhaga miʀa-dha.**
I angry sit-PRES them hear-SER.
I get wild when I hear them. (i.e. Wirangu people talking Pitijantjara rather than their own language)

In all these sentences the **-dha** form could be interpreted as a temporal participle 'on hearing them', 'on eating this stuff', but this explanation would be inadequate for the use of **-dha** in situations where the links between the verbs are closer.

(c) **-dha** forms in nuclear serialisation

In this form of serialisation the two verbs are much more closely associated within the same complex nucleus and form part of the same compound action. The verbs in the serial form are stance and motion verbs. Nothing can come between the serial verb and the main verb in this kind of sentence and the object of the main verb therefore must precede the serial participle:

5.110 **Ngadhu balaardu nyina-dha ngal.**
I that sit-SER eat PRES
Sitting down I'd eat that (fish).

5.111 **Minya wanyi-muga wina-dha nharn.**
little girl-PL go-SER see.PRES
I'd go and see the little girls (my granddaughters).

5.112 **Mulya dargan. Mulya wina-dha yadu-maʀa-ga!**
nose dirty nose go-SER good-make-IMP
(Your) nose is dirty. Go and clean up your nose! (lit. 'nose going clean up!')

Some of the fixed locutions with **ngal** 'to eat' (§5.3.2) like **wargadha ngal** 'to growl at', literally 'to gobble up growling' and **dyilgadha ngal** 'to stare at', literally 'to gobble up

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3 This word poses a problem. O'Grady uses 'N' to stand for **dn**. The Wirangu word for 'wife' is **mad(a)n**. and therefore the form he gives represents **mad(a)n-ngu** (wife-ERG). In serial constructions – as with participles for that matter – one would normally expect the agreement to be with the main verb 'became happy' which is intransitive, rather than with the verb 'seeing' which is transitive (Goddard 1985:98), but there can be exceptions to this.

staring' are examples of nuclear serialisation. Daisy Bates' (n.d.[1]) has two examples of this kind as items of vocabulary:

(i) 'baldadha wannigan' 'to kick'

This can be interpreted **barldadha** 'as one strikes' and **warnigarn** 'to throw away' i.e. 'to knock out of the way as one strikes', 'to kick out of the way'.

(ii) 'kundadha wannilgun' 'to knock down'

As has been shown in §5.2.6. this can be interpreted as:

5.113 **Gurnda-dha warni-l-g-u-rn.**
hit-SER fall-BEN-COMPL-CAUS-PRES
As (he) hits, he makes someone fall down.

It is clear that Daisy Bates thought of both these items of vocabulary as single verbs. This fits well with the close association involved in nuclear serialisation.

There are some examples of what might appear to be a similar kind of serialisation in Kuyani (Hercus 1995) involving forms with the participial suffix **-(n)ta**:

5.114 **Withi thapa-nta thika-nya.**
grog drink-PTC sit-PRES
They sit drinking alcohol.

5.115 **Yarra nhaku-nta para-ntyu.**
country look at-PTC travel.in.a.group-FUT
(I) will travel with others looking at the country.

In Adnyamathanha the participial form is **-(n)ta, -(n)tha** and the situation is identical to Kuyani. Schebeck (1974:25) quotes: *waŋkaṯa ikanytyuwa* 'he would sit talking'.

Any resemblance of these structures to Wirangu however is superficial: in Kuyani (and Adnyamathanha) the stance and motion verbs are the main verbs, whereas in the Wirangu sentences quoted above, and in Yankunytjatjara sentences like Goddard's (1985, 7.56) the stance and motion verbs are the serial participles. In other words, in Kuyani (and Adnyamathanha) as well as further north in Arabana-Wangkangurru, a person always 'eating sits' and 'looking travels', while in Wirangu he 'sitting eats' and 'travelling looks'. There is only one possible exception in all the available material and that is in Tindale's 1928 report: 'tudu kulgado wingu', 'I sing'm corroboree'. This can only be interpreted as:

5.116 **Dhudhu gulga-dha wirn-gu.**
corroboree sing-SER go-PURP
I have to go and sing a ceremony.

This may perhaps reflect an older construction, pre-dating the main impact of Kukata.

It is highly likely that the standard Wirangu usage of serialisation was based on Kukata influence and that the different usage with the preparatory future (§5.6.1) reflects the old Thura-Yura situation: with the preparatory future in Wirangu one 'ready to eat sits' and so forth. There is no equivalent structure to the preparatory future in Western Desert languages and therefore there was nothing that could exert any influence on Wirangu clauses of this kind. However the Western desert serial structure was there to influence the ordinary temporal clauses of Wirangu, with the result that the 'sitting eats' clauses and similar nuclear

serialisations became the rule. It is an interesting and not unusual aspect of language development that the actual morphemes like the suffix **-dha** are conservative, while the structures are borrowed.

(d) The **-dha** suffix and short verbs

There are restrictions on the use of this suffix with short forms of the verb and with the transitivising **-ma.** The three short **-i** stems, **mirn** 'to hear', **wirn** 'to go' and **nyirn** 'to sit' cannot be used with this suffix, and neither can **ngal** 'to eat or drink; and the long forms are obligatory, hence we find **miʀadha**, **winadha**, **nyinadha** and **ngalgudha**, all of which occur in the sample sentences given above. The same applies to the transitiviser **-ma**, and only the long form is found as in **yadumaʀadha** 'fixing up'. The only short form that has been attested with the **-dha** suffix is **nharn** 'to see'. The long vowel which is the rule in monosyllables (§2.2.2(b)) is carried over into the potential form of this verb, which has therefore been written as **nhaadha**.

5.6.3 THE POSSIBLE IRREALIS FORM **-la**

There are just a few instances where what might be called an irrealis suffix **-la** is found in Wirangu. It seems to refer to something that has not yet happened and may not happen. The few examples that occur are only in the Platt recordings, and they are all in derivative verbs. It remains uncertain whether there is a connection between this suffix and the Kukata participial form **-ra/-la**, or between this suffix and Thura-Yura irrealis. The sphere of usage of this form is very much like the potential **-dha**.

Like the ordinary **-dha** potential the **-la** form can appear in a main clause:

5.117 **Wiyana-ngu garla yadu-ma-la.**
woman-ERG fire good-make-IRR
The woman might get a fire going.

5.118 **Nhangga-ngu wiyana wayi.dharba-la.**
man-ERG woman frighten-IRR
(That) man is going to frighten the woman.

It can also occur in a dependent temporal clause:

5.119 **Bala-ngu nyurni dyuri-rn gaʀi ingginma-la.**
he-ERG you tell-PRES directly ask-IRR
He'll soon tell you when you ask.

Unfortunately the examples are not numerous enough for any definite comments about this verb form.

5.6.4 THE APPREHENSIONAL

Most Australian languages have a 'Lest' marker, a verbal category that is often called 'apprehensional': it implies that something unpleasant will happen unless one takes some preventative action. The preventative action is not necessarily expressed, and the 'Lest' form can be the main verb.

In Wirangu the 'Lest' marker is **-dhirdi**, which is quite unlike the Kuyani **-angka,** and does not appear to have close correspondents anywhere. The closest sounding form is Kukata **-dyibi** (Platt 1972:38 and Goddard ca 1983). This marker is curious as it does not resemble the standard Western Desert forms, and like **-dhirdi** it is not added to the stem but to a derivative form (Platt 1972:38 and Goddard 1983).

The Wirangu apprehensional form **-dhirdi** differs from all the previously discussed Wirangu verbal suffixes in that it is dissyllabic and has a degree of independence: it normally has at least some minor accent on the first syllable. It is to some extent extraneous to the main verb structure, as it is not added to the verb stem, but to the present tense form. It is therefore best analysed not as a suffix, but as a postinflectional enclitic. The verb marked with the apprehensional clitic may be a main verb, without any preventative measures being mentioned:

5.120 **Nganha gurnda-rn-dhirdi.**
me hit-PRES-LEST
(He) might hit me.

5.121 **Balaardu maʀa-rn-dhirdi.**
this take-PRES-LEST
(He) might take this (thing).

The apprehensional form may be in a subordinate clause. This can have the same or a different subject. A different subject is most common as in example 5.125 below and in:

5.122 **Ngadhu walduga-rn, gidyara-ngu nharn-dhirdi.**
I cover.up-PRES children-ERG see-LEST
I am covering it up, lest the children should see it.

Examples of the same subject in the main and the apprehensional clause are:

5.123 **Maga barnda warni-ga, gidya winygama gurndi-rn-dhirdi.**
not stone throw-IMP child other hit-PRES-LEST
Don't throw stones, lest (you) hit another child.

5.124 **Nganha wayi ngadhu wardawarda-gid(i)-rn-dhirdi.**
I scared I forgetful-become-PRES-LEST
I am scared I might forget (it).

The apprehensional suffix has, as seen above, some independence and must be classed as a postinflectional clitic. Short verbs combined with it are therefore treated as if they had no suffix and were monosyllabic. They always retain their long vowel, as in **nharn-dhirdi** (in example 5.122) and as in **ngal-dhirdi** in the following sentence:

5.125 **Maʀa-ga, urla-ngu ngal-dhirdi.**
take-IMP boy-ERG eat-LEST
Take it away, lest the boys eat it up.

The relevant verbs are pronounced as [ɲaːɳ-ðiḍi] and [ŋaːl-ðiḍi] respectively.

The verb marked with **-dhirdi** is always clause-final. This is an important feature: the 'Lest' marker is used is almost as if it were extraneous to the verbal word, and simply marked the whole clause.

5.6.5 THE PURPOSIVE

(a) The purposive in the main clause

The purposive in Wirangu functions in a main clause to indicate an obligation, and in a dependent clause it expresses an aim. The purposive is expressed by the postinflectional enclitic **-gu**, which, like the apprehensional, follows the present tense marker. This is very much in line with indications given long ago by J.G. Breen (1974) who pointed out that in many Australian languages **-gu** was not normally affixed directly to a verb stem. The 'bivalent' **-gu** is almost universal in Australian languages (see Blake 1976:421): it occurs in Wirangu with nouns as a dative-allative-possessive marker (§3.2.3) as well as a verbal purposive marker, but it is absent from these functions in the other Thura-Yura languages.

In Wirangu the purposive marker can be added directly to short verbs, which by their nature imply the present tense marker (§5.3.1). The purposive marker, like the apprehensional, is a post-inflectional clitic, and accordingly short verbs to which it is affixed are always considered as monosyllabic, and have a long vowel.

Examples of the purposive form as a main verb are:

5.126 **Nyurni ngali wina-rn-gu.**
you we.two go-PRES-PURP
You and I have to go.

5.127 **Ngadhu malu-nga nyirn-gu, dyirndu idhara gamba-rn.**
I shade-LOC sit-PURP sun still burn-PRES
I have to sit in the shade: the sun is still hot.

(**Nyirn-gu** is pronounced [ɲiːŋgu], with a long vowel.)

(b) The purposive in subordinate clauses

The most common use of the purposive is in a subordinate purpose clause which has the same subject as the main clause:

5.128 **Nganha wina-rn baʀu maʀa-rn-gu.**
I go-PRES meat get-PRES PURP
I am going out to get meat.

5.129 **Nganha urldi-na nyurni maʀa-rn-gu.**
I come-PAST you get-PRES-PURP
I came to pick you up.

5.130 **Nganha gaʀi warna-rn, yuwa-rn-gu.**
I directly rise-PRES stand-PRES-PURP
I am getting up to stand up.

5.131 **Waliri baʀu bana ngal-gu!**
hurry meat this eat-PURP
Hurry over here to eat this meat!

There are a few rare instances where the purposive is used with switch of reference, i.e. where the subject of the main clause is not the same as the subject of the subordinate clause.

The first is from an imaginary conversation between a grandmother and her son at a football match:

5.132 **Gidya bala maʀa-ga, gan.gara ila-ga bala-ngu nharn-gu.**
child this take-IMP on.top put-IMP he-ERG see-PURP
Pick up this child (my grandchild) and put him up (on your shoulders) so that he can see!

5.133 **Maʀa nha nhangga-gabi-n ngura-gu wina-rn-gu.**
take here man-drink-EMPH home-ALL go-PRES-PURP
Pick up this drunken man here so that he can get home.

These two examples may be instances of some grammatical loss even by the best modern speakers, who normally differentiated between same-subject and switch-reference clauses.

(c) The locative as purposive

The locative case is commonly used in Australian languages with nouns which express the object or purpose for which people are hunting or searching. P. Austin (1981:139) discusses this and also Hercus (1994:82). Unfortunately there is only one Wirangu example, in the recordings by J.T. Platt, of a sentence where the locative marker is added to a verb to express a purpose:

5.134 **Nhangga wina-rn mayi ngal-nga.**
man go-PRES food eat-LOC
(This) man is going to eat some food.

Presumably the speaker meant that the man was walking somewhere in search of food, and therefore it was not an 'English' type future (§5.5.3).

5.6.6 THE SWITCH-REFERENCE MARKING SUFFIX **-nda**

The suffix **-nda** was used with verbs in subordinate clauses, and particularly purposive clauses when there was a switch of reference. This was made very clear one day when the generator which operated the pump at Bookabie ran out of diesel:

5.135 **Gabi-gu yada-rn baldha malgi-rn-gu.**
water-DAT wait.for-PRES clothes wash-PRES-PURP
(I) am waiting for the water so that (I) can wash (my) clothes.

5.136 **Ngadhu gabi-gu yadi-rn baldha malgi-nda.**
I water-DAT wait.CONT-PRES clothes wash-SWITCH
I keep waiting for the water so that (she, another person) can wash (my) clothes.

Other examples are:

5.137 **Ngadhu dyina ila-na bala warna-nda.**
I foot put-PAST he fall-SWITCH
I stuck out my foot so that he would trip up.

5.138 **Gidya bala gurnda-ga, urla-nda.**
child this hit-IMP cry-SWITCH
Hit that child so that it will cry (some more)!

The **-nda** form is not confined to purposive clauses, but is used in conditional and temporal clauses with switch of reference:

5.139 **Nganha gari ngandu-ri-rn gabi warni-nda.**
I soon wet-INC-PRES rain fall-SWITCH
I am going to get wet directly if it rains.

5.140 **Nganha maga nhala nyirn, nhangga-muga gabigabi-nga**
I not here stay man-PL grog-LOC

nyina-ri-nda,[4] **ngadhu wina-rn.**
sit-RECIP-SWITCH I go-PRES
I am not staying here while (all these) people are sitting together drinking, I am going.

There is one isolated example, previously given as example 3.71, of the use of **-nda** in a main clause where there is a locative absolute construction:

5.141 **Nganha minya wanyi-nga wilbara marna winawina-nda.**
I small girl-LOC buggy many go.about-SWITCH
When I was a little girl, there were lots of buggies around.

The only short verbs that were heard with the switch-reference marker were **nyirn** ('to sit'), **nyinda**, and **nharn** ('to see'), **nhanda**.

From the way in which the switch-reference marker was remembered it seems likely that this form was rapidly losing ground with the decline of the language: it was not always used when one might have expected it (as in examples 5.132–5.133 above), but the speakers still had a clear notion that 'somebody else has to be doing it'.

5.7 ASSOCIATED MOTION

5.7.1 THE ASSOCIATED MOTION MARKER **-gad(i)-**

The verb **gadirn** 'to carry' is used to form secondary verbs meaning 'while travelling along', 'on the way': it serves as associated motion marker. This is exactly parallel to the use of the same verb stem **-kati-** in Western Desert languages (Goddard 1985:118). In Wirangu however, when used as associated motion marker, **-gadi-** is abbreviated and always loses its final vowel: the tense marker immediately follows **-gad-**, and so the most common form, that of the present, is the shortened form **-gad-n** (§2.2.3(a)).

As in the Western Desert languages, transitivity is determined by the main verb. Thus in the sentence **Bala wanggirn-gadn** 'She is talking while going along' (sentence 5.144) the verb is intransitive, while in the sentence **Balangu galda gurndirn-gadn** 'She is killing sleepy lizards while travelling along' (sentence 5.143 below) the verb is transitive. This type of associated motion construction is clearly a borrowing from the Western Desert language

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4 This was later corrected to **nyinaranda**, for reasons which are not clear.

Kukata. The actual verb **gadirn** is found in both Thura-Yura and Western Desert languages, but its use to express associated motion stems from Western Desert languages.

There are however some differences. It seems that in Western Desert languages **-kati** is still felt to be connected with the independent verb **kati-** 'to carry', whereas Wirangu speakers never think of **-gad-** in terms of the verb **gadirn** 'to carry'. In the Western Desert languages: **-kati-** is attached to the 'neutral' verb stem, whereas in Wirangu the corresponding form **-gad(i)-** is attached to the present stem. There seems to be one exceptional case of a verb following the Western Desert pattern with use of the stem form before **-gadn**: Daisy Bates (n.d.1) wrote 'wila addan', 'to crawl' which is clearly a transcription of **wila(g)adn** 'to crawl along' with use of the stem form of the verb **wilarn** 'to crawl' and elision of the initial **g** of the suffixed **-gadn** as observed in §2.1.2(c). Modern speakers also used the term **wilagadn** 'to crawl' and a derivative noun **wilagadani** 'a crawling child'. In all other verbs this suffix is linked to the present tense form and can only be used immediately following it. The reasons for this are quite different from the reasons associated with the use of the present tense form in the apprehensional and purposive. There it was because these suffixes were only loosely linked to the verbal word, whereas here the present stem serves as 'speed' marker, or to indicate 'action undertaken before departing again' (§5.2.7(d)). Because it often involves repeated or prolonged action the continuative-repetitive stem has to be used. The following examples illustrate how such an associated motion verb is built up:

gurnda-	to hit, to kill (normal stem)
gurndi-	to hit repeatedly (continuative-repetitive stem)
gurndirn	to hit repeatedly (continuative-repetitive present stem)
gurndirn.gadn	to hit at various times while going along

as in:

5.142 **Bala-ngu gurndi-rn.**
she/he-ERG hit.repeatedly-PRES
She (he) hits repeatedly. (present tense)

5.143 **Bala-ngu galda gurndi-rn-gad-n.**
she/he-ERG sleepy.lizard hit.repeatedly-PRES-GO-PRES
She goes round killing sleepy lizards.

and:

wanggarn	to speak
wanggirn.gadn	to speak while going along

as in:

5.144 **Bala wanggi-rn-gad-n.**
he/she speak-PRES-GO-PRES
He is talking as he is walking along.

An action preparatory to the motion can be considered part of being 'on the way', i.e. the **-gadn** form can imply 'subsequent motion'. George Glennie speaking on John Platt's recordings made this clear. He was asked: "Why do you always say **gadn**?" when he had just used **-gadn** with the verb **yuwarn** 'to stand', and he answered:

"**Yuwarngadn**, I am standing up to go, **yuwarngadn**, because I am going to get up and walk".

This represents:

5.145 **Yuwa-rn-gad-n.**
stand-PRES-GO-PRES
(I) am standing up to go.

The stem **yuwa-** is used because this is a single preliminary action; **yuwirngadn** 'he stands as he goes along' refers to someone who keeps having short stops on the way. Other examples of the use of 'associated motion' are:

5.146 **Warlga** **maʀa-rn-gad-n.**
solanum.berries get-PRES-GO-PRES
They are picking solanum berries as they go along.

5.147 Signpost **balgi-rn-gad-na**.
signpost shoot-PRES-GO-PAST
(They) shot at the signposts as they were travelling along.

5.148 **Nganha** **nyurni-n** **miʀi-rn-gad-n.**
I you-EMPH hear.CONT-PRES-GO-PRES
I am listening to you as I go.

Verbs which in themselves imply continuous or repeated action such as 'hearing, listening' do not necessarily take the **i**-stem, and **miʀarngadn** 'going along listening' was also heard.

The associated motion marker is even used with the verb 'to go', 'to walk', in the sense of 'walking on one's way to', as in:

5.149 **Indhala** **nyurni** **wina-rn-gad-n?**
where you walk-PRES-GO-PRES
Where are you walking off to?

The use of **-gadn** is common in sentences about the movement of the sun and moon: they rise or fall as they go along, as in:

5. 150 **Biʀa** **gan.gi-rn-gad-n**.
moon rise-PRES-GO-PRES
The moon is rising.

Other typical examples of the use of this suffix are:

5.151 **Bala-ngu** **ma** **ngalgu-rn-gad-n.**
he/she-ERG food eat-PRES-GO-PRES
He is eating as he is walking along.

5.152 **Buyu** **badyi-rn-gad-n**.
smoke bite-PRES-GO-PRES
(He) is going along smoking.

5.153 **Gaʀi** **maldhulu** **nhagu-rn-gad-n**.
soon morning see-PRES-GO-PRES
(I) will see (you) on my way in the morning.

The use of **-gad(i)-** was obviously well established by early this century. Black (1917:4) regarded 'gadin' as an independent clitic and translated it as 'now'. His example is clear: 'tjindo derbin gadin', 'the sun is going down now', i.e. **dyirndu dharbirn-gadn** 'the sun is on the way down' .

The associated complex is used with tense markers other than the present, as in example 5.147 above and in:

5.154 **Bala-ngu rabbiti gurndi-rn-gad(i)-na.**
she/he-ERG rabbit kill.CONT-PRES-GO-PAST
She went round killing rabbits.

Associated motion is also used with the purposive complex, which of course obligatorily includes the present tense marker preceding **-gu** (§5.6.5):

5.155 **Warni-rn-gad-n-gu.**
throw-PRES-GO-PRES-PURP
I've got to throw it out as I go.

There is a curious sentence in Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]): 'nyuni maʀadhu gaddining, you have stolen that'. This is not an example of the associated motion marker; the sentence contains the verb **gadirn** 'to carry', and it can be analysed as follows, with the present tense form being used as a speed-marking stem-forming suffix (§5.2.7(d)):

5.156 **Nyurni maʀa-dha gadi-rn-i-rn.**
you take-SER carry-PRES-CONT-PRES
Having taken (this) you are carrying it away in a hurry.

The Lake Eyre Basin languages Diyari and Arabana-Wangkangurru have complex systems of expressing associated motion. The Thura-Yura languages Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have equally intricate systems of marking associated motion: a number of the forms have been discussed by D. Tunbridge (1988). These include means of expressing motion towards speaker, motion away from speaker, event occurring on the way, motion subsequent to event and so forth.

In Wirangu as in Western Desert languages only the notions of 'while going along', 'on the way', and 'before going away' are expressed within the verbal word by the suffixation of **-gad(i)-**, which is based on **gadirn** 'to carry'.

In Parnkalla there does not seem to be any 'associated motion', either of the Adnyamathanha-Kuyani type, or of the Western-Desert and Wirangu type. The corresponding verb 'kattiti', 'to carry' is never found in association with any other verb. The situation can be summarised as follows:

TABLE 5.3: ASSOCIATED MOTION

Diyari, Arabana-Wangkangurru	extensive system of associated motion markers, some of which are clearly based on verbs of posture and motion
Adnyamathanha and Kuyani	extensive system of associated motion markers, not readily analysable
Parnkalla, Kaurna and other southern Thura-Yura languages	no evidence of associated motion marking of any kind
Wirangu	frequent use of the associated and subsequent motion marking suffix **-gad(i)**, attached to present tense/speed-marking suffix
Kukata, Yankunytjatjara and other Western Desert languages	**-kati** attached to the 'neutral stem' of verbs to form associated motion and process verbs

It is clear from this table that the marking of associated motion was not an original common Thura-Yura feature. D. Tunbridge (1988:268) suggests that because the relevant Adnyamathanha suffixes are not readily analysable the process of associated motion marking was particularly early there and spread from there. Many of the relevant Arabana-Wangkangurru suffixes are equally unanalysable, and it seems much more likely that this was a Lake Eyre Basin phenomenon, including a less developed system in Pitta-Pitta, and also in languages further to the east. There are a number of other instances of a similar diffusion of grammatical categories, such as the benefactive (§5.2.6) and speed marking (§5.2.7(d)). Adnyamathanha and Kuyani, immediately adjacent to Arabana-Wangkangurru and Diyaric, were right within the sphere of this diffusion. An interesting feature of Adnyamathanha (and Kuyani) pointed out by D. Tunbridge (1988:279) is the use of an affix based on the verb 'to take' to indicate associated motion, 'while going along', which is parallel to the Western Desert system.

Parnkalla and the southern Thura-Yura languages were further away from the Lake Eyre Basin, and from the Western Desert and were not affected by the spread of 'associated motion'.

The Wirangu system of marking associated motion was clearly based on Kukata influence but shows some minor affinity to the Lake Eyre Basin system in the way the affix **-gad(i)** is attached and the way in which it has lost its association with the independent verb **gadirn**.

5.8 OTHER FEATURES OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM

5.8.1 COMPOUND VERBS

There is no fully developed system of verbal compounding in Wirangu, but just isolated occurrences of compound verbs: these are cases where a verb stem is combined with second fully inflected verb to form one single compound verbal word.

In Western Desert languages the verb 'to put' was sometimes used as second member of such a compound, in the sense of 'putting in a position', with what is basically a causative meaning (Goddard 1985:120). Thus one can say 'lie-put' for 'to put in a lying position', and 'enter put' for 'to put inside'. There is an isolated instance where this structure was literally translated into Wirangu:

5.157 **Baʀu bala dharba-ila-ga!**
meat this enter-put-IMP
Put this meat inside (the oven to warm).

In Western Desert languages the first member of the compound can be a nominal too, thus **kuti-tju-n** means 'to put into hiding', 'to hide away' (Goddard 1985:121). This same expression also occurs in Wirangut, complete with the word **kuti**, which is borrowed too:

5.158 **Nhangga-ngu gudi-ila-na.**
man-ERG hide-put-PAST
The man hid (it).

In Western Desert languages and particularly in Kukata (Goddard 1983) the verb **pung-** 'to hit' is used to form compound verbs, usually from nominals. There is one such compound in Wirangu, involving the use of the verb **bagarn** 'to hit' and a word **nyuni**, otherwise unknown: **nyuni-bagarn** 'to run someone down', 'to gossip maliciously about someone'.

Bagarn 'to hit' is also used in a compound with the verb **yandarn** 'to put down', 'to drop', hence **yanda-bagarn** 'to push over' literally 'put down-hit':

5.159 **Urla-ngu wanyi yanda-baga-na.**
boy-ERG girl put.down-hit-PAST
The boy pushed the girl over.

These compound verbs are nothing more than translation borrowings from Kukata: they reflect the type of development that takes place readily when people are bilingual and switching from one languages to another. There are four other compound verbs that may fit into this category. Two are based on the nominal **wayi** 'afraid', 'fear'.

(i) The transitive verb **wayi-dharbarn** 'to frighten someone', literally 'to enter fear' is clearly derived from **wayi** with the verb **dharbarn** 'to enter', 'to get in'.

(ii) The intransitive verb **wayi-barn** 'to be frightened' is a compound of **wayi** 'fear' and **barn** 'to strike', 'to make'. It is surprising that this should be the intransitive verb 'to fear', but that is how it is used:

5.160 **Nhangga gari nhangga winygama nha-dha wayi-ba-na.**
man soon man other see-SER fear-make-PAST
(That) man, as soon as he saw the other man, got frightened.

This compound verb too has a Kukata equivalent, **ngurlu-biny** (Platt 1972:47).

(iii) The transitive verb **yadu-barn** 'to strike a fire', 'to make (a fire)' is based on the adjective **yadu** 'good' and the verb **barn** 'to strike', 'to make':

5.161 **Maldhi-nga garla yadu-ba-na.**
night-LOC fire good-make-PAST
He made a fire at night.

This form is very similar in use to the transitive verbaliser **-ma** (§5.2.4).

(iv) **indi-waʀarn** 'to drop', 'to leave behind', 'to forget' is based on **indirn** 'to spill' and an unknown verbal form that could be an adaptation of **warn** 'to fall'.

5.162 **Nhanga-ngu banyini gadyi indiwaʀa-na.**
man-ERG just now spear drop-PAST
The man dropped (his) spear a little while ago.

The compound verbs of Wirangu as a whole can be regarded as borrowings and more particularly translation-borrowings from Kukata, and it seems that verb-compounding was not an original feature of Wirangu nor of the Thura-Yura languages in general.

5.8.2 THE COPULA

In Wirangu, as in most Australian languages, the verb 'to be' does not need to be expressed (§5.8.3). Descriptive sentences containing 'stative adjectives' (Goddard 1985:17), that is adjectives denoting inherent qualities, are in fact obligatorily verbless. On the other hand in locational sentences and in descriptive sentences containing possessive phrases and 'active' adjectives, i.e. those denoting transient conditions such as being hungry or frightened, it is obligatory to use a copula. The 'stationary position' verbs, 'to sit', 'to stand' and 'to lie' can all three serve as 'existential' verbs and can fulfil the function of copula. There are however some restrictions.

(a) The verb **ngarbirn** 'to lie'

This verb is used as copula only with inanimate subjects and only in locational sentences:

5.163 **Gabi ngarbi-rn.**
water lie-PRES
There is some water (here). (lit. Water lies.)

The reciprocal form **ngarbirirn** can be used if one wants to imply 'to be around', 'to exist in numbers', as in the sentences quoted by Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]): 'Gabi burnda ngarbirirn', 'Are there any native springs?' This is equivalent to:

5.164 **Gabi-barnda ngarbi-ri-rn?**
water-rock be (lie)-RECIP-PRES
Are there any rockholes around?

Even when the location mentioned is far removed from the notion of 'lying down' the verb **ngarbirn** can still be used, as it is simply a copula:

5.165 **Ma warda-ng' ngarbi-rn.**
vegetable.food tree-LOC be (lie)-PRES
There's some fruit on (this) tree.

With animate subjects the verb **ngarbirn** inevitably means 'to lie down' and cannot be used as copula, thus the following sentence can only mean 'I am having a lie-down inside (my house)':

5.166 **Ngadhu gulybi-ng' ngarbi-rn.**
I inside-LOC lie-PRES

(b) The verb **nyirn, nyinarn** 'to sit'

Both the short and the long form of the verb can be used as copula in locational sentences, as well as in descriptive sentences containing possessive phrases and 'active' adjectives. This however applies only if the reference is to persons. Someone might arrive and call out:

5.167 **Dhala nyurni?**
where you
Where are you?

To this the answer would be:

5.168 **Ngadhu nha-n nyirn!**
I here-EMPH be (sit)
I'm over here!

5.169 **Warla-ng' nyina-rn.**
row-LOC be (sit)-PRES
(They) are in dispute/are having a row.

And in a possessive sentence:

5.170 **Dyarda magaʀi nyirn.**
stomach hollow log be (sit)
(He) is (with) a stomach (like) a hollow log, (he is desperately hungry).

(c) The verb **yugarn** 'to stand'

This is the one posture verb that is general. It can be used as copula for both persons and inanimates, in locational as well as descriptive sentences:

5.171 **Gidyara wayi yuga-rn.**
children afraid are (stand)-PRES
The children are frightened.

5.172 **Gabi ngura-ng' yuga-rn.**
water camp-LOC be (stand)-PRES
There is water in the camp.

Wirangu shares with some of the Karnic languages of the Lake Eyre Basin, notably Diyari (Austin 1981:103) as well as with the Thura-Yura languages the use of the three verbs of posture as copula in locational sentences. The same distribution is found: 'to sit' with animates, 'to lie' with inanimates, and 'to stand' with both animates and inanimates. In Wirangu however, and to some extent in the other Thura-Yura languages, the use of the verb 'to stand' has become more general in this function and is not confined to locational sentences nor to people and objects that can assume a standing position as in sentence 5.171.

With regard to the copula, Wirangu is distinctly in line with the Thura-Yura languages and differs from the Western Desert languages where a verb meaning 'to crouch down' is used as a copula, and the verb 'to stand' is not used in that function.

5.8.3 VERBLESS SENTENCES

In Wirangu as in Aboriginal languages in general verbless sentences are common and fall into three categories: equational (cf. Austin 1981:101), locational, and attributive. This category includes complex and possessive predicates.

(a) Equational verbless sentences

This is the rarest type of verbless sentence: a noun or pronoun subject is equated with a noun or noun phrase that forms the predicate. The subject can precede the predicate:

5.173 **Nganha wardadyi.**
I widow
I am a widow.

or

5.174 **Ngana balaardu?**
what it
What is it?

The subject can even be placed between the predicate and an appositional clause:

5.175 **Nhangga balaardu, maga walybala.**
Aborigine he not whitefellow
He is an Aboriginal person, not a whitefellow.

(b) Locational verbless sentences

These seem to be confined to sentences with deictic and interrogative adverbs:

5.176 **Gabi nha!**
water here
The water is here!

5.177 **Dhala nyurni?**
where you
Where are you?

In clauses where location is marked by some other adverb or by a locative the copula has to be used, as in sentences 5.161 –5.163.

(c) Attributive verbless sentences: with simple predicates

As pointed out above (§5.8.2), when the predicate contains a stative adjective, one describing a permanent situation or inherent quality, the sentence is obligatorily verbless.

There are examples already in Black's (1917:3) work: 'ba'lardu jadu naŋga' and 'ŋanta wi:ənа ba'lardu'. This can be analysed as:

5.178 **Balaardu yadu nhangga.**
he good man
He (is) a good man.

and

5.179 **Ngandha wiyana balaardu.**
bad woman she
She is a bad woman.

In the works of Daisy Bates we find 'balla ardu ngantha', 'he is no good':

5.180 **Balaardu ngandha.**
he bad
He is bad.

Modern speakers quite commonly used sentences like:

5.181 **Widhaardu nhangga bala.**
tall man he
He is a tall fellow.

A number of other examples are quoted in §4.2.6(b) above.

There is an option with active adjectives: they can be used either with a copula or in a verbless sentence. One can in fact make a distinction in Wirangu and emphasise the temporary state for an active adjective by using it with a copula as in **wayi yugarn** 'to be scared (just now)' as opposed to the verbless usage shown for instance in Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]): 'nyuni wai-i', 'you are a coward'. This is equivalent to:

5.182 **Nyurni wayi.**
you frightened
You are frightened. (i.e. you are in a permanent state of fear.)

The distinction between the verbless usage and the use of the copula can also be seen in the following:

5.183 **Nganha warla nyina-rn.**
I angry am.(sit)-PRES
I am angry (i.e. I am in an angry mood just now.)

But the verbless setence shows a more permanent state:

5.184 **Nganha warla.**
I angry
I am in a prolonged angry and aggressive frame of mind.

It seems that the use of the copula locks the adjective into a particular time-frame, whereas the verbless sentence leaves the attribute indefinite in time.

(d) Attributive verbless sentences: with possessive predicates

In such sentences the complement contains a possessive adjective:

5.185 **Ngadyu garba bala.**
my house this
This is my house.

The same concept may be expressed in various ways:

5.186 **Nyurnigu malba bala?**
your 'company' she
Is she your companion?

5.187 **Nyurnigu malba wanyi bala?**
your 'company' girl this
Is this girl your companion?

The subject, if it is a third person pronoun, may be understood:

5.188 **Nyurnigu malba?**
your 'company'
(Is she) your girlfriend?

(e) Attributive verbless sentences: with complex predicates

Attributive verbless sentences may contain a complex complement, involving the use of a 'having' or a privative suffix:

5.189 **Manda dyilga-marna.**
ground prickle-many
The place is full of prickles.

5.190 **Warla-marnaardu bala.**
anger-much he
He is a big troublemaker.

5.191 **Nganha barnda-yudu.**
I money-without
I haven't got any money.

Sentences of this type are very common indeed and there are a number of examples in §3.3.2 and §4.2.6(b) above. Equally common are compounds where inalienable possession is implied (§4.1.2). Typical examples are:

5.192 **Nhangga dyina-mingga.**
man foot-sore
(This) man has sore feet.

5.193 **Nganha gaga-mingga.**
I head-sore
I have a headache.

Many expressions for emotions are formed according to this pattern, as the stomach is seen as the seat of the emotions, so one can say for instance:

5.194 **Nganha dyarda-ngandha.**
I stomach-bad
I am upset.

5.195 **Nganha dyarda-wadyarn.**
I stomach-sorry
I am feeling sad and dejected.

5.196 **Nganha dyarda-yadu.**
I stomach-good
I am feeling happy.

If the subject is in the third person the pronoun subject may be omitted, and only the predicate needs to be expressed as in:

5.197 **Dyarda-marnaardu (bala).**
Stomach-big (he)
(He has) a full stomach.

The verbless sentences referring to emotions seem to be idiomatic in Wirangu, and have no absolutely exact parallels either in Kukata or in Thura-Yura.

CHAPTER 6

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX: PARTICLES, ADVERBIAL PARTICLES AND CLITICS

6.1 PARTICLES

Particles are by definition uninflected. In Wirangu one can differentiate between two kinds of particles: true particles, that is indeclinables which can modify the meaning of a whole clause; and adverbial particles, that is indeclinables which modify the meaning of a noun phrase or verb phrase. Both these types of particles represent small and closed categories.

6.1.1 NEGATIVE PARTICLES

The Northern Thura-Yura languages Kuyani and Adnyamathanha have a special negative copula implying that something or somebody is absent. In Kuyani this verb is **pari-**.

6.1 **Nhurrranha-itla pari-yaku nhina.**
altogether-indeed be.absent-CONT you
You are never there (when I want you).

Parnkalla and Wirangu on the other hand do not have this negative copula and negation is expressed by particles. The two languages go very much hand in hand in the way negation is expressed.

(a) The negative particle **maga**

The negative answer to a polar question or straight request is always **maga**. So if someone is asked for money they could answer:

6.2 **Maga, barnda gandyi-rl.**
no money keep-IMM
No, (I) am keeping (my) money.

Any outright denial is represented by just **maga**, and so in answer to the following statement the person being accused would simply say **maga** 'no':

6.3 **Nyurni nganha yuni-baga-rn!**
you me run down-PRES
You are saying things about me!

Maga is also used as a sentence negator, and usually precedes the word that is most specifically negated:

6.4 **Warlba marnaardu-nga maga wina-rn!**
wind big-LOC not go-PRES
I am not going out in a gale!

6.5 **Walybala-gu ngura bala, maga dharbi-rn.**
whitefellow-GEN camp this not enter-PRES
This is a whitefellow's place, I am not going inside.

When used as a prohibitive particle 'don't', **maga** is always the first word in a sentence:

6.6 **Maga dyina-ngu gurnda-ga!**
not foot-INST hit-IMP
Don't kick!

6.7 **Maga baldha ngandu-maʀa!**
not clothes wet-make
Don't get your clothes wet!

6.8 **Maga wardu-baʀu ngal!**
not wombat-meat eat
Don't eat wombat meat!
(This sentence was almost used as a nickname for the writer, because it was her repeated plea.)

Maga could also be used as a privative suffix 'not having', 'without' (§3.3.3 above):

6.9 **Barnda-maga.**
money-without
(I am) without money.

No clitic was affixed to **maga** by modern speakers, but there is one sentence in Daisy Bates (n.d.[1]) where the emphatic clitic **-yin** is used in a verbless sentence similar to example 6.9 above: 'I have no food', 'māba muggain'. This can be interpreted as:

6.10 **Maba-magayin.**
food-without
(I am) without food.

The negative particle **maga** is shared by Parnkalla (Schürmann 1840 'makka') and Wirangu, and is also found in Kukata, but not the other Western Desert languages. It is likely to be a Parnkalla-Wirangu borrowing into Kukata.

(b) The negative particle **guda**

In Adnyamathanha and Kuyani, which do not have the negation **maga**, **(g)uda** is the ordinary negative particle. In Parnkalla and Wirangu, where **maga** is the generally used negator, **guda** has some more specialised meanings. In Wirangu the particle **guda** has the special meaning of 'being unable to do something'. It is attested in that meaning in the work of Black (1917:5): 'kuda', 'cannot': 'minjə wanji 'kuda 'waŋgan', 'the little girl (baby) can't talk'. This can be interpreted as:

6.11 **Minya wanyi guda wangga-rn.**
little girl cannot talk-PRES
The little girl can't talk (yet).

A modern speaker uttered a very similar sentence:

6.12 **Ngadhu guda wangga-rn.**
I cannot talk-PRES
I can't talk (about this, it's too embarassing).

Like the corresponding Panrkalla word 'kutta', **guda** can also mean 'not yet'; this meaning can be read into Black's sentence, sentence 6.11 above, and another modern sentence:

6.13 **Guda ngadhu wina-rn, idhara gambi-rn.**
cannot I come-PRES still cook-PRES
I can't come yet, I am still cooking.

With a possible nuance of 'not yet' **guda** can be used as prohibitive particle. In this function it is always initial in a sentence:

6.14 **Guda ngarbi-ngarbi-ga!**
not.yet lie-lie-IMP
Don't lie around (yet, there are still things to do)!

(c) The emphatic negative **min.ga**

This particle was used only in emphatic negations:

6.15 **Ngadhu min.ga wina-na.**
I not.at.all go-PAST
I never went at all.

There is one other negative particle in Wirangu and that is **guru**, which means 'not really', 'not quite' and is only very rarely used. It corresponds to Parnkalla 'kurru' as in 'kari kurru', 'later, not yet', literally 'not now'.

6.1.2 HYPOTHETICAL PARTICLES

Many Australian languages have particles which throw doubt on an utterance and correspond roughly to 'perhaps' or 'so they say'. Wirangu has two particles with a distinct irrealis meaning. Neither of these seems to have direct correspondences in Thura-Yura or Western Desert languages, and they are also quite different from the forms meaning 'like (but not really)' examined by G. Breen (1984).

(a) **dhalyga**

This particle could almost be translated as 'hopefully', if the hope is or was vain. It usually follows the word that is subject to the vain wish, and can also be sentence-final. There are two typical examples of the use of **dhalyga** in the work of Black (1917):

(i) 'paɹu kundada ŋagu (probably for 'ŋadu') telga', 'I would like to kill and eat a sheep'. This has been quoted above, as sentence 5.100 in (5.6.2(a)), and can be analysed as:

6.16 **Baʀu gurnda-dha ngadhu dhalyga!**
meat kill-POT I hopefully.
I could gladly kill a meat-animal (but I won't get a chance)!

and

(ii) 'balaŋu ŋalara me:l jadu wi:ənа dalga', 'she thinks herself a pretty woman'.

This can be transcribed as :

6.17 **Bala-ngu ngarlara mil yadu wiyana dhalyga.**
she-ERG self eye good woman hopefully
She likes to (see) herself as a good-looking woman (yet she is anything but that).

A transitive verb such as 'see' must be understood in this sentence.

The state or action that one falsely thought was favourable may be in the past, as in the following sentence from a modern speaker:

6.18 **Ngadhu warda yadu dhalyga ila-na.**
I thing good hopefully put.down-PAST
I thought I had put this thing down all right (but it fell over).

(b) **maʀandyi**

This particle, like **dhalyga**, refers to an action that might have happened but didn't, or an action that might still happen but actually won't. It differs from **dhalyga** in that there is no wishful thinking about it; it simply expresses a hypothesis. **Maʀandyi** is sometimes shortened to **mandyi**. It is just possible that this short form at least may be connected with Kukata **manti** 'perhaps'. A dependent circumstantial clause may be involved, but a simple main clause can also be treated as hypothetcal. **Maʀandyi** usually precedes the verb:

6.19 **Ngadhu miʀa-dha, maʀandyi wangga wangga-rn.**
I hear-SER might language speak-PRES
If I had listened (to the old people), I might speak the language (but I didn't).

6.20 **Ngadhu maʀandyi wina-na.**
I might go-PAST
I could have gone (to the meeting) (but I didn't).

6.21 **Maʀandyi balaardu maʀa-na.**
might it catch-PAST
He might have caught it (the big fish, but of course he didn't).

The use of **maʀandyi** appears to be a uniquely Wirangu feature. Adnyamathanha and Kuyani have some particles that mark suppositions (Schebeck 1974:40). These are **apana**, which means 'suppose that' and, as Schebeck states, 'expresses a hypothesis rather than a doubt', and **matyiri**, var. **matyi** which means 'I believe, but I am not sure that'. This is close to the widespread 'so they say', and does not have the distinctly negative meaning of the two Wirangu hypothetical particles.

6.2 ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

Neither Parnkalla nor the Western Desert languages have regular means of deriving adverbs from adjectives. Wirangu shows the same situation. In Wirangu 'active' adjectives (§5.8.2), which are the only ones that normally give rise to adverbs, can be used as such in an adverbial function. Thus **dhaldu** 'true' is an adjective:

6.22 **Dhaldu bala.**
true this
It is true.

However, it can be used as an adverb:

6.23 **Dhaldu barlda-na.**
truly spear-PAST
(He) speared (it) well and truly.

Similarly the adjective **wadhara** 'loud' can be used adverbially:

6.24 **Bala wadhara wangga-rn.**
he/she loud talk-PRES
He is talking loudly.

and **nhudurn** 'selfish', can be used as an adverb 'selfishly':

6.25 **Nhanggga-ngu nhudurn gandyi-rn** baʀu.
man-ERG selfishly keep-PRES meat
The man is selfishly keeping the meat.

The same applies to **dyurgulu** 'straight' and 'in a straight line', **dhunadha** 'together, **manga** 'slow' and 'slowly', **wala**, **wala-wala** 'quick' and 'quickly'. There is however an alternative form, and that is the adverb **walangu** 'quickly', which is formed by the addition of the instrumental suffix to **wala** 'quick'. The method of forming adverbs by means of the instrumental is common over much of Australia including the Karnic languages to the north.

The fact that nominals can fulfil the function of adverbs of manner and location means that adverbial particles are a relatively small and restricted set in Wirangu. They form a closed category of words that qualify other parts of speech. They differ from the other particles which qualify a whole clause. They are indeclinable but may take a postinflectional emphatic markers.

6.2.1 TEMPORAL PARTICLES

bina already, only just, Adnyamathanha **vidna**, Kuyani **pidna**:

6.26 **Nyurni bina wina-na.**
you just go-PAST
You had just gone.

windhindi, windhini before, earlier

gudu all the time, without stopping:

6.27 **Gabi gudu ngal.**
grog always drink
He drinks all the time.

Gudu is probably cognate with Kuyani **gurru** 'all', Adnyamathanha **urru**.

guduardu for ever, altogether; for good. This is a derivative of **gudu** with the suffix **-ardu** (§2.1.2(d)):

6.28 **Nganha wina-rn guduardu.**
I go-PRES altogether
I am going away for good.

wardiya later on, by and by, as in:

6.29 **Ngadhu wardiya urldi-rn.**
I later.on come-PRES
I'll come directly.

budya, budyaarda, budyari This particle is very similar in meaning to **wardiya**, but it can also be used with reference to events in the past with the sense of 'subsequently', 'then', as in :

6.30 **Minya wanyi budyaarda mingga-ri-na.**
little girl then sick-become-PAST
The little girl got ill then.

g(u)warda now, today, just now. This is a borrowing from Kukata.

yargulu later on, behind. This particle has both a temporal and a locational meaning.

yurulu the meaning of this particle is uncertain. It was used probably on two occasions (in neither case was it clearly audible) by Rosie Peel in John Platt's recordings in response to the sentence 'The man disappeared last night':

6.31 **Nhangga yurulu wina-na.**
man ? go-PAST
The man then? went away.

It is possible that this word is cognate with Parnkalla 'yurullu, yurruyurrulu', 'later, by and by, afterwards'. In any case it is noteworthy that it is one of three temporal forms that has the ending **-ulu**, the others are **yargulu**, 'later on', quoted just above, and **maldhulu** 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' (§3.6.1(b)).

Other indications of time are given by the temporal nominals (§3.6).

6.2.2 Other adverbial particles

mandyana too, as well, also

mandyaardu repeatedly, in turn, too:

6.32 **Nganha mandyaardu wina-rn.**
I too come-PRES
I am coming too.

dyungu, dyunguardu also, too, as well (from Kukata, cf. the Yangkunytjatjara adjective **tyungu** 'together', 'joined')

6.33 **Dyungu ngadhu miʀa-rn.**
as.well I listen-PRES
I'm listening too.

yaramardu too, as well

The following are based on pronominal stems:

dhamu how?

6.34 **Dhamu nyurni maʀa-na?**
how you get-PAST
How did you get it?

This word is related to the interrogative stem **(in)dha-** as in §3.5.3(d)).

yamu, yamurdu thus, in exactly that way. This word is based on a pronominal stem **ya-** found in **yambi** 'there' (§3.5.3(c)) and in Parnkalla 'yartu', 'that one', 'yadni', 'thus', Adnyamathanha-Kuyani **yanha** 'that':

6.35 **Maga yamu wangga-rn, wangga ngandha!**
not thus speak-PRES word bad
Don't talk like that, that's a bad word!

There are no other words in what has been recorded of Wirangu to parallel a derivation with a suffix **-mu**.

The words listed here are all true particles, and cannot take any kind of inflection.

6.3 CLITICS

Clitics are postinflectional suffixes, they add various nuances of meaning. Only two have grammatical implications and have been discussed as parts of the verbal system: these are the purposive **-gu** (§5.6.5) and the apprehensional **-dhirdi** (§5.6.4). When a language is no longer in current use these nuances of expression and the subtleties of emphasis that are provided by clitics are among the first features to disappear. This was clearly noticeable in the course of recording Wirangu. In the 1993 recordings, apart from **-gu** and **-dhirdi**, the only clitic to be used occasionally was **-n**. In the 1996 recordings, when the speakers had regained some fluency, clitics suddenly began to appear, such as **-wil**, known previously only from Daisy Bates' notes.

6.3.1 THE CLITIC **-n**

A final **-n** is often affixed to nominals, it has never been heard following a verb-form. It serves not as a sandhi consonant but as a mark of mild emphasis:

6.36 **Nyurni yuʀi -n bamba-ri-na.**
you ear-EMPH useless-INC-PAST
You have become forgetful.

6.37 **Wanyi-n yardi-rl.**
girl-EMPH call-IMM
(I'll) call the girl.

6.38 **Nganha wiya-rn garla-n maʀa-rn-gu.**
I go-PRES wood-EMPH get-PRES-PURP
I am going out to get firewood.

Before an initial **b** this clitic is assimilated and becomes **-m**:

6.39 **Waru baldi-rn gadyi-ngu-m bala.**
kangaroo strike-PRES spear-INST-EMPH this
I'll hit this kangaroo with (my) spear.

The use of a clitic **-n** with a vaguely emphatic but not clearly determined meaning and attached to nominals is known from other language areas too: it is a prominent feature of the Waanyi language in the Gulf country.

6.3.2 OTHER CLITICS

(a) **-wil**

This clitic follows verbs and adds a sense of finality and immediacy. It was first noted by Daisy Bates:

(i) 'bullardu ngarbun wel','Lying he is down'.

This can be transcribed as

6.40 **Balaardu ngarbi-rn-wil.**
he/she lie down-PRES-indeed
Sure, he is lying down.

and

(ii) 'nadu wen wil', 'Go I will now'

This corresponds to:

6.41 **Ngadhu wirn-wil.**
I go-indeed
I'll certainly go.

A modern speaker said:

6.42 **Nyurni dyina ila-na, nhangga warna-na-wil.**
you foot put-PAST man fall-PAST-indeed
You put (your) foot out and (this) man definitely fell over.
(You tripped him up!)

(b) **-du**

This clitic has a restrictive meaning equivalent to 'just', 'only', and it is used with both nominals and verbs. Its most frequent use is with the locative functioning as comitative (§3.2.5(c)), when it is stressed that a person is accompanied only by the relative who is mentioned. Other examples are:

6.43 **Gudhara-du wina-ri-rn.**
two-just go-RECIP-PRES
Just the two of us are going out together.

6.44 **Minya urla warda-nga-du in.ga-rn.**
small boy stick-LOC-just play-PRES
The little boy is playing with just a stick.

6.45 **Nyurni nganha yada-rn-du.**
you I wait.for-PRES-just.
I am just going to wait for you (and not do anything else).

This clitic can be mildly emphatic:

6.46 **Nyurni nyindi-du?**
you know-just
Do you really know?

(c) Rarely attested clitics

The following clitics occur only once or twice in the recordings by J.T. Platt and the meaning is not clear:

-nu

This clitic seems to throw emphasis on the word to which it is attached:

6.47 **Buba-ngu nyurni gaɾi badyi-rn-nu.**
dog-ERG you now bite-PRES-EMPH
That dog is really going to bite you directly.

6.48 **Wangga-maga-nu nyina-ga!**
word-nothing-EMPH sit-IMP
Sit down absolutely quiet.

-rda

This was only heard in the one sentence, and the exact meaning could not be determined:

6.49 **Nyurni nyindi-rda?**
you know-EMPH
Do you know (it)?

(d) Clitics no longer used

(i) '-(y)in*', 'indeed!'

This clitic was used at the end of interrogative sentences by Lucy Washington and others speaking with Daisy Bates, and it was usually left untranslated by her. Some of the sentences she quotes (n.d.1) show that '(y)in' could be attached to verbs, nouns or pronouns in final position. The initial **y-** lost after consonants as in sentence 6.52 but preserved after vocalic finals:

(ii) 'Nyuni Pony ngagunain', 'Did you see the horses?'

This would be equivalent to:

6.50 **Nyurni buni nhagu-na-yin?**
you horse see-PAST-EMPH
Did you see the horse?

(iii) 'Indhala nungain', 'Where are the natives?'

This is equivalent to:

6.51 **Indhala nhangga-yin?**
where man-EMPH
Where are the (Aboriginal) men?

(iv) 'Nganunga kundarnin', 'Who killed him?'

This is equivalent to:

6.52 **Ngana-ngu gurnda-rn-in?**
who-ERG kill-PRES-EMPH
Who killed him?

(v) '-(y)ira'

This suffix is attested by Wiebusch who has 'kumajira' i.e. gumayira* meaning 'only one' from **guma** 'one'.

(vi) '-(y)il'

This is an emphatic marker used in the work of Wiebusch with adjectives and equivalent to 'very'. It is always transcribed by him as 'jil', and some of his examples in our spelling are 'marnayil', 'very big'; 'yaduyil', 'very good'; 'ngandhayil', 'very bad'; 'ilayil', 'nearest'.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

This overview of the Wirangu language is the result of piecing together all available information from the authors of the past, particularly Eyre, Provis, Black, Bates and Tindale, and combining this with the data recorded by J.T. Platt in 1966. These data have been checked and greatly extended with the help of Gladys and Doreen Miller, Lexie Kent, Iris Burgoyne and other Wirangu people over the last few years. Inevitably there are some gaps, and there is no available continuous text. The picture of Wirangu that emerges is one of considerable complexity.

The language is important from the point of view of modern Wirangu people and their cultural identity. The language is also of modern historical interest: because there are so many early records one can actually follow the increasing impact of Kukata through the word lists compiled from Eyre onwards in the course of the nineteenth century, as has been illustrated in Chapter 1. At first Kukata people were outsiders, fierce strangers from the North. They had come to stay, and began to intermarry with Wirangu people, with the result that many persons who identify with Wirangu have some Kukata as well as Wirangu ancestry. At the same time some Mirniny people from the far west coast had found refuge from the terrible conditions that prevailed there and had come to live at Ooldea and Koonibba in Wirangu country. Nevertheless it does not seem that there was much recent influence from Mirniny. Many Wirangu people learnt some Kukata and introduced Kukata words into their language, but Kukata people too learnt Wirangu and Parnkalla and adopted words and expressions from these languages into Kukata. Typical of such borrowings is the word **maga**. There is thus a certain convergence between these languages (see §1.2.3(a)). As for finding out the direction of borrowing there can never be any absolute certainty. Kukata and Wirangu have close genetic and cultural affiliations with different large language groups: Wirangu with Thura-Yura, and Kukata with the huge Western desert group. So if a word or feature is found in Wirangu and Kukata and one or more of Parnkalla, Kuyani, Adnyamathanha, Nukunu, Kaurna, it is likely to be a case of borrowing into Kukata, And if a word or feature is found in Wirangu and Kukata and one or more of Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara, Antikirinya etc. it is likely to be a case of borrowing into Wirangu, and this is by far the most common situation.

Kukata influence probably reached its peak in the 1930s. As both the Wirangu and Kukata languages retreated before the advance of English, Wirangu people became more conscious of what was their own language rather than Kukata, and would in fact be annoyed with themselves if they lapsed into Kukata. Many Kukata borrowings however were already well established in the language by then and were not recognised as being anything other than Wirangu.

As has been shown throughout the work, Wirangu is closely related to the Thura-Yura group. In particular the Gawler Ranges dialect of Wirangu bears close resemblance to what we know of the northern form of Parnkalla. There is evidently some genetic relationship, but it is also certain that these two sets of people must have been neighbours for a long time, long before the arrival of the Kukata: this would account for such diffusional features as the prestopping of nasals and laterals in the Gawler Ranges dialect.

The study of Wirangu leads us further back into the history of the languages of the area. In some features it shares similarities with Kaurna, as opposed to the immediately neighbouring Parnkalla and Adnyamathanha-Kuyani, as shown for instance in the table of verbs (§5.1.1): this probably means that it has not taken part in the changes undergone by these neighbouring languages as opposed to Kaurna. Of particular interest are those features where Wirangu has maintained widespread Pama-Nyungan characteristics as opposed to innovations undergone by all the other Thura-Yura languages: thus it does not share in the Thura-Yura use of the suffix **-ru** to mark the Genitive-Dative, and it has maintained the old accusative form of the first person pronoun, **nganha** (§4.2.2). The position of Wirangu also teaches us something about the peopling of that part of Australia: it shows a wide coastal area that has affiliations to the north-east. The history of the language confirms all the other documentation to show that the advance of Western Desert people and culture into the area is only relatively recent. There is an urgent need to revise those popular maps (§1.2.2) which show Wirangu country as a part of the Western Desert. None of these conclusions would have been possible without the help of those knowledgeable Wirangu people who contributed to this study.

APPENDIX 1

WIRANGU VOCABULARY

This abbreviated vocabulary is based largely on manuscript material from Daisy Bates pronounced by Gladys Miller and Doreen Miller, and also on material provided independently by these speakers as well as by the late Rosie Peel, Ted Hart, George Glennie and Lena Miller as recorded by John Platt.

Some words from written sources have been included, adapted to the present spelling and marked with an asterisk. The spelling in the original source is always quoted.

The comment 'older word' means that a word or phrase was used only by speakers on the Platt tapes. Adnyamathanha information is from McEntee and McKenzie (1992), Parnkalla is from Schürmann's brilliant work of 1844, Kuyani is from my own recordings with the late Alice Oldfield. Most of the Western Desert information is from Goddard (1987) and Platt (1972). The illustrative sentences, unless stated otherwise, are all from modern speakers.

alindhara
north

alinyal* warlba
north wind (DB yallinyal walba)

an.gu
sleep (n), asleep; **an.gugu ngadhu winarn** I am going (home) for a sleep (from Kukata, replacing the older **miya**)

an.gu ngarbirn
to lie down to sleep, to fall asleep (v intr); **gidya an.gu ngarbirn** the child is falling asleep

an.girirn
to sleep; **nganyi banyini maldhinga an.girina** I went to sleep last night

argarn
to imitate, to copy someone, to mock; **nganya argarn** he is mocking me

aʀirn-gadn
to avoid, to go round dodging (a weapon) (from Kukata)

ba
and; used only in fixed locutions, e.g. **gudhara ba gudhara** two and two, four

baaga
tobacco (from English)

baba
dog; this was felt to be borrowed from Kukata and was used only by some and only for 'tame dog'; cf. **buba**, **ilga**

babulu
kidney

bada
fat; **bada marnaardu** a very stout person

badhanu
poison

badharn, var. **badyarn**, **badyurn**
to bite, sting, to smoke; **minya urla babangu badhana** the dog bit a little boy; **baga badyurl** he is smoking tobacco

badharn ngal
to chew on something

bagarn
to strike with a sharp implement, to mark, to spear; **biba bagarn** to write; **baldha bagarn** to sew clothes

bagardi
cracked, split open (adj); **dyina bagardi** cracked foot

bagarli
kinship term, reciprocal: grandfather, mother's or fathers's father, grandson

bagaru
boil, abscess (older word)

bagurl-bagurl
laughing, happy; **nhangga bala bagurl-bagurl** this man is really happy

bal
smack (noun), noisy blow, with mention of the body part that is being struck

galba-bal
a smack on the cheek; **ngadhu galba-bal gurndarn** I'll give him a smack on the cheek

dyindyi-bal
a smack on the bottom

bala
there, not too far away; **marna bala yugarn** a lot of people are standing over there

bala, **balaardu**, **balagardu**, **balaarda**
he, she, it

balagu
belonging to him, belonging to another person; **balagu wangga** that's his talk (not ours)

baladhaga
they (plural)

balaardu-gudyara, **bala-gudhara**
they two

baldarn
to pull

balda-wararn
to pull out; **balda-waraga bala warda** pull out this stick!

baldha
garment, dress, skin; **baldha-muga** clothes in general. Originally this term referred to a skin cloak

baldu
knot in rope or wood; **nhanggangu baldu bidamarn** the man is taking the knot (out of the tree)

balurn
to die; **baluna** (he) died. This is considered a crude way of speaking, **magarirn** 'to pass away' is a more polite term

bal
to die (short form of the verb); **ngadhu bal gari gabi-yudu** I am perishing with no water

balungu
dead; **bira balungu** the waning moon (from Kukata)

balgarda
seal

balgirn
to shoot; **balgiga bala baru** shoot that animal!

balgu-balgu, var. **balgu-walgu**
white (older word), replaced by **biyan**

balyirirn
to hop, to jump about (v intr); **gidya waru-mimara balyirirngadn** the child goes jumping around like a kangaroo

bamarn, **bamirn**
to come up, to appear; **dyirndu bamirn** the sun is coming up; **warda**

ganggara bamaga climb up on top of that tree (cf. Parnkalla 'babmata'), old word

bamba
blind, impaired in sight or hearing, (borrowed from Kukata)

bambirirn
to become impaired in sight or hearing; **nyurni yuri bambirina** you have become forgetful (lit. 'you have become deaf')

bambarn
to touch (v tr); **gidyangu gari baru bambirl** the child is going to touch the meat

ban-ban bilarla, bilarl
bird: currawong sp. (DB 'bi-larl', Sullivan 'peelool')

Bandinilya
name of place: Fowlers Bay (DB 'Pundinilya')

bandyi
rib

bandyi-bandyi
centipede

bangarn
to get up; **gari bangana** he got up just now

bangari
large; **yira bangari** 'big mouth', a very talkative person

banggarn
to break, to split (v tr); **warda banggana** he broke this thing (older word)

bangunu
kinship term: younger sibling

banhi, var. **banyi**
this one (deictic pronoun)

banyi
right now (adv); **nganyi banyi urldina** I have just got back here

banyiwa, banhiwa
in this direction, this way, as opposed to **gadya** the other way (adv); **nhangga nha urldirn, banhiwa** the man is coming here, this way

banyini
today, earlier, just now (adv); **nganha banyini urldina** I came today, I've only just come

bararn
to injure (older word); **winygama urla barana** they hurt the other boy

bardi
grub, witchetty grub; tree-grub

bardnaba*
young initiate, one who has been through the first circumcision rite (Provis 'burtnaba', Parnkalla-Kuyani **pardnapa**). This word may have been restricted to the Gawler Ranges.

barga
leaf, small branch

barla
ankle, alternative to **dari**

barldarn
to stab, to spear, also to split, to hit; **gadyingu barldana** he struck it with a spear

barldirn
to punch repeatedly, to hit with fist; **marangu barldirirn** or **mara barldirirn** to fight with fists

barldi
upper thigh

barlgarn
to rise, to climb up; **maga wardanga barlgarn** don't climb up the tree; **dyirndu barlgarn** the sun is rising

barna
goanna (general term)

barnda
stone, pebble, rocky hill, money; **barnda-marna, barnda-marna bala** someone who has lots of money

barnda-barnda
hard, rock hard

barnda-ma
shellfish, lit. 'stone food'

barnda-yanda
boulder, enormous rock

barndirn
smell something, sniff (v tr), also used intransitively 'to smell of something'; **ah yadu barndirn!** ah it smells good!

baʀi
creek (older word sometimes replaced by the Kukata **garu**)

baʀu
meat, animal (cf. Kuyani **parlu**)

bawarn, barn
to strike a fire (alternative form to **bagarn**); **balangu garla bawana** he made a fire

barn
to get a fire going, short form of the verb **bawarn** as in **ngadhu garla barn** I am making a fire

bayala
cold weather, winter time, Gawler Ranges word (cf. Parnkalla 'pai alla')

biba
paper (from English)

bibi*
egg; old word found in Provis's list (Kuyani **bibi**, Parnkalla 'bebi') now replaced by **ngugurn**

bidu
open, exposed; **nyurni imbara-yudu, bilban bidu** you are shameless, you've got your upper chest exposed

bidumarn
to open; door; **bala bidumaga!** open the door!

bidyi
bark of tree, bark dish

bidyil*
ghost, spirit of the dead (Wiebusch 'bidjil')

bilban
chest, upper chest

bilbi
shoulder, shoulder blade; **bilbinga gadirn** he carries it on his shoulder

bilda
hip

bildangi
at one's side; **bildangi nyirn** to sit next to someone

bildha*
pip, stone inside fruit (Wilson and Guerkin 'pilda')

bildha-ma
mussels, 'pip-food'

bilgi
dirty, covered in mud

bili
bone (older term; **warlbu** is now the accepted term)

bilyal
noise (older word)

bilyalmarn
make a noise, be noisy; **yaburdu bilyalmarn** they are all making a lot of noise

bina
before, already, only just; **nyurni bina winana** you had already gone; **wildyara bina winana** he went already a long time ago

binba
tree: native pine

bindal*
sandplain (DB 'bindal')

bindhara, bindyara
lake: saltlake, also saline swampy country

bindhinara, bindyindyara
bat (from Kukata)

binda-binda
butterfly (from Kukata)

Bindya-gurdi-gurdi
name of a semi-legendary group of people who, like the **Burgu-birna**,

attacked Wirangu people in their camps at night

bingarn
go up; **gan.gaRa bingadyu** (he) is ready to go up the hill (older word)

bir-bir
bird: yellow-throated miner

bira-bira
bird: galah (Tindale 'bira-bira')

biRa
moon, month

birdardi
bird: red-legged sandpiper

birdi
depression in the ground, hollow (from Kukata)

Birdinga
name of Pidinga ochre lake: women were allowed to go on only one side of it

birdiya*
birth-order name (Limb 'piria'). Kuyani **pirdiya** is the first son. It was known to be a man's name at Koonibba in the late 1920s.

birdu
string, rope

biri
nail, claw

birirn
to scratch; **bubangu birina** the dog scratched him

biriny-biriny
a scratching or scraping noise (made by a wombat digging)

biriya
warm, hot weather; **marnaardu biriya** very hot (from Kukata), **biriyangu gambirn** it's boiling hot

biRiny
sandhill, coastal dune

birlda
possum. This word is attested in early sources (e.g. Wiebusch 'bilda' and Bedford 'pilda'), and from speakers in the 1960s, but it is not known now as possums have become extinct in the area

birldi-birldi
plant; pigface, see also **mulyu**

birlga
flame, flash

birlgirn
to light (a fire), open a fire up; **garla birlgirn** to light a fire

birndi
red (old word)

birun-birun
bird: kingfisher that lives in the side of wombat holes (cf. Sullivan 'peerun-peerun rainbow bird', Wiebusch 'pyrum-pyrum, small green bird', DB 'birun birun' sacred kingfisher')

biyan
white (from Kukata); **buba biyan** a white dog

biyarn
to blow; **ngadhu gala nha biyarn** I am blowing this fire

buba
dog: tame dog; this term is still widely used, cf. **ilga**, **baba**

bubarn
to bend down (v intr); **nhangga bugana gadyi maRarn.gu** the man bent down to pick up his spear (from Kukata)

bubulari
fly: blowfly (from Kukata)

budu*
land, earth, bare ground (older term), (Venus Bay 'pootoo', Fowlers Bay 'pootho', Limb 'putu', Kukata **putu**)

budya, budyarda, budyari
by and by, later on, then; **minya wanyi budyarda minggarina** the little girl got ill then

buga
pus, also stinking, rotten

Bugabi
name of place: Bookabie 'rotten water' **(buga-(ga)bi)**, a major Wirangu camping site

bugaʀa
stinking, rotten, dead (cf. **bunggaʀa)**

bugara*
hot weather; older word (Provis 'pukara', Parnkalla 'pukarra', Kuyani **pukara)**

bugardi
shoes; **nganyu bugardi-yudu** I haven't got any shoes

bugula
orphan

bulara
tree: quandong (from Kukata); alternative word to **gurdi**

bulali, bulili
couple, man and woman (usually refers to a married couple)

bulba
dust; **bulba marnaardu** dust-storm

buldya
flesh; **buldya marnaardu** a solidly built person, lit. 'big flesh'

buldu*
kinship term: child, regardless of gender (repeatedly used by Richards, 'pooldoo', 'pooldo')

bulily
perentie; found only in the north of Wirangu country

bulgara
tree: sandalwood

buliny-buliny
bird: ring-necked parrot; the name is said to be from the call of this bird

bulugi
cow, cattle (from English 'bullock')

bulyuru
plant: saltbush

bunari, var. **binari**
boss, important man. This word is quoted by Daisy Bates (1918:167) with the specific meaning of 'master of ceremonies at a ceremonial dance' (cf. Kuyani **binaru** 'old man')

bundarn
pluck out a feather (DB 'bundarn')

bundirn
to shear; **nyani bundirn** to shear a sheep

bundya
mouse: marsupial mouse

bundyarn
blow on something, blow on a fire, **bundyiga** blow it!

bunggaʀa, var. **bugaʀa**, var **bunggala**
stinking, rotten; **bunggaʀa-barndirn** smelling rotten

bunggaʀarirn
to go off, to get rotten

buni
horse (from English 'pony')

bunyi, bunhi
nest

bunyuru, bungu
bush, scrub (general term)

buʀa
knee; old word, being replaced since by **murdi**, which is attested already by Daisy Bates and used by modern speakers

burbarn
to break, to become detached (v intr); **warda burbana** 'the stick broke'

burdi
shoes, boots (Gawler Ranges word borrowed from English) cf. **bugardi**

burdidi
plant: wild potato; the resemblance of this word to English 'potato' was felt to be accidental

burdu
short, stumpy

burgu
dew, mist, fog

Burgu-birna
'the people that come out of the mist'. These were said to be wild people who came from nowhere to attack Wirangu people in their camps (see **Bidya-gurdi-gurdi**). Earlier sources give the word as 'ghost' (Provis 'poorkabidne', Richardson 'pokobidney', Whipstick Billy 'purkabini')

burlga*
old man (Whipstick Billy 'poorlka', Provis in Curr 'poorlka', Pamkalla 'bulka'); older word, now superceded by Kukata **dyirlbi**

buyalu
kinship term: sister, youngest sister

buyu
smoke, cigarette (from Kukata)

dadyu
trousers

darga, var. **darlga**
bone (from Kukata)

darga
thin, skinny person i.e. someone who is nothing but bone

daʀi
ankle

dha-birna
where from? 'originating from where?' (from **indha-birna**); used also in the temporal sense 'since when?', and attested as such already by Wiebusch, 'tarpina'

dhala, indhala
where? **indhala nyurni winarn?** or **dhala nyurni winarn?** where are you going?

dhala-mindyi var. **dyala-mindyi**
somewhere or other, I don't know where it is!, all over the place

dhalanga
where? in what place?

dhala-ngurni, indhala-ngurni
where from?; **indhala-ngurni nyurni urldina** where did you come from?

dhaarda
shirt (from English)

dhaburda
right-hand side; **dhaburda winiga!** go on the right-hand side

dhadhayirn*
to yawn (BD 'dha-dhain', Thura-Yura 'dha', 'mouth')

dhagarn
to cut; to break, doctor; **garla dhagarn** to cut firewood

dhagagarn
to break into pieces, to cut to shreds

dhagul
lizard: bicycle lizard

dhagulu
shovel, wooden dish used for carrying things on one's head

dhalyga
perhaps, maybe by wishful thinking (Black 'dalga' and 'telca'); **warda yadu dhalyga ilana** I thought I had put this thing down all right (but it fell)

dhaman, warda dhaman
stump of tree. The term is also used as a joke for a very short person, a dwarf, as in **minya nhangga dhaman** a little stumpy sort of person

dhamarna
mushroom, large edible mushroom, brown on top and yellow underneath: it grows among mallee trees.

dhambarn
to ask someone a question (v tr); **wiyangu minyanga gari dhambirl** the mother is going to ask the little one (what he has been doing)

dhamu
how?; **dhamu nyurni nhala urldina** how did you get here?; **dhamu wanggarn** what are you saying? (lit. 'how are you saying?')

dhanbarn, dhanbirn
to dig; to dig up; **balaardu gardal dhanbirn** she is digging up a burrow; **gardal bala dhanmaga**, dig out that hole

dhanbidharn
to bury

dhanmarn
to dig, to dig up, to dig along, dig up a tunnel; **ngadhu dhanmadha dhanmadha maʀana** I dug and dug along (the burrow) and got it (the rabbit)

dhandu
bag: large bag that was carried on one's back, bag in which a small baby was carried

dhanmarda
tree: bitter quandong; the fruit is lighter coloured and bitter (there does not appear to be any connection between this word and Western Desert **tjanmarta** 'wild onion')

dhananga, var. **dyananga**
behind, at the back of; **nyurni yargulu winiga, nganha dhananga urldirn** you go in front, I am coming behind (you)

dharangu
how many; **dharangu gidyara-muga nyunyugu** how many children do you have?

dharbarda
kinship term: brother-in-law

dharbarn
to go inside, to go underground; **gabinga dharbarn** to get into the water, to bathe; **dyirndu dharbirn.gadn** the sun is setting

dharba-ilarn
to put something inside; **maga maʀa dharba-ilaga gadhalnga!** don't put your hand in the burrow (there might be a snake in it)!

dharbirn
to put on (clothes), lit. 'to get inside'; **ngadhu winygama baldha dharbidyu** I am getting ready to put another dress on

dharburn
to ask someone a question (v tr); **nhangga-muga dharbuga dhala winarn** ask those people where they are going

dharl
yes, all right, true; **dharl bala** that is true!

dharldu
true (adj); truly, well and truly (adv); **dhaldu bala** it is true; **dhaldu barldana** he speared it well and truly

dhardu
away, away from here (adv); **dhardu winiga!** go away!

dhardu-malda
away, in the opposite direction (adv)

dharulyu
lights, intestines

dhawigarn
to tell someone to go away, to send someone packing, to hunt away; **ngadhu gidya-muga dhawigana** I sent the kids packing. This verb is probably based on the unattested simple verb **dhawirn***

dhawu
resin from trunk of tree, glue

dhibin, var. **dyibin**
stick, pointed stick used as skewer to pin together the abdomen of animals being cooked

dhubu
back, lower back; **gidya dhubunga gadirngadn** he is giving the child a piggy-back ride

dhugur, var. **dyugur**
dreaming, dream (from Kukata); **nyurni dyugur-du nhaana** you had a dream (lit. saw a dream), dream-

time, dreamtime story; **dyugur-muga wildyara-birna** many dreamtime stories from long ago

dyugur-birdi
love, object of desire; someone might say **ah, dyugur-birdi** (from Kukata lit. 'dream-hole' i.e. 'the place of origin of all dreams')

dhugurmarn
to dream (v tr); **ngadhu maldhinga dhugurmana** I dreamt last night

dhunadha
joined up with, mixed with, together, (DB 'dhunadha'); **baladhaga dhunadha winarn** these people are going off together

digurl
dry; heard only in the expression **warda digurl** 'dry tree'

dir-dir*
bird: spiny-cheeked honeyeater (Sullivan 'deer deer')

dyabarn*
to kiss (Provis '*tshup-pa-na',[1] Parnkalla 'yappata', 'to suck, to drink, to kiss')

dyabun
little one, joey, pouch young of any marsupial (from Kukata **dyabu** small); **ngarlara dyabun** my own kids

dyagarn
to find; **wildyurda gabin dyagana** I found some water yesterday

dyagurn
to lick (v tr); **babangu bala dyaguna** a dog licked it

dyalyi, var. **dhalhi**
spit, froth, beer

dyalyi (dhalhi) ilarn
to spit, lit. 'to put down spit'

dyamu
kinship term: grandfather; reciprocal: grandson, borrowing from Kukata

dyana, var. **dhana**
you, polite form of the second person singular, attested since Eyre (1845) but recorded only once from an older speaker

dyanarn
to break something; **warda bala dyanarn** he is breaking this stick

dyanigarn
to break off, to cut off; **baku dyanigarn** cut off a piece of meat

dyanya
cat, native cat; word said to have been used by Ooldea people

dyara
excrement (older term)

Dyara
name of place: Charra west of Ceduna; it was a major camping site

dyarda
stomach, guts, pouch of kangaroo; **minya gidya dyardanga ngarbirn** 'little baby lying in the pouch', i.e. joey; **dyardanga ngarbirn** to lie on one's stomach

dyarda gambarirn
furiously angry, 'stomach burning'

dyarda manaardu
full, lit. 'stomach big'

dyarda-mingga
stomach-ache

dyarda-ngandha, dyarda wadyarn
'stomach no good', sad, dejected

dyarda-ngandharirn
to be sad (v intr)

dyarda-yadu, dyarda gunbu
'stomach good', happy, contented

dyarda-yadurirn
to be happy (v intr), 'stomach is getting good'; **dyarda-yadurirn**

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[1] Provis explains (1879:100) that in words marked with * 'u' is to be pronounced as in 'cut, etc.'

dyudyu mikadha [I] am happy to hear that song

dyarling, dharling
tongue

dyi!, dyi-dyi!*
careful! Look out! (DB 'ji' and ji-ji*)

dyibiny
bird: white-winged chough

Dyibiri
initiation ceremony; circumcision rites

dyirdara
snake: death adder. The word **Dyirdara** also referred to the mythical monstrous serpent which created the cliffs along the Bight (DB)

dyidi
throat

dyidi-yurnda
gullet

dyidi widh(i)n
to grab someone by the throat, to strangle, see also **manu**

dyidi-dyidirn
to shiver (v intr); **nganha dyidi-dyidirn** blanket; **inga waldugarn** I am shivering, I'll cover myself up in a blanket

dyidu
flea

dyildya
sinew, muscle; **dyildya ngandarn** my muscles are sore

dyildyan-dyildyan
wrinkly, rough, unkempt; **wa dyildyan-dyildyan** wrinkly face; **nyurni gaga dyildyan-dyildyan, gaga yadumara!** your hair is a mess, fix it up!

dyilga
thorn, spike, prickle

dyilga-marda
echidna

dyilgarn
to stare at, to keep looking at (v tr); **mil marnaardanga nganha dyilgarn** he is staring at me with wide eyes

dyilya
tree: mallee tree; **dyilya barga** mallee leaf

dyilya-bardi
grub from mallee trees

dyimbigarn
to hop, to jump around

dyina
foot, track; **dyina winarn** to walk

dyina-biri
toenail

dyina-dyarda
sole of foot, lit. 'foot-stomach' (DB)

dyina-mara
toes, 'foot-fingers'

dyina-mildyarn*
instep (alternative to dyina-warlbu, DB 'djina mildjarn')

dyinda
tail; **bubangu dyinda walbirl** the dog is wagging its tail

dyindi, var. **dyindidyi**
bush, leafy shrub that grows by the sea (according to Black it is *Myoporum brevipes*, while Wiebusch calls it 'candlebush'), used for making spears

dyindi-dyindi
bird: willie wagtail

dyindilga
grasshopper, locust

dyindya, var. **dhindya**
plant: spinifex

dyindyi, var. **dyindhi**
bottom, behind

dyin.ga
dead person, the term was used instead of the name of a recently deceased person

dyiniga, dyinya
cat, native cat 'word from way back'

dyirda
bird

dyirla, dyird(a)la
poor, alone and deserted, a child who has lost one parent; **bana-muga dyirdla** this lot (of children) are orphaned, borrowing from Kukata (cf. Yankunytjatjara **tjirtula)**

dyiri
all, everybody

dyirlbi
old man (word found throughout Western Desert languages, and probably borrowed into Wirangu from Kukata)

dyirndu
sun, day, morning; **nganha dyirndunga nyinarn** I am sitting out in the sun; **nganyi gari dyirndunga wirn** I'll go in the daytime

dyirndunga
during the day, today

dyirndu bamirn
morning 'sun coming up', used adverbially; **banyini dyirndu bamirn** a little while ago, at sunrise

dyirndu dharbarn
sunset, 'sun is going in'

dyubarn, dyuburn, dyubudharn
to cover over with soil, to bury; **mandangu dyubuga** cover it over with dirt; **garla dyubuga** cover up the fire (older term, tends to be replaced by Kukata **waldurn)**

dyuding
waddy, heavy stick

dyudu-dyudu
thud, the sound of heavy footsteps, tramping, thudding sound made by kangaroos hopping; **dyudu-dyudu ngadhu mirarn** I can hear the sound of a kangaroo hopping

dyudyu
song, corroboree song; **dyudyu gulgarn** to sing a song

dyudyu gandirn
to perform a corroboree, to dance

dyula, dyula-dyula
soft, tender; **manda dyula** soft ground; **barru dyula-dyula** tender meat (from Kukata)

dyulamarn
to soften, to loosen (v tr)

dyulirn
to laugh (v intr); **dyulirn-gadn** (they are) laughing as they go along (Gawler Ranges word)

dyundimarn
to dry; **baldha dyundimarn** to dry clothes, older word

dyundu
tree: white gum tree, alternative for **waldiya**

dyunu
snake: general term

dyungu
also, too, as well (adv); **dyungu ngadhu mirarn** I'm listening too

dyungurdu
as well, too (adv, emphatic); **nganha dyungurdu winarn** I am going too!

dyurarn, var. **dhurarn**
to tell, to order someone, to tell someone to do something; **dyuraga wirn.gu** tell him to go away

dyurigarn
to tell, to reveal the truth (v tr); **balangu nyurni dyurigarn, gari inggirnmara** he will tell you all about it, just ask him

dyurburdi
untruth, lie, silly talk; **dyurburdi wanggarn** to talk silly; **nyurni nganha dyurburdi dyurarn** you are telling me a lie

dyurdi
forearm; **bubangu dyurdinga badhana** the dog bit (me) on the forearm (older word)

dyurgurn, dyurgurirn
to vomit (v intr and reflexive); **nhangga dyurgurirn** the man is vomiting

dyurgumarn
to be violently sick, to bring up everything (v tr)

dyurgulu
straight, direct; **dyurgulu winiga** go straight there!

dyurla
stone tool, stone knife

ga!
come on! exclamation of encouragement, (Wiebusch 'ga! jungil', 'give!')

gaba
on the other side (adv); **gaba nyinarn** he is sitting on the other side

gabarli
kinship term: grandmother, mother's or father's mother; reciprocal: granddaughter; **nganha gabiligu maʀa walbarn** I am waving goodbye to my grandmother

gabi
water, rain; **gabi warnirn** rain is falling; **gabi gudu warnirn** it is raining all the time; **gabi marnaardu urldirn** big rain is coming; **gabi-barndinyi** an intoxicated person, smelling of alcohol; **nhangga gabi** a drunkard

gabi-gabi
drinking bout; **balardhaga gabi-gabinga nyinarirn** they are sitting about at a drinking party

gaburu
armpit (cf. Parnkalla 'kappurru', an older word, the common word now being **ngaguly**)

gabu
small group, four; listed as 'three' by both Richardson and Provis in Curr (1887), and as 'four' by Tindale

gadha*
digging stick (DB 'kata', 'kadha', Parnkalla 'katta, grubbing stick', Nukunu **katha**)

gadha, var. **gadya**
some distance away, further away; **nhangga gadha bala wirn** this man is going further away (instead of coming here); also used with the locative marker: **gadhanga**, as in **gadhanga nyinarn** he is sitting further away

gadhara, gadhara yamba
some distance away; **gadhara ngura** a camp some distance away

gadirn
bring back, take, carry (v tr); **nhanggangu baʀu gadirl** the man's carrying the meat

gadigarn
take away, carry away (v tr)

gadidirn
to bring this way (v tr); **wildyara baʀu gadidina** he brought some meat yesterday

gadya
kinship term: son; brother or sister's son, (from Kukata, replacing **gidya** in this specific meaning)

gadyi
spear; modern borrowing from Kukata which supplanted the traditional term **giya**

gaga
head

gaga barnda
bald, lit. 'head like a stone'

gaga bili
skull, lit. 'head-bone'

gagalya, var. **garagalya**
bird: cockatoo, general term, Major Mitchell

gaganil walba
east wind

gagaraʀa
east

galba
cheek, side of face

galbiny
bird: mallee hen (alternative name **nganamaʀa**)

galda
lizard: sleepy lizard

galda-maru
crab

galdarn, galdirn
to bring a person or a thing (v tr); **ngadyu wanyin gari galdarn** they will bring my little girls; **warda bala galdiga!** bring this thing over!

galdilga
scorpion

galdu
ant: bull ant

galga
star

galgala
plant: wild banana, *Leichhardtia*; both the young fruit and the roots are edible. Tindale however gives 'karlkala' as *'Mesembrianthemum equilaterale'*

galya, galha (Gawler **gadlha***)
tail, penis (DB gala, guldha, Provis kotla) replaced by Kukata **wipu**

galbu
shade (older word)

gamarndi var. **gamardi**
liver

gambarn
to cook, to heat (v tr); **banangu baru gambarn** he is cooking some meat

gambarirn
to burn (v intr); **garla wildyara gambarina** the fire was burning yesterday

gambirn
to cook, to heat up (v tr), to be hot (v intr)

gambilarn
to burn (v tr), to burn up; **garla gambilarn** he is burning some wood

gamuru
uncle, mother's brother

gan
outside; **nyinarn gan** he is sitting outside

ganamarn
to wake someone up (v tr); **nhangga bala ganamaʀa** wake up that man; **gabi-birnangu nganha ganamaʀana** drunken people woke me up

gandurn
step on something, trample on, squash; also used as an intransitive, to dance

gandya
beard

gandyi
thigh

gandyirn, gandhirn
hold, keep, carry around; **wildyurda gidya gandhina** she carried the baby around for a long time

gan.gaʀa, gan.garda, gan.ga
high up (location nominal)

gan.garn
to rise up high (v intr); **biʀa gan.garn-gadn** the moon is rising

gan.garn
to pick up (v tr); **ngadhu warda gan.girl** I am picking up sticks

gan.ga-marn
to lift up; **nhan.gangu waru gan.ga-mana** the man lifted up the kangaroo

ganggiya
kinship term: sister (older)

gangguru
kinship term: sister (oldest)

gangu
tree: red mallee, *Eucalyptus gracilis*; the root is a source of water

ganini
under, underneath (location nominal); **nganha gan.gaʀa-ngurni ganinigu winana** I came down from the top

ganinyara
deep

ganu
lizard: frill-necked lizard

gany
kinship term: uncle (DB 'kaang, kaa ing, ka inya'), given as father's brother by Richards

gara
cobweb (cf. Kuyani **kara** 'spider')

gaʀa
grass, also plain, flat country

gaʀagan*
green (Tindale 'kragan')

Gaʀaru*
name of one of the moieties (DB 'karara', Tindale 'Karara, Karawara', Kuyani **Kaʀarru**)

garba
house, hut

garbirn
tie up, tie a knot (from Kukata); **garbiga!** tie it up! **buba garbiga** tie up the dog

gardal
burrow, hole, cave; **gardalnga dharbana** it went into a hole; **rabidi gardal-ngurni urldina** the rabbit came out of the hole

gardamu
gum of sandalwood (used as purgative according to Limb, 'kurduma')

gardirdi
teeth

gardidya
above, up top, up in the sky

gardiya
tree: myall

gardu
man, fully initiated man, young initiate. This was an older word attested by Provis as 'kurda' and Whipstick Billy as 'koorda', Clode 'cardo' (DB 'kardi', 'karda'). It was still used by modern speakers in the particular connotation 'an initiated man, one who therefore won't listen to any command or request'; **garla-gardu nha nyirn** 'he is an initiated man as regards firewood', i.e. he will not help get any firewood

gari, var. **gaʀi**
now, fairly soon, just wait a minute; **ngadhu gari urldirn** I am coming now!

gaʀirn
to hunt away, drive away; **gidya-muga gaʀiga!** hunt these children away!

gaʀigarn
to chase away; **ngadhu nhangga gaʀigarn** I am going to chase this fellow away

gaʀiny
goanna: black goanna

garla
fire, firewood

garla-birl
charcoal

garlbarn
climb up (v intr); **nganha warda-gan.gaʀa garlbirl** I'll climb up the tree

garlbi
wing of a bird; **garn.gagu garlbi** the wing of a crow (cf. Black: kalbi 'leaf'), from Kukata

garli
boomerang (borrowing from Kukata, which replaces **wana** in this meaning)

garli-dyiridyiri
bird: plover (they make the noise 'dyiridyiri')

garliya
bird: emu

garlu
testicles

garnba
hungry

garndarn
chin

garndi
stone, hard rock

garndi
loud, shrill (adj); **maga garndi wangga** don't talk so loud, also **garndingu wanggarn** to talk loud

garndi-garndi
hard, rock-hard, tough (meat)

garn.ga
bird: crow (from Kukata); **wildyara mara garngangu marana** 'a crow got hold of your hand long ago', i.e. you stole something

garn.gu
shade, shelter, shade hut; **nganha winarn garn.gugu** I am going home

gawi*
water. This was the original Wirangu word, attested only in Eyre (1845), but parallel to Parnkalla and Kuyani **gawi**

gayirn
to squeeze (older word)

gidya
child, little one, regardless of gender; also used as kinship term: son

gidyara
children (special plural form)

gidyi-gidyirn
to feel itchy; **manyiri gidyi-gidyirn** my throat is itchy

gidyi-gidyilmarn
to tickle

gini
under, below, down

ginira
low, shallow; **gabi ginira** shallow water

girgin
bird: kestrel, also called **wanyi-wanyi**

giya
spear; older term, generally supplanted by the Kukata term **gadyi**

guba
whitefellow. This may be a borrowing from Kukata, but the borrowing is more likely to be the other way round, since 'kupa' means dead in Parnkalla, and the word for 'dead' or 'ghost' is common as a term for white people. This was already suggested by Black (1917:5).

gubi-gubi
whirlwind (from Kukata, replaces the earlier **widyi-widyi**)

guda
not, can't; **ngadhu guda wanggarn** I can't talk (about this)

gudhara, var. **gudyara**
two; **ngali gudhara winarn, nyubali nyinarn** we two are going and you two can stop behind

gudharaardu
just two

gudi*
bird: swan (Provis 'kowerte', Richardson 'koorti', Sullivan 'kootee', Kuyani **kuti**)

gudi
hidden, in hiding (adj)

gudi nyinarn
to be in hiding, to hide oneself (v intr); **gidyara gudi nyinana** the children hid

gudi ilarn
to hide something, lit. 'to put in hiding', (v tr); **nhanggangu gudi ilana** the man hid it

gudu
all the time, without stopping (adv); **gabi gudu ngal** he drinks all the time; **gudu wanggarn** he never stops talking; borrowing from Kukata

guduardu
for ever, altogether, for good; **guda ngadhu guduardu wanggarn** I can't possibly ever talk (about this); **nganha winarn guduardu** I am going away for good

gudyu
other, another, more (Provis 'ku-tsha', Parnkalla-Kuyani **kutyu**, Adnyamathanha **utyu**)

gudyu-gudyu
outsider, someone from another country

gugara
plant: mangrove (Tindale 'kukera' and 'ghughera'). Tindale notes that mangroves were used for firewood and for shelter at Davenport Creek.

gulbari*
three (Tindale 'kurparii', Parnkalla-Kuyani **kulpari**)

gulbir
kangaroo: red kangaroo

guldu
side; **guldunga** alongside

gulgarn
to sing, to call out, to shout (v intr); but can also be transitive, with the object being the person addressed; **nhanggangu gulgawiyarldu winygama** the man called out to another person. Sometimes pronounced as **gurgarn**.

gulu, gudlu
red kangaroo; Gawler Ranges word

gulybi
inside; **gulybinga** on the inside

guma
one, alone; **guma nyinarn** sitting down alone

gumaardu
one, only one; **gumaardu-mil** one-eyed person

gumbirn, gumbilarn
to hide, to remain hidden, to be silent, (from Kukata)

gumbirnmarn
to hide something (v tr); **maga baʀu gumbirnmarn** don't hide away the meat

gumbu
urine

guna
excrement, bowels; this word like its Parnkalla equivalent 'kudna' (Schürmann) also has the meaning of 'intercourse'

guna-ngal
having sex

gunbu
happy; contented, satisfied; **nganha gunbu** I am happy; **dyarda gunbu** feeling happy lit. 'happy stomach'

gundi
heavy fighting stick with knob (word now replaced by Kukata **dyurdi**)

gundyi
march fly (but Wiebusch 'kunti', Parnkalla, Kuyani **kunti**)

gundyuru manirn
to cough (v intr)

gun.gun
asleep, quiet, motionless (adj, from Kukata); **wiyana gun.gun nyinarn mandanga** the woman is sitting quietly on the ground

guni*
birth-order name: according to Provis it is the eldest son, but in Parnkalla, Nukunu etc. it is the third child

guniya
snake: wombat snake, snake which lives in wombat holes; from Kukata.

gura
bird: magpie

Gurabi
name of place: Coorabie, 'Magpie-water' (DB 'Kurabi')

guʀa
old woman; old word (Venus Bay 'coorah', Yardea 'coora', Provis 'kore', Guerkin 'kooroo'), the word is still known but is now getting confused with Kukata **gura** 'no good'

gurda*
excrement; old word (Provis 'kurta', Parnkalla 'kurta, posterior')

gurda-gurda*
bird: crimson chat

gurdadyi
shield (Tindale 'kurdidji', 'kurigi', Guerkin and Wilson 'kodegee, wooden churinga'). This olden-times word is still remembered

gurdi
tree: quandong

gurdidyi
lung (Gawler Ranges word)

gurdilga
maggot; **baʀu windyiga, gurdilga-marna bala** don't have that meat, it is full of maggots

gurdurdu
heart

gurgarirn
to jump up and down; **nhangga gurgardirn** people are jumping up and down (barracking at a football match)

gurgur
bird: cuckoo, also given as 'mopoke owl', but Sullivan has 'googereng' for the bronze cuckoo

guringgarn
to jump, to hop; **guma-dyina guringgarn** to hop on one leg

guʀi*
dance, known from other Thura-Yura languages, also 'circle'

guʀirn
to tie up, to chain up; **buba guʀiga!** tie up the dog! (older word, cf. Adnyamathanha **uʀi-uʀi-** 'to twist', Kuyani **kuʀi-** 'to tie, to bind', Parnkalla 'kuriti', replaced by **garbirn** from Kukata)

gurli
tree: black oak. In Wirangu and Parnkalla (cf. Schürmann 'kurli bakka, a stunted she-oak') this word refers to a species of *Casuarina*; whereas a Western Desert word **kurli**, which must be related, refers to *Callitris Columellaris*

gurlu
louse

gurnarn
elbow

gurndarn
hit; **ngadhu nyurni gurndadhan** I am going to hit you

gurndagarn
to chop up, to chop to pieces

gurndarirn
to hit one another, to have a fight (v recip.); **nhangga-muga gurndarirn** this lot of people are fighting

gurndili
kinship term: aunt, father's sister

guru
not really, not quite, not quite yet (older word)

guʀu
bottle, bottle of wine

guya
fish: general term. This is a widespread term in the south of SA

guyina
plant: wild tomato, plant with green fruit and little purple flowers

guyinmarn
to suck; **gidyangu** bottle; **guyinmarn** the child is sucking on his bottle

guyirdi
ghost, devil

g(u)warda
now, today, just now. This word is cognate with the Kukata word **guwari** 'now'.

ibi
breast, milk (from Kukata)

idha
just recently, as yet (adv) older form *gidha; **nyurni baʀu idha maʀana** you've only just got some meat (why do you want more?)

idha-birna
new; **idha-birna gidya** a newborn baby; **nyurni idha-birna** you are (only) young (compared with me, and therefore you wouldn't know); **garba idha-birnanga nyinarn** he is living in a new house

idhara
Wait! not yet!, still, as yet, this minute (adv); **balaardu idhara nhala** he is still here; **ma idhara gambarn** I am still cooking the food (so you can't have it yet), the speaker is however assuring the other person that he is hurrying. The sense of 'this very minute' led both Wiebusch 'kydera' and Daisy Bates 'idara' to give the meaning of 'quick' to this word.

idhaardu, idhaarda
only just now, today; **nganha idhaardu urldina** I have only just got here; **nhangga idhaarda nyinarn** the man is sitting there right now

ila, ilanga
close, close by (from Kukata); **ilanga urldirn** he is coming close

ilabu
near, close by; **waru bala ilabu** this kangaroo is close by

ilarn
to put, down, to put in, to put down bedding, to put away; **ngadhu dhandunga ilana** I put it in my bag; **ilaga!** put it down!; **warda bala ilaga, gidyarangu nhaan-dhirdi** put that thing away, or else the kids might see it

ilamarn
to pull out; **wiyanangu warda ilamana** the woman pulled the plant out (of the ground)

ildu
blood

ildiru*
red (Tindale 'yilderu')

ilga
dog: wild dog, dingo

Ilgamba
Illcumba well; the same name is represented by the nearby Yeer Coomban Cowie, named by Eyre, with the addition of the old word for water, 'gawi'

ilgi
bed, bedding, groundsheet; **ilgi ilaga, ngarbirl** put a bed down (for me), I want to lie down

imba
skin

imbara
shame

imbu, var. **imbulu**
spider

indarn
to spill, to upset a container of water

indirn
to spill, to let water run away (v tr), also to run away, to flow away (v intr); **gabi indina** he spilt the water

indiwaʀarn
to drop, to leave behind; **nhanggangu banyini gadyi indiwaʀana** the man dropped his spear a little while ago

indha
where, where to?; **indha wirn?** where are you going? This has been largely superseded by **(in)dhala?**

indha-birna
where from?

in.garn
to play (v intr); from Kukata, replacing the older **igirn**, the locative is used for the object that is being played with; **minya urla nhan in.garn wardanga-du** the little boy here is playing with a stick

ingginmarn
to ask for something, to want something; **ngananga nyurni ingginmarn?** What do you want?

inha, var. **nyinha**
here, this here; **nhangga-muga nyina inhayi maldhinga** a lot of people sat here last night (older speakers only)

ini
name; **nyurni nyindi ini** you know the name

ira
mouth; **ira marnaardu** 'big mouth'. One person, with Gawler Ranges connections, used the word **ira** for 'teeth', as do the oldest published vocabularies

irang
strange, foreign, word only vaguely remembered by modern speakers (Black 'jiraŋ'); **nhangga irang** a stranger, a man from another country

iri
sharp, pointed

irimarn
to sharpen, to make pointed; **ngadhu gadyi irimarn** I am sharpening a spear

irliri
snake: death-adder

ma
food, vegetable food

maadha
boss, white boss (from English 'master')

mabarla
ashes; also **garla mabarla** fire-ash

madana
somebody else, another person; **windyiga, madanagu bala** leave it, it belongs to someone else; **madanagu wangga bala, maga nyurnigu** this is other people's language, not yours

madh(a)na
snake: death-adder (borrowing from Kukata **matyanya**); see **yirliri**

Madhaʀi*
name of one of the moieties (DB 'madari', Tindale Matturu, Kuyani **Mathaʀi**)

madyi
kinship term: husband

madyidya
man, initiated man

maga
not, don't, negative and prohibitive particle. This word is shared by Parnkalla (Schürmann 'makka') and Wirangu, and is also found in Kukata, but not the other Western Desert languages. It is likely to be a Parnkalla-Wirangu borrowing into Kukata

magaardu
not, don't, definitely not

magarirn
to come to nothing, to finish, to run out, to die (euphemistic term), to go out (fire) (v intr); **garla magarina** the fire has gone out; **ma magarirn** the food is running out; **nhangga gari magarirn** this man will die soon

magaʀi
hollow tree, hollow log; **dyirda nha, magaʀinga nyinarn** the bird is here, in the hollow tree

malba
friend; this word means 'companion' and denotes anyone who is a friend regardless of gender, but most generally it refers to a lover; borrowing from Kukata

Maldhabi
Evil spirit, bringing disease (Sullivan 'mooldabie', Provis 'mundabi', Tindale 'Maldabi')

maldhara
feather shoes worn by avengers, 'sneaking boots'

maldhi, maldyi
night, darkness

maldhi marnaarda
midnight, lit. 'big darkness'

maldhulu
tomorrow, yesterday (adverb); **nyurni baru maldhulu marana** you got some meat yesterday

malgarn
to wash something or somebody; **gidya bala malgiga** wash that child! With **ngarlara** 'self' this verb means to wash oneself, to have a wash; **balaardu ngarlara malgarn** she is having a wash. This is probably a recent simplification, as the older form of the reflexive verb, to wash oneself is the following:

malgarirn
to wash oneself

malu
shade

malya
mud; Gawler Ranges **madlya** (Provis 'maitlia', Parnkalla, Kuyani **madlya**); **manda malya** muddy ground

malygara
clever man or woman, witchdoctor

mama
father, borrowed term from Kukata, sometimes replacing **muma**

mamara
male; **buba mamara** a male dog

mambarn
opening, hole; used in compounds for instance with parts of the body (cf. **mulha mambarn**); also used adjectivally: **yira mambarn** a wide-open mouth

mambulu
tree: needlebush, *Hakea* sp.

mamu
devil (from Kukata); **mamugu wayi** (I) am scared of the devil

manda
ground, sand (from Kukata); **mandanga bala nyinarn** he is sitting on the ground; also used to mean 'sugar'

mandu
neck: back of neck and shoulder area; **mandunga gardiga** carry it on your shoulders

mandyana
too, as well; **mandyana wanggarn bala** he is saying something too

mandyaardu, var. **mandyardu**
repeatedly, in turn, as well; **balaarda mandyaardu winana** he went as well

mandyi
maybe, perhaps; **ngadhu mandyi winan** I might go, but I am not sure yet (this could be a borrowing from Kukata **manti**)

manga
quietly, slowly and steadily; **manga wangga!** talk quietly!; **manga urldiga!** come slowly and quietly!

mangara
full, sated (adj) (older word)

mangguru
black (tends to be replaced by **maru**, which is borrowed from Kukata)

manu
gullet

manu widh(ir)n
to choke somebody, to grab them by the throat (v tr); **ngadhu nhangga manu-widhina** I throttled a man

manu widn, manu widu-wid(ur)n
to choke on something (v intr), one's throat getting blocked; **ngadhu walbu ngalguna, manu widu-widuna** I swallowed a bone and choked

manyiri
throat; **nhanggangu winygama nhanga manyiri widhina** one man throttled another man

manyiri marda
windpipe, lit. 'throat pipe'; **marda** alone can mean windpipe, but can also refer to any sort of pipe

mara
hand

mara-biri
fingernail; **mara-biri-manda** dirt under the fingernails

mara-ngundyu
thumb, lit. 'hand-mother'

maralya
doctor, sorcerer, especially one engaged in evil magic. This is presumably the same as Parnkalla 'marralye'; as Schürmann (1844) explained: "The Marralye is described as a man belonging to the Kukata tribe, who assumes the shape and action of a bird, if he has a spite against an individual, he pounces upon him at night, while he is asleep, stabs him imperceptibly, and then leaves him to die in a short time after".

mararn
to grab, to get; to take away, chase away; **ngadhu gabi mararn.gu winarn** I am going out to get a drink

marigarn
to take out; **dyarda marigarn!** take the guts out (of animal before cooking)

mararn-mararn
to crawl, on hands and knees,

maradyu
kinship term: brother-in-law, sister's husband; sister-in-law, brother's wife (woman speaking)

marandyi
but it isn't so, adverb marking an unfulfilled condition; if I had listened to the old people; **marandyi wanggarn** I would speak the language (but I don't)

marbu
plant: creeper, mistletoe

mard
kinship term: wife, promised wife

mard(a)n
kinship term: wife, actually married

mardurba
ochre; this was obtained from Pidinga out from Ooldea and was carried about as a valuable property; also used as general term for red-coloured

mariya
kinship term: brother (older)

marlany
kinship term: brother or cousin, if younger than person referred to (from Kukata)

marlda
neck, windpipe, hence any form of tube or pipe, water-pipe

marlu
kangaroo: red kangaroo (borrowing from Kukata that tended to replace the original Wirangu **gulbir**)

marna
a lot, many; **marna garlaya-muga** a large group of emus

marnaardu, marnagardu, marnaarda
big; also frequently used as adverb; **mingga marnaardu** seriously ill

marnarirn
to get big, to become abundant; **gabi marnarirn** the water is getting high

marnbila
bird: bronzewing pigeon

maʀu
black

mil
eye

mil bamba
blind in both eyes (borrowing from Kukata)

mil-gardu
blind, won't look, inattentive

mil-nganba
eyebrows

mila
marchfly

mildhing
bat; see also **bindhinara**

mildirn
to pinch, to squeeze; **yugarangu nganha mildina** that girl pinched me; **manyiri mildirn** to strangle

mimi
breast, milk

minbaru
tree: gum tree

minarangi
jealous, possessive, a person who does not like other people to touch his belongings

mina*
eye (Provis 'meena'); probably a Gawler Ranges word: Parnkalla and Kuyani **mina**

minarn*
to see (Provis 'mina', Tindale 'mina')

minda*
navel (DB 'minda', Tindale 'minta', Kuyani-Adnyamathanha and Arabana **minta**, Parnkalla 'minna')

mindila
star, name of a particular star

min.ga
nothing, usually in answer to a request, e.g. **barnda yunggiga, min.ga** give me some money – (I have got) nothing. **min.ga** is also used as an adverb in the sense of 'not at all, never'; **min.ga winana** (I) never went

minga
ant: general term (borrowed from Kukata)

mingga
sick; **mingga balaardu ngarbirn** he is lying down sick; **dhamu nyurni mingga?** what is wrong with you?, lit. 'how you sick?'

minggari
kinship term (reciprocal): mother-in-law, woman speaking, daughter-in-law (from Kukata, replaces **wanyuwa**)

mining-mining
bird: finch, also given as 'tom-tit'

minu
tree: wattle

minya
little; **minya gidya** small child; **minya-minya yunggarn** give a small piece each

minyaarda, var. **minyaardu**
tiny, very small

minyuru, var. **minyura**
cold, cold weather, winter, feeling cold; **nyurni minyuru?** are you feeling cold?

minyururirn, var. **minyurirn**
to be cold; **nganha minyururina maldhinga** I got cold in the night; **warlba gari minyurirn** the wind will get cold directly

miʀarn
to hear, to listen; **wildyaʀa miʀana** I have heard it before! (i.e. it's an empty promise); **miʀaga!** listen!; **ngadhu yuʀinga miʀarn** I am listening (lit. 'in my ears')

mirn
to hear, to listen (short form)

mirdi
back; **mirdinga** at the back, behind; **mirdinga ngarbirn** to lie on one's back; **mirdinga!** (Look out, someone is) behind you!

mirgarn
to shock, to frighten (v tr); **maga nganha mirgarn** don't startle me

miriny
beetles: large leaf-eating beetles that buzz round at night in hot weather, 'Xmas beetles'. Tindale (1927b) gives the term 'mirin' as 'beetle' and 'mole-cricket'.

mirna
a lot, many (cf. **marna**)

mirnaardu
big (cf. **marnaardu**)

mirnu
fat, grease

miru
spear-thrower (cf. **mila**)

miya
asleep; rare word, replaced by Kukata **an.gu** (Provis 'mia', Parnkalla 'meya', Kuyani **miya**)

mudi
fish: general term, also used for 'salmon'

mudi-mudirn
to cut into pieces

mugabu
fish: Port Jackson shark (Wilson and Guerkin 'moogaboo')

mugarda
jealous, jealous over a partner; **mugarda nyirn** he is jealous

mugarda marnaardu
a jealous and sulky person

mugu
heel (probably cognate with Kuyani; **muku** 'bone')

mugundharn
to like someone, to fancy someone (from Kukata); **nyurni balaardu nhangga mugundhana** 'you fancied that man!'

mula!
go on! (exclamation to persuade an unwilling person to do something; from Kukata)

mulbaru
bird: top-knot pigeon

mulha, mulya
nose, Gawler Ranges **mudlha**

mulya-mambarn
nostril

mulyana
snake: carpet snake (cf. **murgarda**)

muma, mumaardu, mumaarda
kinship term: father

mumbiny
mouse species

muna
hat, any headgear. Originally this word referred to ceremonial headgear

muna-ma
limpets, lit. 'headgear food'

mundundu
chest, upper part of body

munha
chest, older Wirangu word, now tending to be supplanted by the Kukata borrowing **ngarga**

mura*
camp, hut; this older term is attested at Venus Bay and by Black 'mura blackfellow's camp', as well as by Tindale (1929). It was replaced by **ngura**

murdi
knee; **nganagu nyurni murdi-murdinga wiyarn?** why are you crawling about on your knees?

murdu
short, small (from Kukata)

murdu-murdu
stumpy person

murgarda
snake: carpet snake (cf. **malana**, **mulyana**)

muriny
guts

ngabaɾi
tree: water tree, red mallee, *Euc. socialis*; grows on sandhills in the northern part of Wirangu country; water was obtained from the roots

ngadhari
stranger; **nhangga ngadhari gudhara nyinarirn** two strangers are sitting together

ngadhu
I (ergative); **ngadhu gurndana** I killed it

nganha
I (nominative), me

ngayi
I (nominative), me (rarer form)

Ngadhu, Ngadhu-wangga
name of the coastal Wirangu people

ngadi
flats, low lying plains

ngadyi
for oneself, wanting to have something (oblique form of the pronoun of the first person); sometimes with dative marker **-gu** added, as in **ngadyigu yugadha nharn** she is standing looking at them for herself (said of a little girl, eying some lollies)

ngadyi ngal
to eat by oneself without giving anybody anything

ngadyu
my, mine

ngaguly
armpit

ngalara
we, grandmother and grandchildren; term heard by the oldest people but no longer used by them

ngalda
headband: headband used for carrying things

ngaldhara
we, more than two brothers or sisters; this kinship pronoun is listed by Daisy Bates and has been heard by modern speakers but is no longer used by them

ngaldhulu gudhara
we two brothers or sisters

ngalgurn
eat, drink, swallow; this verb is based on the same stem as **ngal** and follows the normal rules; **ma marna ngalguna** he has eaten too much. The rare form **ngawu** 'has eaten' is an alternative past form of **ngal**

ngal
to eat, to drink, to swallow; short form of the verb **ngadhu ma ngal** I'm in the middle of eating

ngaldya
spit, froth, term used by some Wirangu people

ngali, ngaling
we two (exclusive and inclusive)

ngaliri
we all, we in a big crowd; this can include the person addressed

ngalurlu
we, more than two

ngalurgu
belonging to us, more than two; **ngalurgu wangga** our language

ngamarn
to go, to walk (Provis 'ngomerna', cf. Parnkalla 'ngamata'); **ngadhu gabigu ngamarn** I'm going to get some water

ngami
breast; Gawler Ranges word (cf. Parnkalla 'ngama milk', 'ngami mother'); **ngami ngal** to drink milk

ngana, nganaardu, nganaarda
which? what? who?; **ngana wangga yaldyi? Pityantyara?** (from) which language is that word **yaldyi?** Pityantyara?; **nganaarda balaarda** what is that?

nganagu
what for?; **nganagu yuga-yugarn?** what are they standing around for?; **nganagu nyurni urldirna?** what did you come for?

also 'whose' as in **nganagu dyina nhagurdu?** 'whose track is this?

ngananha, ngana
who?; **ngananha nyurni?** who are you?; **ngananha** is the nominative form; the rest of the forms are based on the stem **ngana**, as in **nganangu gurndana?** who hit you?

ngana-ngana
who or what might it be?; **ngana-nganagu dyina winana** I wonder whose track this is; also used in the sense of 'something or other'

nganamara
why? how come?; **nganamara nyurni urldirna?** why have you come?; **nganamara nyurni marana** how come that you picked it up?

ngan.gi*
what?; old Gawler Ranges word (Yardea 'unkie', Provis 'ngon-gi')

nganamara
bird: mallee hen, alternative to **galbiny**

nganba
hair: short hair, body hair, fur, also down of a bird; **minya nganba** very short fur

nganda
heap, pile (of stones or of wood)

ngandirn
to grease (DB 'nandil, nandirin', the latter is presumably the reflexive; **ngandirirn** to cover oneself in grease)

nganhangga
what?; **nganhangga balaardu** what is this?

ngandha
bad, no good; **ngandha bala** this is no good

ngandha gabi
brackish water

ngandhamarn
to ruin, to spoil

ngan.ga
whiskers, moustache

nganggali
cloud: rain cloud (from Kukata)

nganggari
clever man (Kukata word used at Ooldea)

ngangga
beard; Gawler Ranges word (Provis 'ngornka', Whipstick Billy 'nernka', Parnkalla 'ngarnka')

ngangguwin*
beard: older word replaced by Kukata **gandya** (Richardson 'ngangwin', DB 'nganguin')

ngarn.ngi
frog

nganha, nganya
I, me, accusative form, sometimes used as intransitive subject; **maga nganha mirgarn** don't startle me

nganhiya
mine; **nganhiya ngura** my camp (cf. **ngadyigu**)

ngayi, rarely **nganyi**
I (intr); **ngayi nguragu winarn** I am going home

ngara
empty, vain; **ngara dyurarn** to tell a lie

ngaramaʀa
in vain, for nothing; **ngaramaʀa gurndana** he hit him for nothing; **ngaramaʀa wanggarn** he is just talking for nothing, babbling away

ngarbirn
to lie down; **yan.gu ngarbirn** lie down sleeping; also used for inanimates in the sense of to be, to exist

ngardiny
lizard: blue-tongue lizard, alternative to **mirda**

ngarga
chest, borrowing from Kukata

ngarlara
self, by oneself; **bala ngarlara winarn** she is going by herself; used to mark the reflexive, as in **ngarlara gurndana** I hit myself; **nyurni ngarlaragu baʀu maʀaga** you took the meat for yourself

ngarnara
hot weather, summer, hot wind (cf. Parnkalla 'ngannara' north-east wind)

ngarndarn
hurt, feel pain, be sore; **dyildya ngarndarn**, lit. 'muscles sore', being completely worn out; **ngadhu ngarndarn** I am feeling ill

ngaru
tree: mallee species, close to the red mallee, the roots are a source of water

ngayi
breath; **ngayi-maga** out of breath, unable to breathe with cold

ngayi-magarirn
to be out of breath, to be short-winded

ngu*
spear: a kind of spear said to have been bartered from the north-west (DB 'ngu')

ngugu[1]
edible tuber, species unknown

ngugu[2]
cheek; Kukata word gradually replacing **galba**

ngugurn
egg

ngularn
to want, to need; **dyidi nganha malyiri, gabi ngularn** my throat is dry, I need some water

nguldu
enough!; **nguldu-nguldu bala!** that's good enough! Finish!

nguldurdu
enough, that is heaps!

ngundyi
lie, untruth; **nyurni ngundyi wanggarn** you are telling me a lie (from Kukata)

ngungi
bird: frogmouth owl, said to be from its call 'woo woo'

ngunyirn
to laugh; **nganangu nganha ngunyirn** what are you laughing at me for

ngunyirirn
to laugh (to oneself), to smile; **nhangga bala ngunyirirn** that man is smiling

ngura
camp

ngura-ngura
small house, toy house, cubby house

nguʀarn, nguʀirn
to hit with a weapon (v tr), to work wood; **barndangu nguʀiga!** hit it with a stone!; **ngadhu warda nha nguʀarl** I am working this piece of wood

nguʀirn
spin around; **gaga nguʀirn** 'head-spinning', idiot

nguʀi
lie, silly talk, mistake; **nyurni nguʀi**

wanggarn you are telling a lie, saying something wrong (not deliberately)

ngurndi
neck area, back of neck

ngurmarn, ngurmanirn
to snore

nguru*
hair

nha, nhan
here

nhaardu
here, right here

nhaga
here, around here

nhagurdu
this one right here

nhala, nhalanha
here, to this place near here

nhaladhaga
these people here

nhalagu
to the place near here

nhanha
this here, accusative form; **widyi nhanha** throw this (thing) away!

nhanga
here, around here, here and now; **gidya marna in.girl nhanga** a lot of children are playing here

(nh)andhi, var. **nyandyi**
over there; **nhandyi balaardu wanggarn** he is talking over there (we can hear him but can't see him)

nharandyi
there, in the middle distance; **nharandyigu winarn** I am going over there

nhagarn/nyagarn, nhagurn
to see, to look at; **nhangga nhaguga!**; look at that man; **gidyara nhagaga!** keep an eye on the kids!

nharn/nyarn
to see (short form of the same verb); **nhanggangu nyinadha nharn bunyuru-ngurni** a man is sitting watching (us) from the bushes; **ngadhu nharn.gu!** I want to see!

nhanarn/nyanarn
to see, alternative form of the verb; **gari nyurni nyanarn** I'll see you later on

nhadarn
to look for, to find; **balagardu nhadarn** he is looking for someone; **baru nhadarn** to hunt, to look for meat; **ngadhu nhadana** I found it

nhambara
greedy; **nyurni guna-nhambara!** you are a greedy fellow!

nhamu
private parts (female)

nhamu ma
a type of seafood, a shell (from its shape)

nhamu mambarn
vagina

nhandu
wet; **marnaardu marnaardu nhandu** soaking wet

nhandugirn, nhandurirn
to get wet (v intr); **nyurni nhandugina** you got wet; **nganha gari nhandurirn** I am going to get wet

nhangga, var. **nyangga**
Aboriginal person

nhani
sheep; **nhani-baru** sheep-meat, mutton; from English 'nanny(goat)'

nhawu*
yes; older form, now replaced by Kukata **uwa** (Tindale 'nao')

nhudurn
being selfish, selfishly (adv); **nhangggangu nhudurn gandyirn baru**; the man is keeping the meat for himself

nhuga
you (more than two), alternative to **nyubuli**

nhunggan*
bird: red-capped robin (DB 'nungun', 'nyoongan', Tindale-Sullivan 'nyoongan')

nyanyidyira*
bird: black-shouldered kite (DB 'njanjidjira', but Sullivan gave 'naniger', 'black-faced cuckoo-shrike')

nyara
tough; **baru nyara** tough meat

nyildi
tears

nyildirn
to shed tears, to cry

nyimi
lip

nyimi-nyimi nyinarn
to kiss one another (i.e. two lips together)

nyimi-nyimi guyinmarn
to kiss (lit. 'to suck lips')

nyinarn
to sit, to sit down, to be (of animates)

nyirn
to sit, to sit down, to be (short form of **nyinarn**); **nyurni dhala nyirn?** where are you?

nyina-nyinarn, nyina-nyinarirn
to sit around (v intr); **nhangga muga nyina-nyinarn** a big mob of people are sitting around

nyini-nyinirirn
to sit round together all the time; **minya urla dyirndunga nyini-nyinirirn** the little boys sit around together all the time in the sun

nyinbin, mil nyinbin
eyelashes

nyindi, nyindiyardu
clever, knowing; **maga nyindi!** I don't know!; **nyurni nyindi-du!** you know it! (from Kukata **nindi**)

nyindimarn
to show, to demonstrate (v tr); **nhanggangu garli nyindimana** the man showed his boomerang (to the others)

nyindirn
to show someone, to teach someone (v tr)

nyinha
this one here; **nhangganga nyinhanga dyilgirl** they are going to stare at this man

nyubali, nyubili
you two

nyubuli
you more than two

yuni-bagarn
to gossip about somebody, to run someone down

nyunyin
plant: prickly bush with edible translucent white berries, possibly a *Solanum* sp.

nyura, nyuri
you (more than two); older alternative to **nyubuli**

nyurdi
bag: large carrying bag carried over shoulder, swag; **ngadhu baldha mararn, nyurdinga ilarn.gu** I am getting some clothes to pack in my case

nyurgarda
old; **warda nhanha nyurgarda** this is an old tree

nyurgardu
very old person

nyurni
you, sg intr subject; **nyurni ngarbin** you are lying down

nyurni ngali, nyurni ngaling
we two, you and I

nyurnigu
your, belonging to you (sg)

rabidi
rabbit (from English)

rul*
bird: sacred kingfisher (Tindale-Sullivan 'rooel', DB 'rool'), borrowing from Kukata replacing **birun-birun**

ularn
to cry; **gidya maldhing ulana** the baby was crying last night; **dyarda ularn** 'stomach crying' to feel deeply sorry

urndal
kinship term: daughter, sister's daughter or brother's daughter, they in turn answer with: **wiya**, **muma**

urgarda
phlegm, cold, head-cold; **urgarda gadirn** he's got a cold

urla
boy (from Kukata, replacing **walbu**)

urldirn
to come, to come back; **nganha urldirn!** I am coming; **gabi marnaardu urldinda** (in the meantime) a big storm is coming

uru
hair; **gaga-uru** head hair

uwa
yes; this was probably an early borrowing from Kukata, as it is found already in Curr (Richardson: Streaky Bay). It must have been sometimes shortened to 'wa' as this is attested by Wiebusch and Daisy Bates; cf. **ya**, **nhawu***

wa
face, forehead; **wa barldaga!** hit him in the face!

wanga
in front of one, in one's face; **wanga yugarn** it is standing in front of you, staring you in the face

waarga
work (loan word from English); **nhanggangu waarga widyana** the man left his work

wabma*
snake (Provis 'wobma', Parnkalla, Kuyani **wabma**)

waburdi
plant: bluebush

wad(a)n-ma*
shell food (Acc. Guerkin and Wilson 'watn ma' twisty food, *Turbo undulatus*)

wada-wada
forgetful, unsuspecting

wada-wada-gidirn
to forget; **warda bala maʀaga, nganha warda-warda-gidirn-dhirdi** pick up that thing, I might forget it

wada-wadamarn
to forget something on purpose, to put out of one's mind (v tr); older word

wada-wada nyinarn
to forget, to be forgetful or unmindful (v intr); **nganha nhanggangu inggirnmana nganyi warda-warda nyinana** the man asked me for something and I forgot

wadhara
loud (adj and adv); **bala wadhara wanggarn** he is talking loudly, older word

wadyarn
to be sorry, to cry (v intr); **dyarda wadyarn** feeling sad, lit. stomach sorry

waga
lizard: gecko

Wagurda
name of place: Wookata near Coorabie (DB 'Wogourda')

wagin*
hair under arm (DB 'waggin')

wagu*
arm, right arm (DB says left arm, 'wogu'), from Kukata

wai!
Hallo! eh! exclamation of greeting and to gain attention; **wai! nyurni dhala nyinarn?** eh! where are you? also used to mean 'eh, stop!' as in **wai, wai, ngadhu galda nhaana!** eh, stop, I saw a sleepy lizard!

wala, wala-wala, walangu
quickly, in a hurry (adv); **wala urldiga** or **walangu urldiga** come quickly! (from Kukata)

wala-walarn
to run round; **gidyara-muga wala-walarn** a lot of children are running around

walarn
to run, to run along

wala-walirirn
to come hurrying along

walirirn
to fly, to run this way, to come in a hurry **waliri!** (hurry up and) come!; **dyirda gari walirirn** that bird will soon fly off

walunggarn
to come hurrying; **nhangga nhanga walunggan** people are coming here in a hurry

walba
hill; **walbanga yugarn** he is standing on a hill

walbarn
to move around, to shake (v tr); **mara walbarn** to wave one's hands

walba-walbararn
to wave something about

walbirngadn
to go along wagging (tail); **baba dyinda walbirngadn** the dog is waking along wagging its tail

waldha
wallaby

Waldhabi
name of place: Waltabie Well near Colona, 'Wallaby-water'

waldhu
windbreak

waldiya
tree: white gum tree

walduldu*
cloud (DB 'walduldu')

walduri
tree: blackwood tree

waldya
bird: eaglehawk; policeman 'large bird of prey'; **nganya wayi waldyagu** I am scared of the police

walga[1]
frost; **walga mandanga ngarbirn** frost is lying on the ground

walga[2]
mark, paintmark; **walga ilarn** to paint up (from Kukata)

walga*[3]
ground fog (DB 'walga')

walgala
plant: broombush; it was actually used for sweeping the ground

walina*
returning boomerang. This word was noted as 'wollina' by Tindale (1929)

walubara
white woman

walungu
now, straightaway

walya
wallaby, alternative to **waldhu**

walyba, garla-walyba
wood, small pieces of kindling; **garla-walyba bala mara!** bring that bit of kindling wood!

walybala
whitefellow

walybu
young child, young boy in particular, older form replaced by Kukata **urla**

walyi-walyiringarn
to become bad, to start doing wrong things (**walyi** was regarded as a borrowing from Mirniny)

walyi-barn*
to lose (DB 'walyi barna')

wama
manna, anything sweet, hence wine

wambarda*
girl (Black 'womboda')

wana
digging stick

wandirn, wandarn
to follow; **ngadyu dyamugu dyina wandirn** I am following my grandfather's footsteps; **nganha wandaga!** follow me!

wandha
sorry, regretful; **dhana wandha** you are sorry

wandula
cloud: general term, older word

wanga*
road, beaten track (Wiebusch 'wangna')

wangga
language, word, speech, noise, message; **ngadhu wangga yungga yunggigarn** I am sending a message

Wangga-mardu
'people who say **mardu**, true' name applied by Gawler Ranges Wirangu people to a group of their Kukata neighbours, those who had come into the area around Wilgena. Daisy Bates also gives this term with the comment 'Wongamardu, they spoke Marduwonga' (i.e. they spoke the language which says 'mardu')

wangga yargarn-yargarn
echo, lit. 'word repeating'

wanggarn
to talk, to bark, to make a noise; **nganha nyurnin mirarn wanggarn.gadn**, I am listening to you talking; to blow (of wind), because the wind talks as it were (v intr); **warlba minyaru wanggarn** a cold wind is blowing

wanggingarn
to tell off, to scold

wangu
bereavement term: orphaned child, term used out of pity instead of the child's name (from Kukata)

wanyi
girl; also used as kinship term: brother's daughter, man speaking

wanyi-wanyi
bird: nankeen kestrel

wanyiri
plant: dillon bush, Nitraria Schoberii, with edible berries (Black 'wanjari', Parnkalla 'wadnirri', Kuyani **wadnyiri**)

wanyuwa
kinship term: daughter-in-law

wara*
at once, immediately, today (Black, 'ngadu wara uldin', 'I am coming at once', Wiebusch 'wora') from Kukata (cf. Yankunytjatjara 'waara', 'without stopping')

wara
poor thing; **wara wilaga** leave the poor thing alone

wara-marna
many, a lot; **wara-marna wanggarirn** a lot of people are talking amongst themselves

warabina
snake: 'black wombat snake', equivalent to Kukata **guyi**, i.e. a harmless blind snake, *Ramphotyphlops* sp.

warbil
woman, Aboriginal woman

warbil nyurgarda
old woman

warda
tree, stick; also object of any kind. This semantic extension is known from elsewhere, e.g. Paakantyi 'yarra', 'tree'; 'yarra-yarra', 'belongings, objects'; **warda bala mara!** bring that thing here

warda-dhari
scrub

warda-gadi
scrub country

warda-guldu
tree-trunk

warda-warda
something or other, I don't know what, nothing much at all

wardadyi
widow

wardiring
bird: wild turkey

wardiya
by and by, soon; **ngadhu wardiya urldirn** I'll come in a minute

wardu
wombat

wargarn
to blame someone, to growl at (v tr); **dhamangu gari nyurni wargarn** grandfather will growl at you directly; **babangu wargarn** the dog is growling

wargarn ngal, wargadha ngal
to tell someone off thoroughly, to have very angry words with someone, **wargaga ngal!** give him a serve!

wargadha windyirn
to leave when someone is growling, to leave in disgust

wargirn
to growl at somebody continually; **wiyanangu gidya wargirn** the woman is growling at the child

wargiringa
shrubs: saltbush and bluebush varieties

wari
road, track (DB 'native road leading to the principal permanent waters')

wari, wari-wara
wind

wari-yuga*, wari-gal*
ship, European sailing ship (Provis 1879 'wari-uka', interpreted as 'wari-ngukatha wind go', cf. Parnkalla 'wariyoko', DB 'wari-gal)

waribarn
to go up, to get up (v intr); older word

waridya*
bird: emu. This was the original Wirangu word, known only from the vocabulary by Provis; cf. Parnkalla 'warraitya'

warla
angry, wild; **dyilbi warla nganhanga** the old man is wild with me

warla
fight, quarrel; **maga nganha warla nhararn** don't look for a fight with me; **nyurni warlagu warla** you are angry (enough) for a fight, you are spoiling for a fight

warla marnaardu
furiously angry, angry and aggressive person, 'big row maker'

warlang' nyinarn
to be in dispute, to quarrel (v intr); **bularli warlanga nyinarn** the couple are having an argument

warla-warlanga nyinarn
to argue the point, to be in conflict (v intr)

warlamarn
to make angry, to infuriate; **nhanggangu nganha warlamana** the man infuriated me

warlarn
to abuse someone

warlarn ngal
to speak angrily to someone, to 'rouse on' (v tr); **guda nganha warliga-ngal** don't rouse on me

warla-warlarirn
to have an argument (v recip)

warli-warlirn
to fight; **wiyana gudhara warli-warlirn** the two women are fighting

warladyi
kinship term: wife, this originally referred not to a real wife, but someone who was in a secondary 'pirangura, betrothed' relationship, which had nothing to do with actual marriage (Elkin:1938-39:74). It also appears to have referred generally to someone who was of one's own generation and of the opposite moiety, yet not actually married to the speaker

warlba
wind, strong wind; **ngana-ngurni warlba wanggarn** which way is the wind blowing?

Warlbanya
name of an old Wirangu man

warlbu
bone

warldarn
to hide something, to shut; **warldaga!** hide it away

warldurn
to cause something to be shut or covered over, 'door'; **warlduga** shut the door! (from Kukata, WD **warldurni)**

warldugarn
to cover over; **ngalara warldugana** I covered myself over (with blankets)

warlga
plant: wild tomato, *Solanum* species with berries that are edible when ripe and yellow coloured (from Kukata)

warlilya
bandicoot (Bedford's vocabulary gives the same word and explains that it is the white-banded bandicoot)

warna
sea, seashore; **warnagu winaga barnda-ma maʀaga** go to the sea and get some shellfish

warna-ma
'seafood', shellfish and crustaceans obtained from the sea-shore

warnarn
to drop something accidentally (v tr), to slip down (v intr); **warda bala warnana** (I) dropped that thing; **maʀa-ngurni warnana** it slipped out of my hand; **nganha warnana dyilya-ngurni** I fell off a tree

warna-warnarirn
to throw things at each other (v refl); **barnda-muga warnawarnarirn** they throw a lot of stones at each other

warnirn
come down (rain), to fall down continually; to throw (v tr); **garli warnirn balangu** he is throwing a boomerang

warningarn
to drop something, let go of; **balangu gaʀi gadyi warningarn** he'll drop the spear directly (older word)

warn
to fall; short form of the verb

warnigarn
to throw away; **ngadhu warnigana** I threw it away

warndarn
to climb up; **gidya bala wardanga warndarn** this child is climbing up the tree

warndirn
to go up slowly, to grow; **gara warndidhidirn** (DB kara wandi dhiddin) the grass is growing

warnda-warndirirn, warndirirn,
to hang, to hang down (v intr); **bulara warda-gan.gaRa wandirirn** wild peaches are hanging in the top of the trees

warndidharn*
to hang down (DB 'wandi-i dhal')

warn.ga
bag of bagmoth, hanging from trees; borrowing from Kukata

warn.gara
bird: crow. This word was still used by Gawler Ranges people speaking to J.T. Platt; it has been replaced by **garn.ga** from Kukata

warn.ga
caterpillar (from Kukata)

wariya*
birth-order name: Provis says it is the third son, but elsewhere in Parnkalla, Kuyani etc. it is always the second son

waru
kangaroo: grey kangaroo, scrub-kangaroo; **ngadhu winarn warugu** I am going after kangaroos

wayi
frightened; **maga wayi** I'm not scared; **ngadhu waldyagu wayi nyinarn** I am frightened of the police

wayibarn
to be frightened (v intr); **nhangga gari nhangga winygama nhadha wayibana** (that) man, as soon as he saw the other man, got frightened

wayi-dharbarn
to frighten someone, lit. to put them into fear; **ngadhu gidyara wayi-dharbarn** I am putting the fear (of God) into these kids

wayirirn, wayinarn, wayinirn
to run away in fear (v intr); **wa-ngurni wayirirn** it is running away from in front of me; **walangu wayiniga** run away quickly!

wiba
ant: general term

wiba-mina
antheap, 'ant-nest'

wibiny
bird: white-browed babbler (Sullivan 'weebin')

widha
leg, lower leg

widhaardu
tall, 'leggy'; **nhangga widhaardu** a tall man

widhirn, widhn
to touch, to get hold of, to hang onto; **maga widhiga! badharndhirdi** don't touch it! (the dog), it might bite!

widirn
to block, to fasten (v tr)

widyirn
to throw a weapon; **gali ngadhu gali widyirn** I am going to throw a boomerang; **widyi nhanha** throw it!

widyigarn
to throw away, to drop; **ngadhu banha widyigarn** I am throwing it away

widyi-widyi
throwing stick. DB lists it as a type of blunt throwing stick, and indicates that it was used in sorcery. The name is much like that of the Victorian toy throwing stick, the 'widy-widy'. Present-day speakers described it as 'a stick with a big sort of head on, not pointed like a spear'

wil-wil
secret, dangerous

wilarn
to crawl

wildyara
some time ago, long ago (adv); **wildyara ilana** he put it down a long time ago

wildyara-birna
old (lit. coming from long ago)

wili
bird: pelican

wilurrara
west

wilural*
west wind (DB wilurarl)

wilyaru
secondary initiation by cicatrisation, involving horizontal scars on the back. Practised throughout the western Lake Eyre region

wima, wimaardu
five, at least five or more

winarn
to go, to walk; **maga maldyinga winarn, warnarndhirdi** don't walk about in the dark, you might fall over; **balaarda winana** he has gone

wirn
short form of the verb **winarn** 'to go', as in **dyuraga wirngu** tell him to go; **dyina wirn** to walk, to go on foot

wiyarn
to go; **dyina wiyarn** lit. 'foot-go', to walk along. This seems to be simply an alternative form of the verb **winarn**

wina-winarn
to go about, to travel around; **wilbara marna wina-winana** a lot of buggies were going around

winburn
to whistle

winygama
other, different, new; **baldha winygama dharbirn** (I) am putting on a new dress

windyirn, windhirn
leave, let be; **maga, windyiga** don't! leave it!; **ngadhu nhangga nha windhidha wayinarn** I am leaving that man and am running away

windyigarn
to let go, to allow to go free; **ilga windyigana** (they) let the dingo go

wira
sky

Wirangu
name of the language. It was always pronounced as such by the speakers recorded in the sixties and by the oldest of the modern speakers. Younger people tend to pronounced it as Wiranggu, with a 'g' sound, presumably because of the influence of the English spelling.

wirdiny
long

wirdinygardu
long, tall; **mangga wirdinygardu** long hair

wirily
bird: lark

wirldi
long stick, bar, probing stick put down into burrows, long stick used as skewer

wirlu
bird: curlew

wirnda
fighting spear (from Kukata)

wirnda
sharp, pointed (adj); **mulha wirnda** pointed nose

wirni
leg, lower leg, shin

wiya
mother

wiyana
woman; **ngana ini bala wiyana** what is this woman's name?

yabu, yaburdu
all, everybody; **yaburdu winarn** they are all going; **yaburdungu nyurni nharn** everybody can see you;

yaburdu-du ngalguna they ate it all up

yadarn
to wait (v intr and tr); **ngadhu nyurni yadirl** I'll wait for you

yadagarn
to wait for (v tr); **nhanggangu wiyana yadagarn** the man is waiting for the woman

yadu
good, beautiful, flash, pleased; **nhangga bala yadu nyirn** this man is really pleased (with himself)

yadumarn
to make, to fix up, to cure, to make better (v tr) doctor; **urldin nyurni yadumarn** the doctor will come and make you better; **ngana nyurni yadumarn?** what are you making? to make (a fire); **maldhinga garla yadumana** he made a fire at night

yadurirn
to become good, to be good or happy; **dyarda yadurirn** 'stomach is good', I am happy

yagulu
back again (adv); **yagulu urldiga** come back here!; **yagulu winiga** go back (home); **ngadhu yagulu urldirn maldhulu** I will come back tomorrow

yala
hole, hollow, also womb; **rabidi yala-ngurni maraga** get the rabbit out of the burrow

yalamarn
to make a hole, to pierce; **mulya yalamarn** to pierce nose

yalgarda
three

yalgi
leg, calf of leg

yamba, yambaga
far away; **yamba bala nyirn** it is a long way off

yambaardu, yambagardu
very far away, distant; **nyurni yambagardu wiyarn** you are going far away; **gidya, yambaardu winadha in.gaga!** kids, go and play a long way off!

yambi, ambi
there, some distance away; **nhangga ambi yugarn** there is a man standing over there

yambil
shoulder

yambu
lap; **gidya yambunga nyirn** to sit with a baby on one's lap. This word is also used to form a compound 'having on one's lap'; **wiyana gidya-yambu nyinarn** the woman is sitting with a baby on her lap

yamu
that way, in such a manner; thus **nyurni yamu yadumana** that's the way you fixed it up

yamurdu
just like this; **yamurdu winiga** come like this, as you are (don't bother to dress up)

yana
raw, alive

yaniny
alive, wide awake, also more rarely 'raw'; **yaniny nyinarn** (she) is alive; **balardu gari yaniny nyinggayirn** he'll be awake directly

yandarn
to put down, to drop; **warda yandaga** put that thing down!

yanda-bagarn
to push over, to knock down (lit. drop-hit); **urlangu wanyi yanda-bagana** the boy pushed the girl over; **gabi guda yanda-bagaga** don't knock the water (bucket) over

yanda-marn
to push out of the way; **urlangu urla**

winygama yanda-maʀana one boy pushed the other out of the way

yandu-marn
throw out, throw away; **nhagurdu ma yandu-maʀaga** throw this bit of food out

yangguna
bird: white cockatoo (older word heard by the older people in their youth but no longer in their current vocabulary: **gagalya** is used for cockatoos in general)

yaramardu
too, as well; **nganha yaramardu yunggarn** give it to me too, older word

yargarn
to taste (v tr); **yargarn.gu** wanting to have a taste of something (purposive form); **ngadhu yargirl** I'll have a taste

yargulu
in front, first (adv); **nganha yargulu wiyarn, nyurni dhananga urldiga** I am going first, you come later! (cf. Pamkalla 'yerkullu')

yari
arm, upper arm

yarldirn
to call someone, to call someone back (v tr); **ngananga gidya yarldina?** why did you call the child? (from Kukata)

yaru
light; **garla-yaru** flame, light of a fire

yawu
bird: seagull

yugara
girl, young woman; **wanyi yugara** young girl

yugarilya
Seven Sisters, i.e. 'group of young women'. They are said to be following a Snake up in the sky, they also follow the Ancestral Snake on this earth and in its efforts to escape the Snake digs up the cliffs and makes them go inland from Eucla (DB)

yugarn
to stand; **yambarda yugarn** he is standing a long way off; **yugaga** stand up! Also used in the sense of to be, to exist

yuga-yugarn
to stand around (several people as a group)

yugurn
to make something stand up; **gadyi bala yuguga** stand up that spear

yulbaʀa, yulbuʀara
south

Yulbaʀa
the southern people, the coast people and there language (from Kukata)

Yuldi
name of place: Ooldea soak, now usually called **Yuldiya.** According to Tindale it was written as 'Youldeh' in the earliest documentation, W. Richards (in Taplin 1879)

yumbara, var. **umbara**
fly: general term

yumuri
kinship term: mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, i.e. affine female relation belonging to the opposite moiety and alternative generation level and who is in a taboo relationship to the person concerned

yunbu
happy (alternative to **gunbu**); **nganha dyarda yunbu nyinarn** I am happy (lit. 'happy stomach')

yundu
bag: small dilly-bag; **ngadhu yundungu gadirn** I am carrying it around in (lit. with) my bag

yundurgu
thunder, thunderstorm; **yundurgu wanggarn** it is thundering

yunga*
kinship term: elder brother, Gawler Ranges word; see Provis 'yoonga', Parnkalla, Kuyani etc. **yunga**

yunggarn
to give; **winygama winygama yunggarn** to divide something up among different people, to share

yunggigarn
to give, to hand over, to send; **nhanggangu wangga yunggigana** the man sent a message

yuri
ear

yuri-bamba
deaf, can't hear at all

yuri-gardu
deaf, won't listen

Yuriya
name of place: Euria rockhole north of Bookabie; it was a major mythological site

yuru
euro. The English word is derived from this word, which is also found in Kuyani and Adnyamathanha

yuwara
track (from Kukata); **nhangga dyina-yuwara** this is an Aboriginal man's footprint; **yuwara wandarn** to follow a track

APPENDIX 2

ENGLISH–WIRANGU FINDER LIST

Aboriginal person	**nhangga**, var. **nyangga**
above, up top, up in the sky	**gardidya**
abuse someone	**warlarn**
alive, wide awake	**yaniny**
all the time, without stopping (adv)	**gudu**
all, everybody	**yabu, yaburdu, dyiri**
also, too, as well (adv)	**dyungu, dyungurdu**
and	**ba**
angry and aggressive person	**warla marnaardu**
angry, wild	**warla**
ankle	**barla, daʀi**
ant: general term	**minga, wiba**
ant: bull-ant	**galdu**
antheap	**wiba-mina**
argue the point	**warla-warlanga nyinarn**
arm, forearm	**dyurdi**
arm, right arm	**wagu***
arm, upper arm	**yari**
armpit	**gaburu, ngaguly**
ashes	**mabarla**
ask for something	**ingginmarn**
ask someone a question	**dhambarn, dharburn**
asleep	**miya**
asleep, quiet, motionless	**gun.gun**
at once, immediately	**wara***
at one's side	**bildangi**
avoid	**aʀirn-gadn**
away, away from here (adv)	**dhardu, dhardu-malda**
back (n)	**mirdi**
back again	**yagulu**

back of neck and shoulder area	**mandu**
back, lower back	**dhubu**
bad, no good	**ngandha**
bag of bag moth	**warn.ga**
large bag that was carried on one's back	**dhandu**
large carrying bag, swag	**nyurdi**
small dillybag	**yundu**
bald	**gaga barnda**
bandicoot	**warlilya**
bark of tree, bark dish	**bidyi**
bat	**bindhinara, bindyindyara, mildhing**
be cold	**minyururirn**, var. **minyurirn**
be frightened	**wayibarn**
be happy	**dyarda-yadurirn**
be in dispute, quarrel	**warlang' nyinarn**
be in hiding, hide oneself	**gudi nyinarn**
be out of breath	**ngayi-magarirn**
be sad	**dyarda-ngandharirn**
be sorry	**wadyarn**
be violently sick	**dyurgumarn**
beard	**gandya, nganggguwin*, ngangga**
become bad	**walyi-walyiringarn**
become good, be good	**yadurirn**
become impaired in sight or hearing	**bambirirn**
bed, bedding, groundsheet	**ilgi**
beetle	**miriny**
before, already	**bina**
behind, at the back of	**dhananga**, var. **dyananga**
bend down (v intr)	**bubarn**
bereavement term: orphaned child	**wangu**
big	**marnaardu, mirnaardu**
bird	**dyirda**
black-shouldered kite	**nyanyidyira***
bronzewing pigeon	**marnbila**
cockatoo: general term, Major Mitchell	**gagalya**, var. **garagalya**
crimson chat	**gurda-gurda***
crow	**garn.ga**
crow	**warn.gara**

cuckoo	**gurgur**
curlew	**wirlu**
currawong sp.	**ban-ban bilarla, bilarl**
eaglehawk	**waldya**
emu	**garliya, waridya***
finch	**mining-mining**
frogmouth owl	**ngungi**
galah	**bira-bira**
kestrel	**girgin**
kingfisher	**birun-birun**
lark	**wirily**
magpie	**gura**
mallee hen	**galbiny, nganamaʀa**
nankeen kestrel	**wanyi-wanyi**
pelican	**wili**
plover	**garli-dyiridyiri**
red-legged sandpiper	**birdardi**
red-capped robin	**nhunggan***
ring-necked parrot	**buliny-buliny**
sacred kingfisher	**rul***
seagull	**yawu**
swan	**gudi***
top-knot pigeon	**mulbaru**
white cockatoo	**yangguna**
white-winged chough	**dyibiny**
white-browed babbler	**wibiny**
wild turkey	**wardiring**
willie wagtail	**dyindi-dyindi**
yellow-throated miner	**bir-bir**
birth-order name, first son	**birdiya***
second son	**wariya***
third son	**guni***
bite	**badharn**, var. **badyarn, badyurn**
black	**mangguʀu, maʀu**
blame someone, growl at	**wargarn**
blind in both eyes	**mil bamba**
inattentive	**mil-gardu**
block, fasten	**widirn**
blood	**ildu**

blow	**biyarn**
blow on something	**bundyarn**
boil, abscess	**bagaru**
bone	**bili, darga**, var. **darlga, warlbu**
boomerang	**garli**
returning boomerang	**walina***
boss, important man	**bunari**, var. **binari**
white boss	**maadha**
bottle, bottle of wine	**guru**
bottom, behind	**dyindyi**, var. **dyindhi**
boulder, enormous rock	**barnda-yanda**
boy	**urla**
brackish water	**ngandha gabi**
break	**banggarn**
break in pieces, cut to shreds	**dhagagarn**
become detached	**burbarn**
breast	**ngami**
breast, milk	**ibi, mimi**
breath	**ngayi**
bring a person or a thing,	**galdarn, galdirn**
bring back, take, carry,	**gadirn**
bring this way	**gadidirn**
burn (v intr)	**gambarirn**
burn (v tr)	**gambilarn**
burrow, hole, cave	**gardal**
bury	**dhanbidharn**
bush, leafy shrub, 'candlebush'	**dyindi**, var. **dyindidyi**
bush, scrub (general term)	**bunyuru, bungu**
but it isn't so	**marandyi**
butterfly	**binda-binda**
by and by, later on	**budya, budyarda, budyari**
call someone	**yarldirn**
camp	**ngura, mura***
Careful! Look out!	**dyi!, dyi-dyi!***
cat, native cat	**dyiniga, dyinya, dyanya**
caterpillar	**warn.ga**
cause something be shut or covered over	**warldurn**
centipede	**bandyi-bandyi**
charcoal	**garla-birl**

chase away	**garigarn**
cheek	**ngugu**
cheek, side of face	**galba**
chest	**ngarga**
upper chest	**bilban**
upper part of body	**mundundu, munha**
chew on something	**badharn ngal**
child, little one, regardless of gender	**gidya, buldu***
children, special plural form	**gidyara**
chin	**garndarn**
choke on something	**manu widn, manu widu-wid(ur)n**
choke somebody	**manu widh(ir)n**
chop up, chop pieces	**gurndagarn**
clever man	**nganggari, nganggari**
clever, knowing	**nyindi, nyindiyardu**
climb up	**garlbarn, warndarn**
close, close by	**ila, ilanga**
cloud: general term	**wandula, walduldu***
cobweb	**gara**
cold weather	**bayala, minyuru**, var. **minyura**
come down (rain)	**warnirn**
come hurrying along	**wala-walirirn, walunggarn**
come to nothing	**magarirn**
come on!	**ga!**
come up, appear	**bamarn, bamirn**
come, arrive	**urldirn**
come, come back	**urldirn**
cook, heat (v tr)	**gambarn**
cook, heat up (v tr)	**gambirn**
cough (v intr)	**gundyuru manirn**
couple, man and woman	**bulali, bulili**
cover over	**warldugarn**
cover over with soil, bury	**dyubarn, dyuburn, dyubudharn**
cow, cattle	**bulugi**
crab	**galda-maru**
cracked, split open (adj)	**bagardi**
crawl	**mararn-mararn, wilarn**
creek	**bari**
cry	**ularn**

cut in pieces	**mudi-mudirn**
cut; break	**dhagarn**
dance, a type of dance	**guri***
dead	**balungu**
dead person, corpse	**dyin.ga**
deaf, can't hear at all	**yuʀi-bamba**
deaf, won't listen	**yuʀi-gardu**
deep	**ganinyara**
depression in the ground, hollow	**birdi**
devil	**mamu**
dew, mist, fog	**burgu**
die	**balurn, bal**
dig, dig up	**dhanmarn, dhanbarn, dhanbirn**
dirty, covered in mud	**bilgi**
doctor, sorcerer	**maʀalya**
dog	**baba**
tame dog	**buba**
wild dog, dingo	**ilga**
dreaming, dream	**dhugur**, var. **dyugur**
drinking bout	**gabi-gabi**
drop something accidentally	**warnarn**
drop something	**warningarn**
drop, leave behind	**indiwaʀarn**
dry (adj)	**digurl**
dry (v)	**dyundimarn**
dust	**bulba**
ear	**yuʀi**
east	**gagaraʀa**
east wind	**gaganil walba**
eat by oneself without giving anybody anything	**ngadyi ngal**
eat, drink, swallow	**ngalgurn, ngal**
echidna	**dyilga-marda**
echo	**wangga yargarn-yargarn**
edible tuber, species unknown	**ngugu**
egg	**bibi*, ngugurn**
elbow	**gurnarn**
empty, vain	**ngara**
enough!	**nguldu**
enough, that's heaps!	**nguldurdu**

euro	**yuru**
Evil spirit	**Maldhabi**
evil mythical people who come out of the mist	**Burgu-birna**
excrement	**gurda*, guna, dyara**
eye	**mil, mina***
eyebrows	**mil-nganba**
eyelashes	**nyinbin, mil nyinbin**
face, forehead	**wa**
fall asleep	**an.gu ngarbirn**
fall	**warn**
far away	**yamba, yambaga**
fat	**bada**
fat, grease	**mirnu**
feather shoes	**maldhara**
feel itchy	**gidyi-gidyirn**
fight	**warli-warlirn**
fight, quarrel	**warla**
find	**dyagarn**
fingernail	**mara-biri**
fire, firewood	**garla**
fish: general term	**mudi, guya**
fish: Port Jackson shark	**mugabu**
five, at least five or more	**wima, wimaardu**
flame, flash	**birlga**
flats, low lying plains	**ngadi**
flea	**dyidu**
flesh	**buldya**
fly (v)	**walirirn**
fly: blowfly	**bubulari**
fly: general term	**yumbara**, var. **umbara**
follow	**wandirn, wandarn**
food, vegetable food	**ma**
foot, track	**dyina**
for ever, altogether; for good	**guduardu**
for oneself, wanting have something	**ngadyi**
forget	**wada-wada nyinarn, wada-wada-gidirn**
forget something on purpose	**wada-wadamarn**
forgetful, unsuspecting	**wada-wada**

friend	**malba**
frighten someone	**wayi-dharbarn**
frightened	**wayi**
frog	**ngarn.ngi**
frost	**walga**
full, sated	**dyarda manaardu, mangara**
furiously angry	**dyarda gambarirn**
further away	**gadha**, var. **gadya**
garment, dress	**baldha**
get a fire going	**barn**
get big, become abundant	**marnarirn**
get up	**bangarn**
get wet	**nhandugirn, nhandurirn**
ghost, devil	**guyirdi**
ghost, spirit of the dead	**bidyil***
girl	**wambarda*, wanyi**
girl, young woman	**yugara**
give	**yunggarn**
give, hand over, send message	**yunggigarn**
go about, travel around	**wina-winarn**
go inside	**dharbarn**
go off, get rotten	**bunggaʀarirn**
go on!	**mula!**
go up	**bingarn**
go up slowly, grow	**warndirn**
go up, get up	**waribarn**
go, walk	**winarn, wirn, wiyarn, ngamarn**
goanna: general term	**barna**
goanna: black goanna	**gaʀiny**
good, beautiful	**yadu**
gossip about somebody, run someone down	**yuni-bagarn**
grab someone by the throat	**dyidi widh(i)n**
grab, get	**maʀarn**
grass, also plain, flat country	**gaʀa**
grasshopper, locust	**dyindilga**
grease	**ngandirn**
greedy	**nhambara**
green	**gaʀagan***
ground fog	**walga***

ground, sand	**manda**
growl at somebody continually	**wargirn**
grub from mallee trees	**dyilya-bardi**
grub, witchetty grub	**bardi**
gullet	**dyidi-yurnda, manu**
gum of sandalwood	**gardamu**
guts	**muriny**
hair	**nguru***
hair under arm	**wagin***
hair	**uru**
hair: short hair, body hair, fur	**nganba**
hallo! eh!	**wai!**
hand	**maʀa**
hang, hang down	**warndirirn, warnda-wandirirn**
hang down	**warndidharn***
happy, contented	**dyarda-yadu, dyarda gunbu, gunbu, yunbu**
hard, rock-hard, tough (meat)	**garndi-garndi**
hat, any head-gear	**muna**
have an argument	**warla-warlarirn**
have sex	**guna-ngal**
he, she, it	**bala, balaardu, balagardu, balaarda**
head	**gaga**
headband: headband used for carrying things	**ngalda**
heap, pile (of stones or of wood)	**nganda**
hear, listen	**miʀarn, mirn**
heart	**gurdurdu**
heel	**mugu**
here	**nha, nhan**
here, around here	**nhaga, nhanga**
here, right here	**nhaardu**
here, this here	**inha**, var. **nyinha**
here, this place near here	**nhala, nhalanha**
hide something (v tr)	**gumbirnmarn, gudi ilarn**
hide something	**warldarn**
hide, remain hidden	**gumbirn, gumbilarn**
hidden, in hiding (adj)	**gudi**
high up (location nominal)	**gan.gaʀa, gan.garda, gan.ga**
hill	**walba**

hip	**bilda**
his, her	**balagu**
hit	**gurndarn**
hit one another, have a fight (v. recip)	**gurndarirn**
hit with a weapon	**nguʀarn, nguʀirn**
hold, keep, carry around	**gandyirn, gandhirn**
hole, hollow	**yala**
hollow tree, hollow log	**magaʀi**
hop	**balyirirn**
hop, jump around	**dyimbigarn**
horse	**buni**
hot weather	**bugara*, ngarnara**
house, hut	**garba**
small house, toy house	**ngura-ngura**
how?	**dhamu**
how many?	**dharangu**
hungry	**garnba**
hunt away; drive away	**gaʀirn**
hurt, feel pain, be sore	**ngarndarn**
I (ergative)	**ngadhu**
I (intr)	**ngayi, nganyi**
I (nominative), me	**nganha**
I (nominative). me	**ngayi**
I, me	**nganha, nganya**
imitate	**argarn**
impaired in sight or hearing	**bamba**
in front	**wanga**
in front, first	**yargulu**
infuriate	**warlamarn**
initiate (n), young initiate	**bardnaba***
initiation ceremony; circumcision rites	**Dyibiri**
injure	**baʀarn**
inside	**gulybi**
instep	**dyina-mildyarn***
jealous	**mugarda**
jealous, possessive	**minarangi**
jealous and sulky person	**mugarda marnaardu**
joined up with, mixed with, together	**dhunadha**
jump up and down	**gurgarirn**

jump, hop	**guringgarn**
just like this	**yamurdu**
just recently, as yet	**idha**
kangaroo: grey kangaroo, scrub-kangaroo	**waru**
kangaroo: red kangaroo	**gulbir, marlur, gulu, gudlu**
kidney	**babulu**
kinship term: aunt, father's sister	**gurndili**
brother-in-law	**dharbarda, maʀadyu**
brother or cousin (younger)	**marlany**
brother (older)	**maʀiya**
daughter-in-law	**wanyuwa**
daughter	**urndal**
elder brother	**yunga***
father	**muma, mumaardu, mumaarda, mama**
grandfather; reciprocal: grandson	**dyamu, bagarli**
grandmother	**gabarli**
husband	**madyi**
mother-in-law	**yumuri**
mother-in-law, woman speaking	**minggari**
sister, older	**ganggiya**
sister, oldest	**gangguru**
sister, youngest	**buyalu**
son; brother or sister's son	**gadya**
uncle	**gany**
uncle, mother's brother	**gamuʀu**
wife	**warladyi**
wife, actually married	**mard(a)n**
wife, promised wife	**mard**
younger sibling	**bangunu**
kiss (v)	**dyabarn***
kiss (v)	**nyimi-nyimi guyinmarn**
kiss one another	**nyimi-nyimi nyinarn**
knee	**buʀa, murdi**
knot in rope or wood	**baldu**
lake: saltlake, saline swampy country	**bindhara, bindyara**
land, earth, bare ground	**budu***
language, word	**wangga**
lap	**yambu**

large	**bangari**
laugh (oneself)	**ngunyirirn**
laugh (v intr)	**dyulirn**
laugh	**ngunyirn**
laughing, happy	**bagurl-bagurl**
leaf, small branch	**barga**
leave in disgust	**wargadha windyirn**
leave, let be	**windyirn, windhirn**
leg, calf of leg	**yalgi**
let go, allow go free	**windyigarn**
lick (v tr)	**dyagurn**
lie down	**ngarbirn**
lie, silly talk	**nguʀi, dyurburdi**
untruth	**ngundyi**
lift up	**gan.ga-marn**
light (a fire)	**birlgirn**
light, flame (n)	**yaru**
lights, intestines	**dharulyu**
like someone, fancy someone	**mugundharn**
limpets	**muna-ma**
lip	**nyimi**
little	**minya**
little one, joey	**dyabun**
liver	**gamarndi**, var. **gamardi**
lizard: bicycle lizard	**dhagul**
blue-tongue lizard	**ngardiny**
frill-necked lizard	**ganu**
gecko	**waga**
sleepy lizard	**galda**
long	**wirdiny**
long, tall	**wirdinygardu**
look for	**nhadarn**
lose	**walyi-barn***
loud	**wadhara**
loud, shrill	**garndi**
louse	**gurlu**
love, object of desire	**dyugur-birdi**
low, shallow	**ginira**
lower leg	**widha**

lower leg, shin	**wirni**
lung	**gurdidyi**
maggot	**gurdilga**
make a hole, pierce	**yalamarn**
make a noise, be noisy	**bilyalmarn**
make something stand up	**yugurn**
make, fix up	**yadumarn**
male	**mamaʀa**
man, fully initiated man, young initiate	**gardu, madyidya**
manna	**wama**
many, a lot	**marna, mirna, wara-marna**
march fly	**gundyi, mila**
mark, paintmark	**walga**
maybe, perhaps	**mandyi**
meat, animal	**baʀu**
midnight	**maldhi marnaarda**
mine	**nganhiya**
moon, month	**biʀa**
moonlight	**biʀa-yaru**
morning	**dyirndu bamirn**
mother	**wiya**
mouse species	**mumbiny**
marsupial mouse	**bundya**
mouth	**ira**
move around, shake	**walbarn**
mud	**malya**
mushroom, large edible mushroom	**dhamarna**
my, mine	**ngadyu, nganhiya (ngayugu** from Kukata)
mussels	**bildha-ma**
nail, claw	**biri**
name	**ini**
Bookabie	**Bugabi**
Charra west of Ceduna	**Dyara**
Coorabie	**Gurabi**
Euria Rockhole	**Yuriya**
Fowlers Bay	**Bandinilya**
Illcumba Well	**Ilgamba**
Ooldea Soak	**Yuldi**

Pidinga Ochre Lake	**Birdinga**
Waltabie Well near Colona	**Waldhabi**
Wookata near Coorabie	**Wagurda**
name for Kukata people	**Wangga-mardu**
name of a Wirangu man of the twenties	**Warlbanya**
coast people and their language	**Yulbaʀa**
coastal people	**Ngadhu, Ngadhu-wangga**
moiety	**Gaʀaru***
moiety	**Madhaʀi***
name of some evil legendary people	**Bindya-gurdi-gurdi**
name of the language	**Wirangu**
navel	**minda***
near, close by	**ilabu**
neck area, back of neck	**ngurndi**
nest	**bunyi, bunhi**
new	**idha-birna**
night, darkness	**maldhi, maldyi**
noise	**bilyal**
north	**alindhara**
north wind	**alinyal* warlba**
nose	**mulha, mulya**
nostril	**mulya-mambarn**
not really, not quite, not quite yet	**guru**
not, can't	**guda**
not, don't	**maga**
not, don't, definitely not	**magaardu**
nothing	**min.ga**
now, fairly soon, just wait a minute	**gari**, var. **gaʀi**
now, straightaway	**walungu**
now, today, just now	**g(u)warda**
ochre	**mardurba**
off, cut off	**dyanigarn**
old	**nyurgarda, nyurgarda, wildyara-birna**
old man	**burlga*, dyirlbi**
old woman	**guʀa, warbil nyurgarda**
on the other side (adv)	**gaba**
one, alone	**guma**
one, only one	**gumaardu**

only just now, today	**idhaardu, idhaarda**
open (v tr)	**bidumarn**
open, exposed	**bidu**
opening, hole	**mambarn**
orphan	**bugula**
orphaned, poor, alone and deserted	**dyirla, dyird(a)la**
other, another, more	**gudyu**
other, different, new,	**winygama**
outside	**gan**
outsider, someone from another country	**gudyu-gudyu**
over there	**(nh)andhi**, var. **nyandyi**
paper	**biba**
perentie	**bulily**
perform a corroboree, dance	**dyudyu gandirn**
perhaps, maybe	**dhalyga**
phlegm, cold,	**urgarda**
pick up (v tr)	**mildirn**
pip, stone inside fruit	**bildha***
plant: bluebush	**waburdi**
broombush;	**walgala**
creeper, mistletoe	**marbu**
dillon bush	**wanyiri**
mangrove	**gugara**
prickly bush, possibly a *Solanum* sp.	**nyunyin**
saltbush	**bulyuru**
spinifex	**dyindya**, var. **dhindya**
wild potato	**burdidi**
wild tomato	**guyina**
wild tomato, *Solanum* sp.	**warlga**
wild banana	**galgala**
play (v intr)	**in.garn**
pluck out feather	**bundarn**
poison	**badhanu**
policeman	**waldya**
poor thing!	**waʀa**
possum	**birlda**
private parts (female)	**nhamu**
pull	**baldarn**
pull out	**balda-waʀarn, ilamarn**

punch repeatedly	**barldirn**
pus, also stinking, rotten	**buga**
push out of the way	**yanda-marn**
push over, knock down	**yanda-bagarn**
put down, drop	**yandarn**
put on (clothes)	**dharbirn**
put something inside	**dharba-ilarn**
put, down, put in	**ilarn**
quickly	**wala, wala-wala, walangu**
quietly, slowly and steadily	**manga**
right now (adv)	**banyi**
rabbit	**rabidi**
rain cloud	**nganggali**
raw	**yana**
red	**birndi, ildiru***
repeatedly, in turn, as well	**mandyaardu**, var. **mandyardu**
resin from trunk of tree, glue	**dhawu**
rib	**bandyi**
right hand side	**dhaburda**
rise up high	**gan.garn**
rise, climb up	**barlgarn**
road, beaten track	**wanga***
road, track	**waʀi**
rock hard	**barnda-barnda**
rotten, stinking	**bunggaʀa**, var. **bugaʀa**, var. **bunggala**
ruin, spoil	**ngandhamarn**
run away in fear	**wayirirn, wayinarn, wayinirn**
run round	**wala-walarn**
run, run along	**walarn**
sad, dejected	**dyarda-ngandha, dyarda wadyarn**
sandhill, coastal dune	**biʀiny**
sandplain	**bindal***
scorpion	**galdilga**
scratch	**birirn**
scratching or scraping noise	**biriny-biriny**
scrub country	**warda-gadi**
scrub	**warda-dhaʀi**
sea, seashore	**warna**

seafood, shellfish and crustaceans	**warna-ma**
seafood, type of a shell	**nhamu ma**
seal	**balgarda**
secondary initiation by cicatrisation	**wilyaru**
secret, dangerous	**wil-wil**
see	**minarn*, nharn/nyarn, nhanarn/ nyanarn**
see, look at	**nhagarn/nyagarn, nhagurn**
self, by oneself	**ngarlara**
selfish, selfishly	**nhudurn**
Seven Sisters	**yugarilya**
shade	**galbu, malu**
shade, shelter, shade hut	**garn.gu**
shame	**imbara**
sharp, pointed	**iri, wirnda**
sharpen, make pointed	**irimarn**
shear	**bundirn**
shed tears, cry	**nyildirn**
sheep	**nhani**
shell food	**wad(a)n-ma***
shellfish	**barnda-ma**
shield	**gurdadyi**
ship, European sailing ship	**wari-yuga*, wari-gal***
shirt	**dhaarda**
shiver	**dyidi-dyidirn**
shock, frighten (v tr)	**mirgarn**
shoes	**bugardi, burdi**
shoot	**balgirn**
short, small	**murdu**
short, stumpy	**burdu**
shoulder	**yambil**
shoulder, shoulder blade	**bilbi**
shovel, wooden dish	**dhagulu**
show someone, teach someone	**nyindirn, nyindimarn**
shrubs: saltbush and bluebush varieties	**wargiringa**
sick	**mingga**
side, side of body	**guldu**
sinew, muscle	**dyildya**
sing, call out, shout (v intr)	**gulgarn**

sit around	**nyina-nyinarn, nyina-nyinarirn**
sit round together all the time	**nyini-nyinirirn**
sit, sit down, be	**nyinarn, nyirn**
skin	**imba**
skull	**gaga bili**
sky	**wira**
sleep (n), asleep	**an.gu**
sleep (v intr)	**an.girirn**
smack (n)	**bal**
smack on the bottom	**dyindyi-bal**
smack on the cheek	**galba-bal**
small group, four	**gabu**
smell (v tr and intr)	**barndirn**
smoke, cigarette	**buyu**
snake	**wabma*, dyunu**
'black wombat snake'	**warabina**
carpet snake	**mulyana, murgarda**
death adder, mythical serpent	**dyirdara**
death-adder	**irliri, madh(a)na**
wombat snake	**guniya**
snore	**ngurmarn, ngurmanirn**
soft; tender	**dyula, dyula-dyula**
soften, loosen (v tr)	**dyulamarn**
sole of foot, lit 'foot-stomach'	**dyina-dyarda**
some distance away	**gadhara, gadhara yamba**
some time ago, long ago	**wildyara**
somebody else	**madana**
something	**dyanarn**
something or other,	**warda-warda**
somewhere or other	**dhala-mindyi**, var. **dyala-mindyi**
song, corroboree song	**dyudyu**
soon	**wardiya**
sorry, regretful	**wandha**
south	**yulbaʀa, yulbuʀara**
speak angrily to someone	**warlarn ngal**
spear	**gadyi, giya, ngu***
fighting spear	**wirnda**
spear-thrower	**miʀu**
spider	**imbu**, var. **imbulu**

spill, let water run away	**indirn**
spill, upset a container	**indarn**
spin around	**nguʀirn**
spit (v tr)	**dyalyi (dhalhi) ilarn**
spit, froth, beer	**dyalyi**, var. **dhalhi, ngaldya**
squeeze	**gayirn**
stab	**barldarn**
stand around	**yuga-yugarn**
stand, be	**yugarn**
star	**galga**
star, name of a particular star	**mindila**
stare at, keep looking at (v tr)	**dyilgarn**
step on something, trample on	**gandurn**
stick	**warda**
digging stick	**wana, gadha***
fighting stick with knob	**gundi**
long stick	**wirldi**
pointed stick used as skewer	**dhibin**, var. **dyibin**
throwing stick	**widyi-widyi**
stinking, rotten	**bugaʀa**
stomach, guts, pouch of kangaroo	**dyarda**
stomach-ache	**dyarda-mingga**
stone tool, stone knife	**dyurla**
stone, hard rock	**garndi**
stone, pebble, money	**barnda**
straight, direct	**dyurgulu**
strange, foreign	**irang**
stranger	**ngadhari**
strike a fire	**bawarn, barn**
strike with a sharp implement	**bagarn**
string, rope	**birdu**
stump of tree	**dhaman, warda dhaman**
stumpy person	**murdu-murdu**
suck	**guyinmarn**
sun, day	**dyirndu**
sunset	**dyirndu dharbarn**
tail	**dyinda**
tail, penis	**galya, galha**
take away, carry away (v tr)	**gadigarn**

take out	**maʀigarn**
talk, bark	**wanggarn**
tall	**widhaardu**
taste	**yargarn**
tears	**nyildi**
teeth	**gardirdi**
tell off, scold	**wanggingarn**
tell someone go away, send someone packing	**dhawigarn**
tell someone off thoroughly	**wargarn ngal, wargadha ngal**
tell, order someone	**dyuraɾn**, var. **dhuraɾn**
tell, reveal the truth (v tr)	**dyurigarn**
testicles	**garlu**
that way, in such a manner	**yamu**
the place near here	**nhalagu**
there, in the middle distance	**nharandyi**
there, not too far away	**bala**
there, some distance away	**yambi, ambi**
these people here	**nhaladhaga**
they (plural)	**baladhaga**
they two	**balaardu-gudyara, bala-gudhara**
thigh	**gandyi**
thigh, upper thigh	**barldi**
thin, skinny person	**darga**
this here	**nhanha**
this one (deictic pronoun)	**banhi** , var. **banyi**
this one here	**nyinha**
this one right here	**nhagurdu**
this way	**banyiwa, banhiwa**
thorn, spike, prickle	**dyilga**
three	**gulbari*, yalgarda**
throat	**dyidi, manyiri**
throat, windpipe	**marlda**
throw a weapon	**widyirn**
throw away	**widyigarn, warnigarn**
throw out, throw away	**yandu-marn**
throw things at each other	**warna-warnarirn**
thud, the sound of heavy footsteps	**dyudu-dyudu**
thumb, lit. 'hand-mother'	**maʀa-ngundyu**
thunder, thunderstorm	**yundurgu**

tickle	**gidyi-gidyilmarn**
tie up, chain up	**guʀirn**
tie up, tie a knot	**garbirn**
tiny, very small	**minyaarda**, var. **minyaardu**
tobacco	**baaga**
today, earlier	**banyini**
toenail	**dyina-biri**
toes, 'foot fingers'	**dyina-maʀa**
tomorrow, yesterday	**maldhulu**
tongue	**dyarling, dharling**
too, as well	**mandyana**
too, as well	**yaramardu**
touch (v tr)	**bambarn**
touch, get hold of	**widhirn, widhn**
tough	**nyara**
track	**yuwaʀa**
tree, stick	**warda**
tree: bitter quandong	**dhanmarda**
black oak	**gurli**
blackwood tree	**walduri**
gum tree	**minbaru**
mallee species	**ngaru**
mallee tree	**dyilya**
myall	**gardiya**
native pine	**binba**
needlebush, *Hakea* sp.	**mambulu**
quandong	**bulara, gurdi**
red mallee	**gangu**
sandalwood	**bulgara**
water tree, red mallee	**ngabaʀi**
wattle	**minu**
white gum tree	**dyundu, waldiya**
tree-trunk	**warda-guldu**
trousers	**dadyu**
true (adj); truly, well and truly (adv)	**dharldu**
two	**gudhara**, var. **gudyara**
two only	**gudharaardu**
under, below, down	**gini, ganini**
urine	**gumbu**

vagina	**nhamu mambarn**
vain, for nothing	**ngaramaʀa**
very far away, distant!	**yambaardu, yambagardu**
vomit (v intr and reflexive)	**dyurgurn, dyurgurirn**
waddy, heavy stick	**dyuding**
wait for	**yadagarn**
wait	**yadarn**
Wait! not yet!, still, as yet, this minute (adv)	**idhara**
wake someone up (v tr)	**ganamarn**
wallaby	**waldha, walya**
want, need	**ngularn**
warm, hot weather	**biriya**
wash oneself	**malgarirn**
wash something or somebody	**malgarn**
water	**gabi, gawi***
wave something about	**walba-walbararn**
we all, we in a big crowd	**ngaliri**
we two brothers or sisters	**ngaldhulu gudhara**
we two (exclusive and inclusive)	**ngali, ngaling**
we two, you and I	**nyurni ngali, nyurni ngaling**
we, grandmother and grandchildren	**ngalara**
we, more than two brothers or sisters	**ngaldhara**
we, more than two	**ngalurlu**
west	**wiluʀʀaʀa**
west wind	**wilural***
wet	**nhandu**
what for	**nganagu**
what?	**ngan.gi***
what?	**nganhangga**
where?	**dhala, indhala**
where from? 'originating from where?'	**dha-birna**
where from?	**dhala-ngurni, indhala-ngurni**
where from?	**indha-birna**
where, in what place?	**dhalanga**
where, where to?	**indha**
which? what? who?	**ngana, nganaardu, nganaarda**
whirlwind	**gubi-gubi**
whiskers, moustache	**ngan.ga**
whistle	**winburn**

white	**balgu-balgu**, var. **balgu-walgu**, **biyan**
white woman	**walubara**
whitefellow	**guba, walybala**
who or what might it be?	**ngana-ngana**
who?	**ngananha, ngana**
why? how come?	**nganamara**
widow	**wardadyi**
wind	**wari, wari-wara, warlba**
windbreak	**waldhu**
windpipe	**manyiri marda**
wing of a bird	**garlbi**
woman	**wiyana**
woman, Aboriginal woman	**warbil**
wombat	**wardu**
wood, small pieces of kindling	**walyba, garla-walyba**
work	**waarga**
wrinkly, rough	**dyildyan-dyildyan**
yawn (v. intr)	**dhadhayirn***
yes	**uwa, nhawu***
yes, all right, true	**dharl, yuwa**
you (more than two)	**nhuga, nyura, nyuri, nyubuli**
you two	**nyubali, nyubili**
you, polite form of the second person singular	**dyana**, var. **dhana**
you, sg. intr. subject and object	**nyurni**
your, belonging to you sg.	**nyurnigu**
young child	**walybu**

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1 There was a mix-up in the list of authors on p.153 of Taplin as it is James Bryant who has written about Yardea on p.103, and therefore this contribution is from James Bryant too, with A. Cole contributing the Port Lincoln vocabulary.

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