15 *Wanyi and Garrwa comparative data: an update*

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1 Introduction

Research conducted on Garrwa in 1991–92 (see Belfrage 1992), after the first version of Gavin Breen's article for this volume, enables a few points of correction and clarification to be made. There prove to be five verbal conjugations in Garrwa (Table 1). Rather than the four inflected forms of Garrwa verbs identified by Breen there are six: Unmarked, INFinitive, Purposive, Sequential, Same-Subject and Different-Subject (Table 1). As Breen describes, there is a system of clitics that mark tense, aspect and mood. These are thirteen in all, and appear most commonly on pronouns and verbs, but also on a variety of other word classes (Table 5).

In the light of this information for Garrwa I have also revised Breen's analysis of Wanyi verb data, proposing four conjugations, which parallel the Garrwa conjugations (Table 3).

2 Verb conjugations

The following table shows the six inflections found on Garrwa verbs, by conjugation. Square brackets indicate a form that is not attested in existing data but is suggested from the rest of the paradigm. Round brackets indicate segments that are realised in some instances.[1]

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[1] The case of the Different-Subject (-(*j*)*kanyi* and Infinitive (-(*j*)*kurri*) inflections within the J conjugation can be described by the rule /*j*/ –> [c] ~ [Ø]: in pronouncing a given word a given speaker will realise the /*j*/ on some occasions and not on others. Within the Ø conjugation, Ø –> /bi/ /N+__ where N = a nasal segment, e.g. *jany-bikanyi* (blow-INFIN); *yany-bikurri* (speak-DIFF SUBJ). This rule can be restated with a condition to account for the consistent appearance of the sequence /bi/ in M conjugation inflections as well: Ø –> /bi/ /N__ in the case of roots where the /ba/ of their UNMarked inflection is preceded by a nasal segment. This rule accounts both for the cases where the nasal is root-final (Ø conjugation) and those where it is thematic (M conjugation)

Table 1: Garrwa Verb Inflections by Conjugation

Inflection	Conjugation				
	J	M	Ø	RRI	N
Unmarked	-jba	-mba	-ba	-Ø	-Ø
Purposive	-ji	-mbiji	-(bi)ji	-nki	-nki
Sequential	-jiwa	[-mbijiwa]	-[(bi)]jiwa	-rrijiwa	[-nkiwa]
Same-Subj. Subord.	-jina	-mbijina	-(bi)jina	[-jina]	-jina/-nkina
Diff.-Subj. Subord.	-(j)kurri	-mbikurri	-(bi)kurri	[-rrikurri]	-nkurri
Infinitive	-(j)kanyi	-mbikanyi	-(bi)kanyi	[-rrikanyi]	[-nkanyi]

Table 2 gives examples of verb forms, by conjugation and inflection.

Table 2: Examples of Garrwa Verb Inflections by Conjugation

(- - - - = not attested)

Inflection	Conjugation				
	J	M	Ø	RRI	N
Unmarked	yundi-jba 'cook'	wada-mba 'feed'	jarr-ba 'eat'	jungku-Ø 'sit/stay'	ngindu-Ø 'cry'
	kakali-jba 'laugh'		jany - ba 'die/throw/blow'	kuluka-Ø 'sleep'	baja-Ø 'play'
Purposive	yundi-ji 'cook'	wudu-mbiji get	da-ji 'hit/fight'	jungu-nki 'sit/stay'	baja-nki 'play'
			yany-biji 'speak'	kuluki-nki 'sleep'	
Sequential	jila-jiwa 'walk/go'	- - - -	jarr-jiwa 'eat'	jungku-rrijiwa 'sit/stay'	- - - -
			yany-bijiwa 'speak'	kuluja-riijiwa 'sleep'	
Same-Subj.	yundi-jina 'cook'	yabi-mbijina 'make'	da-jina 'hit/fight'	- - - -	ngindu-jina 'cry'
			yany-bijina 'speak'		langa-nkina 'hang'
Diff.-Subj.	yundi-jkurri 'cook'	yabi-mbikurri 'make'	da-kurri 'hit/fight'	- - - -	ngindu-nkurri 'cry'
	yundi-kurri 'cook'		yany-bikurri 'speak'		
Infinitive	jila-jkanyi 'walk/go'	yabi-mbikanyi 'make'	bal-kanyi 'go'	- - - -	- - - -
	jila-kanyi 'walk/go'		jany-bikanyi 'die/throw/blow'		

Table 3 (i): Wanyi Verb Inflections by Conjugation

English	Stem	Realis	Irrealis	Same-Subj.	Diff.-Subj.	Imperative
'cover'	*makarra-*	*-ba*	*-kany*	*-jin*	*-kurru*	*-Ø*
'eat'	*jarr-*	*-ba*	*-kany*	*-jiny*	- - - -	*-a*
'hit'	*da-*	*-ba*	*-jkany*	*-jin*	*-jkurru*	- - -
'go, walk'	*jila-*	*-ba/-Ø*	*-kany(i)*	*-jin*	*-kurru/jurru*	*-ny(i)*
'speak'	*yany-*	*-ba*	*-kany*	*-jin*	*-kurru*	*-ja*
'drink'	*ngara-*	*-ba*	- - - -	- - -	- - - -	*-ji*
'jump'	*bulubarr-*	*-b(a)*	*-kanyi*	- - -	*-kurru*	*-j*
'see'	*na-*	*-jba*	*-jkany*	*-jin*	- - - -	*-ja*
'sleep'	*kudii-*	*-jb*	*-jkanyi*	*-jin*	*-kurru*	*-Ø*
'bite'	*bii-*	*-jb*	*-jkany*	*-jin*	*-kurru*	*-ya*
'give'	*windii-*	*-jb*	*-kany*	- - -	- - - -	*-ng*
'sit'	*jungku-*	*-Ø*	*-rany*	*-na*	*-wurru*	*-m*
'stand'	*karrinja-*	*-Ø*	*-yany*	*-na*	*-wurru*	*-mu*
'cry'	*ngindi-*	*-Ø*	*-yany*	- - -	*-wurru*	*-m*

For Wanyi, Breen proposes three conjugations, V, J and M, and a group of irregular forms (this volume, §6). With the Garrwa conjugations in mind I propose that the verbs given in Breen's Wanyi conjugation table (his Table 9) be regrouped as presented in Table 3 (i).

The additional verbs[2] shown in Table 3 (ii), while recorded only in Realis/Unmarked forms, represent a group that makes up a further conjugation:

Table 3 (ii): Wanyi Verb Inflections by Conjugation

English	Stem	Realis
'put out fire'	*jari-*	*-mbi*
'squeeze'	*jidiyi-*	*-mbi*
'finish'	*dawurru-*	*-mba*
'join together'	*marda-*	*-mba*

Four conjugations are clear from this arrangement.[3] Futhermore it reveals a striking parallel between the Garrwa and Wanyi material: three of the Wanyi conjugations correspond to the Garrwa J, M and Ø conjugations respectively, and the fourth Wanyi conjugation corresponds to the RRI and N Garrwa conjugations collapsed together.

Comparison of the two tables of inflections indicates three, and possibly four inflections common to both. The Realis/Unmarked, Same-Subject and Different-Subject inflections of both languages are clearly cognate while Wanyi's Irrealis and Garrwa's Infinitive appear likely to be.

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[2]   Any Wanyi data additional to what is in Breen's article comes from Osborne (1967).

[3]   Superficial differences between allomorphs, such as *-jb* and *-jba*, *-jkanyi* and *-kanyi* and *-m* and *-mu*, may be explainable as pronunciation variations. The underlying form of the Imperative inflection in the upper two groups of this chart remains unclear.

Purposive and Sequential inflections are found in Garrwa but not Wanyi. The Imperative morpheme, seen in Table 3 (i) as a verbal inflection in Wanyi, occurs as a clitic in Garrwa with distribution across a wide range of word classes (Table 5).

Table 4 shows a representative sample of verbs from the wordlist in Osborne (1967). They all have the Realis inflection, apparently the citation form. Vowel harmony accounts for the word-final vowel alternations.

3 Verbal inflections

The Unmarked inflection corresponds to Breen's Realis while the Infinitive, Same-Subject and Different-Subject inflections correspond to Breen's inflections of the same names. I have not used the qualifying 'Subordinate' in referring to the Same-Subject and Different-Subject as all the verbal inflections except the Unmarked are associated with verbs that are subordinate in some sense.

The Unmarked inflection is so called because it appears to be semantically empty. I have also preferred this gloss to Breen's gloss, 'Realis', as there is a clitic, the ABILitative, hosted by verbs in the Unmarked/Realis form that signifies reduced realis.[4] It seemed sensible to reject an analysis where a given verb form could signify both realis and irrealis meanings, and I have reflected this in the glosses.

Table 4: Wanyi Verbs by Conjugation from Osborne (1967)
(Unmarked/Realis Inflection) (Corresponding Garrwa Conjugation labels have been used)

Corresponding Garrwa Conjugation label			
M	J	Ø	RRI/N
jari.mbi 'put out fire'	*burubi.jbi* 'run'	*bajibid.bi* 'smell' (vt)	*ngunyi* 'sleep'
jidiyi.mbi 'squeeze'	*duwarri.jbi* 'blow'	*bid.bi* 'bite'	*nyindi* 'cry'
dawurru.mba 'finish'	*kudi.jbi* 'sleep'	*kardbid.bi* 'cut (off)'	*birrirri* 'shiver, shake'
marda.mba 'join together'	*kuri.jbi* 'scratch, dig'	*kadbulid.bi* 'tie up'	*daji* 'chop, cut'
mirra.mba 'make, do'	*windi.jbi* 'give'	*karrid.bi* 'light fire'	*buwarraji* 'dream' (v, n)
wuja.mba 'stop, prevent'	*balaka.jba* 'be.hungry'	*janbid.bi* 'throw, blow'	*kulikuli* 'get down'
jariya.mba 'take away'	*bira.jba* 'sing'	*nid.bi* 'put down'	*wilijiri* 'pull'
munga.mba 'night [?darken]'	*durra.jba* 'be frightened'	*namid.bi* 'rub'	*ngira* 'steal'
	kuda.jba 'die'	*nanmadkid.bi* '?be thirsty'	*janja* 'soak'

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⁴   Examples are from the writer's data. The letter 'A' in example numbering stands for 'Appendix', to distinguish them from the examples in Breen's section.

ra.jba 'burn'	*mudamudaji.bi* 'tie'	*liyuwa* 'break'
wa.jba 'spit'	*nguyuli.bi* 'laugh'	*karrinja* 'stand, stand up'
garingka.jba 'take away'	*jad.ba* 'eat	*bulwa(na)* 'dive'
kudu.jba 'be deaf, forget'	*nad.ba* 'see'	*mayangka* 'push'
	ngaran.ba 'pant'	*ngamankarra* 'hunt'
ku.jbu 'look for'	*nga.ba* 'bring'	*bilikija* 'swim'
lalu.jbu 'get up, leave'	*kajala.ba* 'climb'	*jungku* 'sit, stay, live'
	dabarra.ba 'cook'	*najudu* 'visit'
	da.ba 'hit, fight, kill'	*kudkulu* 'cough'
	ngara.ba 'drink'	
	lanja.ba 'split'	
	ngud.ba 'wave'	

(1) *Kili-Ø=wali   ngayu   jarr-ba   ngujbul-Ø nanama   waliji-Ø.*
      be.sick-UNM=ABIL 1sg.NOM eat-UNM   bad-ACC   that.ACC meat-ACC
      'I would be sick if (I) ate that bad meat.'

(2) *Miku ngayi=yi   wa-jba   narri-nya jangu-nyi.*
      neg   1sg.ERG=ABIL give-UNM   2pl-ACC   fire-DAT
      'I can't give you any of that fire.'

The Unmarked is by far the most common inflection. This is apparently explained by the fact that it is the only form in which a single main verb may appear. Furthermore, only verbs in the Unmarked form can be cliticised, or further inflected to form a participle, which can carry normal morphology.

The Unmarked is clearly related to the Wanyi Realis, morphologically and, to a lesser extent, semantically. The Unmarked inflection allows a tensed interpretation whether or not tense or temporal context is specified, by clitic or lexically. It should however be mentioned that tense commonly is specified.

(3) *Ngayu   na-jba   wajka   nangkawa-na babulu-Ø.*
      1sg.ERG see-UNM   down   lagoon-LOC   buffalo-ACC
      'I saw that buffalo down at the lagoon.'

(4) *Ngayu   jungku-Ø ngandu-na.*
      1sg.NOM sit-UNM   shade-LOC
      'I am sitting in the shade.'

Verbs with the Infinitive inflection are found with three distinct functions: within a subordinate clause, forming a participle and within a type of negative construction. Forming a complement to a main verb includes the purposive meanings noted by Breen (this volume, §6.4). These can also be expressed using the Purposive inflection (see below) although it is not clear how these two differ.

In one exception to this function of encoding subordinate status, the Infinitive is not used for complements of verbs of perception (e.g. 'She saw him crying', 'I heard them talking'). In these cases the Same-Subject or Different-Subject inflections are used (examples 10f. from Furby and Furby 1977).

(5)   *Karu-Ø   ngan=i   yundi-kanyi   waliji-Ø   munganawa.*
       tell-UNM   1sg.ACC=PST cook-INFIN   meat-ACC   tomorrow
       '(She) told me to cook the meat tomorrow.'

(6)   *Karu-Ø=kiyi   nanda   yundi-kanyi!*
       tell-UNM=IMP   that.SP.NOM cook-INFIN
       'Tell him (lit. 'that') to cook (it)!'

(7)   *Yany-ba   ngay=i   nanga-ngi   yabi-mbikanyi   banda-Ø.*
       speak-UNM   1sg.NOM=PST   3sg-DAT   make-INFIN   camp-ACC
       'I talked to her about [her] making a camp.'

(8)   *Nyulu   yabi-mba   kalingirri-Ø*
       3sg.ERG   make-UNM   shield-NOM

       wurrkudi-kanyi   ngubungu-Ø   wabula.
       block-INF   boomerang-NOM   before
       'He (would) make a shield to block boomerangs in the old days.'

A second function of the Infinitive inflection is to form a participle. This use is not well understood and it is not clear how a participle formed with the Infinitive differs from one formed with the 'ADJectiviseR' (see Breen this volume, examples (24) and (25)). Stems inflected with the Infinitive are found in simple predicative and attributive constructions. They are not, however, found realising predicator arguments, as is the ADJectiviseR participle. An example showing the Unmarked form of *rindaji-jba* ('be.hungry-UNM') is given first for comparison.

(9)   *Rindaji-jba   ngay=a   jukubayi-nyi.*
       be.hungry-UNM   1sg.NOM-PRES sugar.bag-DAT
       'I hunger for sugar-bag.'

(10)   *Juka-wanyi   rinda-kanyi-wanyi   yundi-jba=ngka   nanga-ngi   wanjarra-Ø.*
       boy-ERG   be.hungry-INF-ERG   cook-UNM-PRES   3sg-DAT   meat-ACC
       'The hungry boy is cooking meat for himself.'

(11)   *Rinda-kanyi-Ø   nanda   kaburr-Ø.*
       be.hungry-INF-NOM   that.SP.NOM boy-NOM
       'That boy is hungry (lit. 'is hungering').'

The INFINinitive inflection is also attested expressing a general negative proposition. This may well be a third function of the Infinitive although it cannot be well described at this point because of a lack of examples.

(12)   *Miku   jarr-kanyi   bijbarr-Ø   warrangkuli-Ø.*
      neg   eat-INFIN   bitter-NOM   warrangkuli–NOM
      'You can't eat warrangkuli[5] (because it's) bitter.'

The Purposive and Sequential inflections were not differentiated from the INFinitive in most earlier work.[6] The Purposive inflection has the meaning 'in order to V'. As mentioned above, it is used as an alternative to the INFinitive form to express a purposive relationship between two events, processes or states.

(13)   *Kuluka-Ø   ngay=i   wala-jba   ngay=i*
      sleep-UNM   1sg.NOM=PST   get.up-UNM   1sg.NOM=PST

      yundi-ji   rindaji-jba   ngay=i.
      cook-PURP   be.hungry-UNM   1sg.NOM=PST
      'I slept (then) I got up to cook (because) I was hungry.'[7]

(14)   *Jila-jba=yi   ngay=i   kula-ni   yany-biji   Garrwa-Ø.*
      go-UNM=PST   1sg.NOM=PST   south-ABL   speak-PURP   Garrwa-NOM
      'I came from the south to speak Garrwa.'

(15)   *Jila-jba=ngka   langi-na   nayi-ngkurri   jungu-nki.*
      go-UNM=PRES   north-ABL   this/here-ALL   sit-PURP
      '(That man) is coming here from the north to sit down.'

As the gloss suggests, the Sequential inflection expresses the fact that the inflected verb refers to an event occurring after that previously mentioned, in the main clause. Verbs in the Sequential form are typically syntactically conjuncts and rarely stand alone as main verbs, though see example (18). As (18) demonstrates this form of a verb also permits a consequential interpretation.

(16)   *Jila-jba=yi   baki   jungku-rrijiwa.*
      walk-UNM=PST   CONJ   sit-SEQ
      '(He) walked then sat down.'

(17)   *Wada-mba=yi   na-ngka   baki   ngara-jiwa   wabuda-Ø.*
      feed-UNM=PST   3sg-RFLX   CONJ   drink-SEQ   water-ACC
      '(He) ate, then he drank water.'

(18)   *Kakali-jba   yal-Ø =i   nanda*
      laugh-UNM   3pl-NOM=PST   that.SP.NOM

      baki   yalu-Ø   ngaru-jiwa   wabuda-Ø.
      CONJ   3pl-ERG   drink-SEQ   water-ACC
      'They laughed at that (man) until they had to drink water.'

The Garrwa Same-Subject and Different-Subject inflections are clearly related to the Wanyi inflections of the same names. They have, however, some limitations not previously reported. They are used primarily to indicate action that is simultaneous with, or causally

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5   *Warrangkuli* is a kind of berry.

6   See for instance (Furby & Furby 1977:85ff.), although Austin notes in passing that the suffix *-ji* has a purposive meaning (Austin 1981:328).

7   It is interesting to note that simple verbal apposition permits a causal interpretation.

connected to, that referred to by the main verb. They do not permit meanings of sequentiality, nor depiction of events that are not in the same temporal and spatial frames (see §6.5 and §6.6 of Chapter 14, this volume).

4 Tense, aspect and mood: Garrwa's clitics

As Breen describes, there is a system of clitics that mark tense, aspect and mood. As clitics these are, by definition, non-obligatory categories, as in Wanyi, although Breen (this volume, §7.1) suggests otherwise. Thirteen are attested in all. They appear most commonly on pronouns and verbs, but also on a variety of other word classes, as shown in Table 5. While all clitics function as enclitics the FUTure and LIMitative clitics are also found as proclitics with pronoun hosts. (Curly brackets { } indicate a morpheme that is realised by more than one morph.)

Table 5: Distribution of Clitics in Garrwa by Word Class

Clitics	Word class of host								
	pronoun	verb	nominal	adverb	neg	demonst	interog	cardinal	conj
imperative	{=kiyi}	=kiyi	=kiyi	=kiyi	=kiyi	=kiyi	=kiyi	=kiyi	
continuous	=wa	=wa	=wa	=wa		=wa			
habitual	=li	{=kili}	=li	=li					=li
abilitative	=yi	=wali	=wali		=wali				
past	=i	=yi							
present	=a	{=ngka}							
future	=ja/ja=	=ja							
ya	=ya	=ya							
hortative	=nyi	=nyi							
desiderative	{=kiyanyi}				=kiya				
primordial	=warri								
limitative	=ma/ ma=								
negative		=nawa							

I will not duplicate Breen's survey of Garrwa clitics and examples, but only make a few comments.

Breen mentions the Furbys' analysis of the morpheme -*nkiwa* as having an inceptive meaning. There are, however, no examples in their corpus or my own containing this morpheme. I have made the provisional analysis that it is the N conjugation form of the Sequential inflection, and that there is no morpheme with an Inceptive meaning. This remains to be confirmed.

The meaning or function of the morpheme glossed YA is not yet understood but its occurrence and attested distribution are noted here.

5 Conclusions

The parallel nature of the verbal conjugations of the two languages is futher evidence of a close genetic relationship between Garrwa and Wanyi. There are some differences between the two sets of verbal inflections, most notably the presence of Sequential and Purposive inflections in Garrwa, but not Wanyi, and the expression of the Imperative category as a

verbal inflection in Wanyi and as a clitic with a variety of hosts in Garrwa. It is not clear in which language which innovations have occurred.

While Breen notes that most of the Garrwa clitics are attested in Wanyi there is not enough data offered from Wanyi to make comparisons here.
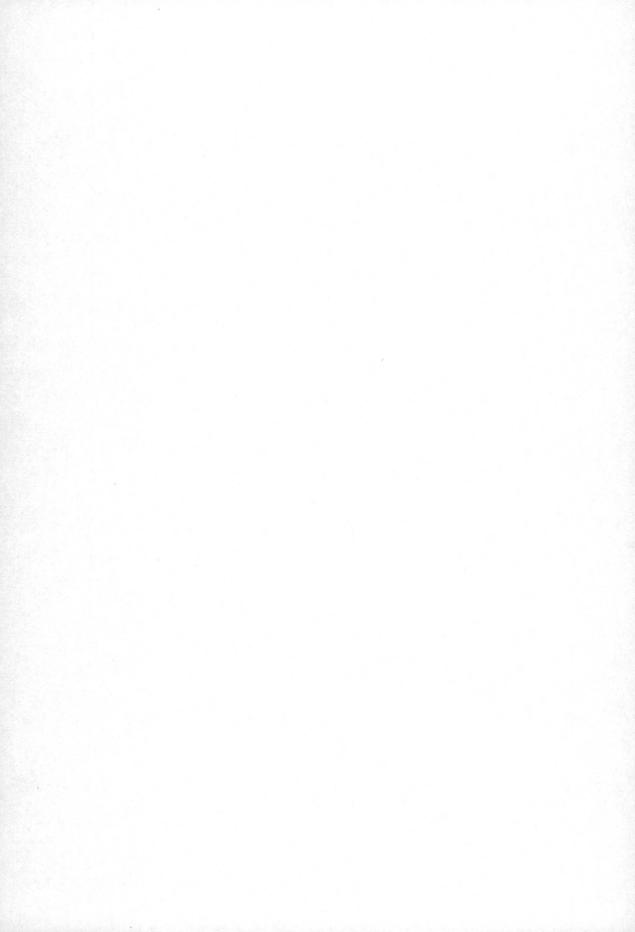
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VI. Issues in deep reconstruction