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A GRAMMAR OF
THE ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU LANGUAGE,
LAKE EYRE BASIN, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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Dedicated to the memory
of Mick McLean *Iriyili*

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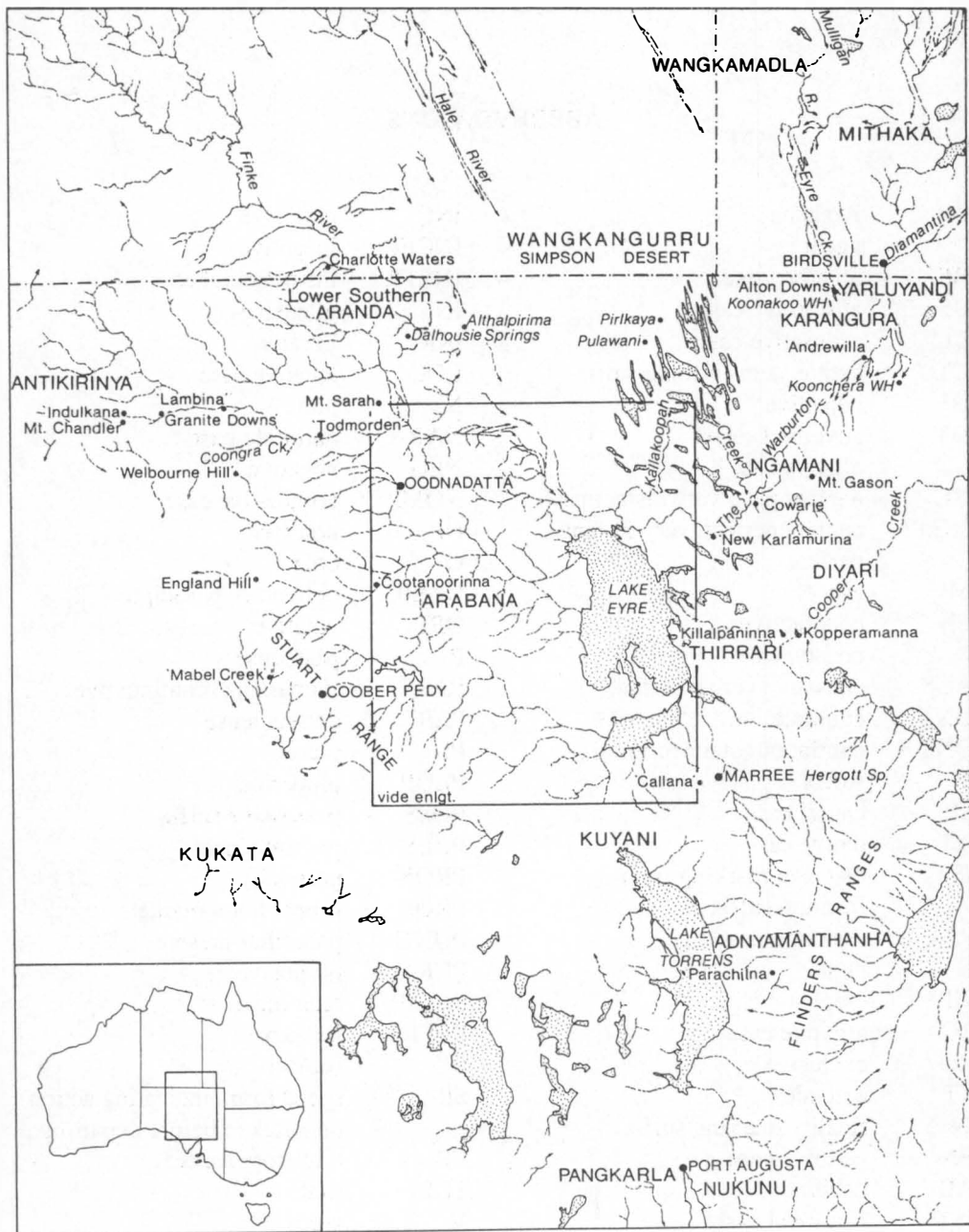
PREFACE

This grammar is the result of many years of work and is entirely due to the cooperation of a large number of people. Most importantly it is due to the knowledge of Arabana-Wangkangurru people who have become close friends over the years. I am particularly indebted to the late Mick McLean, Maudie and Bob Naylor, Arthur McLean, Arthur Warren and Brian Marks, and to Linda Crombie of Birdsville and Ben Murray and Mona Merrick of Port Augusta.

Fieldwork in Arabana-Wangkangurru country could not have been carried out without the help of G.R. Hercus, and later I.R. Hercus, Sister Enid Moore, Isobel White and Catherine Ellis, Peter Austin and Bill Jeffery. Over recent years fieldwork has been made possible by Vlad Potezny of the South Australian Aboriginal Heritage Unit, who has brilliant knowledge of the country. I have received invaluable help from Isabel McBryde, with her knowledge of the prehistory, and from Philip Jones of the South Australian Museum with his detailed historical background. I also owe much to Peter Clark and to Giles Hamm for their insight into the archaeological significance of many sites, and also to Colin and Pam Macdonald. Many linguists have given me important advice and help, particularly Bob Dixon, Gavan Breen, John Henderson and Jane Simpson, who saved me from many errors – as have Harold Koch, David Nash, David Wilkins and Andrew Butcher. I would like to express my gratitude to all.

ABBREVIATIONS

(A)	Arabana	INC	inclusive
A	agent	INCEP	inceptive
ABL	ablative case	INSTR	instrumental case
ABS	absolute case	INT	intensive
ACC	accusative case	IRR	irrealis
ACT	active stem-forming suffix	LOC	locative case
ADJ	adjective	N	noun
ADV	adverbial suffix	NAR	narrative past
ALL	allative case	NEG	negative
ANC	ancient past, very distant past	NOM	nominative case
ANC.PF	ancient perfect, very distant perfect	NP	non-past
ASP	aspect	O	object
BEN	benefactive	OBLIG	obligatory participle
C	consonant	OPT	optative
CAUS	causative verbal suffix	P	past tense
CONT	continuative	PASS	'in passing' continuative
CONT.S	continuous stem-forming suffix	PERF	perfect tense
CSL	causal case	PL	plural
DAT	dative case	PLUP	pluperfect
DIST	distance-marking stem-forming suffix	POSS	possessive suffix
DRM	dramatic past	PRES	present tense
DU	dual	PRON	pronoun
EMP	emphatic clitic	PROP	proper noun marker
ERG	ergative case	PUNC	punctiliar present
EXC	exclusive	PUR	purposive
EXT	extender	RECIP	reciprocal
FIN	finality marking suffix	REFL	reflexive
GEN	genitive case	S	subject
HAB	habitual	SP	speed form, indicating action undertaken before departing
HIST	historical past	TR	transitory aspect
HORT	exhortation	TRI	trial
IMM	immediate past	V	verb
IMP	imperative	Vi	intransitive verb
IMPF	imperfective	Vtr	transitive verb
		VOC	vocative
		(W)	Wangkangurru



MAP 1: GENERAL MAP OF ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU COUNTRY
(drawn by V. Potezny)



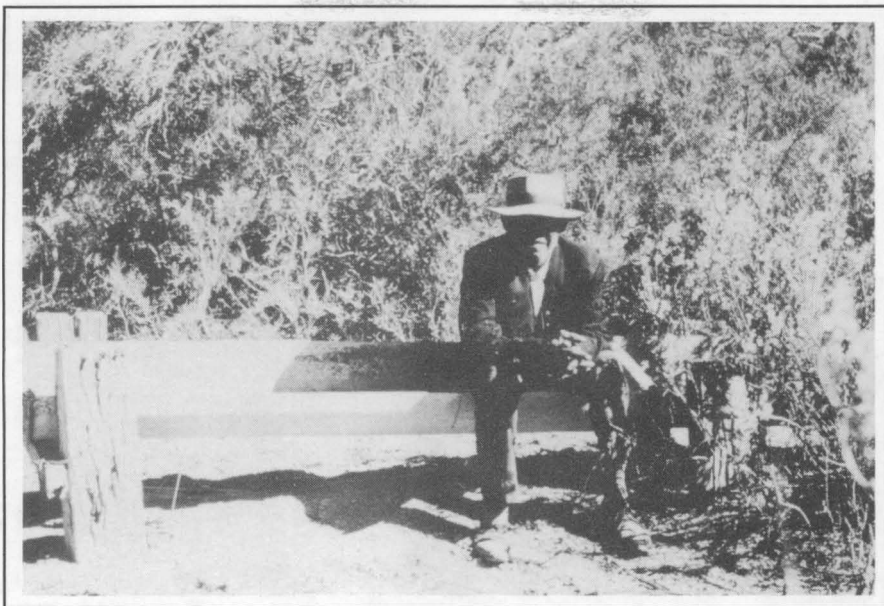
MAP 2: MORE DETAILED MAP OF ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU COUNTRY
(drawn by V. Potezny)



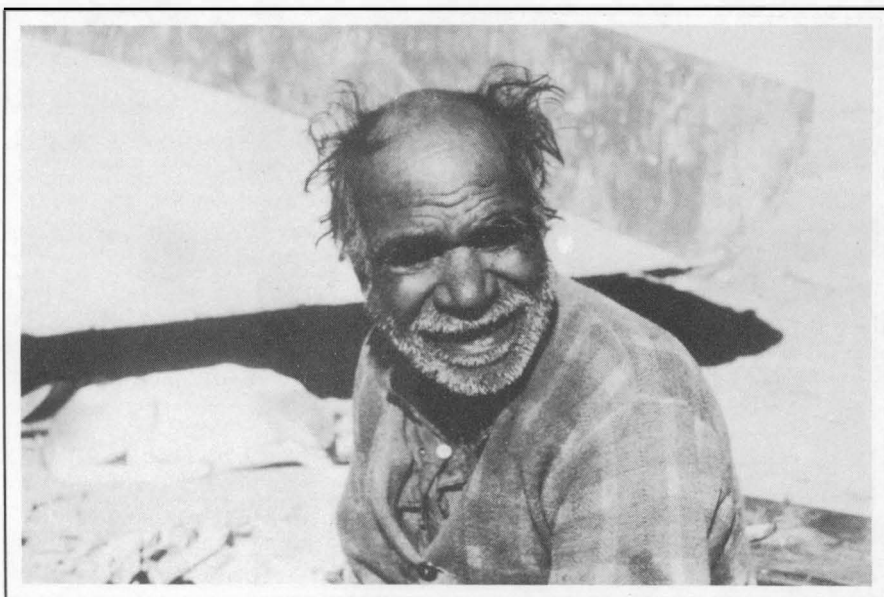
1. MAUDIE NAYLON, MICK MCLEAN AND BOB NAYLON SINGING AT BIRDSVILLE, 1969
(photo by G.R. Hercus)



2. MAUDIE NAYLON AND LINDA CROMBIE AT BIRDSVILLE ON ARMISTICE DAY 1980. MAUDIE IS WEARING HER DECEASED SON'S WAR-SERVICE MEDALS
(photo courtesy of Linda Crombie)



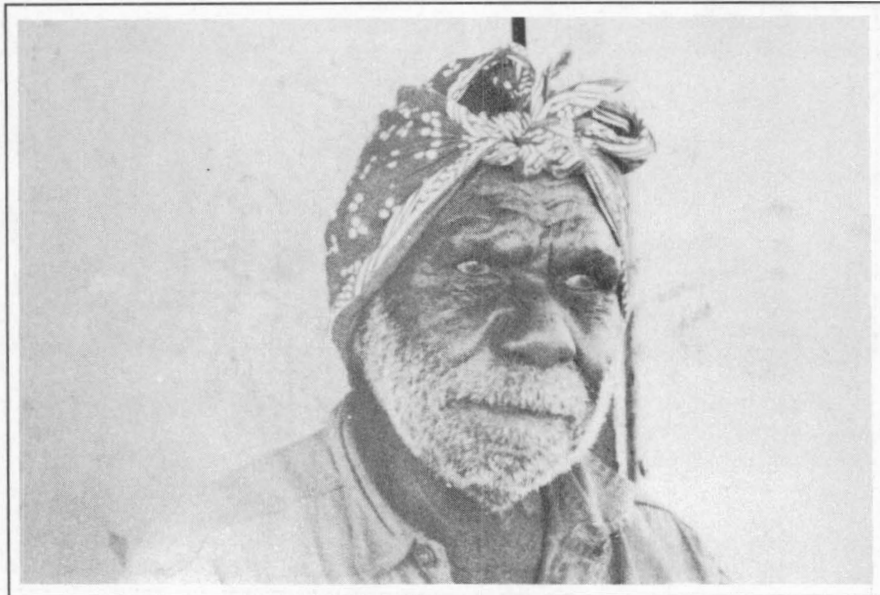
3. ARTHUR MCLEAN BY THE OLD WELL AT CURDIMURKA, 1970
(photo by G.R. Hercus)



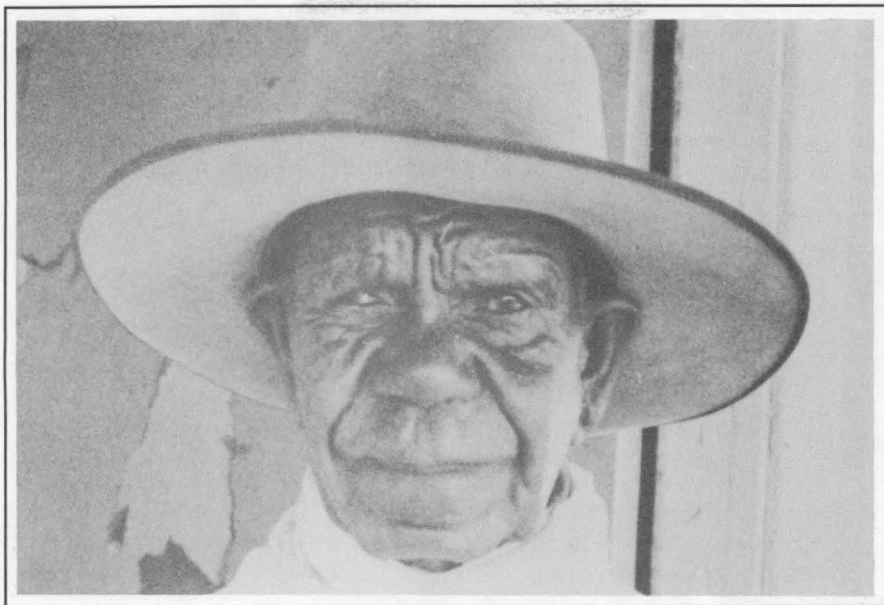
4. TIM STRANGWAYS AT COOBER PEDY, 1966
(photo by I.M. White)



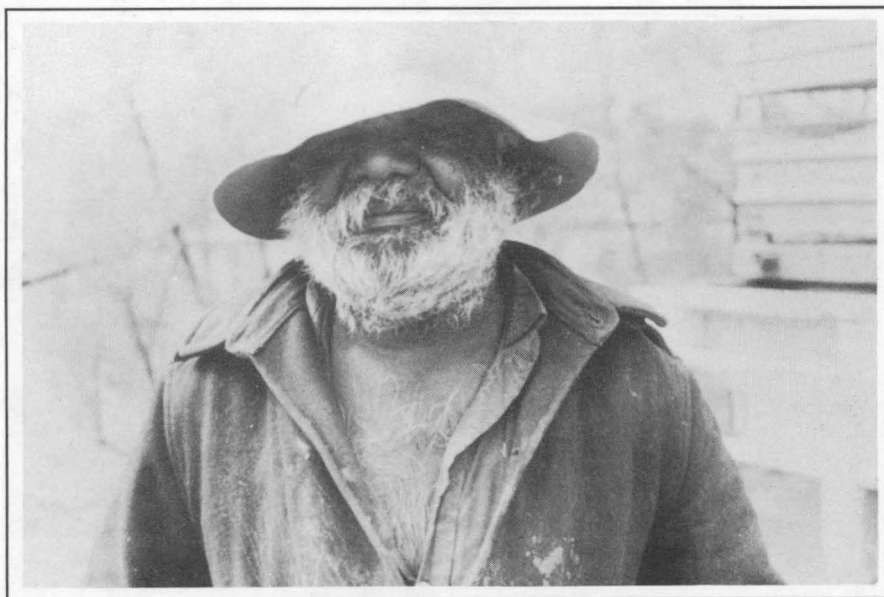
5. MICK MCLEAN (SEATED) TALKING ABOUT HIS COUNTRY TO JIMMY RUSSELL (STANDING), LUISE HERCUS AND BOB ELLIS. DALHOUSIE, 1975
(photo by Howard Creamer)



6. LESLIE RUSSELL AT MARREE IN 1970
(photo by G.R. Hercus)



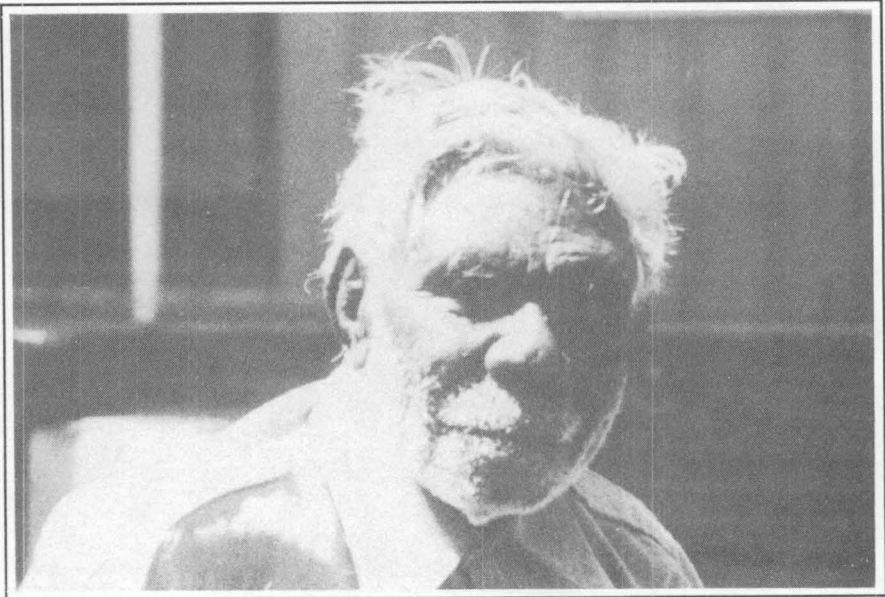
7. JIMMY RUSSELL AT MAREE IN 1970
(photo by G.R. Hercus)



8. ARCHIE ALLEN AT OODNADATTA IN 1971
(photo by G.R. Hercus)



9. MONA MERRICK IN HER GARDEN AT PORT AUGUSTA, 1977
(photo by Sister E. Moore)



10. JOHN REESE AT MARREE IN 1980
(photo by Sister E. Moore)

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU LANGUAGE

1.1 HOW THIS GRAMMAR CAME TO BE

In 1962, while living in Victoria, I became aware of the precarious state of the last remnants of the languages of Victoria and far south-western New South Wales. I made every effort to record these languages and to make an eleventh-hour study. My husband Graham Hercus, who was a physicist, also realised the urgency and came to help me whenever he could, as did my young son Iain. This Victorian study was well advanced when in January 1965 we went again along the Murray to try to learn more. This time we met another family, that of Catherine Ellis from the University of Adelaide, who was recording music in the same area. She suggested that there was equally urgent work to be done in South Australia. I consulted Arthur Capell, the greatest living authority on Aboriginal linguistics, and he was enthusiastic: Bernhard Schebeck was working on Adnyamathanha in the Flinders Ranges, but I was to see how much I could record of the other southern-central languages, Parnkalla, Kuyani and Nukunu. Dr F. McCarthy of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies was equally enthusiastic. T.G.H. Strehlow was the most helpful of all and suggested I should become a part-time research fellow in his department. The only warning note came from N.B. Tindale: he thought it was all right to try and record what remained of Kuyani and related languages, but if I really wanted to learn something I should find a very old Wangkangurru man with a Scottish-sounding name, and if I wanted this name he could check his notes. I did not ask him to check. Instead, undeterred, I studied everything relevant to the southern languages, particularly Schürmann's book on Parnkalla, in the surety that now I would be doing not an eleventh-hour salvage task, but a full study which would preserve the knowledge of a living language with all its nuances of expression and fine oral literature.

In September 1965 we set off for Port Augusta and beyond in a bright yellow Land Rover, but the prospects were not so bright. I soon realised that those speakers of Wembawemba I had worked with in Victoria were remarkable indeed: they were fluent compared with the senior people of Parnkalla and Nukunu descent. We searched and searched. Finally at Marree we met a very old lady called Alice, the last full Kuyani. But our hopes were dashed again: she said that her Kuyani relatives had been dead so long that now she could only speak Arabana. She and Maudie Lennie, who was looking after her, would both be delighted to teach me Arabana.

Nobody could teach me Kuyani at that time. As it turned out, one day more than ten years later when I had become fluent in Arabana, Alice suddenly said "And now I will teach you *my* language, Kuyani". The language had finally come back to her, but I could not have anticipated this in 1965. Then there seemed to be no hope of learning much of Parnkalla or Kuyani.

There was still Gilbert Branfield, who could recall some Nukunu. He was staying at Andamooka, sharing a derelict hut with the oldest Arabana man, Tim Strangways. Gilbert made valiant efforts to recall Nukunu words he had heard in his youth. Tim was just sitting there; nobody was recording his language. So that he should not feel left out, I asked him a few words. It was obvious at once that here was not only a fluent speaker, but a brilliant teacher. He had been a consultant at a Summer Institute of Linguistic's course, but he realised that this course was only for training students and did not constitute a detailed study of the Arabana language. In a flash I saw the sheer folly of pursuing only what was no longer there, while rejecting a language that was still alive, namely Arabana. So I began a long association with Arabana people, and soon came to meet Tim's nephew by marriage Mick McLean *Irinilyi*, the Wangkangurru man with the Scottish name mentioned by Tindale. Mick made me aware of the importance of traditions. We went on expeditions twice and even three times a year, gradually covering most of the north-east of South Australia. Over a long period of time he recited all the vast store of oral literature that he held. Other Wangkangurru and Arabana people joined in and we gradually compiled the material for this grammar and for a work on the oral traditions of the Lake Eyre Basin, so that these would be available for future generations.

1.1.1 WANGKANGURRU CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS WORK

1.1.1.1 SIMPSON DESERT WANGKANGURRU

Mick McLean *Irinilyi* was born in 1888 at the Pirlakaya well in the Simpson Desert, and died in 1977 in Port Augusta. Mick had outstanding knowledge of the traditions of most of the north-east of South Australia. The bulk of the recorded information is due to him. He is the author of many texts that have been published separately: some of these are biographical (Hercus & Sutton 1986:69).

Maudie Naylor *Akawilyika* was born in 1887 in the Simpson Desert, and died in 1981 in Birdsville. Maudie had wide mythological knowledge of the whole of the north-east of South Australia. She spoke many languages fluently – Ngamani, Yarluyandi, Yawarawarrka and Diyari – but her real native language was Simpson Desert Wangkangurru. Her two daughters Ethel and Esther could speak the language too.

Bob Naylor *Milkili* (husband of Maudie) was born about 1895 on the lower Diamantina, and died in 1979 in Birdsville. Bob was the son of a white man, one of the brothers Tom and Jack Naylor, who were reputed to be cattleduffers (Farwell 1950:185). His father acknowledged him, but he was brought up by a maternal relative, an old Simpson Desert man *Yaratuli* 'Yellow Tree', and so Wangkangurru was his main language.

Topsie McLean *Ikiwilyika* was born in 1895 near the *Pulawani* Well in the Simpson Desert, and died in 1972. The sister of Mick McLean, Topsie was an excellent speaker of Wangkangurru. She was a rainmaker in her own right and had knowledge of mythology.

George Kempe was born in 1902 at Wood Duck Station, and died in 1972. George's mother was Wangkangurru and his father was E.C.Kempe, the manager of Peake Station who was host to Spencer and Gillen (Mulvaney 1985:216) and to J.W. Gregory. George lived most of his life in Arabana country, but as he was brought up entirely by Wangkangurru people he remained a speaker of Wangkangurru and learnt some of the traditions from the desert. As was customary in those days, his white father did not officially acknowledge him.

Ben Murray *Palku-nguyu-thangkayiwanha*, was born in the Marree area in 1893. Ben is of Arabana and Afghan descent. As his stepfather was a Simpson Desert rainmaker, Ben speaks Simpson Desert Wangkangurru in preference to Arabana. His favourite languages however are Diyari and Thirrari, apart from English. His name is from the central Simpson Desert and means 'one single cloud remaining stationary for a while'. He has brilliant knowledge of the eastern half of the Lake Eyre Basin and remembers events from the turn of the century that have become history (see Austin, Hercus & Jones 1988).

1.1.1.2 WANGKATYAKA

Jimmy Russell *Wanga-mirri* 'Many Mornings' was born about 1900 near Marree, and died in March 1988. Both Jimmy's parents were Wangkatyaka and he learnt the language from them. He came on many field trips and was a brilliant guide. Before being incapacitated by a stroke in 1976 he could sing the Emu History and he knew about the sites connected with it. After the death of Mick McLean it was probably Jimmy Russell who had more traditional knowledge of the Lake Eyre Basin than any living person, but the tragedy was that for the last ten years of his life he could no longer speak.

Leslie Russell *Wanga-pula* 'Two Mornings' (parallel cousin of Jimmy) was born about 1906 at Marree, and died in 1976. He was fluent in Wangkatyaka but he had spent so much time with Diyari people that he preferred to speak Diyari.

1.1.1.3 EASTERN WANGKANGURRU

Johnny Reese *Nyanpika* was born at the Koonakoo Waterhole on Alton Downs in about 1901, shortly after his parents had left the Simpson Desert. Johnny is a fluent speaker of the eastern form of Wangkangurru. He has knowledge of traditions, learnt from his father, the famous Billy Reese *Ngaltya-kintarda*, who was recorded by Tindale at Andrewilla in 1934. Johnny Reese sang the eastern Wangkangurru Rain History.

Dora Parker *Alina* was born in 1918, and died in 1968. Dora was of Wangkangurru and Yarluyandi descent. She spoke both languages fluently and was outstanding as a narrator and singer. Her early death from a stroke was a tragedy.

Tom Naylor *Karnpili* was born at Mount Gason in 1910, and died in floods near Andrewilla in 1983. Tom was the eldest brother of Dora Parker, and he too was a brilliant raconteur. As he was usually away with his horses he contributed only occasionally to this grammar.

Linda Crombie (younger sister of Dora and Tom) was born in 1925. Linda is a fluent speaker of eastern Wangkangurru.

Frank Crombie (husband of Linda) was born about 1910, and died in August 1987 after an accident on the way back from the Simpson Desert. Frank also made a considerable contribution to this work.

1.1.2 ARABANA CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS WORK

1.1.2.1 NORTHERN ARABANA, PILTAPALTA

Arthur McLean was born about 1898, and died in 1975. Arthur was of northern Arabana origin and assisted us with his knowledge on many field trips. He showed skill and patience in explaining the complex verbal system of Arabana, and his linguistic perspicacity was outstanding. He would make comments like: "If you put it that way round it would mean..." or "If you put that *-la* in, it would mean you were doing it for somebody else". His contribution to the understanding of Arabana grammar was crucial. He died after an accident on fieldwork on the Birdsville Track. Arthur was not a relative of Mick McLean and Topsy; they all got their name from the Kidman manager of Peake Station, Archie McLean.

Willy Duck was born about 1910, and died very shortly after I started working on Arabana. I spoke to Willy on only one occasion, but long enough to realise that his language was the same as Arthur McLean's: Northern Arabana.

1.1.2.2 ARABANA, WANGKAKUPA

Tim Strangways was born about 1895, and died in 1972. The large Strangways family are all descended from two brothers, *Pakuwitha* and 'Reng' who took the name 'Strangways' from the old telegraph station at Strangways Springs. Tim was the last Arabana man who could sing the Fish History and was esteemed as a ritual leader. He had outstanding knowledge of the language.

Arthur Warren of Marree was born about 1907 at Anna Creek, and died at Marree in 1989. Arthur was the eldest son of Francis Warren, who had been part owner of Anna Creek Station and then took up Finnis Springs in 1917. His mother was of Arabana descent from Macumba. Arthur had a detailed knowledge of Kuyani and southern Arabana country, and during his early years at Anna Creek and Finnis Springs he gained some traditional knowledge of this area from the elders of that time. He was a fluent speaker of Arabana, and a happy, good-humoured and outstanding guide on many field trips.

Mona Merrick of Port Augusta was born about 1912 at Anna Creek. Mona is sister to Arthur Warren. She is a brilliant speaker of Arabana: she converses with ease and great rapidity. She has vivid memories of the traditions that remained in the early days of Finnis Springs.

Kathleen McLean *Arapalka* was born about 1910, and died in April 1988. Kathleen, wife of Mick McLean *Iriinyili*, was a niece of Tim Strangways and lived much of her

early life at Anna Creek, with the result that she had an excellent knowledge of Wangkakupa. She had nevertheless been very shy about helping with the work on Arabana, being somewhat overshadowed by the unrivalled traditional knowledge of her husband. Over later years she became willing to act as a consultant, explaining difficult points of usage.

Glen Hull of Port Augusta, chairman of the Arabana People's Committee, was born about 1917, and died in 1987. Through his mother Glen was a descendant of the Arabana Strangways family and parallel cousin to Kathleen McLean. He was a fluent speaker of Arabana and helped with some of the more complex items of vocabulary, and in checking on the accuracy of transcriptions.

Brian Marks was born about 1932 at Anna Creek, and died at Port Augusta in 1989. Brian was of full Arabana-Wangkangurru descent. His maternal grandfather was a renowned old Arabana man called 'Bismarck'; his paternal grandmother was Topsy, Mick McLean's sister. Brian Marks spent most of his life working on Anna Creek Station and had a detailed, thorough knowledge of Arabana country. He had a good acquaintance with the language and was an invaluable guide on many field trips.

Alice Oldfield was born at Callanna in 1882, and died in 1979. Alice had unique understanding of Kuyani country, particularly the *Kudna-ngampa* sites. She had spent most of her later life among Arabana people and spoke the language fluently: she contributed much to this grammar.

Maudie Lennie was born about 1919 at Anna Creek, and died at Port Augusta in 1992. Maudie was one of the youngest people to speak Arabana in preference to English. This gave her speech true spontaneity and she was a most valuable contributor to the work in its earlier stages, but could not help with more recent work owing to illness.

Ernie Conway (Ellis) was born in 1910, and died in 1980. Ernie was brought up on Anna Creek Station and had some traditional background: he had excellent knowledge of the mound springs on Anna Creek. He assisted as a guide and with Arabana language on several field trips after the death of Mick McLean, who was his brother-in-law.

Tim Allen *Akininyika*, 'Nilpinna Tim' was born in 1903, and died in 1968. Tim was of part Aranda, part Arabana descent. He was the traditional owner of the Dead Spirit History and knew about the Nilpinna country. Unfortunately he was able to make only one short recording in 1966 as he was busy mustering, and he was murdered shortly after.

Archie Allen, 'Nilpinna Archie', was born in 1906, and died in 1984. Archie was Tim's younger brother and had some traditional knowledge of the Nilpinna country. He had spent much of his life with Lower Aranda people but he was still fairly fluent in Arabana.

Eddie Strangways was born at Charlotte Waters in 1902, and died in 1982. Eddie was sister-in-law to Tim Strangways. She had learnt some of the stories about Dalhousie from the old people who were there in the second decade of this century when

she was growing up. Although she spent much of her middle and later years with Arabana people at Finnis Springs she still spoke Arabana with a distinct Aranda accent, and this in itself drew attention to some of the main characteristics of Arabana phonetics.

Jean Woods of Marree, though much younger than any of the other Arabana speakers, has made a major contribution to keeping the Arabana language alive by introducing it as a school subject at Marree and producing successful literacy material.

1.2 INTERNAL CLASSIFICATION

The Arabana-Wangkangurru language belonged to the area to the west and north of Lake Eyre. In the eyes of the speakers, though not technically, there are really two languages: Arabana and Wangkangurru. For the most part, these are mutually comprehensible, though there are many differences and a lot of misunderstanding can occur. There are a number of subdivisions within Arabana-Wangkangurru.

1.2.1 ARABANA

Arabana has three dialects: Arabana proper, *Wangkakupa* and *Midlaliri*.

(1) Arabana proper, also sometimes called *Piltapalta*¹ was the form of speech once used in the northern part of the Arabana country, south of the Macumba, and at Mount Dutton and Peake. Arthur McLean was the last fluent speaker.

(2) *Wangkakupa* 'little language' was the dialect of Anna Creek. As Anna Creek Station was for a long time a major centre for Arabana people, *Wangkakupa*, particularly in the form *Pularingunganha* 'from Anna Creek', is the best preserved. The few remaining people who have detailed knowledge of the Arabana language speak *Wangkakupa*.

(3) *Midlaliri* was the form of speech used on the Stuart Range and adjacent tablelands area. This became extinct in the forties with the death of Sam *Warrpa* 'Storm' from Coober Pedy. Apart from a few verses of song nothing could be recorded of *Midlaliri*, and even the name is not analysable.

Each of these three dialects was further differentiated, since Arabana people belonged to a number of local groups whose speech was noticeably distinct: for instance it was often said that you could tell at once if a *Wangkakupa* speaker came from the Woodmurra mob as distinct from the *Pularingu* Anna Creek or the Nilpinna mob. These finer distinctions have now disappeared as the language of Anna Creek prevails. Arabana was occasionally called *Ngarabana* (as mentioned by Tindale 1974:210). The loss of initial *ng* is characteristic of certain groups of words in Arabana-Wangkangurru, notably kinship terms and pronouns (see Hercus 1977a). The name (*Ng*)*arabana* cannot be further analysed.

¹ This name means 'taking something away from someone' and probably refers to myth of the Pounding Stone from Mount Dutton.

1.2.2 WANGKANGURRU

Wangkangurru, literally *Wangka-ngurru* 'the hard and strong language' had two main dialects, and a third one of more recent origin.

(1) *Mikiri-nganha* 'from the native wells', also called *Mungathirri-nganha* 'from the high sandhills' was the Simpson Desert form of Wangkangurru. Mick McLean, who was my main teacher, gave an account of how Wangkangurru people gradually left the Simpson Desert and finally abandoned the area in 1899-1900 (Hercus 1986). They went to live in various parts of the north-east of South Australia: on stations adjoining the desert such as Alton Downs, Andrewilla and Karlamurina; at Killalpaninna Mission on the Cooper; at Marree; in Arabana country at Wood Duck and on the Peake Telegraph Station; and also further north at Dalhousie Springs. The move from the desert did not lead to an immediate disintegration of the language: Wangkangurru people were very traditionally minded. The Simpson Desert form of Wangkangurru was spoken fluently by those few people who were born in the Simpson Desert (Mick McLean, his sister Topsy and Maudie Naylor) and by others who were brought up by Simpson Desert people (Bob Naylor, Frieda Merrick, Alice Lane). All this older generation from whom I learnt in the sixties and seventies is now deceased, but in 1988 Maudie Naylor's daughters still spoke the Simpson Desert dialect.

(2) The dialect named *Marlu-papu-nganha* 'from the *Marlu-papu* country', also referred to as *Karla-nganha* 'from the Creek', was originally spoken on the 'Salt Creek', the Kallakoopah and the lower Diamantina. This form of speech was also sometimes called Wangkatyaka or Wangkayari: both terms mean 'little language'. From the work of the missionary Reuther at Killalpaninna and from statements by Wangkangurru people there is evidence that Wangkatyaka people continued to live in their traditional land well into the first two decades of this century, even if not on a permanent basis. They also spent much time at the mission, and possibly as a result of this and because they were particularly hard hit by the 1919 influenza epidemic they disintegrated as a group in about 1920. By 1965 there were only two speakers left, Jimmy Russell *Wanga-mirri* 'Many Mornings' and his parallel cousin Leslie Russell *Wanga-pula* 'Two Mornings'. As they were not brought up in a purely Wangkatyaka environment there is no proof that their way of speaking Wangkangurru really did reflect the original Wangkatyaka. All we can say is that their speech differed from that of the people who were born in the desert. As Mick McLean explained:

Only difference that we know, like Leslie talking, and Jimmy, he talk different from me. They are Wangkatyaka and I am Wangkangurru you see:

Uka yanhirnda alka nguRu, karla-nganha wangka, antha yanhingura mudlu-nganha wangka, mikiri-nganha.

(He speaks in a different way, in the language from the Salt Creek, and I speak the language from the sandhills, from the *mikiri* well country.)

Elkin (1938-40) uses a different terminology for the distinction between desert Wangkangurru and Wangkatyaka: he calls Desert Wangkangurru 'Northern Wongkonguru' and Wangkatyaka 'Southern Wongkonguru'.

(3) Eastern Wangkangurru

The descendants of those Simpson Desert people who settled in the Birdsville area became associated with people of Ngurlupurlu, Wangkamadla, Yarluyandi and Mithaka descent. Their speech is distinct and they refer to it as *Karla-nganha*, a term originally used for

Wangkalyaka, but they interpret it as 'from the Creek, the Diamantina'. To avoid any confusion I call it Eastern Wangkangurru. There are still two fluent speakers, Johnny Reese and Linda Crombie.

Traditional people thought of their own language as something to be cherished, something given to them from time primordial. Mick McLean summarised his view of the dialectal distinctions to me as follows (tape 200, May 1968):

L: If you had an old man coming and talking to you, you could tell if he came from Poeppel's Corner just from the way he talks?

M: Yes. You will find out then how he talks, how he uses his words.

Irlanha. Uka wangka yanhingura alka nguRu, might wangka katiwiRi yanhingura, antha wangka nyara yanhingura, might be wangka nyara, ngaRu nyara.

(That's how it is. He speaks in a different way, it might be that he speaks heavy while I speak light, or it might be that he speaks light, in a light fashion, you see, because you couldn't change over.)

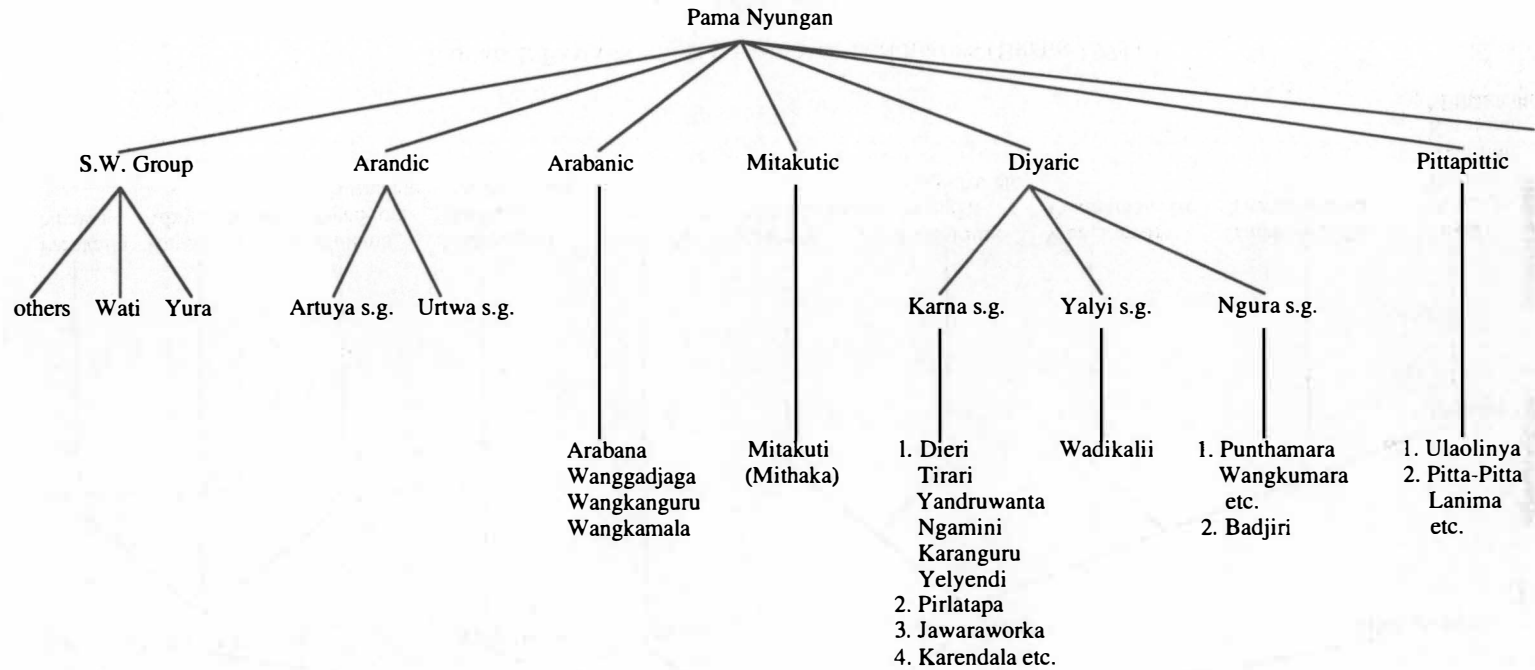
Ularakanga ngunyikanaru thangka-thangkirda, wangka ukakunha thangka-thangkirda, because that is your own language. Malyka marra-ma-li, Wangka karinha ngunhikanha ularakanga wangka 'kanha yanhirnda. Antha wangka wathili yanhingura same Wangkangurru, karla-nganha Wangkangurru yanhirnda, ami mudlu-nganha yanhingura.

(Because they were given their language in the History time people look after it, you look after it because that is your own language. It is not a thing one changes. Language was given to people in the history time and that is the language they speak. I speak my own language, that same Wangkangurru. He (Jimmy) speaks Wangkangurru from the creek while we speak the language from the sandhill country.)

1.3 EXTERNAL AFFILIATIONS OF ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU

There is general agreement that numerous language groups make up the Pama Nyungan family of languages which occupy most of Australia except for the extreme north of the Northern Territory and Western Australia. These groups can be further subdivided into numerous subgroups of languages. On the evidence that was then available, O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966) and Wurm (1972) classified 'Arabanic' as a distinct language group, adjoined by the Diyatic group to the east. Diyatic is further subdivided into subgroups, the Karna subgroup (named so from a widespread word for 'man') being geographically the closest to Arabanic. Other language groups that border on Arabanic according to this classification are the 'Mitakutic' group, which comprises Mithaka and adjoins Arabanic to the east, Pittapittic which adjoins Arabanic to the north-east, and Arandic which adjoins Arabanic to the north. The Yura and Wati subgroups of the south-west group border on Arabanic to the south and west respectively. The Arabanic group was listed as consisting of Arabana, Wangkalyaka, Wangkangurru and Wangkamadla .

This preliminary classification may be schematised as shown in Figure 1 (using the spelling of language names as given in Wurm 1972).



s.g. = subgroup

FIGURE 1: PAMA NYUNGAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES (WURM 1972)

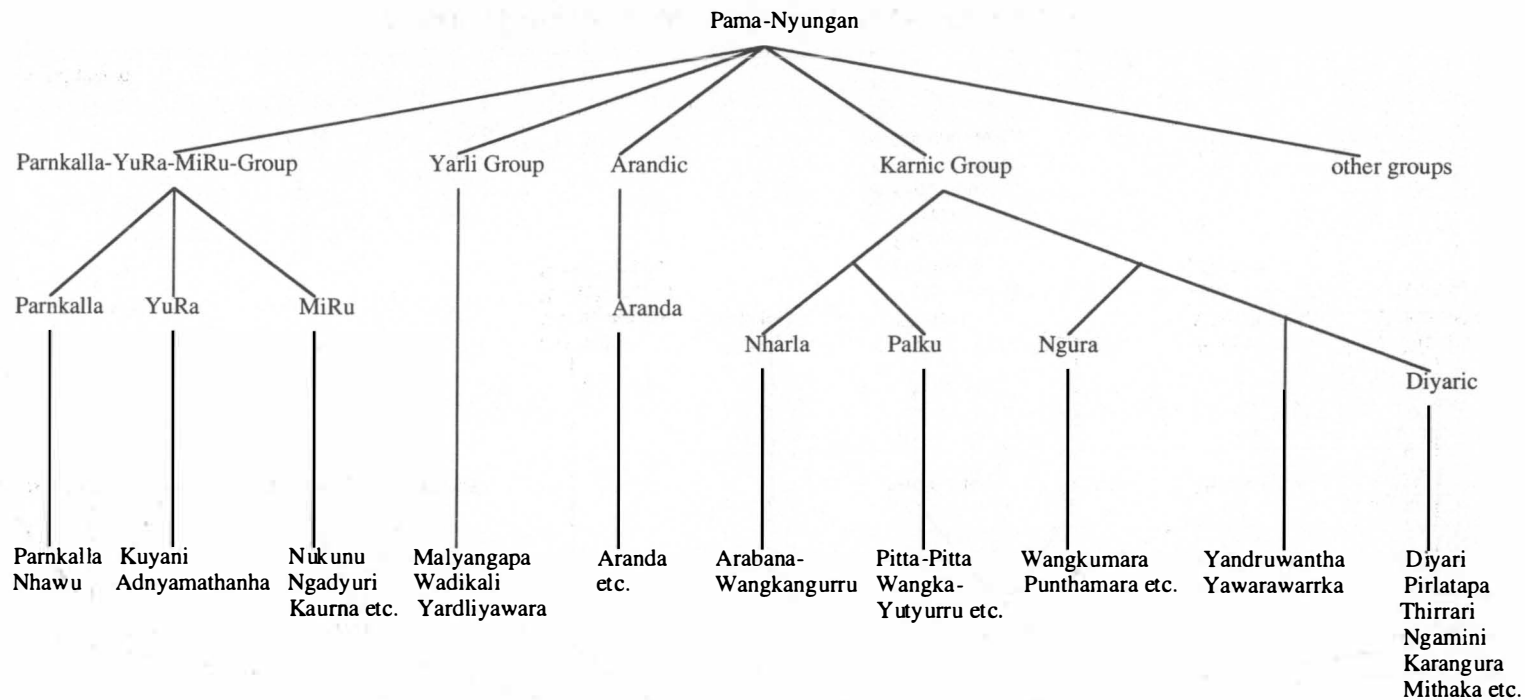


FIGURE 2: PAMA-NYUNGAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES (BREEN 1971)

In a recent study P. Austin (1990) has put forward a classification which, like that of Hale and O'Grady, leaves Arabana-Wangkangurru outside the Karnic language group.

Basing himself on his own extensive fieldwork in Western Queensland, Breen (1971) gives a different classification for south-western Queensland and the adjoining areas. His classification, recently modified by him with regard to Yandruwantha-Yawarawarrka, and combined with my own findings, may be schematised as shown in Figure 2.

The major changes in classification that Breen has made in as much as they affect Arabana-Wangkangurru are set out below.

(1) 'Arabanic' (called 'Narla' by Breen and earlier by Schmidt (1919) from the Arabana word *nharla* 'man') is not a separate group but only a subgroup belonging to the same group as Diyaric and Pittapittic (Breen's 'Palku'). In other words, Breen sees the relationship between Arabana-Wangkangurru and its easterly and north-easterly neighbours as being close: they all form part of one big group.

(2) Wangkamadla (also called Wangkamanha or Lanima) was the immediate neighbour of Wangkangurru to the east. Breen in his work in western Queensland found that it was a dialect of the same language as Wangka Yutyurru: it belonged to the Pitta-pitta or Palku subgroup. This has been confirmed by further information given to me by Mick McLean and Maudie Naylor, particularly by the Wangkamadla verses that form part of the *Wapiya*, the Fire History.

(3) Kuyani, the language immediately to the south of Arabana, belongs to the Parnkalla-YuRa-MiRu group. This is a separate group covering much of central South Australia and is not closely related to the Western Desert languages (contrary to what is implied in Figure 1).

1.4 LANGUAGE CONVERGENCE

Arabana-Wangkangurru people had many ties with their eastern and southern neighbours. All the people of the Lake Eyre Basin had the same kinship system, a matrilineal moiety system, the two moieties being called *MathaRi* and *KaRarru* (Elkin 1938-40) with each being subdivided into matrilineal totemic descent lines. There are minor differences as to how the system operated, but basically it was the same. The whole area is crossed by numerous lines of myths, particularly from north to south, and people met at large ritual gatherings, particularly for the *Mindiri*, the Emu Song Cycle, that brought together all the people of the eastern Lake Eyre Basin, and for the *Urumbula*, the Native Cat Song Cycle, that went all the way from Port Augusta to Alice Springs. Several of the most important myths crossing Arabana country involve Ancestors travelling on a route between the north and the south. Some are Aranda Ancestors who take away prized objects from the south: the *Urumbula* involves the Native Cat Ancestor taking away the great Milky Way Pole from Port Augusta, the Aranda Ancestor *Intara* takes the great Nardoo Stone from Mount Dutton, *Anintyola* takes the Rain Stone from Peake and the Kestrel takes the big Spike from near Mount Anna. On the other hand the History of the Ancestor *Thunpili* involves a Kuyani Ancestor who travels through Arabana country carrying a putrid dead body which he ultimately deposits in Aranda country. These lines of myth are many and complex.

The people of the Lake Eyre Basin were also linked by trade; most important were the expeditions to collect ochre from near Parachilna in the Flinders Ranges. People went there

from as far afield as the central Simpson Desert. These links combined to give the Lake Eyre Basin a certain social unity and it became a linguistic area: certain developments such as the pre-stopping of consonants (Hercus 1972) can be shown to have spread gradually across the area. There was also great similarity in grammatical categories: the morphemes may differ from language to language, but what they express remains the same throughout. A very striking example of semantic convergence has been discussed by Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976): the word for 'fruit' is used in connection with words for part of the body, such as 'fruit of the knee' for 'kneecap'. Other examples will be pointed out throughout this grammar. This strong convergence has made the Lake Eyre Basin so pronounced as a linguistic area that it is easy to assume the Lake languages to be much more closely related than they really are.

1.5 THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The first detailed account of the Arabana kinship system was given by Spencer and Gillen (1899:59-68). This was followed by Elkin (1973:438-447). Since then a most sophisticated structural study has been published by H.W. Scheffler (1978) in which he points out salient features such as the structural equivalence between agnatically related kin of alternate generations. As pointed out above (§1.4) the main characteristic of the traditional kinship system of the people of the Lake Eyre Basin was the division into two matrilineal moieties, called *MathaRi* and *KaRarru*. Each moiety was further subdivided into a number of totemic divisions, called *mardu* 'flavour'. With the catastrophic decline in population only a few of these matrilineal lines survived at the time when I began work in the area. Those surviving were:

<i>MathaRi</i>		<i>KaRarru</i>	
<i>wadnhamara</i>	grub	<i>arkapa</i>	red ochre
<i>thantani</i>	shag	<i>wakarla</i>	crow
<i>karrawaRa</i>	eaglehawk	<i>warrukathi</i>	emu
<i>kukurla</i>	golden bandicoot		

There had been intermarriage between Wangkangurru people and Lower Aranda for some time, and it seems that in the days before white contact the Aranda women who married Wangkangurru men were somehow fitted into the system and acquired a matrilineal totem. During this century however, particularly with the increasing number of marriages with Western Desert people, these methods broke down, and we were often told "X has no *mardu* because his mother was Kukata", or "Y got no *mardu* because her mother was Aranda, and Aranda got no *mardu*". The total prohibition against marrying within the same moiety is still well known to older Arabana-Wangkangurru people; it is said to be "like marrying your own sister". Such marriages nevertheless began to occur in the forties: the people concerned are said to have found various excuses such as pretending that one partner was really *matharri* when everybody in fact knew that he was *kaRarru*. By now even this prohibition is widely ignored and the majority of young people do not know what moiety and still less what *mardu* they belong to.

1.5.1 KINSHIP TERMS

	ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU
(a) Own and alternate generation: same moiety		
brother (elder)	<i>nhuthi</i>	<i>nhuthi</i>
sister (elder)	<i>kaku</i>	<i>kaku</i>
younger sibling	<i>kupaka</i>	<i>kuparli</i>
half sibling, same father	<i>aparli-aparli</i>	<i>aparli</i>
father's father	<i>kadnhini</i>	<i>ilyili</i>
son's child (man speaking)	<i>kadnhini</i>	<i>ilyili</i>
mother's mother	<i>kadnhini</i>	<i>kadnhini</i>
daughter's child (woman speaking)	<i>kadnhini</i>	<i>kadnhini</i>
(b) Opposite moiety		
cross-cousin (male, man speaking)	<i>withiwa</i>	<i>withiwa</i>
cross-cousin (female)	<i>pilya</i>	<i>apirla</i>
brother's wife (woman speaking)	<i>pilya</i>	<i>apirla</i>
husband's sister	<i>kadlari</i>	<i>karlalu</i>
sister's husband (man speaking)	<i>kadlari</i>	<i>karlalu</i>
wife's brother	<i>yantiyanti</i>	<i>yarardi</i>
sister's husband (woman speaking)	<i>imari</i>	<i>imari</i>
mother's father	<i>thanti</i>	<i>athata</i>
daughter's child (man speaking)	<i>hanti</i>	<i>athata</i>
father's mother	<i>amanyi</i>	<i>apirla</i>
son's child (woman speaking)	<i>amanyi</i>	<i>apirla</i>
spouse	<i>nhupa</i>	<i>nhupa</i>
spouse's sibling, general term	<i>kabmari</i>	<i>kabmari</i>
(c) Adjacent generation, same moiety		
mother	<i>lhuka</i>	<i>ama</i>
spouse's father	<i>thaRu</i>	<i>thaRu</i>
sister's child (man speaking)	<i>thidnara</i>	<i>kulakula</i>
mother's brother	<i>kakaka</i>	<i>kaga²</i>
child, sister's child (woman speaking)	<i>wardu</i>	<i>arluwa</i>
son-in-law (man speaking)	<i>wardu-wardu</i>	<i>parithi</i>
(d) Opposite moiety		
child (man speaking)	<i>piyaka, ardaka</i>	<i>atapiyaka</i>
father	<i>apityi³</i>	<i>anya</i>
father's sister	<i>ngawili</i>	<i>payayi</i>
husband's mother	<i>piyaka</i>	<i>piyaka</i>
wife's mother	<i>yampuwa</i>	<i>yampuwa</i>
wife's mother's brother	<i>parithi</i>	<i>waltu-waltu</i>

² There was also a special term *ngamakardi* for a deceased uncle (mother's brother). This is cognate with *ama* 'mother' and with many of the terms for mother's brother in the Lake Eyre Basin, (e.g. Adnyamathanha-Kuyani *ngamarna*).

³ Only the oldest Arabana people knew the term *nhiya* 'father' which was recorded by Elkin and earlier writers. *Apityi* (cf. Kuyani *papi*) was originally a Wangkakupa term only, and this gradually supplanted *nhiya*.

sister's child (man speaking)	<i>kulakula</i>	<i>thidnara</i>
brother's child (woman speaking)	<i>kulakula</i>	<i>thidnara</i>
brother's daughter (woman speaking)		
special term, rarely used	<i>pariyarityi</i>	
great grandfather (paternal line)	<i>irlitya</i>	<i>ilyitya</i>

All these terms stand for both real and classificatory kin. Thus, for instance, in the case of a woman speaking, the term for 'child' includes sister's children, and in the case of a man speaking, the term for 'child' includes brother's children; the terms for siblings include parallel cousins. If one wishes to stress the fact that one is speaking of real rather than classificatory kin one can use the words *arla* 'true' or *wathili* 'own', as in *anthunha ama wathili* 'my own mother'.

If one goes one generation further, to the level of great-grandparents or great-grandchildren, one's kin are obviously in a generation level equivalent to the adjacent generation level. As in many other Australian kinship systems, in Arabana-Wangkangurru the same terms are used in these circumstances as for the adjacent generation, but the terms are reversed: thus a small boy will call his great-grandmother 'daughter' and she will call him 'father'. Considerations of kinship dominate the social code, and there is even a special verb, *ngantya-*, which means 'to address someone by a kinship term'.

1.5.2 KINSHIP PAIRS AND GROUPS

There are also kinship pairs which are referred to by special compound nouns. Some of these are formed with the 'accompanied by' suffix *-maRa* (§3.15.2). Examples are:

<i>kaku-maRa</i>	a pair or group of sisters
<i>thanti-maRa</i>	maternal grandfather and child or children (A)
<i>kadlari-maRa</i>	women who are in the relationship of sisters-in-law to one another (A)
<i>thaRu-maRa</i>	father-in-law and son(s)-in-law
<i>ngarla-yawu</i>	two cross-cousins (this term is not analysable)

Some of the words for pairs or groups are formed with the help of the otherwise unknown prefix *pura*. For instance:

<i>pura-kadnhini-pula</i>	a pair consisting of a maternal grandmother and her grandchild
<i>pura kadnhini-kari</i>	a group consisting of a maternal grandmother and two or more of her grandchildren
<i>pura-yawu-pula</i>	a pair consisting of people who are cross-cousins to one another
<i>pura-yawu-kari</i>	a group consisting of three or more people
<i>pura-yantiya-pula</i>	a pair consisting of two people who are brothers-in-law to one another
<i>pura-yantiya-kari</i>	a group of three or more people who are brothers-in-law

Amid this profusion of terms it is interesting to note that neither in Arabana-Wangkangurru nor in the neighbouring Adnyamathanha-Kuyani language to the south (Hercus & White 1973) – nor it seems in any other Lake Eyre Basin language – is there a specific term for the nuclear family. This is not because of the separate activities of men on the one hand and women and children on the other; the nuclear family was still a unit and camped together. It is probably because within the scheme of classification the nuclear family does not fit a category and was most diverse: it involved both moieties and both one's own

and adjacent generation levels. The intricacy of the terminology reflects the importance of kinship in all communication among Arabana-Wangkangurru people.

1.6 BOUNDARIES

(a) General comments

It has only relatively recently been understood that traditional territorial boundaries were far more sophisticated than anything that can be represented by simply drawing lines across maps. This increased understanding has come about gradually, and is mainly due to the important paper by Stanner (1965) and the 1973 discussions published by Peterson (1976). The situation is particularly intricate in the Lake Eyre Basin, which had such complex social and cultural links. Arabana-Wangkangurru people did not think in terms of boundaries: there is in fact no such word in the language. They were however certainly conscious of a series of places where their territory 'cut out' and somebody else's began. This is illustrated in mythology: the Two Boys from Dalhousie leave Lower Aranda country to go on a long journey through Wangkangurru and Wangkamadla country. As they leave the springs and reach the first sandhill they look back at their own country. That place is called by the Aranda name *Althapirima* 'Feeling sorry', because they have come to the end of their Aranda country and before them is the Simpson Desert, Wangkangurru country. This 'cutting out' may be viewed in some areas as quite definite, but mostly it is viewed as gradual; the neighbouring people may 'have a right in' an area, that is they may come there freely for ceremonies without this being considered an act of aggression. Rights for foraging were more intricate in that amongst the Arabana and Wangkangurru there were strict rules governing where people were allowed to forage. Men usually went out north from any camp and women south and there were the strictest punishments for any infringements. The Arabana-Wangkangurru view of territory was thus not one of boundaries but of a series of places with a complex system governing who had access to them.

Tindale (1974:210) gives an account of what was Arabana country. There is only one minor problem in his discussion. He says: "There were some hordal groupings and their term for hordal territory was *wadlu*". The word *wadlu* is a very general term; in fact it is one of the most common words in the language. It means 'ground, sand, soil, earth, country'. It is only when *wadlu* is used with a possessive that it becomes specific and means 'hordal' in the sense used by Radcliffe-Brown (1929:400). Thus when people say *anthunha wadlu* 'my country' they mean country with which they have a strong ritual affiliation. The term *wadlu* can even be used to mean 'the History which belongs to the sites that are my very own'. I have very frequently heard the saying 'Tomorrow I will sing you my country!'. This means 'I shall sing the songs for the sites of which I am ritual owner', and it stands in contrast to singing other sections of the same History. Another frequently heard expression is 'You can't sing another man's country, unless he is there and gives you permission'.

(b) Some details of 'boundaries'

For two areas we do not have details of where the country 'cut out'. There are different reasons for this. We cannot be clear about the south-western border of Arabana because we could not consult any Midlaliri people. The other 'boundary' that is little known is the

northern boundary of Wangkangurru. This is because of the nature of the terrain and our lack of topical geographical knowledge.

The following are quotations taken from different conversations which reveal some of the details concerning territorial boundaries. As is evident, the information concerns what might be called 'internal boundaries', namely the extent of the country of different groups within Arabana-Wangkangurru, as well as the 'external boundaries'. Sometimes people stated where the country 'cut out' but most of the time they listed major ritual places on the periphery, stating to which group these places 'belonged'. As most of the information on 'boundaries' comes from this kind of conversation, a few examples are quoted to show the meticulous detail with which this matter was viewed by the speakers.

The following is a translation of statements made by Mick McLean (on 16 May 1969) in Wangkangurru:

The (Northern) Arabana are right from *Yardiya* (Old Peake), and from Warrina. They went back to Oodnadatta, *Uthapuka* (Hookey's Waterhole) that was all one language along that creek (the southern side of the Macumba), *Ipithanha*, Mount Midlargunna. They went right up to *Thurluwarangka*, Mount Sarah⁴ and back to *Paya-parrakanha* and *Wampityinha* (a Rainbow Centre just south of Macumba station) and right down to *Mundrupa* and down along the Woodmurra Creek. They went to Mount Midlargunna, *Thidnapakanha* (Mount Tidnabakina), and *Aripanha* (Erebena waterhole), they went right up to *Irlalanha* (just east of the Tidnabucca Waterhole) they followed the sandhills along to *Kumparanha*, and then to the Alkaowra flood flats.

During an earlier conversation (on 26 January 1967) in English on this topic, both Mick McLean and Tom Bagot (Lower Aranda) were present. They were talking at first about the Northern Arabana *Wilyaru* (Cicatrision) History:

L: They had a special place for that?

M: *Midlaruku*.

L: Mount Midlargunna. And *Thidnapakanha* (Mount Tidnabakina)?

M: I suppose they were just living about... Only *thamunha* (sacred site) for *Wilyaru* was Midlargunna, all on the north side... *Irlalanha* (waterhole) is back from *Kumparanha* sandhill. That's Arabana country...

L: So the border between Arabana and Aranda goes from the Todmorden road across to Macumba?

M: South of Macumba just a bit. Then Arabana run right across to that creek (the Macumba) then. There is Wangkatyaka along the Kallakoopah, the whole lot...

T: *Arakapaninha* (hill).

M: That is all my country (i.e. Wangkangurru).

L: Where do Aranda come in there?

M: You got to find Macumba Creek west side, we are east side altogether.

⁴ Mount Sarah according to both T.G.H. Strehlow's map and Tindale's is in Lower Southern Aranda country: the place had ritual significance for Arabana people through the History of 'Thunpili and the Dead Woman' and the name is Arabana. It seems there was a deviation to the north at that particular locality from the 'cut out' of Arabana country and that Arabana 'had a right in' Mount Sarah.

While showing us sites along the lower Diamantina, Mick McLean pointed out *Thupuwarrunha* 'White Smoke', a waterhole on the Diamantina a few miles upstream from New Karlamurina. This was the last waterhole in Wangkatyaka country and the site for a spell that was said to enable Wangkatyaka clever men to alter the course of the river. Above that the country belonged to the Ngamani, and relations with them were often hostile (see also Horne & Aiston 1924:83).

Speaking about the western side of Arabana country, Mick McLean stated:

Warrpa (Storm) History belongs to Arabana, Midlaliri people, their language is a bit different. Midlaliri went right to Coober Pedy. All that country under the hill around Coober Pedy, that is all Arabana, Midlaliri. Over the hill is all Kukata people then; half Arabana and Kukata on the other side. On the north side the *Yaltya* (Frog) people come in too, *Irapirinha* Waterhole is part of their country too. That Mabel Creek side I can't tell you, that is *thamunha* (secret, i.e. it belongs to the Kangaroo History). I got'm. We all join in, everybody, not just belonging to this Arabana and this Kukata.

On another occasion (11 January 1968), on speaking of the western 'boundary' of Arabana around Welbourne Hill, Mick McLean stated (referring to the distant past) that "they talk both languages, Arabana and Antikirinya around Welbourne Hill", and he discussed the Kangaroo History travelling along *Kunkara* Coongra Creek, which was Arabana.

Speaking of the southern boundary of Arabana Mick McLean and Arthur Warren stated:

Welcome Creek too, just past where we camped, all Kuyani. Poopeechee, all Kuyani and Stuart's Creek Station. Coward Springs is still Kuyani. Strangways is Arabana. They both come in there, Beresford is Kuyani. From Stuart's Creek to Kewson Hill and Strangways they talk both.

Tim Strangways confirmed this, saying that the Snake writhing in the Bubbler Spring near Coward Springs came up with huge bubbles only in response to Kuyani incantations, not Arabana.

(c) Conclusions

In this fashion we gradually pieced together an account of the full extent of Arabana-Wangkangurru territory. The resulting picture does not deviate much from what is shown of the northern areas on Strehlow's map. The main difference is that Strehlow, who got his information from Southern Aranda speakers, included in Aranda country places where Arabana people had rights, while I, getting my information from Arabana and Wangkangurru people, have tended to include in Arabana-Wangkangurru country places in which Aranda and other neighbours had rights. The only other difference is with regard to the north-western edges of Arabana country, where Strehlow has excluded the Coongra Creek.

On the whole the information given by the most knowledgeable people also confirms the work of N.B. Tindale, with some differences. We would not place the southern boundary of Arabana quite as far south as Tindale did: this judgement was supported by a number of elderly people, and by mythological and linguistic evidence. We would place the north-western boundary of Arabana a little further to the west. The only really major disagreement with Tindale is over the northern border of Wangkangurru. We would place this much further north than he did although, as he points out, there was some southerly movement of

the neighbouring Wangkamadla people. As the area involved is all sandhill country the situation remains obscure.

1.7 HISTORICAL ASPECTS: WANGKANGURRU

Wangkangurru people, even those living in the central Simpson Desert, had frequent contact with the outside world through trade and through ceremonies (see §1.4). The most important trade links were the journeys to obtain red ochre from Parachilna (Gason 1879, Hercus 1986). Because of the absence of suitable stone in the Simpson Desert, materials for all stone tools were imported. We know that grinding dishes were imported from the big grindstone quarry near Sunny Creek on Anna Creek Station in Arabana country. Greenstone axe heads are reputed to have come from Queensland. A number of sources of adzes, scrapers, pirri-points and other small tools were mentioned by Arabana-Wangkangurru people: particularly important were quarries on Stuart Creek Station, at the Four Hills east of William Creek, near England Hill in Midlaliri country and at Allendale. Pitcherie we know was imported from the Mulligan: this was mentioned repeatedly by all the Wangkangurru speakers and is corroborated by the evidence of Tindale (n.d.); as a child Linda Crombie was actually taken on a pitcherie expedition. The whole matter of trade links in the area has been described by I. McBryde (1987).

Social links were of equally great importance. Wangkangurru people had matrimonial links with the Lower Aranda from the lower Finke and the Dalhousie area. They also had ceremonial links with this group as well as with Wangkamadla, Ngurlupulu and Yarluyandi people in the east. By these means they heard about Europeans long before they ever saw any in their own country. Long before the arrival of white men in the Simpson Desert, Wangkangurru people had become victims of massacres in the Birdsville area, because the police chose the occasions of great ceremonial gatherings for their punitive expeditions (Hercus & Sutton 1986:182). These ceremonial gatherings, particularly the 'increase ceremonies' had attracted Wangkangurru people. It was often explained that "if they were making more swans, big mob Ngamani, Yawarawarrka, Karangura and Yarluyandi, and your mob didn't turn up for their part, well they would miss out". Therefore people felt obliged to be represented at increase ceremonies. The massacres probably took place in the seventies and eighties of the last century. It seems likely that one of the most terrible, that of the participants at a *Mindiri* Emu Ceremony at Koonchera Waterhole south-west of Birdsville, was perpetrated in the mid 1870s.

The first European to travel through Wangkangurru country was J.W. Lewis, who led an expedition along the lower Kallakoopah, the country of the Wangkatyaka group of the Wangkangurru. He described the area as "simply frightful" (Threadgill 1922:164). He established a camp at what he called 'Tommy's Well', which must have been close to or at a place called *Waltawaltanha*. He set off a little way up the creek. He was not encouraged by what he saw: "Tommy's Well is undoubtedly permanent and fresh, but the country around it is abominable; to take a view from any slight elevation of the bare sandhills, sandcliffs and utter want of vegetation is sufficient to create thirst, without having to travel over it". He then went further east through Wangkatyaka country along the Warburton. This was in 1874-1875.

It was over a decade before the first European traveller reached the Wangkangurru of the Simpson Desert. This was David Lindsay who, with the help of a Wangkangurru guide named Paddy, visited nine of the wells in the Simpson Desert in January 1886. He came there with what might be called evil intent: he came to check the water resources of the wells to see whether the area was suitable for pastoral development. Fortunately the area was not taken up, though some sections added to the Cowarie lease in the 1880s extended a long way into the desert. Whatever may have been his intentions Lindsay obviously conducted himself well towards Wangkangurru people; moreover – unlike the explorers who came to Arabana country – he did not impose new names on the wells or on any other features of the country he traversed.

Through the links with the outside world, and presumably also through Lindsay, it eventually became known in the Simpson Desert that Europeans were not all evil, and that there were good things to be had, such as regular supplies of food at stations and missions. So people gradually began to leave; the last groups departed in 1899-1900, leaving the desert uninhabited.

The Simpson Desert Wangkangurru were the last people in the Lake Eyre Basin to come into immediate contact with Europeans. They were also the most traditional and the most persistent as regards their own language and culture. When it came to staying at Killalpaninna Mission or at centres like Birdsville, the bulk of the Wangkangurru were the last to come in and the ones most ready to move off. Because of their attachment to traditions, their old men were naturally the most ‘interesting’ people for anyone to talk to about the old ways, even more so than the Wangkatyaka from the Kallakoopah and the lower Diamantina. Accordingly the works on the traditions of the Lake Eyre Basin such as Horne and Aiston (1924) are largely based on what was learnt from Simpson Desert Wangkangurru people.

1.8 EARLIER WORK: WANGKANGURRU

During the same period, as the Wangkangurru gradually came in contact with Europeans, the Europeans in turn learnt a little about Wangkangurru people, their language and culture. The first information on the Wangkangurru language I have been able to find is in the work compiled by Pastor Schoknecht at the Kopperamanna and Killalpaninna missions from 1871 to 1873. In his notes he mentions: “Wonkanura. Location: At Salt Creek (kaleri)”. There follow half-a-dozen words as an example of the Wangkangurru language. The next reference to Wangkangurru is in the work by Gason (1879) on Diyari. A manuscript work of Pastor Flierl, dated not long after this (1879) contains brief grammars of both Diyari and Wangkangurru. The short vocabulary given by Jacobs in Curr (1886 2:12-13) and described as “North-West of Lake Eyre” is Wangkatyaka. That given by him in Curr (pp.:14-15) as “The North Shore of Lake Eyre” is not Wangkatyaka as might be expected, but Ngamani. In both cases an unorthodox method of spelling is used; for instance, ‘sth’ stands for ‘ng’.

The first reasonably comprehensive grammatical study was made by the Rev. J.G. Reuther: Volume 5 of his manuscript, composed around 1900, contains a Wangkangurru grammar. It is clear that Reuther was not as closely acquainted with Wangkangurru as he was with Diyari, but his grammatical sketch is nevertheless a most valuable pioneering effort. The other volumes of the Reuther manuscript contain extensive materials on

Wangkangurru: there is a Wangkangurru vocabulary which forms part of the general comparative vocabularies, information on placenames (Volume 7), names of people, myths, Ancestors and Toas (see Jones & Sutton 1986 and Hercus 1987a). Reuther's work is the first and last major contribution to the study of the Wangkangurru language.

Ethnography had a much wider following than language study and there are many sources apart from Reuther. There is for instance correspondence to R.H. Mathews in 1898-1899 from Albert Helling, who was then at Cowarie on the lower Diamantina. Several Wangkangurru myths have been summarised in Howitt and Siebert (1904), in the appendix to Howitt (1902), and in Siebert (1910). Fry (1937) gives texts in Diyari but, as regards content, several of the myths included are Wangkangurru. As indicated above, a high proportion of the information in Horne and Aiston (1924) comes from Wangkangurru sources.

The only additional linguistic information after Reuther is minor and consists of specialised vocabularies: Elkin (1938-1940) gave a summary of Wangkangurru kinship terminology; T. Harvey Johnston (1943) listed some Wangkangurru names of animals, while Johnston and Cleland (1943) compiled names of plants. Tindale has collected some vocabulary: Mick McLean in fact recalled telling Tindale about parts of the body – as well as giving him a drop of blood – but this vocabulary was never published.

It is clear that the fullest accounts of Wangkangurru language and traditions are due to the work of the missionaries at Killalpaninna. The missionaries also had great influence on contemporary scholars, and even work written after the 1914 closure of Killalpaninna is to some extent dependent on their pioneer work.

1.9 HISTORICAL ASPECTS: ARABANA

The country of the Arabana people was right on the track of European development. By the late 1850s explorers had visited some of the southern springs and by the end of 1859 MacDonnell had got as far as Strangways Springs (first visited by Warburton) and Loudon Springs. The explorer Stuart first traversed Arabana country in late 1859 to January 1860, surveying numerous springs and creeks in the Anna Creek country, 'discovering' and naming places such as William Springs, George Creek, Mount Anna, Keckwick Springs, Freeling Springs, Mount Arthur, Mount Charles and many others (Threadgill 1922:29). In fact he was so enthusiastic that, sadly enough, practically all the major springs and creeks were given English names. He returned again in March on his great journey north. He was followed by roads, the telegraph line and then the railway. The telegraph line was constructed right across Arabana country in mid-1871, with stations at Strangways Springs, Umbum, Peake, Mount Dutton and Oodnadatta. The railway did not reach Oodnadatta till 1891. Throughout its construction there were strict regulations regarding the "morals and general good behaviour" of workers, "the camps of Aborigines were to be placed out of bounds; no communication whatever was to take place between the workers and Aboriginal women" (Fuller 1975:47). It appears that this discipline was in fact enforced, and that the actual construction work on the railway line was not a major disruptive force for Arabana people, though the railway itself inevitably brought Arabana people in constant contact with Europeans and with the outside world in general.

The movement of Aboriginal people in South Australia since contact times has been studied by Gale (1964). In Arabana country European settlement quickly followed exploration and Arabana people found themselves dispossessed. They went for rations and employment to the various major centres – Strangways, Anna Creek, Wood Duck, Peake, Cootanoorina, Wandillina, Oodnadatta and later Finnis Springs. Spencer and Gillen (1912:18) summarised the situation :

Nowadays the remnants of the Urabunna tribe are gathered together at the few outlying cattle stations, such as the Peake, where in return for clothes and ‘tucker’ they help in the work of the station. They have long since, except in a very small way, given up the performance of their old ceremonies – even the ordinary corrobories have dwindled down to a mere nothing – and only the older men know anything about, or indeed take any interest in, matters of tribal lore.

The early European settlers in Arabana country, particularly J. Warren, Hogarth, Kempe and Bagot, were generally liked. There was no persecution, there were no massacres. The situation was indeed paternalistic, but benign, quite different from that on the Birdsville Track. Arabana people ‘came in’ probably because of changes in the ecology and very definitely because of rations. This was made clear many times. For instance in May 1971 we visited the remote *Katanha* ‘Louse’ Waterhole, which had been a major Arabana camping site near Mierantana Waterhole on the Macumba south of the Alkaowra flood flats about 100 miles east of the old Macumba Station. Mick McLean, pointing at the camping area, said:

They stopped camping here in Kempe’s time, more than fifty years ago, old man Kempe’s time. He was the uncle of the Macumba manager, they had this country between them, Kempe and Bagot, *pulakunha wadlhu thangkaka* (it was the country of those two). He didn’t hunt the people out, he did a lot of good things, the old man! Kill bullock near camp, they could help themselves as long as they keep the hide, he sent out rations by camel, flour bag, brown sugar, jam, everything they want.

People obviously congregated at those stations where conditions were best. There was no great mission station to act as focal point. Moreover the presence of the railway made a considerable impact on the pattern of living and caused greater dispersal of people than is implied by Spencer and Gillen. Since the various railway sidings and stations were suitable depots for the distribution of rations, not all Arabana people went to the pastoral stations; instead they camped near the railway and got their rations and lived in a semi-traditional fashion. The humpies still standing on the sandhills by Bangadillina Creek near Warrina bear witness to that, and similar small settlements were at Duff Creek, Oodloodlana Spring, Algebuckina and a number of other places along the line.

Arabana people found themselves dispossessed in more ways than one: there had been a constant easterly push of Western Desert people (see Tindale 1974:213). In 1966 at Indulkana Dick Butcher (an old man belonging to the Ngunthiya-Ngunthara, the easternmost of the Western Desert groups) recalled having heard from his father of a ‘war’ that must have been waged in the middle of the nineteenth century in which Aranda people were ousted from the Mount Chandler – Lambina area by the easterly push of Western Desert people, the Yangkuntatyara and Antikirinya. This meant that some of the evicted Lower Aranda came to settle in Arabana country and there was considerable intermarriage between them and Arabana people. Thus Arthur McLean recalled having an Aranda grandmother who was

monolingual – she never did learn to speak Arabana. As it happened this had disastrous effects. One hot summer's day when that old lady was minding the children, Arthur's brother went missing, and she could not communicate well enough with the few other people left in camp to raise the alarm in time; the child perished. Some of the best-known Arabana families – the Strangways, the Allens, and the Ducks – have some Aranda ancestry.

By the beginning of this century Antikirinya people had begun to arrive in the Oodnadatta area: the late Yumpy Jack, born at the main Arabana Frog History site *Uthapuka* (Hookey's Waterhole) in about 1900, claimed to have been the first Antikirinya baby to be born near Oodnadatta, where he took on the Frog Dreaming. Rapid changes followed: when Basedow visited Anna Creek and the areas to the north in 1920 he was shocked by the decline of the Arabana population. He summarises the situation in his report (n.d.:4):

Although the western Aluridja groups and their western neighbours, the Wonga-Pitchas, are still represented by goodly numbers, the population along the more civilised central tracts has suffered alarming losses. The recent influenza epidemic was disastrous, having in many centres like Herrgott Springs and Oodnadatta, almost completely annihilated the resident groups. We were surprised also to note the appalling decrease in the numbers at Anna Creek, once a veritable stronghold of the local tribe when the station was in the hands of Messrs Hogarth and Warren.

Francis Warren bought Finnis Springs to the south in Kuyani country in 1917, some time after Anna Creek was sold to Kidman. Francis Warren was married to Laura *Parralta*, who was of Arabana descent. Because of his well-known and great understanding of Arabana people, some of them followed him down to Finnis Springs: there are ten Arabana people listed by Basedow for Finnis Springs, apart from the Warren family. According to Arthur Warren (who was the eldest son of Francis Warren, and who remembered Basedow's visit) more and more Arabana people gradually arrived at Finnis in the following years, having left their own country.

The influenza epidemic of 1919 wiped out whole families and even whole groups, particularly those camped by the railway line for rations. It was said that the disease was inadvertently spread by Afghan camel drivers travelling along the line. Mick McLean recalled how he had left a cherished sacred object, a necklace belonging to the *Intara* History, with some old people camped at the Big *Kadnyawi* Spring near Mount Dutton. When he returned some months later he found that the entire group had been wiped out by influenza: the sand had blown from the nearby sandhill and buried them and the whole deserted camp.

Since Basedow's day Antikirinya people have gradually taken over the Oodnadatta area, and in the 1960s there were many of them even in the heartland of Arabana country at Anna Creek. Today there is not one single person of predominantly Arabana descent at Oodnadatta and only one at Anna Creek. The majority of the remaining Arabana people live outside their own traditional country at Marree and Port Augusta.

1.10 EARLIER WORK: ARABANA

A vocabulary of some sixty words from "the River Peake tribe" by Police Trooper Frederick Born appears in the comparative lists given by Taplin (1879:142-152). Despite

some strange mishearings or mistranscriptions, such as “noodlie” for *madli* ‘cold’ this vocabulary is distinctly recognisable as Arabana.

There are three brief Arabana vocabularies in the compilation by Curr (1886). One of these, by Charles Todd (pp.10-11), is from Peake Telegraph Station. Todd was a very distinguished contributor indeed: he was *the* Charles Todd in charge of the construction of the Overland Telegraph. Some of his vocabulary is quite clear, but some is not comprehensible in terms of Arabana as recorded by recent speakers: I suspect that it requires great ingenuity in interpretation. The vocabulary at least in part must have been elicited by pointing at the relevant objects. Three examples follow.

(a) “skin, maramakoo”.

This is no doubt *maRa-muku* ‘fist’. Presumably Todd pointed at the skin of his clenched hand.

(b) “wood, nartanda”.

This must be *ngardarnda* ‘burning’.

(c) “old man, waroo”.

This must be *waru* ‘long ago’. There is a common expression *waru-nganha* ‘from long ago’ which can be used in the sense of ‘old’.

The words for ‘I’ and ‘you’ are reversed – presumably also because of pointing. Todd managed to record some quite rare words, such as “heat, alpa”. This is *alpa* ‘tepid’. Why “nooyoo” (i.e. *nguyu* ‘one’) appears for ‘four’ is not clear – perhaps Todd was taking one finger away from five; “weyoo, one” is just another rendering of the same word.

These comments are made not to belittle the work of Todd, but to show how it is impossible to make any comparative linguistic analysis on the basis of much of the data in Curr’s work. The vocabulary supplied by Warren and Hogarth (pp.16-17) is also in Arabana and is much easier to interpret. There is an isolated instance of misreading of handwriting: “wabina” for *wabma* ‘snake’. There are also a few misunderstandings such as “tomahawk, kandi”. *Kanti* in fact means ‘waddy’.

The third Arabana vocabulary given by Curr, the vocabulary compiled by J. Warren and entitled ‘Strangway Springs’, is only partly completed.

There is a short vocabulary by Helms (1896), who had spoken to Arabana people both at Warrina and at Cootanoorina during his travels with the Elder Scientific Expedition. He made an excellent attempt at a phonetic transcription. Although the list is based on a few brief interviews there are only minor misunderstandings in it. One of them is “Mountain, big hill, also stone, kidgna, kattiwurru”. This is for *kadnha* ‘stone’ and *kathiwiri* ‘big’.

Not until relatively recently was there a work that improved on Helms. This was an outstanding comparative vocabulary by O’Grady and Klokeid (1969). Only one hundred words are listed, but they represent the first truly accurate Arabana vocabulary. There is also an Arabana phonemic inventory in O’Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:58-59).

The important work of Spencer and Gillen (1899:59ff.) with Arabana people was mainly anthropological: it involved details of kinship terminology and valuable information on traditional life and mythology. This type of work was taken up again in the 1930s by Elkin. Apart from contributing more material on kinship in his 1938-1940 work, Elkin (1934) gave information on some legends.

This study is an attempt to analyse all the available information on the Arabana-Wangkangurru language subgroup. The study is based mainly on fieldwork since 1965, but also takes into account earlier published sources. The best speakers of Arabana and Wangkangurru still had a strong sense of linguistic identity and grammatical propriety and immediately corrected my errors. Occasionally throughout this grammar I have called certain words and phrases 'barely acceptable'. This means that the following type of comment was made: 'You can say that, it's not wrong, but I wouldn't put it that way'. I have classed as unacceptable anything that elicited comments like: 'You could say that, I would know what you mean, but in Wangkangurru (or Arabana) you say...'

The rich traditional knowledge of the late Mick McLean, Maudie and Bob Naylor, and Tim Strangways, combined with the possibility of internal comparison between Arabana and Wangkangurru, gives us depth of insight and even a certain amount of time perspective for the Arabana-Wangkangurru language subgroup. Such possibilities are now rare because of the catastrophic decline that has overtaken the majority of Aboriginal languages.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

The sound system of Arabana-Wangkangurru is typical of the languages of the Lakes area. It is unique, yet it is not dissimilar from the systems of neighbouring languages. The phonology reflects the network of genetic affiliations and language diffusion, so that we see features that are characteristic of the whole area, others which are more localised, and yet others that belong only to Arabana-Wangkangurru.

The following are some of the most prominent of the features found throughout the Lake Eyre Basin:

- (a) all words end in vowels;
- (b) there are three 'r' phonemes;
- (c) there is both a laminal and an apical distinction.

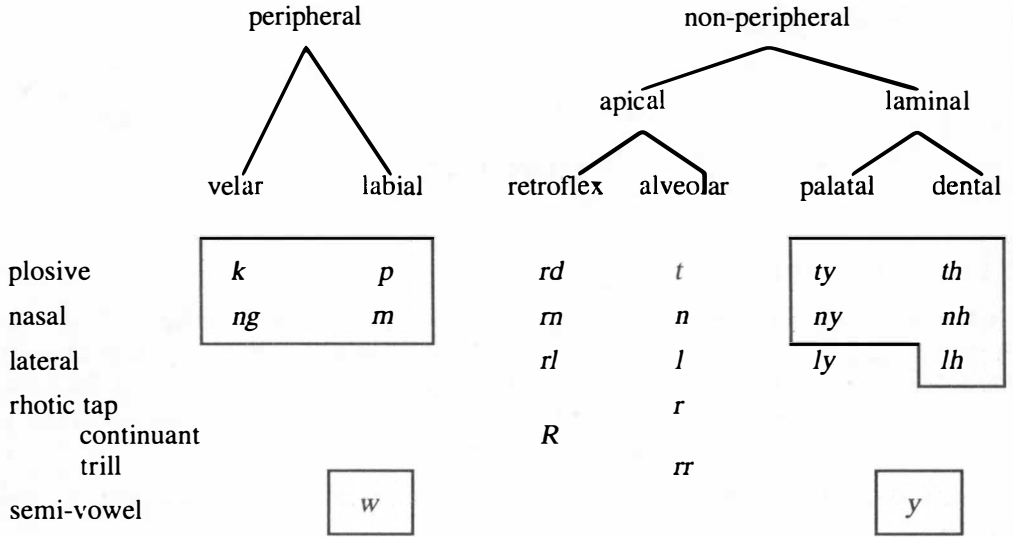
Other features appear in different Lake Eyre languages in varying degrees, such as initial dropping and the presence of pre-stopped nasal and lateral consonants (Hercus 1979). Some phonological developments are very restricted in area: thus the distinction of length in the vowel *a* belongs to Arabana only.

It was claimed by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:58-59) that Arabana had the largest number of consonant phonemes of any Australian language. This was because the pre-stopped consonants were regarded by them as separate phonemes (see §2.9). The pre-stopped consonants are a prominent phonetic feature of Arabana-Wangkangurru, and it seems likely that they would in the course of time have become phonemic, but they cannot strictly speaking be regarded as such (Hercus 1972). Though the phonetic situation in Arabana-Wangkangurru is more elaborate than in the majority of Australian languages, the phonemic inventory is very similar to that of the many other languages that have both a laminal and an apical distinction: they stretch from the Gulf of Carpentaria to the whole of the southern part of South Australia (Dixon 1980a:141).

2.2 CONSONANT PHONEMES

2.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

The following are the consonant phonemes of Arabana-Wangkangurru:



The voiced velar fricative, phonetically [V], has been rendered by *g* in the orthography. It has not been listed above as it cannot be considered to be a regular phoneme (§2.7.7).

2.2.2 INITIAL CONSONANTS

Only the consonants enclosed in boxes as shown above can occur at the beginning of a word; *lh* only marginally belongs to this group. Initial *lh* does not occur in ordinary Wangkangurru speech, only in songs. In Arabana it is found in just two words, *lhuka* 'mother' and *lhangu* 'what's-its-name'. Both these words can be considered as innovations within the Arabana language for a number of reasons. There is, for example, evidence in compounds of the presence of what was probably an older word for 'mother', namely *nganti*: *maRa-nganti* 'thumb' (lit. 'hand-mother'), *thidna-nganti* 'big toe', (lit. 'foot-mother'), *nganti-thiri* 'large boomerang', (lit. 'mother sharp'), (Hercus 1988:77). There are parallels to *nganti* 'mother' in other languages of the Lake Eyre Basin (e.g. Diyari *ngandri*), but *lhuka* appears to be isolated and obscure in origin. As for the term *lhangu*, this was restricted in use, being found only in *Wangkakupa*, the Anna Creek dialect of Arabana. It was a variant of the more widespread form *nhangu*, which was preferred even by the majority of *Wangkakupa* speakers: it was a variant that was not as yet fully established in the language. Initial *lh* is thus something special and unusual in the phonotactic system of ordinary Arabana and Wangkangurru. It is possible that because of this rarity in normal speech it was much used in 'filler' words in songs such as *lhíriwá* and *lhindá*: there was no danger of confusion with ordinary words in the language.

Because of the limited number of permissible initial consonants, it is the medial position that allows for the maximum consonantal distinctions, twenty-one in all.

2.3 NOTES ON THE ORTHOGRAPHY

A practical rather than a phonetic or strictly phonemic orthography has been used in this work. The main features of this orthography follow.

2.3.1 VOICE

The plosives have been written as unvoiced, as this corresponds most closely to the phonetic reality. The one exception to this notation is the retroflex plosive, which has been written as *rd* as this consonant is always voiced. The exceptional form 'Arabana', where the 'b' is always voiced, has been retained in the spelling because of the need for the language name to correspond to the standard pronunciation.

2.3.2 DIGRAPHS

The retroflex consonants have been written as *r* + consonant, the palatals as consonant + *y*, and the interdentalals as consonant + *h*. In the case of retroflex, palatal and interdental homorganic clusters, the *r*, the *y* and the *h*, marking the retroflex, palatal and interdental position respectively, have been written only once, as in *puntyu* (not *punytyu*) 'meat', and *parnda* (not *parnrda*) 'big'. The special situation with regard to the use of digraphs in certain laminal and apical clusters is discussed in §2.5.3.

The velar nasal, phonetic [ŋ] has been written as *ng*. Since it is 'k' and not 'g' that is used for the velar stop it is possible to make a clear distinction between the following:

<i>wanga</i>	phonetic	[wɔŋa]	morning
<i>wanka-</i>	phonetic	[wanka]	to rise
<i>wangka</i>	phonetic	[wɔŋka]	speech

Although the pre-stopped consonants are not phonemic they have been represented in the practical orthography as *bm*, *dn*, *dnh*, *dl* and *dlh*. If strictly phonemic procedures had been adhered to, the orthography would have been too far removed from the actual pronunciation.

2.3.3 SONGS

The spelling used in the transcription of songs is phonetic rather than phonemic, because the playing with sounds and the special types of emphasis are a vital part of poetic tradition. Thus the vowels *o* and *e* have been noted in song transcriptions. The *w* glide has been noted wherever it occurs in the song language, which is not subject to the rules that govern the presence of the *w* glide in ordinary spoken Arabana-Wangkangurru.

2.4 COMMENTS ON CONSONANT PHONEMES: THE LAMINAL DISTINCTION

2.4.1 ENVIRONMENTS OF THE LAMINAL DISTINCTION

There is a distinction between the palatal and the dental series of laminal consonants in both medial and initial position:

(1) Initial laminal distinction

<i>thampa-</i>	to sneak up
<i>tyampa-</i>	to be impatient, to be 'on the go'
<i>thupa-</i>	to pile up
<i>tyupa</i>	a small skink

The laminal distinction is extremely rare with initial nasals. The following is one of the few examples:

<i>nhanha</i>	this one
<i>nyanya-</i>	to 'bugger' around

(2) Medial laminal distinction

<i>kathi</i>	meat
<i>katyi</i>	spear
<i>midlha</i>	nose
<i>milyaru</i>	total darkness
<i>anha</i>	me
<i>anya</i>	father

There is also a full laminal distinction in homorganic clusters (§2.5.3).

2.4.2 RECENT ORIGIN OF THE LAMINAL DISTINCTION

There are strong indications that the laminal distinction is of recent origin: this supports the theories put forward by R.M.W. Dixon (1970). These indications are of two types: present-day variants, and the use of palatal for dental in archaic data, compounds, placenames and songs.

(1) Present-day variants

There are many cases where either a palatal or a dental is permissible before the vowel *i*. Both options could occur within the speech of any individual: this applies to both Wangkangurru and Arabana. Examples from Wangkangurru are:

<i>ngunhi-</i> or <i>ngunyi-</i>	to give
<i>withiwa</i> or <i>wityiwa</i>	male cross-cousin (male speaking)
<i>katyi-</i> or <i>kathi-</i>	to turn
<i>withi-</i> or <i>wityi-</i>	to become

Examples from Arabana are:

<i>nhinta</i> or <i>nyinta</i>	shrub
<i>nhirla-nhirla</i> or <i>nyirla-nyirla</i>	mirage

There is free variation in both Arabana and Wangkangurru in the word *kurrthi*, *kurrtiyi* 'scrub, debris of pieces of wood on the edge of creeks'.

We cannot however speak of a general neutralisation of contrast *i* in this environment since these options are strictly limited and confined to certain words. Except in these words the contrast exists: thus the Arabana equivalent of *withi-*, *wityi-* is always *thirnda-* 'to become', *katyi* is the only form of the word for 'boomerang' in both Arabana and Wangkangurru, and *kathi* is the only form of the word for 'meat' in Wangkangurru.

(2) Use of palatal for dental in archaic data

There are a number of indications of the use of palatal for dental in compounds where older forms containing a palatal are found, whereas the modern language has dentals (Hercus 1988). Such examples are:

<i>pitya-murru</i>	boxbark
<i>pitha</i>	box tree

Some placenames show a similar pattern. Thus the name of the important Arabana rain centre *Thantyi-wanparda* corresponds to the ordinary Arabana sentence *thanthi wanparda* 'he is lifting up his grandson'. A similar archaism might be involved in the placename *Kadnyawi* (Mount Dutton) which is presumably cognate with *kadnha* 'rock, mountain'. This name however looks possibly even like a borrowing from Kuyani *kadnya-awi* 'rock-water'.

In songs and in traditional recitation there are frequent instances of the absence of laminal distinction, the palatal seeming to represent the older form, as is illustrated by the following examples. In the myth the wicked Crane, pretending to feel hot, asks his sons to cover him with cool sand. He calls out *anya nyampali* 'keep covering me over', for which the ordinary Wangkangurru would be *anha nhampali*. *Tyarka-* is used frequently in songs for *tharka-* 'to stand' and *tyiwi* for *thiwi* 'flame'. A similar archaism is found in the exclamation *katyu!* 'quiet!' which is a fixed locution, and several times I have recorded the sentence:

- (1) *Katyu, katyu katyu! Uka-ru kathu-ma-rnda.*
 quiet quiet quiet he-ERG silent-make-PRES
 He silenced (them saying) "Keep quiet!"

All these examples point to an older phase in the language where there was no laminal distinction and only the palatal laminal was used. This is in keeping with the fact that Arabana-Wangkangurru is on the western periphery of the main area of laminal distinction (Dixon 1980a:141). The whole situation points towards the likelihood that the laminal distinction was a relatively recent development in Arabana-Wangkangurru. Evidence from languages such as Paakantyi indicates that the development of two series of laminals probably started in languages further to the east and gradually spread as far as Arabana-Wangkangurru.

2.5 COMMENTS ON CONSONANT PHONEMES: THE APICAL DISTINCTION

2.5.1 ENVIRONMENTS OF THE APICAL DISTINCTION

As apical consonants do not occur in initial position the distinction applies only medially in intervocalic position and in homorganic clusters (though examples of the latter are exceedingly rare):

<i>katinari</i>	beyond
<i>kardi</i>	seed
<i>Kati thanda</i>	Lake Eyre
<i>mani-</i>	to take
<i>marni</i>	fat
<i>kudla-</i>	to be angry
<i>kurla</i>	canegrass
<i>pantu</i>	salt lake
<i>parndu</i>	incapable
<i>karldi</i>	bitter
<i>kalti</i>	bull ant

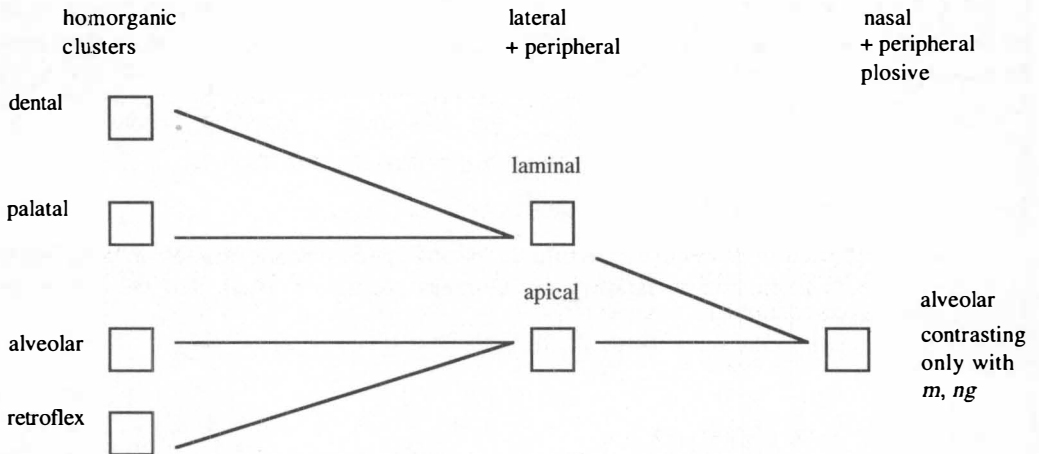
2.5.2 BACKGROUND TO THE APICAL DISTINCTION

The apical distinction thus appears to be better established in Arabana-Wangkangurru than the laminal distinction. There are however a few instances where there are variants. This applies particularly to archaic words in Wangkangurru. Thus *karla* 'creek' has sometimes been heard as *kadla* in placenames, as in *Kadla-kupa* for *Karla-kupa* 'Little Creek', the Kallakoopah. In songs the apical distinction is often not clearly heard, and it is obvious only from the explanations whether the corresponding words in the spoken language contain an alveolar or a retroflex apical. In ordinary Arabana-Wangkangurru speech there are no examples of free variation between the alveolar and retroflex series of apicals. The fact that an important rule, the nasal dissimilation rule (§2.16), applies only to the retroflex nasal serves to emphasise the well-established nature of the apical contrast.

2.5.3 DISTINCTIONS IN CLUSTERS

The situation regarding laminal and apical distinction in consonant clusters can be summarised as follows:

homorganic clusters	full laminal distinction and full apical distinction
lateral + peripheral clusters	no distinction, laminal or apical
nasal + peripheral clusters	no distinction at all, not even between laminal and apical. The only distinction that exists in this environment is between homorganic and contrasting nasals.



As pointed out above, there is a full laminal distinction in homorganic clusters:

<i>puntha</i>	to drink
<i>puntyu</i>	meat
<i>ngaltha</i>	desert oak
<i>ngaltya</i>	spit

There is only a laminal versus apical distinction in clusters consisting of lateral + peripheral:

<i>wilpa</i> -	to whistle
<i>wilypa</i>	hole, opening
<i>malka</i>	spot, stripe
<i>malyka</i>	no, not

As the laminal + peripheral clusters are so much more common than the corresponding apical clusters, the laminal clusters had originally been left unmarked in editions of texts: that is *malka* (instead of *malyka*) 'not' versus *marlka* 'spot'. This however has been corrected in my later work and the apical has been left unmarked, because simple *l* conveys an apical lateral, and the more correct orthography being used here is:

<i>malyka</i>	not (laminal + peripheral)
<i>malka</i>	spot (apical + peripheral)

The laminal distinction in these clusters has been neutralised in favour of the lamino-palatal, and the apical distinction has been neutralised in favour of the apico-alveolar.

There is no distinction between laminals and apical nasals in nasal + peripheral clusters, only between on the one hand an *n* sound which is realised as an alveolar *n* and on the other hand the homorganic nasals *m* or *ng* as the case may be:

<i>wanpa</i> -	to carry
<i>wampa</i> -	to chase away
<i>pankirda</i>	happy
<i>pangki</i>	rib, side
<i>wangka</i>	speech
<i>wanka</i> -	to rise

In this respect clusters are much simpler in Arabana-Wangkangurru and languages of the Diyari subgroup than in languages to the east, such as Paakantyi, where a much wider range of distinctions is found in the nasal-peripheral clusters *np*, *mp*, *nyp* and *mp*.

2.6 LOSS OF INITIAL CONSONANTS

There is widespread evidence in the languages of the Lake Eyre Basin that the lenition and loss of initial consonants was a regional phenomenon that affected a number of languages: the process was still going on at the time when the languages fell into disuse.

2.6.1 LOSS OF INITIAL SEMIVOWELS

Initial *w* and *y* are lost before *u* and *i* respectively. Sometimes traces of the semivowel are heard, and in some words there is even pre-stopping (§2.9.1.(3)) as in *(y)idnhi*- 'to be lying down'. Some Lower Southern Aranda words borrowed into Wangkangurru did not originally have the initial semivowel. The slight traces of an initial consonant that are heard occasionally simply show the absorption of these words into the Arabana and Wangkangurru sound system. Thus one can hear:

<i>(y)idnapa</i>	echidna	(Lower Southern Aranda <i>inapa</i>)
<i>(y)irunpa</i>	parentie	(Lower Southern Aranda <i>irrunpa</i>)

It might be argued that in ordinary Arabana words too there was originally no initial semivowel in words beginning with *yi-*, *wu-*. This argument is disproved by the fact that in Wangkangurru the development discussed under §2.12. clearly shows the direction of the change and corroborates the loss of initial semivowels:

(A and W)	<i>yuka-</i>	to go
(A)	<i>yuki-</i>	to make someone else go, to shift someone
(W)	<i>(y)iki-</i>	to make someone else go, to shift someone

The relationship between *yuka-* and *(y)iki-* leaves no doubt that the initial *y* was originally present in this word.

2.6.2 LOSS OF INITIAL *ng* AND OTHER NASALS

The consonant most affected by lenition in Arabana-Wangkangurru was initial *ng*. There is evidence that the process of elision of initial *ng* continued into the present century: the process was still going on during the very last period, roughly until World War II, while Arabana was still a living and developing language rather than a remembered language. Thus the language name according to Tindale's oldest informants used to be *Ngarabana*, rather than *Arabana*, which is the current form. The word for 'yes' in the old wordlists is given as *ngarayi* or an equivalent spelling (Helms 1896, Todd 1886) but now the word is invariably pronounced as *arayi*. Mick McLean when speaking formally and deliberately said *ngarla* 'true' instead of the common *arla*. The archaic language of songs confirms this evidence: thus *nganyana* has been heard in songs to mean 'father', whereas the modern Wangkangurru term is *anya*. Specialised ritual terms also maintain the archaic pronunciation; thus *ngama-ama* means 'a classificatory mother who acts as mother in the initiation ceremony', whereas the ordinary Wangkangurru term for 'mother' is *ama*. The widespread word *ngama* appears to have had a twofold development in Wangkangurru: as a kinship term it has become *ama*, but as an ordinary noun meaning 'milk' it has remained as *ngama*. There are a few cases where Wangkangurru shows loss of initial *ng* and Arabana retains the consonant; thus Wangkangurru has *angka* 'alive', where Arabana has *ngangka*.

The circumstances surrounding the loss of initial consonants have been discussed in Hercus 1972. It appears that the loss of initial *ng* was particularly widespread in kinship terms, a development that according to Elkin was shared with southern Yawarrawarrka (Elkin 1938-40:64). In Arabana-Wangkangurru initial *ng* has been lost in all pronouns, pronominal adjectives and pronominal adverbs. On the other extreme are the verbs: there is no sign of any loss of initial consonants other than the semivowels: there are simply no verbs beginning with the vowel *a*. It seems that loss of initial consonants is favoured in words that are commonly used in unaccented positions, such as pronouns, and in exclamations, which are often accented on the last syllable, as are kinship terms and the word *(ng)arayi* 'yes'. Other initial nasals, apart from *ng*, have been lost sporadically, thus Arabana-Wangkangurru has *irrtya* 'noise', while Diyari has *mirrtya*.

2.7 LOSS OF INITIAL CONSONANTS IN BOUND MORPHEMES AND COMPOUNDS: THE LONG VOWEL *aa* IN ARABANA

In Arabana (not Wangkangurru) the initial *k* of all inflectional suffixes is lost in rapid speech. The only exception is the simple past tense marker *-ka*, which never loses the *k* (see however §2.7.4.). The interesting aspect of this loss of the velar consonant is that it entails there being vowels in hiatus: these are otherwise unknown in the whole language group. Thus the allative suffix *-kirnda* is often pronounced *-irnda*, as in *mathapurda-irnda* 'to the old man', *ulyurla-irnda* 'to the woman'.

The most important result of the loss of *k* at the beginning of a morpheme is that it can bring about a double vowel *aa*, pronounced as a long vowel. The presence of this long vowel in Arabana is the most obvious and striking feature that separates it from Wangkangurru. In Arabana, length of the vowel *a* is in the process of becoming phonemic; its origin is totally transparent as being from a sequence of two vowels, and we can actually see vowel length in the making. There are six different environments involved; in half of these the long vowel can be regarded as phonemic, in the other cases the situation is so restricted that no functional significance can be attached to the length of the vowel.

2.7.1 THE TRANSITORY SUFFIX *-(k)a*

In Arabana the initial *k* of the transitory suffix *-ka* is usually lost with verbs ending in *a*. The *k* is retained only when there is great emphasis, as in this sentence, uttered in great surprise:

- (2) *Intyarnda-ru anpa wanka-ka-rda?* (i.e. *Intyarndaru anpa wankakarda?*)
 where-ABL you rise-TR-PRES
 Where on earth did you spring from just now?

An example of the loss of *k* is the following:

- (3) *kilta-(k)a-rnda-rnda* (i.e. *kiltaarndarnda*)
 arrive-TR-SP-PRES
 coming up for a moment before departing again

This differs in meaning from:

- (4) *kilta-rnda-rnda* (i.e. *kiltarndarnda*)
 arrive-SP-PRES
 coming up (to see me) before departing again

A further example is:

- (5) *parda-(k)a-lhuku* (i.e. *pardaalhuku*)
 grab-TR-PUR
 to grab hold of something for a moment

This differs in meaning from:

- (6) *parda-lhuku* (i.e. *pardalhuku*)
 grab-PUR
 to grab hold of something

The long *aa* clearly has a function in this environment: it marks the transitory aspect.

2.7.2 THE REFLEXIVE-RECIPROCAL SUFFIX *-(k)a*

There is another quite different suffix *-ka* used in the verbal system, which marks the reflexive-reciprocal in Arabana. Because of the environment in which it is used this suffix does not become confused with the transitory aspect. It shows the same tendency for elision of the *k*:

- (7) *Pula karka-(k)a-nangka-rda* (i.e. *karkaanangkarda*).
two yell-RECIP-CONT.S-PRES
The two of them are yelling at one another all the time.

Without the long *aa* this sentence would be:

- (8) *Pula karka-nangka-rda* (i.e. *karkanangkarda*).
two yell-CONT.S-PRES
The two of them are continually yelling.

Here too the long vowel has a distinct function: it marks the reflexive-reciprocal.

2.7.3 LOSS OF INITIAL CONSONANTS IN THE REDUPLICATING SYLLABLES OF VERBS

In Arabana, but not in Wangkangurru, there is consistent loss of initial *th* and *w* before *a* in the initial reduplicating syllable of verbs:

<i>tharka-</i>	to stand	<i>tharka-arka-</i>	(i.e. <i>tharkaarka</i>)	to stand about
<i>thangka-</i>	to sit	<i>thangka-angka-</i>	(i.e. <i>thangkaangka</i>)	to sit about
<i>wanka-</i>	to rise	<i>wanka-anka-</i>	(i.e. <i>wankaanka</i>)	to go climbing up

In this environment the long vowel, though very distinctive, cannot be considered to be phonemic.

2.7.4 *-(k)apukanha*: DISTANT PAST

The suffix *-(k)apukanha* is derived from the past marker *-ka* with the addition of *-pukanha*. The *k* is always retained in *i* verbs as in:

- (9) *Kari-ri nhanhi-kapukanha*.
they-ERG see-ANC
They used to see (it) long ago.

It is retained sporadically in *a* verbs as in:

- (10) *Kari-ri tyulpa-kapukanha*.
they-ERG lose-ANC
They lost (it) long ago.

However, normally in *a* verbs there is loss of *k* and a long vowel results:

- (11) *Kari thangka-apukanha*.
 they stay-ANC
 They used to stay.

This happens even in the name of a place:

- (12) *Kudna tyurra-apukanha* (i.e. *Kudna tyurraapukanha*).
 guts run-ANC
 (The Ancestral Emus) had diarrhoea long ago.

2.7.5 *kardi* 'FRUIT'

Loss of *k* also occurs in the word *kardi* 'fruit', when this is used as the second member of a compound noun (Austin, Ellis & Hercus 1976, and §3.18.1 below). This development applies only to Arabana, not Wangkangurru, and even in Arabana the *k* may optionally be retained. When the preceding vowel is not *a* (e.g. *u* as below), loss of *k* still takes place and the vowels remain in hiatus. Examples are:

	ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU
guts	<i>kudnaardi</i>	<i>kudnakardi</i>
knee	<i>pantyaardi</i>	<i>pantyakardi</i>
eye	<i>miltyaardi</i>	<i>milkikardi</i>
pebble, money	<i>kadnhaardi</i>	(<i>kultyi</i>)
elbow	<i>mampuardi</i>	<i>mampukardi</i>

In this environment the long vowel *aa* is a very clear phonetic feature.

2.7.6 *-(k)arla* 'CREEK'

The loss of (*k*) in this word is also restricted to Arabana: it was often noted in the reduplicated form *karla-(k)arla* 'creek-creek' (i.e. 'a very small creek') and occasionally in names of creeks, for example the following two, which are both in the Anna Creek area:

<i>Thutirla-arla</i>	Boys' Creek
<i>Mayarru-kudna-arla</i>	Ratshit Creek

The long *aa* that occurs in this restricted environment does not bring about any phonemic distinction, but all the occurrences of *aa* in the situations listed (§2.7.1 - §2.7.6) show to various degrees a phonemic distinction in the making.

2.7.7 THE WANGKANGURRU WORD *kaga* 'UNCLE'

Loss of *k*, as shown above, is a feature of Arabana, not Wangkangurru. There is however one Wangkangurru word which contains the voiced velar fricative, phonetically [ɣ], rendered by *g* in the orthography. This sound represents lenition of the medial velar plosive. The word in question is *kaga* 'uncle'. *Kaga* is obviously cognate with the Arabana *kakaka* 'uncle' but why this special sound has arisen in this one word in Wangkangurru is not clear: there is nothing like it in similar environments and *paka*- 'to dig', *maka* 'fire' and *kaku* 'sister' are pronounced as [paka, maka, kaku]. The fricativisation probably has to do with the repeated

syllable; it is however worthy of note that the velar fricative is common in Antekerepina, an Arandic language immediately to the north-east of Wangkangurru.

2.8 VOICING OF CONSONANTS

Voice is not phonemic in Arabana-Wangkangurru but it plays an important part in the phonetic system. The voicing of consonants is by no means arbitrary and strictly follows the rules governing the general phonetic environment. Plosive consonants are usually unvoiced except in the special circumstances listed below.

2.8.1 INITIAL CONSONANTS: HOMORGANIC UNITS

The velar plosive *k* followed by the velar vowel *u* is voiced as in:

<i>kudla-</i>	to be angry	[gudla]
<i>kumpira</i>	dead	[gumpira]

The phonetic reasons for this are probably connected with the fact that no change of position is required from the consonant to the vowel: the sequence is pronounced as a voiced unit.

The same applies to the palatal plosive *ty* followed by the palatal vowel *i*:

<i>tyilti</i>	flood	[dʲilti]
<i>tyintya-</i>	to cut	[dʲiŋtʲa]

When *k* is followed by *i* it is pronounced in a far forward position. It is very close to the palatal position: the sequence *ki* therefore forms a voiced unit:

<i>kira</i>	boomerang	[gi:ra]
<i>kinta-</i>	to throw around	[ginta]

2.8.2 THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIAL CONSONANTS ON INITIAL CONSONANTS

There is one other circumstance in which initial plosives in Arabana-Wangkangurru are voiced: that is at the beginning of words in which the second syllable begins with medial apical consonants. When there are medial laminals or peripherals, the initial consonant remains voiceless. Examples are:

<i>kardi</i>	seed	[gadi]
<i>pardi</i>	grub	[baɖi]
<i>kathi</i>	meat	[kaɽi]
<i>pidla</i>	name	[bidla]
<i>pidlha</i>	skinny	[pidla]
<i>pudnu</i>	ash	[budnu]
<i>pudnhu</i>	loose soil	[pudnu]

The same effect comes from medial nasal + plosive apical clusters:

<i>punta-</i>	to break	[bunta]
<i>puntha-</i>	to drink	[punta]

2.8.3 MEDIAL CONSONANTS

Intervocalic plosives are unvoiced except for the retroflex *rd*, which is always voiced:

<i>pitaru</i>	drought	[bitaru]
<i>pitha</i>	box tree	[piʈa]
<i>pirda-</i>	to beat	[biɖa]

The language name *Arabana* is an exception; it is always pronounced [arabana].

In clusters plosive consonants are also unvoiced except for *rd*. This applies to clusters containing nasals:

<i>pantu</i>	salt lake	[bantu]
<i>kanpu</i>	thud	[kanpu]
<i>parndu</i>	incapable	[baŋɖu] (Arabana)

It applies to other clusters as well:

<i>thalka</i>	bilby	[ʈalka]
<i>warpa</i>	storm	[wɔrpa]
<i>murldu</i>	urine	[muɭɖu]

As is evident from these rules, unvoiced plosives occur more frequently than voiced plosives in Arabana-Wangkangurru.

2.9 PRE-STOPPED CONSONANTS AND CONSONANT LENGTHENING

Pre-stopping of lateral and nasal consonants involves the presence of the corresponding plosive consonant before intervocalic laterals and nasals occurring immediately after the main stress accent which falls on the first syllable. It is the development illustrated by the following:

COMMON AUSTRALIAN		ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU	
<i>tyina</i>	foot	<i>thidna</i>	foot
<i>kuna</i>	faeces	<i>kudna</i>	faeces
<i>mulu/mila</i>	nose	<i>midlha</i>	nose
WIDESPREAD			
<i>kul-</i>	to be angry	<i>kudla-</i>	to be angry

The items of Common Australian vocabulary are from the list first compiled by A.Capell (1956:85-94) and discussed by Dixon (1980a:100). In common with the nasal and lateral consonants, which are always voiced, the pre-stopped allophones of these consonants are always voiced and have therefore been written as such.

2.9.1 DISTRIBUTION OF PRE-STOPPED CONSONANTS

Pre-stopped lateral and nasal consonants are among the most conspicuous phonetic features of Arabana-Wangkangurru. Thus one can say with certainty that *Pudnuru* (Pootnoura Creek near Marla Bore close to the boundary of traditional Arabana territory) has an Arabana name because the pre-stopped consonant *dn* simply does not occur in the

Western Desert languages that adjoin Arabana to the west. A number of languages of the Lake Eyre Basin and neighbouring areas to the south share this feature in varying degrees, as shown in the following tables of pre-stopped nasals and laterals.

	<i>bm</i>	<i>dnh</i>	<i>dn</i>	<i>dny</i>	<i>rdn</i>	<i>kng</i>
Diyari etc.	-	+	+	-	-	-
Arabana-Wangkangurru	+	+	+	±	-	-
Kuyani	+	+	+	+	+	-
Adnyamathanha	+	+	+	+	+	-
Lower Southern Aranda	+	+	+	+	+	+

	<i>dlh</i>	<i>dl</i>	<i>dly</i>	<i>rdl</i>
Diyari etc.	±	±	-	-
Arabana-Wangkangurru	+	+	±	-
Kuyani	+	+	+	+
Adnyamathanha	+	+	+	+
Lower Southern Aranda	-	-	-	-

There was a widespread tendency in the Lake Eyre Basin and in adjoining areas to the east for all continuant consonants at the beginning of the second syllable to be lengthened (§2.10.1) and for at least some of them to be pre-stopped. The maximum development of this tendency was clearly to the south of Arabana-Wangkangurru in Kuyani and Adnyamathanha and is likely to have spread from there by diffusion. Another area of maximum development of pre-stopping affecting only nasals was in Aranda.

In Arabana-Wangkangurru pre-stopping takes place according to the rules (Hercus 1972:294) which are outlined below. The situation in other languages of the Lake Eyre Basin is summarised in brackets.

(1) Pre-stopping of nasal and lateral consonants

Pre-stopping of nasal and lateral consonants occurs after the stressed (initial) syllable in words beginning with a consonant. Pre-stopping is optional in Diyari and closely related languages, Ngamini, Yarluyandi, Yandruwantha⁵ and Yawarawarrka. Arandic does not have pre-stopping of laterals at all, but has a wider range of nasal pre-stopped consonants.

(2) Absence of pre-stopped nasal consonants

Pre-stopped nasal consonants do not occur if the initial consonant is a nasal; only pre-stopped laterals occur in this environment, hence:

mid/ha nose

but

minha (not *midnha*) what?

⁵ Pre-stopping of nasals is optional in Yandruwantha; laterals may be pre-stopped but there is also a phonemic opposition between at least *l* and *dl*. The same probably applies to Yawarawarrka (Breen pers.comm.).

(This rule is basic and applies throughout the Lake Eyre Basin, and seems to have been based on a kind of dissimilation: there was less emphasis on a medial nasal if there had already been an initial nasal.)

(3) Pre-stopped consonants in words with an initial vowel

The situation regarding pre-stopping is complex in such words in Arabana-Wangkangurru. When the initial vowel is *a-* there is *no* pre-stopping:

<i>anari</i>	this way
<i>amanyi</i>	paternal grandmother
<i>alingkiringkiri</i>	intestines

There are only very few words in the whole vocabulary that involve a medial nasal or lateral when the initial vowel is *(w)u-* or *(y)i-*. There is some pre-stopping of nasals:

<i>idnhi-</i>	to be lying down
<i>ibma-</i>	to touch (Wangkangurru only)
<i>idnapa</i>	echidna, (this is a patent borrowing from Aranda: cf. Lower Southern Aranda <i>inapa</i>)

There are also a few words without such pre-stopping, though only one is common:

<i>imari</i>	brother-in-law (woman speaking)
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The rest are most obscure and in any case archaic, for example:

<i>inarina</i>	striped emu chicks (in song only)
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There is normally no pre-stopping of laterals:

<i>ilantya</i>	reed
<i>ularaka</i>	history
<i>ilanha</i>	thus
<i>ulampa</i>	rain-making song (possibly a borrowing from Aranda)

There are however two words which have a variant form with pre-stopping:

<i>ulyurla, udlyurla</i>	woman (cf. Kuyani, Diyari <i>widla</i> ; the pre-stopped form occurs sometimes in Arabana)
<i>idlhili, ilyirli</i>	paternal grandfather (W only)

The rule about initial consonants does not apply to the major initial-dropping languages, Adnyamathanha and Arandic, where pre-stopping takes place:

ADNYAMATHANHA	ARANDA	ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU	
<i>udna</i>	<i>adna</i>	<i>kudna</i>	faeces
<i>wabma</i>	<i>abma</i>	<i>wabma</i>	snake

(4) Retroflex consonants

Retroflex consonants do not show pre-stopping. There are however rare instances where *rl*, when pronounced with emphasis, shows pre-stopping, particularly in the word *warliya*, *wardliya* 'eucalyptus seed'.

The absence of pre-stopped retroflexes applies throughout the Lake Eyre Basin except in Kuyani, Adnyamathana and Aranda:

KUYANI	<i>pardnapa</i>	initiand
ADNYAMATHANHA	<i>vardnapa</i>	initiand
KUYANI	<i>kardla</i>	fire
ADNYAMATHANHA	<i>ardla</i>	fire
ARANDA	<i>kertne</i>	top
ARANDA	<i>urtne</i>	coolamon

(5) Palatals

Palatals are not pre-stopped in Wangkangurru. They show slight pre-stopping in Arabana when words are pronounced with emphasis, hence:

<i>pa(d)lyi</i>	wide
<i>pa(d)nyi</i>	sharpened stick

Pre-stopped palatal consonants are common in Kuyani and Adnyamathanha and also occur in Aranda:

KUYANI	<i>kadnyani</i>	maternal grandmother
ADNYAMATHANHA	<i>adnyani</i>	maternal grandmother
LOWER SOUTHERN ARANDA	<i>idnyundara</i>	kingfisher

(6) The pre-stopped velar nasal

The pre-stopped velar nasal is found only in song and in one placename in Wangkangurru (misquoted in Hercus 1972). This is the Goanna ritual centre and *mikiri* well at *Yatalknga* in the western Simpson Desert. The placename could have been influenced by Lower Southern Aranda: the Goanna Song Cycle connected with the site is almost entirely in Aranda. Mick McLean emphasised the point: "That's all Aranda song, *akngarratya* is what they say in that song for *akngarra*, that's *parnda* 'big'. *Akngarratya* that's my cousin's name, from that song. He was Aranda from Finke." (*knga* is found only in Arandic.)

2.9.2. EXCEPTIONS TO THE RULES OF PRE-STOPPING

(1) Unexpected absence of pre-stopped consonants

In some words beginning with the laminal consonants *th*, *ty* and *y*, the pre-stopped nasal *dn* is optional in Arabana-Wangkangurru:

<i>ya(d)ni-</i>	to speak
<i>ya(d)ningka</i>	youth
<i>tha(d)na-</i>	to leave behind

In the archaic language of songs the absence of pre-stopping is frequent. Thus in the song cycle of the Two Trees we find:

<i>milha-tyuku</i>	for <i>midlha-tyuku</i>	blunt nose
<i>wani</i>	for <i>wadni</i>	ceremony
<i>tyina</i>	for <i>thidna</i>	foot
<i>mele</i>	for <i>madla</i>	dog

The optional absence of pre-stopping in some placenames may also be an archaism, though it might be attributable to the length of the names (§2.9.2.(2)), as in:

<i>Kalalayanha/Kadlalayanha</i>	Emu site in central Simpson Desert
<i>Palaringu/Padlaringu</i>	southern Simpson Desert well
<i>Ngalinanga</i>	small billabong creek near Anna Creek

The words *thamunha* 'secret-sacred' and *waningka* 'ceremonial string cross' never show the pre-stopping of the nasal which would have been expected. This is presumably because they have a religious connotation and are therefore more resistant to change.

(2) Absence of pre-stopping in the second member of a compound

In compound nouns the second member is not fully accented; hence there is usually no pre-stopping:

<i>madla</i>	bad
<i>ngura-mala</i>	a 'sorry' camp (lit. camp-bad), a place associated with a person recently deceased
<i>tyidli</i>	something split in two
<i>karla-tyili</i>	the branching of a creek (but there is also a variant <i>karla-tyidli</i> , hence Kurlachidna Waterhole for <i>Karla-tyidlinha</i> 'Creek Branching' on the Macumba at the end of the Nardiebuckina Channel)
<i>pudlu</i>	blunt, deficient
<i>yarri-pulu</i>	deaf (lit. ears-deficient)

The dual marker *-pula*, functioning as a suffix, has only a secondary accent and therefore does not show pre-stopping. It is however often used as an independent nominal meaning 'two' in which case one would expect it to show pre-stopping of the *l*. Because of the influence of the suffix *-pula* the pronunciation *pudla* is heard only rarely, as for instance in the placename *Pudlawani* (Pooloowanna). Reuther (1981 V) in his grammar regularly wrote "pudla" for the dual suffix: this may have been a regional preference of some of his predominantly Wangkatyaka informants. A similar explanation may possibly account for his writing "kudna" for the possessive suffix, which is unaccented and is therefore rendered as *-kunha* without any hint of pre-stopping in the speech of all surviving speakers of both Arabana and Wangkangurru.

(3) Absence of pre-stopping in long words and in the first member of compounds

There is an occasional tendency for words of four or more syllables to show pre-stopping in the first syllable only on an optional basis. The reason for this is that in longer words the duration of syllables tends to be shorter, according to tendencies noted by Lehiste (1970:40-41). Phonetically shorter syllables are less liable to pre-stopping. The words in question are mostly, though not all, compound nouns. Examples are:

<i>kalinthirri-thirri</i>	bird, the banded lapwing
<i>kamardali</i>	separately
<i>pulamayiwa-</i>	to take over (somebody else's country), to misappropriate
<i>ma(d)la-wityi- (W)</i>	to turn bad, to deteriorate

(4) Absence of pre-stopping in reduplicated words

In reduplicated words however absence of pre-stopping was regular. This was presumably because of the combined effect of the length of the word and the tendency to

assimilate the first to the second member of the compound. This second member has only a secondary accent and in accordance with rule (2) above it does not show pre-stopping:

<i>madla</i>	dog
<i>mala-mala</i> (rarely <i>madla-mala</i>)	doggie
<i>yabmi-</i>	to growl at somebody
<i>yami-yami-</i>	to have a row
<i>kudni-</i>	to put down
<i>kuni-kuni-</i>	to make camp
<i>wila-wila</i>	multitude
<i>kula-kula</i>	nephew

When a reduplicated word is not felt to be a single unit, that is when there is repetition rather than reduplication, pre-stopping occurs as in the single word, hence:

<i>padni padni</i>	definitely not (lit. not not)
<i>yadni yadni!</i>	just a minute! (lit. soon soon!)

(5) Pronominal forms

Pronominal forms never show pre-stopping, hence:

<i>nhalitaru</i>	from this one
<i>kalitaru</i>	from that one
<i>pulalakiya</i>	they two, father and child
<i>pulalanta</i>	they two, mother and child

This rule also applies to the pronominal adverbs *kanhangarda* 'there' and *nhanhangarda* 'here', whose origins from the pronominal bases *nha-* and *ka-* are transparent. There is one exception in the work of Reuther: he writes (1981 V) "katna" for *kanha* 'that one ACC'. This too may possibly be explained as a Wangkatyaka form: in having pre-stopping it is clearly parallel to Reuther's forms "pudla" and "kudna" (for *-kunha*).

(6) Unexpected presence of pre-stopped consonants

There are just a few instances where, against the rules of Arabana-Wangkangurru pre-stopping is found in words beginning with the vowel *a*. With the exception of *adnaluru* 'a species of frog', all such words are borrowings from Lower Southern Aranda. Examples are:

<i>Adnaltyawara</i>	placename
<i>abmuna</i>	red mulga

Despite the fact that these words contravened the ordinary Arabana-Wangkangurru rules for pre-stopping, they were so well absorbed into the language that they were not felt to be foreign.

2.9.3 THE PHONEMIC STATUS OF PRE-STOPPED CONSONANTS

The comparative data between the various Lake Eyre languages leave no doubt that pre-stopping is a fairly recent regional feature. The special rules applying to words beginning

with vowels imply that in Arabana-Wangkangurru, though not necessarily elsewhere, pre-stopping was subsequent to the loss of initial consonants. These special rules also make it likely that the wave of change that brought about pre-stopping came to Arabana-Wangkangurru through languages to the south, particularly Kuyani, and not via Aranda, where laterals are not pre-stopped at all. One thing remains certain: apart from the few exceptional cases, pre-stopping in Arabana-Wangkangurru is entirely predictable. The pre-stopped consonants never contrast with the simple nasals and laterals, and they cannot therefore be considered as phonemic.

The rules governing pre-stopping are complex and there are a number of exceptions. Had the language continued evolving there is no doubt that this complexity would have increased with further borrowings from neighbouring languages. This brings one to the inevitable conclusion that at the time when Arabana-Wangkangurru became a remembered language the pre-stopped consonants were close to reaching phonemic status. For practical reasons they have been transcribed as if they were phonemic (see §2.3).

2.9.4 LENGTHENING OF CONSONANTS

Lengthening of consonants is closely linked with gemination. In languages to the east of the Lake Eyre Basin, and particularly in Paakantyi, medial consonants are lengthened after the stress accent. This applies not only to plosives, but also particularly to nasals and laterals. C. Richards was aware of this already in 1903. In discussing the pronunciation of Marawara, the southernmost form of Paakantyi, he wrote (1903:164):

The long 'l - l' is sounded by the tongue remaining in contact with the back of the teeth (at the position occupied in sounding 'n' as well as 'd' and 't') for some time, while the sound escapes over the sides of the tongue and along the cheeks to the lips. As in the case of the 'n - n' the 'l - l' from being formed in the same position with the tip of the tongue as the 'd' at times seems to sound like 'dl'.

Thus we find in Paakantyi:

<i>pami-</i>	[pammi]	to see
<i>wana</i>	[wanna]	boomerang
<i>mili</i>	[milli]	nail

In Arabana-Wangkangurru lengthening takes place in medial nasal and lateral consonants after the main accent whenever there is no pre-stopping according to rules (1) - (6) above:

(a) when there is an initial vowel

<i>ama</i>	[amma]	mother
<i>anha</i>	[anna]	oh yes!
<i>ularaka</i>	[ullaraka]	history

(b) when there is a velar nasal

<i>kangi</i>	[kaŋŋi]	too much
<i>thanga-</i>	[taŋŋa]	to stay
<i>punga</i>	[buŋŋa]	shade

The dissimilatory force of an initial nasal however remains strong enough for there to be no noticeable lengthening of medial nasals:

<i>manhi</i>	[maɲi]	untruth
<i>ngama</i>	[ŋama]	milk
<i>mani-</i>	[mani]	to take

Medial *m* also remains without lengthening wherever it occurs: *kama* [kaɲa] 'man'.

Unlike Paakantyi and other language groups to the east, Arabana-Wangkangurru shows no signs of lengthening of plosives after the stress accent.

2.10 FURTHER PHONETIC COMMENTS: INDIVIDUAL CONSONANTS

Apart from the general phonetic changes involved in voicing (§2.8.) and pre-stopping (§2.9), there are other allophonic developments involved in the consonantal system. They involve palatalisation of velar consonants and variations in the articulation of rhotics.

2.10.1 PALATALISATION OF VELAR CONSONANTS

It is a common phenomenon for velar consonants to be fronted and to move towards a palatal position when followed by the high front vowel *i*. This same tendency can be noted in other Australian languages, for example, Paakantyi (Hercus 1982:23). Arabana-Wangkangurru shares with Paakantyi the tendency for the assimilatory influence of the vowel *i* to be strongest under stress, that is in the first syllable.

There is a striking feature of Arabana-Wangkangurru which it shares with languages of the Diyari group and with some other languages far removed from the area, such as Yindjibarndi and Nyangumarda in the far north-west and Burarra in Arnhem Land. This is the absence of words that begin with *ng+i*. One could surmise that this phenomenon has arisen because palatalisation actually has taken place fully and all original initial sequences of *ng+i* have in fact become *ny+i*. While this is highly likely there is no proof: the relatively few words that begin with *ny+i* do not have cognates in other languages and we cannot therefore prove that this sequence can actually be derived from *ng+i*. There is only one isolated exception to the rule prohibiting initial *ng+i* and that is in Wangkangurru: the name *Papunginya* 'Green Egg', which refers to a major Emu site in the central Simpson Desert, contains an archaic word *nginya* 'green'.

The sequence *ng+i* is found, though rarely, in environments other than the initial syllable, and with a slight palatalisation of the *ng*. This has not usually been shown in phonetic transcription, but is indicated here by a following *y*:

<i>kangi</i>	too much	[kaŋyɪ]
<i>wangiri</i>	tomorrow	[waŋyɪri] (song-word and a loan-word from Kuyani)
<i>Ngungili</i>	Emu Lookout	[ŋuŋyɪli]

The combination *k+i* is found in all environments, though it is rare in initial position, presumably for the same reasons that brought about the absence of initial *ng+i*. In the large Arabana-Wangkangurru dictionary there are only about a dozen words beginning with *k+i*. In these words there is strong palatalisation of the *k*, in fact it so strong that there was at

times a degree of uncertainty as to whether in fact a fully palatal plosive was involved. As shown above (§2.8.1), *k+i* initial was treated as a homorganic unit from the point of view of voicing. Examples are:

<i>kilangkila</i>	galah	[gʷilangʷila]
<i>kilta-</i>	to pull out	[gʷilta]

Palatalisation was also noticeable when *k+i* occurred at the beginning of a bound morpheme:

<i>pula-kirnda</i>	to the two of them	[bula-gʷirnda]
<i>arla-ki</i>	true indeed	[aɭa-gʷi]

Medially palatalisation of *k+i* was only slight and it was absent when a nasal cluster was involved:

<i>tharki-</i>	to show	[tark(ʷ)i]
<i>paki-</i>	to cause to dig	[pak(ʷ)i]
<i>thangki-</i>	to give birth to	[taŋki]

It would seem that palatalisation of velars was an ongoing process in Arabana-Wangkangurru. It had been completed in the case of initial *ng+i*, but was still in progress for initial *k+i* so that [kʷ, gʷ] can be considered as regular allophones of *k*.

2.10.2 RHOTIC CONSONANTS

Like the other languages of the Lake Eyre Basin, Arabana-Wangkangurru has three distinct rhotic sounds which have phonemic status:

<i>paru</i>	yellow ochre	[pa:ru]
<i>parru</i>	bony bream	[parru]
<i>paRu</i>	light	[paɾu]
<i>piri</i>	close by	[pi:ri]
<i>pirri</i>	finger nail	[pirri]
<i>piRi</i>	short	[piɾi]

The three ‘r’ sounds are similar to those described for the neighbouring Pitta-Pitta group by Blake and Breen (1971) and Blake (1979:190): *r* is an alveolar flap, *rr* is an alveolar trill. For the articulation of the retroflex *R* in Pitta-Pitta according to Blake (1979:190), “the tongue is bunched and the tip raised and the sound is the same as the intervocalic *r* of the English West Country”. To some extent in Pitta-Pitta as well as in Wangkumara and other languages of the Ngura group to the east it is easy to mishear the retroflex *R* as a *y*. This never happens in Arabana-Wangkangurru because of the distinctly retroflex nature of the *R* sound. It has been pointed out by Butcher (pers.comm.) that this may be precisely because Arabana-Wangkangurru speakers do not bunch the tongue.

The distinctions between the three rhotic sounds are clear – but only in intervocalic position, after the main stress accent, and *if* speakers are enunciating slowly and deliberately. In casual and quick conversation the *rr* is barely trilled and is hard to distinguish from the simple flap. In optimum conditions the rhotics exert some influence on preceding vowels: as can be expected by way of compensation these are short before the trilled *rr* but long before the quick flap *r* and of medium length before the retroflex. Even in such

circumstances there could be problems: there is considerable personal difference in the pronunciation of rhotic sounds amongst individual speakers, and the Wangkangurru speaker, Mick McLean, had a highly individual articulation of *rr* after the stress accent: it began with a lateral release.

(1) Only two rhotics distinguished at the beginning of the third syllable

At the beginning of the third syllable when an unaccented vowel precedes the rhotics, it is even harder to tell the difference between the trill and the flap and in fact there does not appear to be any phonemic distinction. Thus *kubmarri* 'blood' was first transcribed as *kubmari* until someone pronounced it slowly, throwing emphasis on it in the placename *Kadni-kubmarri* 'Lizard's Blood'. There are however isolated instances of phonemic distinction in this position between *r/rr* on the one hand and *R* on the other:

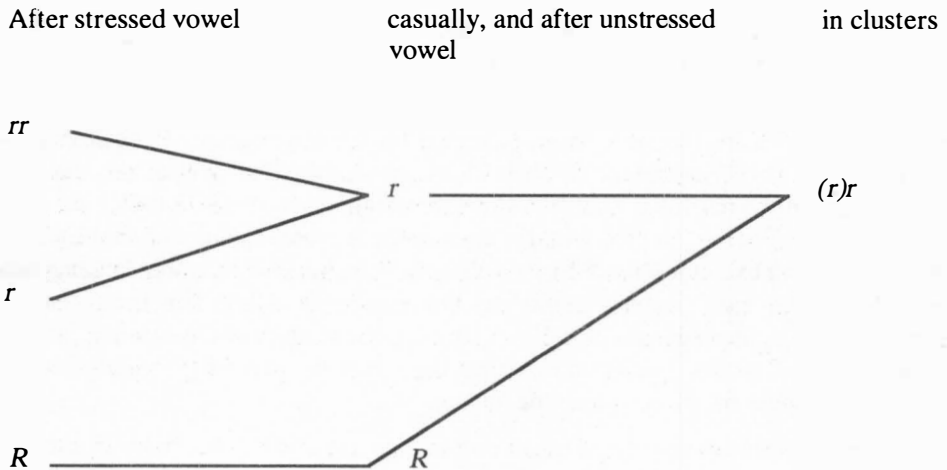
<i>kalyara</i> (adverb)	quickly
<i>kalyara</i> (noun)	rare word for an emu bone used as nose-peg
<i>kalyaRa</i>	rainmaker's bag, also baby's bag, placenta

(2) Only one rhotic in clusters

Rhotics could form clusters with peripheral and with laminal plosives. There is never any contrast between rhotics in this position. The retroflex *R* was never heard before consonants. There was free variation between *r* and *rr*, with a preference for the trilled sound, particularly before laminals:

<i>karka-</i>	to yell	[kar(r)ka]
<i>pirpa-</i>	to spill	[pir(r)pa]
<i>kurtyi</i>	scrub	[kurrtyi], rarely [kurtyi]
<i>thirthi-pawa</i>	seed-plant	[tirthi] rarely [tirti]

Distinctions between rhotic consonants under different conditions are set out below.



2.11 GLIDE CONSONANTS

A labial glide occurs after *k* in the sequence *úka*, *úrka*. The labial glide that occurs in both Arabana and Wangkangurru in this environment is so clear that Elkin for instance transcribed as “lukwa” the word for ‘mother’ *lhuka*, pronounced [lukwa]. Examples are:

<i>yuka</i> -	[yukwa]	to go
<i>puka</i>	[pukwa]	rotten
<i>thurka</i> -	[tʰurkwa]	to get up
<i>murka</i>	[murkwa]	ant egg

The glide consonant was rarely heard in the third person pronoun *uka*: the reason for this might be in the fact that the first syllable of the pronoun was less distinctly accented than other initial syllables.

None of the languages of the Diyaric or the Yura and neighbouring groups have a consonant cluster [kw]. This sound sequence is simply unknown in the area, but it is of common occurrence in the Arandic group of languages. It is possible that the phonetic development *u(r,rr)ka* > *u(r,rr)k^wa* arose spontaneously in Arabana-Wangkangurru, but it could perhaps be due to the influence of Lower Southern Aranda. It is certainly of recent date, as indicated by the fact that the sound sequence [kw] is not found in Arabana-Wangkangurru songs (except in quotations from Aranda). Thus one of the best known verses of the Fish and Crane History, connected with the ritual centre at *Payanta* on the lower Diamantina, is as follows:

Páyanta lá pruká,
Páyanta lá prukei!
Yá Páyanta lá pruká.

At *Payanta* they crossed the water,
 At *Payanta* they crossed the water!
 Yes, at *Payanta* they crossed the water.

The normal pronunciation of the verb *purka* ‘to wade across water’ is [purkwa]. The metathesis of the *r*, common in songs, makes no difference to the situation; we would still expect to find the labial glide in the sequence *uka*, but it is not heard in the song.

2.12 ACCENTUATION

Arabana-Wangkangurru follows the majority of Australian languages in having a strong stress accent on the first syllable of a word. There are no monosyllabics (except for Eastern Wangkangurru *ko* ‘yes’); in words of two or three syllables there is simply the one accent falling on the first syllable. This is in contrast with the Arandic system where the first syllable beginning with a consonant bears the accent. Words borrowed from Aranda follow the Wangkangurru system:

<i>írunpa</i>	perentie
<i>átyilpa</i>	<i>Dasyurus</i> sp.
<i>ábmuna</i>	red mulga

As described by Dixon (1980a:138) for other Australian languages, longer words have a secondary stress on the third, fifth and seventh syllable, the secondary accent being marked here by a grave accent, as in

<i>kátharùngka</i>	corella
<i>Yúrkunàngku</i>	the Ancestral Black Snake

In long words consisting of several morphemes another rule supersedes this: each bound morpheme of two or three syllables has a secondary accent on its first syllable. For example:

<i>kúdna-tyúrra-àpu-kànha</i>	they had diarrhoea long ago
<i>kátha-nàngka-lìparna</i>	they used to travel continually long ago
<i>kátha-mda-nàngka-lìparna</i>	they used to travel continually and in a hurry long ago
<i>thárni-la-mìntyá-nàngka-ngura</i>	they were continually eating one another

There are however two situations in which this whole system is ignored. One is in exclamations, vocatives, and imperatives that are shouted with distortion of the final syllables. These always have the main accent on the final syllable (§2.13.2(3)):

<i>Ánari yùkarndéi!</i>	Come here!
<i>Yàkayéi!</i>	Oh dear!

The other exceptional circumstance is in song, where any syllable can be stressed, and particularly the final one, and where in fact there is a lot of play on unusual accentuation.

2.13 THE VOWEL SYSTEM OF ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU

Arabana-Wangkangurru has the usual three-vowel system of the majority of Australian languages:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>a</i>	
<i>aa</i> (limited phoneme, Arabana only)	

There is one word known only from Eastern Wangkangurru and Wangkatyaka which does not fit in with this system. This is the particle *ko* [ko] 'yes', the only monosyllabic word in the language. It is a borrowing from Ngamini and neighbouring languages of the Diyari group. It cannot be phonemicised as *kawu* in Wangkangurru, because this does not fit into the Wangkangurru sound system: there is in fact a word *kawu* 'termite nest', pronounced [ka^uwu]. The presence of the sound [o] in this word is simply due to it being an unassimilated borrowing. In their normal pronunciation the vowels are fairly close to the cardinal positions except for the word-final *a* which is weakly articulated and approximates to a neutral vowel. The vowels have a wide range of allophones, involving rounding, raising and epenthesis.

2.13.1 *a* PRONOUNCED AS [ɔ]

As in many other Australian languages *a* is pronounced as a very open and barely rounded [ɔ] after initial *w*. This is not always the case, the sound [ɔ] being restricted to certain environments:

(1) after *w* if followed by the trilled *rr*, retroflex *R*, and *r*, *rr* + consonant

<i>warru</i>	white	[wɔrru]
<i>waRa</i>	who	[wɔra]
<i>warpa</i>	storm	[wɔrpa]

but

<i>waru</i>	long ago	[wa:ru] (For the vowel length see §2.13.5)
-------------	----------	--------------------------------------------

(2) after *w* if followed by velar or labial consonants (except *w*), and *y*

<i>waka</i>	black	[wɔka]
<i>wanga</i>	morning	[wɔŋa]
<i>wamparla</i>	possum	[wɔmpaɭa]
<i>wabma</i>	snake	[wɔbma]
<i>waya-</i>	to want	[wɔya]

but

<i>wanparda</i>	carry	[wanpaɖa]
<i>wadna</i>	digging stick	[wadna]
<i>walya</i>	soon	[waɭa]

Before retroflex consonants other than *R* there is only very slight raising of the vowel *a*, to [ʌ]. In this environment the amount of raising varies with individual speakers and is usually almost imperceptible: examples are *wardu* 'child' [wʌɖu], *warni-* 'to grow' [wʌŋi].

2.13.2 *a* PRONOUNCED AS [a^u], [aⁱ]

(1) [a^u]

When stressed *a* is followed by *w* an epenthetic *u* appears as a slight on-glide for the *w* and there is a resultant diphthong [a^u]:

<i>kawa-</i>	to vomit	[ka ^u wa]
<i>thawi-</i>	to throw	[ta ^u wi]

This applies only to *a* in the first syllable and therefore bearing the main stress: in other positions *a* remains unaffected:

<i>ngarrawa</i>	brackish	[ŋarrawa]
-----------------	----------	-----------

The placename *Kadnyawi* (Mount Dutton) is exceptional: it is pronounced [kaɖna^uwi] with [a^u] in the second syllable, but this word is irregular in other ways too (§2.4.2(2)).

(2) [aⁱ]

An exactly parallel development takes place before *y* and there is a resultant diphthong [aⁱ] in the stressed syllable:

<i>paya</i>	bird	[pa ⁱ ya]
<i>payayi</i>	aunt	[pa ⁱ yayi]

In songs even the unaccented final *a* of words is frequently affected by this change. The particle *ya* is extremely common in songs and before it a final *a* is pronounced as [aⁱ].

2.13.3 THE 'e' SOUNDS

The 'e' sounds are not common in Arabana-Wangkangurru speech. They have a threefold origin:

(1) From *a* in the stressed syllable after *y* if a non-peripheral consonant follows

There is slight raising and fronting of *a* in this environment, a very open [æ] is the result.

<i>yathi</i>	flight feather	[yæti]
<i>yanhi-</i>	to speak	[yænni]
<i>yadla</i>	close by	[yædla]

There are minor variations in individual speech. Eastern Wangkangurru speakers in particular pronounce a more close [e] instead of [æ] when a laminal consonant follows, as in *yathi* [yeti].

(2) From *i* in the accented sequence *iya*

The sequence *iya*, when it has the main or secondary accent, is pronounced [e:ya]. The long and partly stressed *i* is lowered by way of emphasis and contrast, distinguishing it from the following *y*:

<i>piyatya</i>	goblin	[pé:yaʦa]
<i>alhakiya</i>	we two, father and child	[á]akèya]

But note the pronunciation of the following words, where the sequence *iya* does not have either the main or the stress accent:

<i>uriya</i>	old, used	[ú:riya]
<i>intiya</i>	cave	[íntiya]

(3) From all vowels in the final syllable of imperatives, vocatives and exclamations

The final vowel of these forms, as shown for the vocative (§3.13.2), bears great emphasis. It is therefore heavily accented and lengthened and, regardless of the normal quality of the final vowel involved, it is pronounced as a diphthong [ei]. Depending on the degree of emphasis there may be further changes. Under the most extreme conditions of someone trying to raise attention or crying out for help, the diphthong may differentiate. The [e] element then becomes rounded while the [i] forms a separate syllable with an intervening glide: thus [ei] may become [œyi]. For example:

<i>mathapurda</i>	old man	<i>Mathapurdei!</i>	Eh you, old man!
		[mathapurdœyi]	Help, old man!!!
<i>ngunanhi</i>	peer	<i>Ngunanhei!</i>	My friend!
		[ŋunanhœyi]	Help, my friend!!!
<i>thika-</i>	come back	<i>Thikei!</i>	Come back!
		[tikœyi]	For heaven's sake, come back!!!

The differentiating tendency is known even in normally accented syllables in many languages and has for instance played a part in the history of the French vowel system: Old French *rei* 'king', Middle French *roi*.

2.13.4 THE VOWEL [ə]

The vowel of unaccented syllables is clearly pronounced with less emphasis than the accented vowel, but it usually maintains its identity in Arabana-Wangkangurru, even in rapid speech. There is however one exception. As shown above (§2.12), trisyllabic words accent only the first syllable, which is followed by two unaccented syllables. Of these the one immediately following the stress accent is the weaker. If it contains the vowel *a* this is weakened to [ə] unless a retroflex consonant or a cluster follows. This applies to all parts of speech in ordinary and not necessarily rapid conversation:

<i>pakaka</i>	he dug	[pákəkə]	
<i>purthali</i>	biting continually, savage	[púrɬəli]	
<i>ngataru</i>	behind, after	[ŋátəru]	
<i>pakarna</i>	digging	[pákəŋə]	(a retroflex consonant follows)
<i>pakalta</i>	digging for somebody else	[pákəltə]	(a cluster follows)
<i>purthalima</i>	having to bite	[púrɬəlima]	(the word has four syllables)

Obviously the vowel [ə] is confined to the weakest environment.

2.13.5 VOWEL LENGTH

The main difference between Arabana and Wangkangurru is the beginning of phonemic lengthening of the vowel *a* in Arabana, but not in Wangkangurru (§2.7). Apart from this obviously recent development, vowel length is predictable: it depends on the following consonant. Phonetic length only affects the first, that is the accented syllable, and to a lesser degree any syllable bearing secondary stress.

Vowels are always long if they precede the following consonants:

- (a) *th*
- (b) the single flap *r* (§2.10.2)
- (c) the retroflex nasal and lateral *m*, *rl*, (which are not subject to pre-stopping or lengthening)
- (d) *y* and *w*

Examples are:

<i>withi</i>	sore	[wi:t̪i]
<i>tharu</i>	father-in-law	[t̪aru]
<i>marni</i>	fat	[ma:n̪i]
<i>kurla</i>	cane grass	[gu:l̪a]
<i>puyy</i>	spinifex	[pu:y̥y]
<i>thiwi</i>	flower	[ti:wi]

Before the retroflex plosive *rd*, vowels are half-long and there is some variation between individual speakers in both Arabana and Wangkangurru. If the vowel is *a* most speakers prefer the fully long vowel:

<i>marđu</i>	flavour	[ma:ɖu]
<i>paɖi</i>	grub	[ba:ɖi]
<i>paɖđu</i>	incapable	[ba:n̪ɖu] (Arabana)

Before all other intervocalic consonants and before all non-retroflex clusters accented vowels are short.

2.13.6 AN ASSIMILATIVE CHANGE IN WANGKANGURRU

If the vowel *u* occurs in the initial syllable and is preceded by an initial *y* it becomes assimilated to an *i* in the following syllable: *yu+C+i* > *(y)i+C+i*. This happens only in Wangkangurru and it is likely to be a relatively recent development. (For the loss of initial *y* see §2.6.1.) Examples are:

ARABANA	<i>yuki-</i>	to shift, to drive
WANGKANGURRU	<i>(y)iki-</i>	to shift, to drive
ARABANA	<i>yuwinya</i>	mosquito
WANGKANGURRU	<i>(y)iwinya</i>	mosquito

This change does not occur when a medial rhotic or retroflex is involved: thus *yuRi-yuRi* 'banded snake' and *yurdi* 'beefwood tree' are common to both Arabana and Wangkangurru.

2.14 PHONOTACTICS

The phonotactic rules are one of the most important features of the language: they determine what is possible as a correct Arabana-Wangkangurru word and they show up clearly what are unassimilated borrowings. The permissible initial consonants are listed in §2.2.2. Further phonotactic rules govern permissible consonant clusters, vowel sequences, and indicate preferences for the consonants that begin the third syllable in trisyllabic words.

2.14.1 PERMISSIBLE CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The permissible clusters of consonants in Arabana-Wangkangurru are set out below.

<i>ngk</i>	<i>n(j)ty</i>	<i>m(r)d</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>n(h)th</i>	<i>mp</i>
<i>nk</i>					<i>np</i>
					<i>nm</i>
<i>W{ngm}</i>				<i>A {tm}</i>	<i>W {pm}</i>

<i>lk</i>	<i>l(j)ty</i>	<i>rl(r)d</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>l(h)th</i>	<i>lp</i>
<i>lyk</i>					<i>lyp</i>
<i>rk</i>	<i>rty</i>			<i>rth</i>	<i>rp</i>
			<i>(tr)</i>		
			<i>(ntr)</i>		
			<i>(ltr)</i>		

The brackets { } have been used in this table to indicate that the clusters in question are not in common use. The cluster *typ* has not been listed as it occurs only in one unassimilated borrowing, *watypala* 'whitefellow'. The clusters *nyty*, *rnrld*, *nhth*, *rlrd*, *lyty* and *lhth*, as indicated in §2.3., have been written as *nty*, *rnd*, *nth*, *rld*, *lty* and *lth* throughout this work for the sake of simplicity. Here however, in order to show which phonemes are actually

combined in clusters, the full spelling has been indicated by means of the brackets (). Bold letters are used to indicate 'basic' clusters, those permissible within morphemes in positions other than after the main stress accent. There is no contrast between rhotic consonants in clusters, as discussed in §2.10.2.

2.14.2 UNUSUAL CLUSTERS

The clusters *tr*, *ntr* and *ltr* are exceedingly rare in the language. The *tr* cluster is found only in the Wangkangurru word *kutri-kutri* 'crooked'. The *ntr* cluster is found only in the following words:

<i>thuntripa</i> ⁶	to drown (A)
<i>Thuntriitha</i>	Wood Duck Waterhole in Arabana country
<i>wantantra</i>	high sandhill (W) (alternative form for <i>wantanta</i>)
<i>patrunga</i>	song word (W)

The *ltr* cluster is found only in the Arabana placename *Kaltruksa* (near Old Peake) and in song words in Wangkangurru. In the eastern Lake Eyre Basin *tr* is common (see Austin, ed. 1988).

From the point of view of symmetry one would expect to find the presence of a cluster *nng* to correspond to *nm*: this cluster is found in neighbouring languages, as for instance in the Kuyani placename *Ngunngili* (Emu Lookout). This name was used by Arabana people because it refers to the place where an important myth begins, the song cycle of 'The man who carried the dead woman'. The cluster *nng* is however not found in any Arabana-Wangkangurru words.

2.14.3 THE CLUSTERS *tm*, *pm* AND *ngm*

One of the more striking differences between Arabana and Wangkangurru is that only Arabana permits the cluster *tm*. This is found in one placename:

Wutmara Woodmurra Creek

It is also found in the morpheme boundary before the transitive verbalising suffix *ma* 'to make' in just a few verbs. The corresponding Wangkangurru words do not have the cluster *tm*.⁷

	ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU
to abandon	<i>thatma-</i>	<i>thadna-</i>
to steal	<i>witma-</i>	<i>widna-</i>
to touch	<i>itma-</i>	<i>idna-</i>

The morphemes *that-*, *wit-* and *it-* are not free morphemes.

While the cluster *tm* is not acceptable in Wangkangurru, there are instances where the consonants *p* and *ng* are found forming unusual clusters with *ma*:

⁶ It is possible that this word and the following are based on an earlier **thuntiri-*.

⁷ J. Henderson (pers.comm.) has suggested a way in which this cluster could have developed:
**n+ma* > (by pre-stopping) *dn+ma* > *t-ma* (Arabana)
na > (by pre-stopping) *dna* (Wangkangurru)

<i>munhang'-ma-</i>	to attach to one's body
<i>yarap'-ma</i>	to lift up

Munhang' 'on one's body' and *yarap'* 'above' can be regarded as free forms that have undergone elision of the final vowel *a*. The resulting clusters *pm* and *ngm* are acceptable in this environment in Wangkangurru. The presence of unusual clusters connected with the verbaliser *ma* is part of a widespread phenomenon in languages further to the east. In Paakantyi along the Darling the verbalising suffix *ma* can be used in such a way as to form a wide range of clusters that are not permitted in any other environment (Hercus 1982:49).

2.14.4 PROHIBITION AGAINST THE VOWEL SEQUENCE *i-u*

The sequence *i-C-u* is not found within Arabana-Wangkangurru morphemes. This striking feature of the phontactic system is not shared by neighbouring languages in the Lake Eyre Basin, but it is basic to Arabana-Wangkangurru. Thus a name like *Nyiru* is patently not Wangkangurru (and was only quoted by speakers as the Western Desert equivalent of the Ancestor *Unthuriya*). There are a few exceptions in Wangkangurru:

<i>irunpa</i>	perentie
<i>ikunya</i>	pipeclay
<i>ityukara</i>	<i>Dasyurus geoffroii</i>

The first two are borrowings from Lower Southern Aranda, the third was said to be a loan word too, but is not attested in the large corpus of Lower Southern Aranda vocabulary of Breen and Henderson (pers.comm.).

The most common device by which this sequence is avoided is vowel assimilation: this can be seen most clearly by comparison with cognate words in Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979):

	PITTA-PITTA	WANGKANGURRU
when?	<i>winku, winkulu</i>	<i>unkulu</i>
blue crane	<i>wirru</i>	<i>wurru</i>
silver bream	<i>purrintyuRu</i>	<i>purruntyuRu</i>
go out (of fire)	<i>nhingkutyi</i>	<i>nhungku-wityi</i>

The morphological system reflects various devices by which the *i-u* vowel sequence was avoided when a word consisted of more than one morpheme. Thus verbs whose stems end in *i* simply do not take the imperative suffix *-Ru* (see §5.6.1). The most significant feature is that the sequence is avoided by means of vowel harmony within both the verbal and nominal systems. This indeed seems to be the primary underlying purpose of vowel harmony in Arabana-Wangkangurru as shown in the following case involving the suffix *ru ~ ri*:

<i>anya-ru</i>	by father
<i>kadrhini-ri</i>	by grandmother

There are very few exceptions where the sequence *i-C-u* is found, but only across morpheme boundaries: that is with the consonant occurring at the beginning of a new morpheme. The morphemes in question always begin with a velar consonant: velars on account of their place of articulation and the consonant-rounding propensity would naturally inhibit the loss of rounding of a following vowel. Thus the verbal suffixes *-ngura* and (in Arabana only) *-kura, -kuwara* can be added to verbs ending in *i*. The most commonly noted

exception is the 'bivalent' suffix *-ku* (Dixon, ed. 1976:421-484). The prohibition against the vowel sequence *i-u* does not apply with *-ku*, whether it is added directly, as in *kathi-ku* 'for meat', or whether it is part of a compound suffix. The compound suffixes in question are *-lhu-ku* and *-ru-ku* respectively, but become *-lhi-ku* and *-ri-ku* by vowel harmony, with the *-ku* remaining unchanged:

<i>pirda-</i>	to kill	<i>pirda-lhuku</i>	for killing
<i>ngunhi-</i>	to give	<i>ngunhi-lhiku</i>	for giving
<i>karla</i>	creek	<i>karla-ruku</i>	to the creek
<i>wati</i>	track	<i>wati-riku</i>	to the track

The total absence of the vowel sequence *i-u* throughout the vocabulary indicates that this is not a recent, but well-established feature of the language (see Nash, Simpson & Hercus forthcoming).

2.14.5 PREFERENCE FOR CONTINUANTS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD SYLLABLE OF TRISYLLABIC NOUNS

This preference applies to single morphemes in the nominal system. The majority of verbal roots are disyllabic: longer verbs are on the whole transparently made up with the addition of suffixes (§5.2.3) and cannot therefore be regarded as single morphemes. An examination of the nouns in the extensive dictionary of Arabana-Wangkangurru shows that there are indeed very few words that infringe this preference. Isolating such words from the rest of the vocabulary gives us a number of insights, as set out below.

(1) It shows up borrowings:

<i>irunpa</i>	perentie (borrowed from Aranda)
<i>atyilpa</i>	<i>Dasyurus</i> sp. (borrowed from Aranda)

(2) It shows up compounds that are not transparent:

<i>Makampa</i>	<i>maka-wimpa</i>	'Fire-track', the Macumba (§2.15.2)
<i>milpilpa</i>	from the Common Australian word	eyebrows
	<i>mil</i> 'eye' + <i>pilpa</i> 'brow'	
<i>payalpu</i>	<i>paya-walpu</i> 'bird bone'	nose-peg

(3) It shows up compounds that are no longer analysable:

<i>kadnhangka</i>	hailstone from <i>kadnha</i> 'stone'
<i>mintalpa</i>	clever man (A), as opposed to <i>minparu</i> (W). Compare Pamkalla 'mintapa' (Schürmann 1844) to the (A) form.

There are words that may indicate that the preference for the continuant at the beginning of the third syllable was indeed a preference but not a rule. These words contain plosives at the beginning of the third syllable, but are relatively few in number, and represent only about one per cent of nominals in the language. An unexpectedly high proportion of such words refers to ceremonial and religious matters and may be part of a more widespread interlinking religious tradition:

<i>akarnta</i>	ceremonial headgear (probably a borrowing)
<i>apalka</i>	dream

<i>yarirda</i>	poison (a word known also from Ngadyuri and neighbouring languages; see Berndt 1989)
<i>ampilka</i>	deadly curse
<i>waningka</i>	ceremonial string cross (widespread)

Some of the remaining 'unusual' words have a final *-tyi* which is probably a suffix:

<i>wampityi</i>	rainbow (A)
<i>wardityi</i>	mulga
<i>apityi</i>	father (A). This is a new word (§1.5)

The status of *-tyi* as a suffix is strengthened by the correspondence:

<i>paRu</i>	light (A)
<i>paRatyi</i>	light (W)

There may be other reasons, as yet unclear, for the presence of plosives at the beginning of the third syllable. Examples are:

<i>parraka</i>	bank
<i>pintilya</i>	grasshopper
<i>yarapa</i>	above (W)
<i>wakarda</i>	frightened

Awareness of the fact that words that have a plosive at the beginning of the third syllable may be compounds, derivatives or loan words gives us some possible glimpses of earlier phases of the language and of noun derivation.

2.14.6 INSERTION OF NASAL BEFORE THE SECOND MEMBER OF A COMPOUND

The insertion of a nasal with the same point of articulation as the following consonant sometimes occurs at the end of the first member of a compound or reduplicated word. It is found rarely in reduplicated ordinary nouns, but commonly in placenames and personal names:

<i>kilangkila</i>	galah
<i>Kadnimpula</i> (for <i>kadni-pula</i>)	Two Lizards
<i>WiRintyilpi</i> (for <i>wiRi-tyilpi</i>)	Hair tied up (Kuyani <i>KuRintyilpi</i>)
<i>Midlhanthupunha</i> (for <i>midlha-thupu-nha</i>)	Smokey Face (lit. face-smoke)

The reason for this development is probably that the homorganic nasal was felt as a link between the two parts of the compound noun.

2.15 HAPLOLOGY AND ELISIONS

2.15.1 HAPLOLOGY

If there are identical syllables at the end of one morpheme and at the beginning of the next, one of the two is lost in ordinary speech, but not if there is great emphasis, as seen in the following examples, where the ordinary form preceded the emphatic:

- (13) *antha Yatalknganha*
antha Yatalknga-nganha
 I Yatalknga-from
 I'm from *Yatalknga*
- (14) *kadnhini nhanhiliku*
kadnhini-nha nhanhi-lhiku
 grandmother-ACC see-PUR
 to see my grandmother
- (15) *kuparli*
kupa-parli
 younger sibling
- (16) *madlanthiyangu* (A only)
madlanthi-thi-yangu
 bad-become-PLUP
 it's gone bad
- (17) *wadlhu ngarrityirnda* (A only)
wadlhu-nga ngarrityi-rnda
 ground-LOC descend-PRES
 he gets down onto the ground

2.15.2 ELISION

The elision of syllables is not common in Arabana-Wangkangurru. It can however be seen to have played a role in the formation of a number of compound words. It is usually the first part of the second member of the compound that has been elided, as shown below.

<i>unthu-uriya</i>	penis much used	This becomes <i>Unthuriya</i> , the name of the 'larrikin' man who pursues the Seven Sisters.
<i>maka-wimpa</i>	fire-track	meaning the track of the Ancestral Fire, this form becomes <i>Makampa</i> , the Macumba. This derivation is confirmed not only by the myth of the Fire, but also by the Aranda name <i>Uriṅka</i> , that is <i>Ura-Ingka</i> 'Fire-track'.
<i>thirka-wimpa</i>	oven-track	This becomes <i>thirkampa</i> 'base camp for an initiation ceremony'.
<i>ngama + madla</i>	breast-bad	This is still sometimes pronounced fully as <i>ngama-mala</i> , but the normal form is <i>ngamarla</i> 'pitiful'. The reasons for the <i>l</i> becoming retroflex are unknown.

2.16 MORPHOPHONOLOGY: DISSIMILATION OF NASALS

As shown by Dixon (1980a:214) there is a widespread tendency for the dissimilation of one of the nasal consonants if there are two consecutive nasal clusters. A roughly similar

kind of dissimilation to that found in Arabana-Wangkangurru is found much further north, in Kalkatungu (Blake 1969:48) and in Gurindji (McConvell 1988). The particular way in which the dissimilation takes place however is characteristic of the Lake Eyre Basin: it has been described for Diyari and Yarluyandi (Austin 1981a:87). The rules governing dissimilation of nasals in Arabana-Wangkangurru follow.

(1) Any inflectional suffix containing a cluster consisting of retroflex nasal+plosive loses the nasal if the word stem contains a nasal+plosive cluster. Thus in pronouns containing nasal clusters the allative-dative marker *-(k)irnda* becomes *-(k)irda*:

<i>amiri-kirnda</i>	to us
<i>unkirda</i>	to you (singular)
<i>anthirda</i>	to me

(2) The present tense marker *-rnda* becomes *-rda* after verb stems containing a nasal+plosive:

<i>wanpa-</i>	to carry	<i>wanpa-rda</i>
<i>puntha-</i>	to drink	<i>puntha-rda</i>
<i>pintyi-</i>	to separate	<i>pintyi-rda</i>
<i>pangkangka-</i>	to be ill	<i>pangkangka-rda</i>
<i>thupungka-</i>	to emit smoke	<i>thupungka-rda</i>

NOTES:

(a) The same dissimilation occurs after stem-forming suffixes containing a nasal+plosive cluster, such as the continuative *-nangka* and the speed-marking *-rnda*:

<i>yanhi-nangka-</i>	to talk continually	<i>yanhi-nangka-rda</i>
<i>yanhi-rnda-</i>	to say quickly	<i>yanhi-rnda-rda</i>

(b) This rule operates across an intervening *-ra* or *-ka*:

<i>kangkara-</i>	to burp	<i>kangkara-rda</i>
<i>thangka-(k)a-</i>	to sit down for a while	<i>thangka-(k)a-rda(A)</i>

However, it does not operate across any other syllables:

<i>thangka-yiwa-</i>	to sit down for a while	<i>thangka-yiwa-rnda (W)</i>
<i>thangka-rda-</i>	to sit down quickly	<i>thangka-rda-rnda</i>

(c) The rule does not apply to non-retroflex clusters, as in the reflexive reciprocal suffix *-nta*:

<i>wangka thimpa-</i>	to talk (lit. to utter speech)
<i>wangkathimpa-rda</i>	he is talking (with <i>-rda</i> for the present marker <i>-rnda</i>)
<i>wangkathimpa-nta</i>	he is talking to himself

(d) Nor does the rule apply when the present tense - speed-marking suffix occurs twice as in:

- (18) *kilta-rnda-rnda*
 come.up-SP-PRES
 (he) is coming up (to see me) before departing again

(e) It does not apply within morphemes nor across compound boundaries:

<i>parndarnda-</i>	to tickle
<i>karndi-karndi-</i>	to prance around throwing up one's legs

It applies only to suffixes, hence:

parndarnda-rda (he) tickles
karndi-karndi-rda (he) prances around

The dissimilation of nasals is explicable in the usual way (Posner 1961:154), it is due to the reluctance to repeat very similar sound-combinations at close intervals. The dissimilation illustrates the fact that the inflectional suffixes, despite their syntactic importance are the least accented and the weakest part of speech, and therefore most liable to change.

Stem	
	± reduplication
	± number marker
	± declensional adjectival suffix
	± case marker
	± emphatic clitic

3.3 CASE AND NUMBER

3.3.1 CASE MARKERS

In the Arabana-Wangkangurru system of nominal case marking there are important distinctions according to whether the reference is, or is not, to persons and personified beings. On the purely formal level there is allomorphic variation due to vowel harmony: this affects nouns that end in *-i* and is connected with the intolerance of the language for the vowel sequence *i-Cu* within a word (§2.14.4). The case-marking affixes for nominals which apply to singular nouns only are set out below.

Nouns in <i>a, u</i>		Nouns in <i>i</i> when differing
Absolutive	-∅	
Accusative for persons	- <i>nha</i>	
Ergative-Instrumental -Ablative	- <i>ru</i>	- <i>ri</i>
Dative	- <i>ku</i>	
(persons optionally)	- <i>nta</i>	
Allative	- <i>ruku</i>	- <i>riku</i>
Causal	- <i>ra</i>	
(persons optionally)	- <i>ntara</i>	
Locative	- <i>nga</i>	
(persons optionally)	- <i>nta</i>	
Vocative	- <i>yi, -íya</i>	
Proper Noun marker	- <i>nha</i>	
Declensional Adjectives:		
Possessive adjectival suffix	- <i>kunha</i>	
Elicative adjectival suffix	- <i>nganha</i>	
'Having' suffixes	- <i>purru, -maRa</i> etc.	

3.3.2 COMMENTS ON THE CASE MARKERS

The Arabana-Wangkangurru case markers listed above have cognates in other Australian languages: this can be seen clearly by comparing them with the data in Blake's (1977) study of case marking. Such a comparison shows for instance that the personal accusative marker *-nha* is widespread over most of the continent, as is the dative *-ku*. The ergative marker *-ru* corresponds to the equally widespread *-lu*, which is found in the majority of languages from Western Australia to Queensland: the change from *l* to *r* both here and in the causal is shared with the Western Pitta-Pitta dialects, as opposed to the other forms of Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979:225). There are a number of features in which Arabana-Wangkangurru shows

similarities only with the neighbouring Pitta-Pitta group to the north-east, rather than with languages further south in the Lake Eyre Basin. Such a feature is the presence of a causal case (not found in other neighbouring languages such as Diyari): moreover the causal case marker *-ra* closely corresponds to the Pitta-Pitta *-la*, and is identical to the Western Pitta-Pitta *-ra*. There are some features in which Arabana-Wangkangurru stands on its own: this applies to the very unusual syncretism (in nominals only, not in pronouns) between the ablative and the ergative-instrumental. The use of the dative marker for the allative is quite common, but the combination between this and the ergative-ablative *-ru* to form an allative is unique. Similarly the elative *-nganha* and the way it is used do not have close parallels, though there are formal similarities with Kalkatungu, which has *-nha* as the second element in each of the two allatives. The case markers of Arabana-Wangkangurru illustrate the fact that despite all the interplay of genetic ties on the one hand, and regional convergences on the other, Australian languages remain unpredictable: each language has special morphological features that make it distinctive.

3.3.3 HAPLOLOGY WITH CASE MARKERS

There is a reluctance to repeat the same syllable both within a word and across the juncture between words and this leads to the haplogy of case suffixes in some environments. Thus the accusative and proper noun marker *-nha* does not appear directly before initial *nha* - (see §2.15.1.) except in very slow speech. One can therefore say either of the following because there is a need to avoid the repetition of the syllable *-nha*:

- (19) *Ulyurla nhuka-nha-ki nhanhi-ka.*
 woman many-ACC-EMP see-P
 He saw a lot of women.
- (20) *Ulyurla nhuka nhanhi-ka.*
 woman many saw-P
 He saw a lot of women.

Similarly nominals actually ending in *-nha* such as possessive adjectives from pronouns, like *anthunha* 'mine', and the possessive and elative adjectives in *-kunha* and *-nganha* are never marked for the accusative, since here too the repetition of the syllable *-nha* has to be avoided. Because the marking of the accusative is never absolutely obligatory no major syntactic problems are involved.

Nouns ending in any rhotic plus *u* or *i* may lose the first syllable of the allative case marker so as to avoid repetition of the syllable *ru* or *ri*. In words whose stems end in *ru* or *ri* the instrumental-ergative-ablative often remains unmarked for the same reason, but only in placenames where there is little chance of confusion. Thus the normal case marking is found in the following:

- (21) *Wityira-ru*
 Dalhousie-ABL
 away from Dalhousie
- (22) *Wityira-ruku*
 Dalhousie-ALL
 to Dalhousie

- (23) *Yardiya-ru*
Peake-ABL
away from Peake
- (24) *Yardiya-ruku*
Peake-ALL
to Peake

But it is not in the following:

- (25) *Pitha-kapuru-∅*
Pitha-kapuru-ABL
away from *Pitha-kapuru*
- (26) *Pitha-kapuru-(∅)ku*
Pitha-kapuru- ALL
to *Pitha-kapuru*
- (27) *Pityirri-∅*
Bicherinna-ABL
from Bicherinna
- (28) *Pityirri-(∅)ku*
Bicherinna-ALL
to Bicherinna

In ordinary nouns as opposed to placenames only the rule about the allative holds, and the ergative-instrumental-ablative marking is as in all other nouns, regardless of the repetition. Hence forms of the type *kari-ri* 'by them' and *minpaRu-ru* 'by the witchdoctor' are freely used without regard to the repetition involved.

3.3.4 DUAL AND PLURAL

The dual and plural-marking suffixes *-pula* and *-kari* as shown in §3.2 above immediately follow the nominal stem and precede the declension markers. Like the declension markers they need to be used only with the last item in a noun phrase. They form a unit with the declension markers to the extent that either both are expressed with separate items in a noun phrase or both are omitted. Thus the following two sentences are equally acceptable:

- (29) *Mathapurda kumpira-kumpira-kari-ri ngunta-ka.*
old.man dead-dead-PL-ERG show-P
The old men, long dead, told me this.
- (30) *Mathapurda-kari-ri kumpira-kumpira-kari-ri ngunta-ka.*
old.man-PL-ERG dead-dead-PL-ERG tell-P
It was the old men who told me this, the old men long dead.

The second version throws more emphasis on the word for 'the old men' seeing that it is marked for number and case. A version **Mathapurda-kari-ri kumpira-kumpira ngunta-ka* is unacceptable.

The suffixes *-kari* and *-pula* serve also as free forms (§4.2.4 and §4.2.5), being third person pronouns, and they have the same case marking as the pronouns. They therefore

follow the pronominal pattern of object marking (§3.5.) and take the special pronominal case forms:

dative-locative -*kirnda*
causal-ablative -*kirndara*

- (31) *Arluwa-kari-kirnda thawi-ka.*
 child-PL-DAT throw-P
 He threw it over to the children.
- (32) *Ulyurla-pula-kirndara mama-rnda.*
 woman-two-ABL grab-PRES
 He grabs (the grub powder) from the two women.

It is important to note that, as they are pronominal in origin, the number markers use the allative-dative-locative form as stem form (§4.1.4).

The plural is found occasionally in placenames such as *Mathapurda-kari-nha* 'The Old Men', because a large number of Frog Ancestors once sat down by this waterhole at the junction of the Macumba and the Kuncharana Creek.

3.3.5 THE TRIAL

The trial is not a paucal; it conveys the notion of 'three', not the notion of 'a few'. It is very rarely used. Nominals are only so marked when there is a strong emphasis on the fact that three are involved. The suffix marking the trial has similarities to the suffixes used in south-eastern Australia, where words meaning 'a crowd' (in western Victoria this is *kuli*) are used to mark the trial (Hercus 1966). In Arabana-Wangkangurru the repetition of the suffix *-kari* 'they, a group' fulfils this same function:

- (33) *Mathapurda-karikari kathi-nga malyka warintya-lhuku.*
 old.man-TRI meat-LOC not hunt-HIST
 The three old men did not hunt for meat.
- (34) *Wanti-ma-ya-ngura putyi-karikari madla nguyu.*
 wait-SP-TR-CONT cat-TRI dog one
 In the meantime the three cats and the one dog were waiting (but that old lady never came home to them again: she had been murdered).

Only the oldest and most fluent Arabana and Wangkangurru speakers knew and used the trial number. Presumably under the influence of English the whole concept had become alien to middle-aged speakers even in the 1960s.

3.3.6 SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS GOVERNING THE USE OF NUMBER

It is not simply a question of number: there are distinctions of emphasis as well as semantic constraints in the use of singular, dual, trial and plural.

The dual, trial and plural are used only when there is some emphasis on number. For instance in the sentences (31) and (32) quoted above the use of number implies that the

speaker is stressing the fact that he threw the food over to a whole lot of children, and that the grub powder was taken away from both women:

- (35) *Arluwa-kari-kirnda thawi-ka.*
 child-PL-DAT throw-P
 He threw it over to the children.
- (36) *Ulyurla-pula-kirndara mama-rnda.*
 woman-two-ABL grab-PRES
 He grabs (the grub powder) from the two women.

The following sentence simply leaves the matter vague – there could be just one or an indefinite number of children:

- (37) *Arluwa-ku thawi-ka.*
 child-DAT throw-P
 He threw it over to the child/children.

The Arabana-Wangkangurru situation thus differs from English in that the singular can include a dual, trial and plural. The important fact is that *the unmarked form is not just a singular: it is essentially neutral as to number.*

There is a further noteworthy distinction: the trial and plural are restricted to animates. The dual *pula* can be used to imply the dual of anything, from human to inanimate:

<i>karna-pula</i>	two men
<i>kungarra-pula</i>	two kangaroos
<i>tyalpa-pula</i>	two trees
<i>kawu-pula</i>	two termite mounds

Normally the singular, as the unmarked form, can be used for any number. If there is a special need to emphasise number, the numeral *kulpari* ‘three’ can be used in lieu of the trial, and various adjectives meaning ‘a lot’ or ‘many’ can be used to indicate plurality in inanimates:

<i>wadna kulpari</i>	three yam sticks
<i>punga nhuka</i>	many humpies (A)
<i>kardipirla nhuka katiwiRi</i>	a great number of stars (A)
<i>kira ngadla</i>	a lot of boomerangs (W)
<i>tyalpa wila-wila</i>	a great number of trees (W)

It is evident from this that the singular, being unmarked as to number, has a much wider use than it has in English: it includes indeterminate numbers as well as the trial and plural of inanimates. The dual too is widely used, whenever ‘two’ is implied, whereas the use of the plural is greatly restricted. This important feature of Arabana-Wangkangurru grammar is illustrated by the usage with *-puru* (§3.15.1).

3.4 THE ABSOLUTIVE AND THE ERGATIVE SYSTEM

3.4.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

Arabana-Wangkangurru, like the other languages of the Lake Eyre Basin, follows the general pattern of being split-ergative. The pronominal system is in part nominative-

accusative, and in part has a threefold distinction, nominative-accusative-ergative. The nominal system is basically absolutive-ergative, with a threefold distinction for words denoting humans, and for the non-singular.

The interplay of these various factors, and the different syncretism of the cases according to whether they are based on nominal or pronominal declension, lead to a complex situation which is summarised in the following table:

Case	Nouns	Human Optional	Nouns in Dual Trial and Plural	Third Person Pronouns
Nominative	(non-human) Absolutive -∅		-∅	-∅
Accusative		-nha	-nha	-nha
Instrumental Ergative		-ru ~ -ri		-ru ~ -ri
Ablative				
Causative		-ntara	-kirmdara	-kirmdara
Allative	-riku			
Dative	-ku	-nta	-kirmda	-kirmda
Locative	-nga			

As in other ergative languages the absolutive in Arabana-Wangkangurru is used for the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs, except in those cases where the accusative-marking hierarchy takes effect. The absolutive is unmarked. In pronouns, the dual and plural markers (which are pronominally based) and, in the optional forms for nouns denoting humans, the dative, allative and locative, are the same and the ablative-causative is derived from this common form.

3.5 COMMENTS ON THE CASES: THE ACCUSATIVE

3.5.1 THE ACCUSATIVE-MARKING HIERARCHY

The hierarchy for object marking as suggested by Silverstein (1976:7) is distinctly applicable in Arabana-Wangkangurru. Pronouns and proper nouns are always marked for the accusative, common nouns denoting humans are optionally marked for the accusative:

- (38) *Ama-nha waRawa-ma.*
 mother-ACC follow-IMPF
 They follow their mother.
- (39) *Kumpira-nha piRipiRi-nha pirda-Ru.*
 dead-ACC ghost-ACC kill-IMP
 Kill that rotten bastard! (*Kumpira* 'dead' and *piRi-piRi* 'ghost' are used as terms of abuse.)

However, non-human common nouns are never marked:

- (40) *Mardi mumpa-rda.*
 hairstring spin-PRES
 He is spinning hairstring.

There is one complication in Arabana-Wangkangurru which is not envisaged in the hierarchy put forward by Silverstein: because the markers for the dual and plural are originally pronouns, they follow the pronominal declension and are marked for the accusative regardless of whether the words concerned are human, animate or inanimate common nouns (except for the restriction under §3.3.6 that the plural marker *-kari* cannot be used with inanimates). For example:

- (41) *Thuka-lhuku madla-pula-nha.*
 lift-HIST dog-DU-ACC
 He picked up the two (dead) dogs.
- (42) *Kadnha-pula-nha alka mani!*
 hill-DU-ACC appearance take
 Take a picture of those two hills!

On the pattern of the plural the Arabana word *nhuka* 'a lot', and *nhuka-piri* 'a great lot' are also usually marked for the accusative:

- (43) *Arni nhani-rnda-ma-ya-ma kudnatyilti nhuka-nha.*
 we.EXC see-SP-IMPF-TR-IMPF waterhen lot-ACC
 We suddenly saw a lot of waterhens.
- (44) *Arniri kudnatyilti nhuka-piri-nha nhani ngarri-rnda-nha-nga.*
 we waterhen lot-great-ACC see fly-SP-NP-LOC
 We saw a great lot of waterhens flying up.

It is therefore not only the semantic hierarchy that governs the use of the accusative marker in Arabana-Wangkangurru; purely formal constraints operate as well.

3.5.2 THE ACCUSATIVE WITH INALIENABLE POSSESSION

There are some instances where English uses a possessive but Arabana-Wangkangurru, like many other Australian languages, uses an accusative (Blake 1987:15). This happens when a body part is the object of a transitive verb: both the owner and the body part are affected, and they are therefore both accusative. Because of the operation of the accusative-marking hierarchy (§3.5.1), the absolutive is used for the body part:

- (45) *Anha kurri-mda wiRi.*
me.ACC cut-PRES hair.ABS
She cuts my hair.

The same applies to anything inalienably associated with a person, such as appearance, shadow, reflection, voice, name or track:

- (46) *Wadni-lhiku mathapurda-nha wimpa.*
follow-HIST old.man-ACC track
(They) followed the old man's track.
- (47) *Ngawi-lhiku minpaRu-nha pidla.*
hear-HIST doctor-ACC name
(I) heard the clever man's name.

This same rule applies to all situations where there is inalienable possession of the type marked by juxtaposition (§3.8.3), except that owing to the accusative hierarchy the situation is clear only with pronouns and with nouns when there is a number marker that expresses the accusative, as in the sentence (42) quoted above and repeated here:

- (48) *Kadnha-pula-nha alka mani!*
hill-DU-ACC appearance take
Take a picture of those two hills!

3.6 COMMENTS ON THE USE OF CASES: THE ERGATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL

3.6.1 BASIC FUNCTION

The basic use of the ergative is to mark the agent of a transitive verb:

- (49) *Watypala-ru nhanhi-ka partyarna.*
whitefellow-ERG see-P everything
The whitefellows saw it all.
- (50) *Thamuna malyka ulyurla-ru ngawi-nha!*
secret not woman-ERG hear-NP
It is secret and should not be heard by women!

The ergative is also used to mark an inanimate agent, though this function is shared by the causal (§3.11.2):

- (51) *WabmaRa-ru thawi-ka!*
wind-ERG throw-P
The wind blew it away! (This is a proverbial expression meaning 'Don't worry, let bygones be bygones!'.)

- (52) *Kutha-ru wantyawantya-la-yingura.*
 water-ERG sweep.away-BEN-CONT
 The water was just sweeping (his child) away from him.

The instrumental, as in many Australian languages (Blake 1977:60) is identical in form with the ergative. It marks the means by which an action is carried out:

- (53) *Midlha pirda-ka kanti-ri.*
 nose hit-P waddy-INSTR
 He hit them (the Two Boys) on the nose with his waddy.
- (54) *Wadna-ru wadlhu paka-rnda.*
 yam.stick-INSTR ground dig-PRES
 She digs up the soil with her yam stick.

The instrumental also indicates the substance with which something is made:

- (55) *Wardityi-ri kira kapa-yira.*
 mulga-INSTR boomerang make-PUNC
 He makes boomerangs out of mulga wood.

The ergative and the instrumental can occur in the same sentence:

- (56) *Wanpa-ma-rna wadlhu-ru wabmaRa-ru.*
 covered-make-IMPF sand-INSTR wind-ERG
 The wind covered over (the waterhole) with sand.

Some functions that are viewed in English as an instrumental are expressed by the locative of manner in Arabana-Wangkangurru (§3.12.2). With regard to the basic use of the ergative and instrumental, Arabana-Wangkangurru follows the general pattern of the majority of Aboriginal languages (Blake 1977:44) and there are no remarkable features.

3.6.2 EXTENDED USE OF THE INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental has wider uses than just simply expressing a means: it can also mark the manner in which an action is carried out, though the locative is more commonly used in this function (§3.12.2). For example:

- (57) *Kari-kunha-ru ngaRu-ru wangka-rda.*
 they-POSS-INSTR way-INSTR sing-PRES
 He sings in other people's style.

This instrumental of manner fulfils an adverbial function with some adjectives (see §6.1.2(1)), namely:

<i>kathu</i>	silent	<i>kathu-ru</i>	silently
<i>nyilka</i>	steady, slow	<i>nyilka-ru</i>	slowly
<i>manhi</i>	false	<i>manhi-ri</i>	falsely
<i>kangi</i>	too much	<i>kangi-ri</i>	excessively
<i>irlangku</i>	such	<i>irlangku-ru</i>	thus, in such a manner

For example:

- (58) *Nyilka-ru yuka-rnda*
 steady-ABL go-PRES
 He walks steadily. (A)

3.7 THE USE OF THE ABLATIVE AND THE USE OF THE ELATIVE ADJECTIVAL SUFFIX

The ablative and the elative stem-forming suffix do not overlap in use: they fulfil different functions though they both refer to a point of origin. The ablative conveys the notion of 'moving away from', while the elative adjectival suffix means 'from, originating from', thus *Wityira-ru* means 'away from Dalhousie' while *Wityira-nganha* means '(a person) originating from Dalhousie'. The most common use of the elative is with nouns denoting locations, but there are many other situations in which the elative suffix can be used, even with adjectives fulfilling a nominal function:

- (59) *Palku-nganha kutha.*
 body-from water
 (It is) (magic) water from inside the (witchdoctor's) body.
- (60) *Ulyurla yarndi-nganha uriya.*
 woman ancient (time)-from used
 (She is) an old and decrepit woman.
- (61) *Ngurku-nganha madla wityi-ka.*
 good-from bad become-P
 From being a fine person he became useless.

The elative suffix is a true stem-forming suffix; it gives rise to free nominals which can naturally be followed by number and case markers. Thus very common sequences are:

nominal+elative stem-forming suffix + case marker

- (62) *Marlupapu-nganha-ru ngunta-ka.*
 Diamantina-from-ERG show-P
 People from the lower Diamantina told me.

nominal+elative stem-forming suffix+ number + case marker

- (63) *Ngura-nganha-kari-kirnda ngunhi!*
 camp-from-PL-DAT give
 Give it to the people from the camp!

It is not common to have a second stem-forming affix:

nominal+elative stem-forming suffix ± number + declensional stem-forming suffix

- (64) *Mikiri-nganha-kari-kunha ularaka.*
 well-from-PL-POSS history
 This is a history belonging to the people from the Native Well country (the Simpson Desert).

It is extremely rare to have this sequence followed by yet another case marker:

nominal+elative stem-forming suffix ± number + declensional stem-forming suffix + case

- (65) *Wimpa-nga ipali-nganha-kari-kunha-nga yuka-mda.*
 track-LOC before-from-PL-POSS-LOC go-PRES
 He follows in the track of those that went before (lit. before-from-belonging to-in).

All these possibilities of expression show the extreme flexibility of the elative stem-forming suffix. This feature is shared by languages to the north-east, particularly Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1977:56).

3.7.1 THE ABLATIVE

The ablative is used in adverbial noun phrases: it implies that the verb relates to 'movement away from'. Typical examples of this use of the ablative are:

- (66) *Wityira-ru yuka-ka.*
 Dalhousie-ABL go-P
 He went from Dalhousie. (W)
- (67) *Wadlhu-ru wanka-rda.*
 ground-ABL rise-PRES
 They come up out of the ground. (W)
- (68) *Maka-ru kilta-rnda.*
 fire-ABL pull-PRES
 He pulls it out of the fire. (A)

The ablative can also express a direct reason:

- (69) *Marutya-ra waya-rnda thanta nhuka-ru.*
 heat-CSL feel-PRES clothes many-ABL
 I'm hot *from* the many clothes (I am wearing). (A)
- (70) *Maka-ru-manarni puthu-ru waRawa-nta.*
 fire -ABL-perhaps coolamon-INSTR cover-REFL
 Perhaps he protected himself from the fire by means of a coolamon.

The ablative of reason when used with some adjectives can fulfil an adverbial function, but with a different semantic value from the instrumental adverbs (§3.6.1):

<i>paku</i>	illusory, false	<i>paku-ru</i>	for nothing
<i>thadlu</i>	empty, vain	<i>thadlu-ru</i>	in vain

The following sentence gives an example:

- (71) *Thaka-ma 'kanha kudna-ru, paku-ru.*
 hit-IMPF him shit-INSTR nothing-ABL
 They pelt him with shit for no reason. (W)

One descriptive noun shows a similar usage:

<i>thiRi</i>	cheek	<i>thiRi-ri</i>	out of cheek, boldly
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The basic difference between this type of use of the ablative and the causal is that the ablative gives a general reason, the causal marks an immediate cause.

3.7.2 FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ELATIVE ADJECTIVAL SUFFIX

The elative suffix is a stem-forming suffix: it forms adjectives from nouns with the meaning 'originating from'. *-nganha* is particularly common after placenames: *Mikiri-nganha* 'originating from the Mikiri country, (i.e. the Simpson Desert), *Karla Tyalpa-nganha* 'coming from Anna Creek'. It is also added to ordinary nouns:

(72) *ngura-nganha mapu*
camp-from mob
the local people

(73) *karla-nganha kutha*
river-from water
river-water

-nganha, being a stem-forming suffix, can take declensional endings:

(74) *Ngura-nganha-ru ngunta-ka.*
camp-from-ERG tell-P
The local people told him.

-nganha can also take number markers:

(75) *Wutmara-nganha-kari*
Woodmara-from-PL
the people from Woodmara Creek

These include number markers with further endings:

(76) *Wutmara-nganha-kari-kunha ularaka*
Woodmara-from-PL-POSS history
a myth belonging to the people from Woodmara Creek

In one environment *-nganha* is used in an adverbial noun phrase: when it is added to an adjective, as in:

(77) *Kumpira-nganha nganka wityi-ka.*
dead-from alive become-P
From being dead he came alive again. (W)

(78) *Madlanthi-nganha ngurku-ma-rnda.*
bad-from good-make-PRES
From being bad he made it good. (A)

The contrast with the ablative is particularly clear: *kumpira-ru* would mean 'from a dead person'.

3.8 COMMENTS ON CASE FUNCTIONS: POSSESSION

Possession is expressed in three different ways:

- (1) through the declensional possessive adjective *-kunha*;
- (2) through the dative-purposive marker *-ku*;
- (3) through juxtaposition.

3.8.1 *-kunha*

The use of *-kunha* is the most common way of expressing possession. It forms possessive adjectives which can be further declined. It is restricted to animate or personified owners and alienable possession. *-kunha* is almost identical in form and meaning to the Aranda possessive suffix *-kenhe* (Wilkins 1989:217):⁸

- (79) *Watyalpa wanpatyara-kunha ngura.*
 Ross's Hole owl-POSS camp
 Ross's Hole is the (main) camp of the night-owls.
- (80) *Mayutha-kunha thanta, malyka ibma-Ru!*
 boss-POSS belongings not touch-EMP
 These things belong to the boss. Don't touch them!
- (81) *Thangka-rda awarda punga-nga, ulyurla-kunha-nga.*
 sit-PRES this.one humpy-LOC woman-POSS-LOC
 That man is staying in the house, in the one belonging to the woman.
- (82) *Thika-rnda wadlhu-ruku uka-kunha-ruku.*
 return-PRES country-ALL he-POSS-ALL
 He is going back to his own country.

The possessive adjective marker *-kunha* appears to have been more loosely attached to the stem than the case markers, and there are even isolated instances of emphatic markers intervening between nominal stems and *-kunha*:

- (83) *Marni arla-purru kathi-thi-kunha.*
 fat true-having animal-EMP-POSS
 The only fat we have got is that of this animal (a pet golden bandicoot).

-kunha, like *-ku* from which it was derived, was freely used after stems ending in final *i*, contrary to the general tendency against the vowel sequence *i-u* across morpheme boundaries (§2.14.4).

3.8.2 *-ku*

The suffix *-ku* is primarily dative in meaning but it fulfils the role of a genitive in sentences where there is a double possessive. The possessive adjective *-kunha* is used where there is a single possessive, as in:

⁸ Regarding *-kenhe* Henderson (pers.comm.) points out that in Aranda in some pronominal and kin relationship word forms this is split, hence *mekikwenhe* 'his/her mother's' is analysable as

<i>me-</i>	<i>k -</i>	<i>ikwe-</i>	<i>nhe</i>
mother		his/her	

possessive

In Pertame (Southern Aranda) *-ke* dative marks the possessive with the less common alternative *-kenhe*. If another case marker follows, only *-kenhe* is used.

- (84) *athata-kunha ngunku*
 grandfather-POSS tobacco
 grandfather's chewing tobacco

In a double possessive *-ku* is used to mark the immediate owner, while the secondary possessor is marked with *-kunha*:

- (85) *ngunku amiri-kunha athata-ku*
 tobacco our grandfather-DAT
 our grandfather's chewing tobacco
- (86) *Uka-kunha anya-ku wadlhu Urapuntya.*
 he-POSS father-DAT country *Urapuntya*
Urapuntya is his father's country

3.8.3 JUXTAPOSITION

Juxtaposition is used to mark inalienable association in the case of inanimates:

- (87) *pantu-tharku*
 lake-edge
 the edge of the lake
- (88) *karla-thidli*
 creek-branch
 the branch of a creek
- (89) *mardi-thira*
 hairstring-end
 the end of a piece of hairstring

Juxtaposition is also the only way of marking *inalienable* association or possession in animates:

<i>karna-palku</i>	human flesh (lit. man-flesh)
<i>kuti-papu</i>	swan eggs
<i>madla-wimpa</i>	dog track
<i>kungarra-itha</i>	kangaroo tick
<i>karrawaRa-wirinya</i>	eaglehawk's nest
<i>Ulyuria-thidna</i>	The Woman's Foot (name of a site just east of Coober Pedy).

There is thus a clear contrast between alienable possession, where a suffix is used, and inalienable possession, which is marked by juxtaposition. This contrast is typical of many Australian languages and reflects the closer link between possessor and possessed in the case of inalienable possession (Haiman 1985:136).

3.9 COMMENTS ON THE DATIVE

3.9.1 THE DATIVE MARKER *-ku*

The dative *-ku* is used in possessive phrases of the type described in §3.8.2. Its basic function however is as an indirect object marker:

- (90) *Malyka waya-rnda palku miRaka-ku.* (A)
 not like-PRES body red-DAT
 I don't like half-castes.
- (91) *Yalka-ku wadla-ra waya-rnda.*
 onion-DAT hunger-CSL wish-PRES
 She is hungry for wild onions.

Closely akin to this function is the use of *-ku* to convey purpose or aim:

- (92) *Kathi-ku yuka-rnda.*
 meat-DAT go-PRES
 He goes out for meat.

-ku in combination with reduplicated nominals can convey a *distributive* meaning as in:

- (93) *Nguyu-ku nguyu-ku yuka-rnda.*
 one-DAT one-DAT go-PRES
 One by one they go.
- (94) *kulpari-ku kulpari-ku*
 three-DAT three-DAT
 three by three

-ku also conveys a meaning of *extent*:

- (95) *Kubmarri-ku pirda-ka.*
 blood-DAT hit-P
 He struck him to the point of bleeding.

3.9.2 THE ALTERNATIVE SUFFIX *-nta* WITH PERSONAL NOUNS

The alternative dative-allative-locative marker *-nta* is found with nouns denoting persons. This suffix shows syncretism between these three cases, as does the pronominal declension (§3.4.1), hence:

(1) Dative

- (96) *Mathapurda-nta malyka waya-rnda.*
 or
Mathapurda-ku malyka waya-rnda.
 old.man-DAT not want-PRES
 (He) doesn't like the old man.

(2) Allative

- (97) *Ulyurla-nta antha yuka-rnda wadni tharki-tharki-nha-nga.*
 woman-ALL I go-PRES ceremony show-show-NP-LOC
 I am going over to the women so that they can show me their ceremony.

This is the preferred usage: the ordinary allative marker *-ruku* is not generally used with words for persons other than kinship terms (§3.10).

(3) Locative

- (98) *Ulyurla-nta antha yanhi-rnda.*
 or
Ulyurla-nga antha yanhi-rnda
 woman-LOC I speak-PRES
 I am talking to the woman.

Just like the corresponding causal-ablative suffix *-ntara* (§3.11.1), *-nta* is not used with kinship terms.

3.9.3 *-kunha* USED TO MARK THE INDIRECT OBJECT

The possessive suffix *-kunha* can be used as a dative for nouns denoting objects. This happens with verbs meaning 'waiting'. The locative is an alternative way of expressing this, just as in English 'waiting for' and 'waiting on'. Examples are:

- (99) *Tyalpa-kunha mitha-a-rnda.*
 food-POSS wait-TR-PRES
 I am waiting for food. (A)
- (100) *Kadnhaardi-kunha mitha-a-rnda.*
 money-POSS wait-TR-PRES
 I am waiting for money. (A)

For the possibly associated use of *-kunha* in lieu of the third person pronoun accusative see §4.2.2.

3.10 COMMENTS ON THE ALLATIVE

The allative basically indicates 'direction towards'. Its use is therefore obviously very common with placenames:

- (101) *Kadni-kubmarri-riku thika-ka.*
Kadni-kubmarri-ALL return-P
 He went back to *Kadni-kubmarri*.

The allative case marker is repeated, rather than being given only at the end of the noun phrase, when there is an emphasis equivalent to English 'right up to':

- (102) *Yuka-lhuku karla-ruku ngarrawa-ruku thupi-riku Kuriyapa-ruku.*
 go-HIST creek-ALL salty-ALL waterhole-ALL Cooreappa-ALL
 He went to the creek, right up to the saline waterhole called Cooreappa.

The allative is common with all words denoting localities:

- (103) *Thika-rnda ngura-ruku.*
 return-PRES camp-ALL
 I am going home.
- (104) *Mardi-papu thawi-r' uka-ru yikara-ruku.*
 string-egg throw-PUNC he-ERG swamp-ALL
 He threw the ball of hairstring into the swamp.

The allative is freely used with nouns that do not strictly refer to places, such as *maka-ruku* 'towards the fire', *yurdi-riku* 'to a beefwood tree', but as the allative implies simply 'movement towards', it is extremely rare with nouns referring to persons because usually some benefit is implied and the dative is used instead. Thus, in contrast with the sentence quoted above, *ikara-ruku thawira* 'he throws it into the swamp', a Wangkangurru speaker would say *thuthirla-ku thawira* 'he throws it over to the boy', using the dative. With the verb *thika* 'to return' the allative of persons has been heard occasionally:

- (105) *Apityi-riku thika-ka*. (A)
 father-ALL return-P
 He went back to his father.

With words other than kinship terms but referring to people the personal dative-allative-locative marker *-nta* is preferred (§3.9.2).

3.11 COMMENTS ON CASES: THE CAUSAL

The presence of a distinct causal case links Arabana-Wangkangurru with a number of languages to the north-east, as far away as Yidj. It is a striking fact that the case marker is identical with the one used in Wangka-Yutyurru, the neighbouring language of the Palku group. This is probably a matter of common inheritance.

3.11.1 FORMS OF THE CAUSAL

The normal causal suffix is *-ra*, but there is an alternative form, *-ntara*, which can be used optionally with nouns indicating persons. Thus in the following sentence one can also say *minpaRu-ntara*; both Arabana and Wangkangurru people claimed that you could 'say it both ways, makes no difference':

- (106) *MinpaRu-ra antha thadla-ra waya-rnda*.
 doctor-CSL I fear-CSL feel-PRES
 I am frightened of the witchdoctor.

The *-ntara* suffix is never used with kinship terms, but it may be used with nouns referring to people to include personified animals and ancestral beings, as for instance in *Wadnangkani-ntara* 'because of the Ancestral Carpet Snake'.

3.11.2 BASIC FUNCTIONS OF THE CAUSAL

The main function of the causal case (Blake 1977:57) is to express a reason or *cause*:

- (107) *Thilkirri-nga kurda kutha-ra*.
 shoulder-LOC put water-CSL
 He put (his grandson) on his shoulder on account of the floodwater.
- (108) *Kari-ki-thi yardu thangka-ma kupala-ra*.
 they EMP-EMP sated sit-IMPF grog-CSL
 These people remained completely sated with alcohol (and they could not eat anything).

- (109) *Kadnhini-ra tyirima-mda.*
grandmother-CSL keep.away-PRES
I am keeping it away on account of granny.
- (110) *Nhupa-ra antha wanta-rda-yangu.*
spouse-CSL I run-SP-PLUP
I ran away on account of my husband.

The causal is used to indicate the source of fear, anger, pleasure or other emotions:

- (111) *Mathapurda-ntara thadla-ra waya-mda.*
old.man-CAUS fear-CSL want-PRES
He is scared of the old man.
- (112) *Panki-rda ngampa-ra.*
pleased-PRES nardoo.stone-CSL
He is pleased with the nardoo stone.

The causal is also used to express the matter in regard to which someone is forgetful:

- (113) *Wardukupara pamdu-thi-yangu.*
child-CSL forgetful-become-PLUP
She had forgotten her child.
- (114) *Ulyurla-kari-kimbara pamdu-thi-yangu.*
woman-PL-CSL forgetful-become-PLUP
He'd forgotten the women.

Another important function of the causal is to express an *inanimate agent*, though the ergative-instrumental can also fulfil this function:

- (115) *Maka-ra ngarda-kanha.*
fire-CSL burn-PERF
He got burnt by the fire.
- (116) *WabmaRa-ra thawi-ngura.*
wind-CSL throw-CONT
(The papers) were thrown around by the wind.

The ergative can be used instead of the causal in this type of sentence without any evident difference in emphasis:

- (117) *WabmaRa-ru wirliwa-yangu.*
wind-ERG wipe.out-PLUP
(The tracks) were wiped out by the wind.

3.11.3 EXTENDED FUNCTIONS OF THE CAUSAL

(1) The causal versus the instrumental

The causal can be used in some of the functions of the instrumental to express means, but only if those 'means' are closely associated with the agent. Thus the causal is used exclusively, never the instrumental, when the 'means' are part of the body:

- (118) *Thidna-ra yuka-lhuku.*
 foot-CSL go-HIST
 He went on foot.
- (120) *Munha-ra iki-lhiku.*
 body-CSL take-HIST
 He carried it (the doctor's special water) in his body.
- (121) *Kuku-ra kurda-l-ta-yirna.*
 back-CSL fall-BEN-SP-IMPF
 He fell over backwards.
- (122) *Pantya-ra marka-rnda.*
 knee-CSL crawl-PRES
 He is crawling around on his knees.

The causal is used in sentences that contain verbs meaning painting, rubbing or splashing:

- (122) *Pilya-ra pityi-rna, arkapa-ra.*
 black-CAUS paint-IMPF ochre-CSL
 They paint up with black (manganese) and with red ochre.

The use of the causal is almost as common as the instrumental in sentences containing verbs meaning 'to strike':

- (123) *Nyinta-ra pirda-rna-lhuku.*
 bushes-CSL hit-SP-HIST
 They hit out (at the swarms of mosquitos) with bushes as they travelled along.
- (124) *Karna-ru pirrimpara-ra thaka-lhuku.*
 man-ERG large.spear-CSL spear-HIST
 The man struck him with a fighting spear.

The causal is not used when the means are more distant or imply remote control; this is the function of the instrumental:

- (125) *Walkara-ra partyarna pirda-rinaru maka-ru.*
 sorry-CSL all kill-PLUP fire-INSTR
 He was sorry because he had killed them all by means of fire.

(2) 'In the form of'

A highly specialised use of the causal case is to indicate 'in the form of', 'in the shape of':

- (126) *Mankarra-pula ngama-ngama tyalpa-ra-thu warni-rnda.*
 girl-two ngama-ngama bush-CSL-EMP stand.up-PRES
 The two girls are still standing there as two *ngama-ngama* bushes.
- (127) *Kadnha-ra kanhangarda thangka-rda, manami.*
 rock-CSL there sit-PRES maybe
 He is still there in the shape of a rock, at least that is what they say.
 (The association with cause is not immediate, but is nevertheless clear: he is still there because he has become a rock.)

3.11.4 THE CAUSAL WITH NOMINALS EXPRESSING SENSATIONS AND EMOTIONS

There is a series of nominals expressing sensations and emotions: these are used with the causal case marker *-ra* and the verb 'to feel, to want' and more rarely with the verb 'to become'. The verb 'to want' is *waya-* in Wangkangurru, and Arabana in this environment has *wa-* 'to want'. The expressions involved are very commonly used and of the type 'to feel (an emotion stemming) from fear', that is 'to be frightened'. Apart from a rare usage with the non-past participle (§5.6.2), this construction is confined to a closed group of nominals.

Some are ordinary *free nouns* meaning 'heat', 'cold' and 'fear':

<i>madli-ra</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to feel cold
<i>marutya-ra</i>	<i>wa-</i> (A)	to feel hot
<i>kanyakarla-ra</i>	<i>waya-</i> (W)	to feel hot
<i>walkara-ra</i>	<i>wityi-rnda</i>	to start feeling sorry (<i>walkara</i> 'sorrow', <i>wityi</i> 'become')
<i>thadla-ra</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to be frightened

Others can alternatively occur with 'having' suffixes:

<i>wadla-ra</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to be hungry (<i>wadla-purru</i>)
<i>ngamarla-ra</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to be pitiful (<i>ngamarla-purru</i>)
<i>thiRi-ra</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to be cheeky (<i>thiRi-thapu</i>)

Others occur *only in the causal form*:

<i>walkarara</i>	<i>wa-</i> (A)	to feel sorry
<i>yangkathara</i>	<i>wa-</i> (A)	to feel thirsty
<i>ngalpara</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to feel thirsty
<i>kudnalara</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to feel sleepy
<i>nguyara</i>	<i>waya-</i>	to feel jealous
<i>madlanthara</i>	<i>wa-</i> (A)	to be bad-tempered (based on Arabana <i>madlanthi</i> 'bad')

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the causal with *waya-* thus forms stative verbs which fulfil functions similar to the other stative verbs (§5.2.8). The verb *wantya-* 'to perish' can be used with the same limited group of causals to mean 'perishing from', as in:

- (128) *Wadla-ra wantya-rda.*
 hunger-CSL perish-PRES
 He is perishing with hunger.

These nominals in the causal case became fixed locutions: the case form as it stands can be used as an adjective; hence *madli-ra* 'cold', *nguya-ra* 'jealous', *thadla-ra* 'frightened'. Thus one can say *antha madlira* 'I am cold', *walkarar' amiri* 'we are sorry'. The causal has thus become part of word formation in a limited way.

3.12 THE LOCATIVE

The locative is marked by the suffix *-nga* except in personal nouns where there is an optional alternative suffix *-nta* which shows the syncretism with the dative-allative that is characteristic of the pronominal system (see §3.9.2).

3.12.1 MAIN FUNCTION

The main function of the locative is to indicate position in space and time:

- (129) *Wadlhu-nga thangka-rda.*
ground-LOC sit-PRES
He sits on the ground.
- (130) *walta nguRu-nga*
time other-LOC
on another occasion
- (131) *Ularaka-nga (or thutirla-nga) mapayi-ma.*
history-LOC (or boy-LOC) meet-IMPF
They are getting together at a ceremony (or 'at the Boys', i.e. initiation).

Other examples are *ngarka-nga* 'in the evening', *muyu-winta-nga* 'at sunset', *marutya-nga* (A), *kanyakarla-nga* (W) 'in the hot weather'.

The locative can express close vicinity, the exact connotation being understood:

- (132) *Maka-nga thangka-rda.*
fire-LOC sit-PRES
He sits by the fire.
- (133) *Wardityi-nga kudnala.*
mulga-LOC sleep
He's sleeping under a mulga tree.
- (134) *Kadnhini-nga thangka-rda.*
grandmother-LOC stay-PRES
She is staying with her maternal grandmother.

With the verb 'to drink' the locative refers to the place where the water is contained:

- (135) *Puthu-nga puntha-rda.*
coolamon-LOC drink-PRES
(He) is drinking out of a coolamon.
- (136) *Kutha arla-nga puntha-rda.*
water real-LOC drink-PRES
He is drinking from the real water (i.e. straight from a waterhole).

When used with the clitic *-(i)-ki*, which implies both emphasis and finality, the locative assumes an allative nuance and means 'right up to':

- (137) *Ngarrityi-rnda karla-nga-lki.*
go.down-PRES creek-LOC-FIN
He's going right down into the creek.
- (138) *Ngulpa-nga-lki wanka-yiwa-rnda uka-irnda.*
sick-LOC-FIN rise-TR-PRES that.one-LOC
He walks right up to that sick man.

This use of the locative is however not synonymous with the allative. There is a difference between the following two sentences:

(139) *Mudlu-nga-lki yuka-mda.*
sandhill-LOC-FIN go-PRES

(140) *Mudlu-ruku-lki yuka-mda.*
sandhill-ALL-FIN go-PRES

In the first sentence, where the locative is used, the sentence implies that he goes to the sandhill and right up onto it, in the second the use of the allative implies that he only goes as far as the sandhill, to the base of the sandhill.

3.12.2 EXTENDED FUNCTIONS

The locative can be used to indicate the general circumstances surrounding an action, and can also indicate *manner*. The locative fulfils this function more commonly than the instrumental (§3.6) and indeed this is the preferred usage:

(141) *Minha ngaRu-nga?*
what manner-LOC
In what way?

(142) *Pingka-nga thangka-rda.*
adopted.child-LOC stay-PRES
She is staying (with people) as an adopted child.

(143) *wadni pidla-nga*
song word-LOC
according to the key word of the song

Other functions of the locative include *speaking in* a certain way or in a language:

(144) *Kari-kunha wangka-nga yanhi-mda.*
they-POSS language-LOC speak-PRES
He's speaking in their language (not ours).

A number of the languages of the Lake Eyre Basin, Arabana-Wangkangurru and Diyari, as well as languages of the Yarli group, use the locative of nouns meaning 'meat' when the idea conveyed is 'to go walking about looking for any kind of meat' (see also Austin 1981a:129). The locative is also used with verbs implying *to search around generally* for something:

(145) *Wadnangkani-nga kathi-ma.*
carpet.snake-LOC walk.round-PRES
They are walking round looking for carpet snakes.

(146) *Puntyu-nga watyiwa-mda. (A)*
meat-LOC travel-PRES
They are travelling around looking for meat.

(147) *Kira-nga wapa-mda.*
boomerang-LOC search-PRES
He's going round looking for his boomerang.

This type of sentence contrasts with the use of the verb *yuka-* 'to go, to go for', which implies a more direct rather than a general aim, a direct aim being always associated with the dative case (§3.9).

The locative is used with a number of verbs that imply 'with reference to' or which even imply an indirect object, such as to play or dally with and to ask for. The locative alternates with the dative where there are verbs meaning 'to wait for something', 'to speak to', and 'to give', and it alternates with the possessive in the case of *yabmi-* 'to growl at' (for a roughly similar, though not identical situation in Diyari see Austin 1981a:127). Examples are:

(a) Playing with

- (148) *Kulyi-nga warra-kanha.*
 pebble-LOC play-PERF
 They played with a round stone.

(b) Dallying with

- (149) *Malyka nguti-nga wintawinta-yiwa-lhuku!*
 not other.person's-LOC dally-TR-PUR
 Don't dally around with somebody else's (wife)!

(c) Asking for

- (150) *Kulyi-nga anthirda nhingka-rda. (W)*
 money-LOC me.DAT ask.for-PRES
 He's asking me for money.

(d) Waiting

- (151) *Kadnhaardi-nga mitha-rda. (A)*
 money-LOC wait-PRES
 He's waiting for his money.
- (152) *Thiti-nga wanti-nta. (W)*
 tea-LOC wait-REFL
 I'm waiting for my tea.

(e) Speaking to

- (153) *Yanhi-rda nharla nguRu-nga. (A)*
 speak-PRES man other-LOC
 He's speaking to another man.

(f) Giving to

- (154) *Madla-nga ngunhi-lhiku waya-rda.*
 dog-LOC give-PUR wish-PRES
 I want to give it to the dogs.

(g) Growling at

- (155) *Thutirla-nga yabmi-ra. (var. thutirla-kunha)*
 boy-LOC growl-PUNC
 He's growling at the boy.

There is a special situation with the verb 'to like', which is used with the locative of the possessive form:

- (156) *Uka-kunha-nga malyka wayayi-rna.*
 he-POSS-LOC not want-IMPf
 They didn't like him.

(The closest structural equivalent in English would be 'They didn't like anything to do with him'.)

The locative expresses notions that are akin to the instrumental, but there are subtle differences. It expresses 'cooking on' (rather than 'with') fire and 'carrying in' (rather than 'with one's hand'), and doing something by oneself. This type of function of the locative is common in other Australian languages (Blake 1977:47):

- (157) *Maka-nga wadnhi-rnda.*
 fire-LOC cook-PRES
 She cooks it on the fire.

- (158) *MaRa-nga thiki-ra.*
 hand-LOC take.back-PUNC
 He takes it back in his hand.

- (159) *Manhi-nga kurda-wa-lta-nangka-lira.*
 self-LOC fall.down-TR-BEN-CONT.S-lest
 You might keep falling over all on your own (i.e. without being pushed).

3.12.3 THE LOCATIVE WITH PARTICLES IMPLYING POSITION

The locative is used with particles expressing a more precise relative location, such as 'inside', 'above':

- (160) *punga-nga thuRu*
 humpy-LOC inside
 inside the humpy
- (161) *kutha-nga parraRa*
 water-LOC middle
 in the middle of the water
- (162) *kaltiRi-nga ararda (A)*
 ridge-LOC above
 on top of the ridge
- (163) *maka-nga karlatyuntu*
 fire-LOC centre
 at the centre of the blaze

Expressions like *karla-nga yadla* 'close to the creek' and *kutha-nga warritha* 'at a distance from the water', *kutha-nga marruru* 'on the other side of the water, overseas' clearly show the wide general meaning of location that is implied by this case (§6.3.1).

3.12.4 THE LOCATIVE OF CIRCUMSTANCE

(1) The locative with *padni* 'not'

As noted by Austin (1981a:126) some languages of the eastern Lake Eyre Basin, notably Diyari and Yandruwantha, use what can be described as a locative of circumstance in noun phrases which imply 'in the absence of'. The same usage is found in Arabana-Wangkangurru, where such noun phrases are marked for case by the phrase-final *padni*, which is in the locative:

- (164) *Karla padni-nga yuka-lhuku.*
 creek nothing-LOC go-HIST
 They went (straight across, in the History time) when there was (as yet) no creek.
- (165) *Kutha ngurku padni-nga kutha ngarrawa kari-ri puntha-lhuku.*
 water good nothing-LOC water salty they-ERG drink-HIST
 When there wasn't any good water they drank salty water (from the springs).

The same type of noun phrase can be used with regard to persons:

- (166) *watypala padni-nga..*
 whites nothing-LOC
 when there were no white people...

When a pronoun is used this too has to be obligatorily in the locative case, according to the rule stated in §8.2.2:

- (167) *anthirda padni-nga*
 me.LOC nothing-LOC
 when I was (not yet) there (before my time)

Particularly common is the phrase:

- (168) *amiri-kirnda padni-nga*
 we-LOC nothing-LOC
 before our time

This differs from the situation in Diyari where the nominative is used (Austin 1981a:126):

- (169) *nganhi pani-ni*
 I nothing-LOC
 when I was nothing

This contrasting usage between the two languages stems from the fact that in Arabana-Wangkangurru the entire phrase is viewed as a locative of circumstance.

(2) Circumstantial locative referring to the age of a person

Circumstantial noun phrases referring to the age of a person follow an identical pattern to the phrases containing *padni*:

- (170) *Anthirda mankarra-nga motorcar padni.*
 me.LOC girl-LOC motorcar nothing
 When I was a little girl there were no cars around.

Closely related to the phrases referring to age is the rare use of the circumstantial locative with nouns indicating position:

- (171) *Anthirda pingka-nga kari yuka-rnda.*
 me.LOC front-LOC they go-PRES
 They are walking along with me leading them.

In contrast to the situation in Diyari the locative can be used only when the phrase is circumstantial and has no other function within the sentence: if for instance the term signifying 'age' refers to the subject, agent or object (direct or indirect) the term must be in the corresponding case, not in the locative. Thus in Diyari one can say (Austin 1981a:126):

- (172) *Nawu ngama-ma wanti-yi naka kanku waka-ni.*
 3sg sit-PART AUX-PRES there LOC boy small-LOC
 He lived there when he was a small boy.

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the phrase 'small boy' would have to be in the absolutive case, seeing that it refers to the subject, as in:

- (173) *Anthu thutirla nyara mikiri-nga thangka-ka.*
 I boy small well-LOC stay-P
 As a small boy I lived in the Native Well country (the Simpson Desert).

Similarly with transitive verbs the ergative must be used in such sentences referring to age, *not* the locative:

- (174) *Athu mankarra-ru pawa tharni-liparna.*
 I.ERG girl-ERG seed eat-ANC
 When I was a little girl I used to eat flour made from grass seeds.

In Arabana-Wangkangurru therefore the use of the circumstantial locative, in contrast to the situation in Diyari, is closely allied to switch of reference.

(3) The circumstantial locative in noun phrases with stative verbs and with compound adjectives

The circumstantial locative in these roles does not appear to have parallels in the other Lake Eyre languages. As in the above cases this use of the locative is possible only when the phrase is circumstantial and has no other function within the sentence: the whole structure is closely akin to the use of the locative of the non-past participle to mark switch-reference (§5.6.2.(3)):

- (175) *Mathapurda kudnala-nga kari-ri mani-ka.*
 old.man asleep-LOC they-ERG take-P
 They stole it while the old man was sleeping.
- (176) *Anthirda pangkangkarda-nga unpa yuka-ka.*
 me.LOC sick-LOC you go-P
 You went away while I was very ill.

The use of the circumstantial locative in noun phrases with compound adjectives is rare:

- (177) *Yuwu kupula-purru-nga malyka thangka-lhuku waya-rnda.*
 people drink-full-LOC not stay-PUR wish-PRES
 I don't like being there when people are drunk.

Rarely also a whole subordinate clause (with switch reference) can have its main noun in the locative:

- (178) *Muyu-nga-ki widni-naru kari wanga-lki warra-ma.*
 sun-LOC-EMP set-PLUP they morning-FIN dance-IMPF
 When the sun had set they danced till morning.

The underlying function of the locative in all the types of usage discussed above is to give the circumstances and the general setting for the rest of the sentence. This function removes the phrase marked with the locative from the main topic of the verb and gives it an absolute, detached meaning, implying a switch of reference. Such a function for the locative is found in other languages: it is familiar as the 'locative absolute' of Sanskrit and the ablative (which serves as locative) absolute of Latin. It is simply an extension of the meaning of location and general environment.

3.13 THE VOCATIVE

3.13.1 THE STEM FORM AS VOCATIVE

The forms used for the vocative vary according to the degree of emphasis. The bare stem, that is the absolutive form, is generally used for the vocative when there is no particular emphasis:

- (174) *Intyarnda yuka-mda, thangkithangki-pula? (A)*
 where go-PRES donkey-DU
 Where are you going, you two (silly) donkeys?
 (This was said quietly by Tim Strangways, so as not to be heard by the two overdressed girls to whom he directed the question.)

The non-emphatic vocative occurs frequently in conversation when the speaker is telling a story and does not wish to elicit any immediate response from the person to whom he is speaking, but is just trying to retain that person's attention:

- (180) *Antha ngulpa katiyiwiRi thangka-ka, mathapurda!*
 I sick big sit-P old.man
 I've been very ill, old man!

The non-emphatic vocative is also used in commands when the main stress is on an imperative, as in:

- (181) *Eh thutirla, arnari thikei!*
 eh boy this.way return.IMP
 Eh boy, come back here!

The vocative is thus readily slipped into conversations in its inconspicuous stem form: this is in fact its most common function.

3.13.2 THE EMPHATIC FORMS OF THE VOCATIVE

The vocative, seeing that it is basically an interjection, can show emphasis on the last syllable and modification of the final vowel resulting in diphthongs which are otherwise

unknown in the language. Stems ending in *i* and *u* have two distinct forms of emphatic vocative in Arabana-Wangkangurru according to the degree of emphasis and urgency.

The most usual form of emphatic vocative is marked by an accented diphthong *ei* as stem-final vowel, usually on a raised pitch. This vowel change takes place regardless of what the original final was:

<i>mathapurda</i>	old man	<i>Mathapurdei!</i>	Eh you, old man!
<i>ngunanhi</i>	peer	<i>Ngunanhei!</i>	My friend!
<i>kaku</i>	elder sister	<i>Kakei!</i>	Sister!

Terms of abuse are shouted in the vocative in this way:

<i>kumpira</i>	dead body	<i>Kumpirei!</i>	(You) carcass!
<i>manya-nhuka</i>	f... many	<i>Manya-nhukei!</i>	(You) f...ing bastard!

Another and even more emphatic vocative is formed with the addition of *-íya* before which stem-final vowels are elided:

<i>mathapurda</i>	old man	<i>Mathapurdíya!</i>	Oh please, old man!
<i>ngunanhi</i>	peer	<i>Ngunanhíya!</i>	For heaven's sake, my friend!
<i>anthunhangaRu</i>	nephew	<i>AnthunhangaRíya!</i>	Oh my nephew! (in a highly emotive context)
<i>thanthi</i>	grandfather	<i>Thanthíya!</i>	Oh grandfather!

This form of the vocative appears to have overtones of imploring and beseeching and was never heard with terms of abuse.

Forms in *-íya* are quite common in song, for example *manpíya* for *manpi* 'Bronze-wing Pigeon'. Because of the lack of grammatical constraints in song, such forms cannot be analysed as vocatives and are best regarded as typical of the vowel distortions that are heard in songs.

3.14 THE PROPER NOUN MARKER *-nha*

The proper noun marker *-nha* is affixed to proper names both of persons and places. The use of this suffix is obligatory when a name is discussed as a separate item, as in the following examples:

- (182) *Wadlhu pidla Wirluma-nha.*
country name *Wirluma*-PROP
That country was called *Wirluma*.
- (183) *Anthunha wathili mathapurda Thidna-piRa-nha.*
my relation old.man *Thidna-piRa*-PROP
It was old man *Thidna-piRa* 'Round Foot', my own relation.
- (184) *Pudla-yalhi-yalhi-nha, pula iranya wityi-ma.*
Pudla-yalhi-yalhi-PROP two thin become-IMPF
(The placename) *Pudla-yalhi-yalhi-nha* means 'the two of them are getting very thin'.

The most important feature of the proper noun marker is that it indicates as it were a quotation; it is exclusive of and incompatible with any other case marker and lifts the noun to which it is attached out of the syntactic structure of the rest of the sentence.

Sometimes words meaning 'there' or 'from there' supply the syntactic information:

- (185) *Pitha-palti-nha, kanhangarda kaRu thawi-thika-ma.*
Pitha-palti-PROP there thither throw-return-IMPF
 (The place called) *Pitha-palti-nha* 'the Split Box Tree', that is where he went back to throw it away (the corpse that he was carrying).

Often however the relationship of the proper noun with the rest of the sentence is not marked but is nevertheless clearly understood. This applies to both the allative and the locative. It is particularly common for the allative to be understood:

- (186) *Yuka-lhuku, yuka-lhuku Tharrityinityi-nha.*
 go-HIST go-HIST *Tharrityinityi-PROP*
 They travelled and travelled to the place called *Tharrityinityinha* (North Well).
- (187) *Mudlu-li thika-ru pula, malyka warritha Malkura-pula-nha.*
 sandhill-ADV return-NAR two not far *Malkura-pula-PROP*
 The two of them went back along the sandhills, not very far, (to the place called) *Malkura-pula-nha*.

The narration then goes on:

- (188) *Malkura-pula-ru yuka-ka...*
Malkura-pula-ABL go-P
 They went on from *Malkura-pula...*

This type of sequence is standard in narrations of journeys and geographical descriptions: the quotation form with the implied allative is followed by the ablative:

- (189) *Thika-ngura kaRu Nyinya-nha. Nyinya-ru Ngardupaka-nha,*
 return-CONT there *Nyinya-PROP Nyinya-ABL Nardiebuckinna-PROP*
irlanha katyi-ma-ya-lhuku Thapa-nha. Thapa-ru karla
 thus turn-SP-TR-HIST *Tuppanna-PROP Tuppanna-ABL creek*
thirriwa wityi-rnda...
 east become-PRES

It (the main channel of the lower Macumba) goes to *Nyinya*. From *Nyinya* it goes on to Nardiebuckinna and then it turns to Tuppanna. From Tuppanna the creek turns east...

The locative is understood in the following type of sentence:

- (190) *Thangka-thika-lhuku uka Nhurri-nha, Midlaliri-kunha wadlhu-nga.*
 sit-return-HIST he *Nhurri-PROP Midlaliri-POSS country-LOC*
 He went back to stay at (the place called) *Nhurriha*, in *Midlaliri* people's country.

Henderson (pers.comm.) draws attention to some instances in Aranda accounts of mythical travels where placenames are unmarked for the allative. This could be a similar

stylistic device to what we find in Arabana-Wangkangurru: he suggests that this is basically a kind of presentational construction, which prevents 'literal' interpretation of names.

The fact that the quotation form of placenames ends in *-nha* has led to the high proportion of traditional names on modern maps that end in '-na' or '-nna', for example Algebuckina, Tarracalena, Toondina. The best known places, those that are familiar to everyone, such as major creeks and ritual centres, do not need to be 'presented', and therefore usually occur without the proper noun marker, for example *Kati-thanda* Lake Eyre, *Thantyi-wanparda* 'the Rain ritual centre'. This situation is reflected by the fact that the most important geographic names do not have the final '-na' or '-nna', as for instance Curdimurka, Macumba, the Woodmarra Creek, the Kallakoopah.

In Diyari, as pointed out by Austin (1981a:48), *-nha* is the marker for the absolutive (nominative-accusative) of masculine personal names. Arabana-Wangkangurru usage is slightly different. *-nha*, as pointed out above, marks the quotation form of proper names, which happens to be identical with the accusative form *-nha*. Therefore all personal names (there is no gender difference in Arabana-Wangkangurru) have two forms in *-nha*, the quotation form and the accusative. The ordinary absolutive however, when there is no sense of quotation, remains unmarked (§3.3):

- (191) *Mathapurda Thudnungkurla wadlhu-ru wanka-rda.*
 old.man *Thudnungkurla* ground-ABL rise-PRES
 Old man *Thudnungkurla* came out of the ground.

3.15 'HAVING' SUFFIXES AND OTHER ADJECTIVAL NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS IMPLYING POSSESSION

Most Aboriginal languages have a suffix which is added to nouns to form an adjectival nominal meaning 'having'. A survey of these is published in Dixon, ed. (1976:203-312) with comments on Arabana-Wangkangurru on pp.263-266.

3.15.1 *-purru*

(1) *-purru* with nominals in the singular

-purru is the normally used 'having' suffix. It is suffixed to the stem of nouns and more rarely to the stem of the second member of a noun phrase:

- (192) *Kadnhaardi-purru thika-rda.* (A)
 money-having return-PRES
 He is coming back with the money.
- (193) *Tyalpa-purru thika-rda.* (A)
 food-having return-PRES
 He is coming back with the food.

-purru can be used with reference to any animates:

- (194) *Mathapurda Markanyangkurla parra-rda madla-purru.*
 old.man *Markanyangkurla* travel-PRES dog-having
 Old man *Markanyangkurla* is travelling about with his dogs.

-purru can also qualify a whole noun phrase, being added to the final member:

- (195) *Yadningka-mapu parnda-purru parra-rnda* (A)
 youth-mob big-having travel-PRES
 He travels round accompanied by a big group of young men.
- (196) *Makathira ukakunha-purru thika-ka*.
 firestick his-having return-P
 He went back with his firestick.

In rare instances *-purru* can even refer to a whole clause:

- (197) *Wadlhu pinha kumpira paka-liparna-purru*.
 area already dead dig-ANC-having
 The area is already full of (places) where they have been digging (graves for) dead people long ago.

There are a number of fixed locutions where *-purru* indicates a state: *wadla-purru* 'hunger-having', that is 'hungry', *arla-purru* 'true-having', that is 'one and only', *kupula-purru* 'full of grog', *kutha maka-purru* 'water fire-having', that is 'boiling water'.

(2) Number markers with the 'having' suffix

-purru occurs frequently with pronouns where the allative-dative-locative is used as stem-form (§4.1.4):

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>kari-kirnda-purru</i> | accompanied by them |
| <i>pula-kirnda-purru</i> | accompanied by the two of them |

In conformity with this pronominal usage the allative-dative-locative also appears before the 'having' suffix *-purru* when it is used with nouns referring to persons marked for the plural and trial. Finer distinctions appear here, in conformity with the semantic hierarchy of number marking (§3.3.6).

(a) Dual and trial:

With inanimates and non-humans the nominal type of stem form is used:

- (198) *madla-pula-purru*
 dog-two-having
 accompanied by two dogs
- (199) *kira-pula-purru*
 boomerangs-two-having
 holding two boomerangs

When persons are referred to in a general way the construction is exactly the same:

- (200) *arluwa-pula-purru*
 child-two-having
 accompanied by two children

When specific persons are referred to however the pronominal usage prevails, since the word *pula* is then analysed as a separate pronoun:

- (201) *arluwa pula-kirnda-purru*
 child two-DAT-having
 accompanied by the two children

The same distinction is made with the trial number:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>arluwa-kari-kari-purru</i> | accompanied by three children |
| <i>arluwa-kari-kari-kirnda-purru</i> | accompanied by the three children |

(b) Plural

The plural is more restricted and more specific in its application than the other numbers (§3.3.6), so whenever it is used the specific, that is the pronominal type of usage is the rule. If one does not wish to be specific the plural is not used and one can say *arluwa-purru* ‘accompanied by child/ children’, but if one wishes to be specific, and if one therefore refers to the children as *arluwa-kari* ‘the children’, that is particular children, one has to say:

- (202) *arluwa-kari-kirnda-purru*
 child-PL-DAT-having
 accompanied by the children

This applies to all words denoting people if they are regarded as separate personalities: one has to say *minparu-kari-kirnda-purru* ‘accompanied by the clever men’, and a phrase like **minparu-kari-purru* is not acceptable.

(3) Case marking

Nominal adjectives formed with *-purru* are by their nature descriptive and occur most frequently as a complement. They can be used with case-marking suffixes, though this is uncommon:

- (203) *Malyka kurda-yiwa-lhuku waya-rnda wadlhu-nga piyarri-purru-nga.*
 not lie-TR-PUR wish-PRES place-LOC ant-having-LOC
 I don’t want to camp overnight in a place full of ants.
- (204) *Malyka wayayi-ma arluwa irrtya-purru-ku.*
 not like-IMPF child noise-having-DAT
 I don’t like noisy kids.
- (205) *Nhupa uka-ru pirda-ka kupula-purru-ru.*
 spouse he-ERG hit-P grog-having-ERG
 He beat his wife when he was drunk.

When adjectives ending in *-purru* are used as placenames the proper-name-forming suffix *-nha* is added as in the case of other nominals: *Yuri-yuri-purru-nha* ‘(A place) full of banded snakes’ (North Hawker Springs), *Malya-purru-nha* ‘(A place) full of gypsum’ (Beresford).

3.15.2 *-maRa*

-purru is never used to mean ‘accompanied by’ with kinship terms; that is the function of the suffix *-maRa*. It is highly probable that this suffix is derived from the word *maRa* ‘hand’. *-maRa* is used to denote kinship pairs (§4.3.2.) in which the term for the senior of

the two relatives is the focal point. This usage is widespread, as shown by Breen (1976b: 290-292). Arabana-Wangkangurru examples are:

- (206) *nhuti-maRa*
elder.brother-having
a pair of brothers
- (207) *kadnhini-maRa*
maternal.grandmother-having
maternal grandmother and grandchild

The definition of some of these kinship pairs is quite complex as for instance *muyuru-maRa*, meaning 'two people who from the point of view of the person addressed or under discussion are of the opposite moiety and alternate generation level, such as father and father's sister'.

There is a distinct difference in meaning between *-purru* 'having' and *-maRa* 'accompanied by'. Thus *nhupa-maRa* means 'accompanied by a spouse', that is a married couple, whereas *nhupa-purru* means 'spouse-having', that is 'a married person': the spouse need not necessarily be present and accompanying that person. There are two fixed locutions where *-maRa* appears to be used as a general 'having' suffix.

One is *padni-maRa* 'having nothing'. This phrase is actually associated with the word *maRa* 'hand' and means 'empty handed'. The other is *thapa-maRa* 'cicatrice-having', that is 'marked with scars'. This was a jovial expression for someone who prided himself on all his ritual prowess, 'accompanied by all his scars'.

The suffix *-maRa* is not predominantly descriptive like *-purru*. In its function of forming kinship pairs it is therefore frequently found with case markers:

- (208) *Pula-ru nhupa-maRa-ru pidla-ka.*
two-ERG spouse-accompanied-ERG name-P
The married couple both gave a name to (the baby).

3.15.3 OTHER 'HAVING' SUFFIXES

(1) *-thapu*

A number of Aboriginal languages have a pejorative 'having' suffix, which is sometimes equated with English 'lousy with', 'nasty with'. This happens for instance in Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980:112) and Dyrbal (Dixon 1972:223). Thus Wangkangurru (not Arabana) has a suffix *-thapu* which has a slightly pejorative possessive meaning and is regularly associated with only the three nouns *thiRi*, *kata* and *marni*:

- (209) *thiRi-thapu*
cheek-having
a cheeky fellow
- (210) *kata-thapu*
louse-having
covered in lice

- (211) *marni-thapu*
fat-having
grossly fat

-thapu has been heard just occasionally instead of *-purru* in a few other instances where a pejorative meaning is implied, as in *murumpa-thapu* '(a place) covered in prickles', *madla-thapu* '(a camp) overrun with (starving) dogs' and *wadni-thapu* 'song-having', which refers to a person who boasts about his knowledge of traditional song cycles.

-thapu is not found in Arabana, but it has parallels further afield: it is clearly akin to *-tappa*, which occurs once in C.W. Schürmann's *Parnkalla language* (1844:28) in the form *marni -tappa* 'very good' (presumably implying 'in fat condition').

- (2) *-nhuka*

In just those cases where Wangkangurru uses the suffix *-thapu*, Arabana on a regular basis adds *-nhuka* 'much' as a suffix, hence *thiRi-nhuka*, *kata-nhuka* and *marni-nhuka* mean 'cheeky', 'covered in lice' and 'grossly fat' respectively. *Nhuka* as an adjective often occurs in attributive phrases (§3.15.5) which are very similar in function to phrases with the 'having' suffix.

- (3) *-yulku* 'addicted to', 'having a lot of'

This suffix is usually found with verbs (§5.7.2(3)) and occurs only very rarely with nouns. It is used in a jovial, not necessarily derogatory way:

<i>kupula-yulku</i>	addicted to alcohol, always having lots of it
<i>madla-yulku</i>	a dog-lover

3.15.4 PRIVATIVE SUFFIXES

- (1) *-padni* 'not having'

Like many other Australian languages Arabana-Wangkangurru has a privative suffix. This is similar to the 'having' suffixes in that it forms an adjectival nominal. It is the negative *padni* 'not' that is used in this function. As a privative suffix *-padni* is much more flexible than the 'having' suffixes: it is found with both alienable and inalienable possession and it is freely used with case suffixes. It forms adjectives similar in meaning to English adjectives ending in '-less':

- (212) *Uka lhuka-padni.*
she mother-without
She hasn't got a mother any more.
- (213) *Unpa malyu-padni.*
you brain-without
You are brainless.
- (214) *Partyarna tyalpa-padni thangka-rda.*
all food-without sit-PRES
None of them have any food.

Examples of the use of case markers with *padni* are:

(215) *Uka-ru thiti thawi-ra wangka-padni-ri.*
 he-ERG tea throw-PUNC word-without-ERG
 He threw away the tea without saying a word.

(216) *Yarndi, amiri-kirnda-padni-nganha.*
 ancient us-DAT-without-from (elative)
 It is ancient and from before our time.

(2) *parlu* 'bare'

The word *parlu* 'bare' is used in the function of a privative suffix in both Arabana and Wangkangurru, but only when the actual idea of 'bare of' is involved as in *nyipa-parlu* 'bare of clothes, naked', *nyinta-parlu* 'bare of vegetation'.

(3) *palku* 'flesh'

This word has the meaning 'without' only incidentally in the fixed locution *yakarra-palku* 'without teeth', literally 'tooth flesh', one whose teeth are reduced to just the flesh (i.e. the gums).

3.15.5 ABSENCE OF 'HAVING' SUFFIX

-purru is never used in noun phrases containing an adjective if inalienable possession is implied. In such cases there is always simple juxtaposition, the whole noun phrase functioning as an adjective:

(217) *Antha ungku thati-thi-mda.* (A)
 I throat dry-become-PRES
 My throat is getting dry (I become one with a dry throat).

(218) *Unpa wardukupa nhuka.* (A)
 you child many
 You have many children.

(219) *Mathapurda nhayi pantya madla.*
 old.man this knee bad
 This old man has a bad knee.

(220) *Thutirla kardayapu yirayira.*
 boy head mad
 The boy is crazy.

Juxtaposition is possible in such noun phrases even when it is not a matter of inalienable possession:

(221) *Antha nhantu parkulu.*
 I horse two
 I have two horses.

This juxtaposition however implies close association or permanent possession. There is thus a difference between the two following sentences:

- (222) *Anthunha nhupa kadnhaardi parnda-purru* (or *nhuka-purru*). (A)
 my spouse money big-having (or much-having)
 My husband has got a lot of money (at the moment, he has just been paid).
- (223) *Anthunha nhupa kadnhaardi nhuka* (or *parnda*).
 my spouse money much (or big)
 My husband (always) has a lot of money, he is a rich man.

The construction involving juxtaposition clearly points to permanent possession, while *-purru* refers to possession just at the time in question. The absence of suffix when inalienable or permanent possession is implied is a well-known and widespread phenomenon in Australian languages (§3.8.3).

3.16 REDUPLICATION

3.16.1 REDUPLICATION IN NOUNS

(1) Inherent reduplication

There are a number of nouns which are inherently reduplicated and are never found in the simple form. These are mainly names of flora and fauna. Inherent reduplication is particularly common with the names of smaller birds. Some of the thirty or more examples are:

<i>thinti-thinti</i>	Willie Wagtail
<i>muti-muti</i>	avocet
<i>kuta-kuta</i>	Spotted Nightjar
<i>thunti-thunti</i>	Black-winged Stilt

The names of large birds are never in a reduplicated form, the only exception being *wantu-wantu* 'black-breasted buzzard', possibly because this bird was considered small by comparison with its close associate in mythology, the eaglehawk.

Inherent reduplication is also common in the names of small snakes, lizards and insects, as for instance:

<i>yuRi-yuRi</i>	Banded Snake
<i>tyarla-tyarla</i>	Knob-tailed Gecko
<i>murla-murla</i>	large skink
<i>nguRi-nguRi</i>	fly
<i>thita-thita</i>	meat-ant

It is found even with a large fish:

<i>malthu-malthu</i>	giant Murray cod
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Inherent reduplication is less common in the names of small animals, as in:

<i>punta-punta</i>	<i>Sminthopsis</i> sp.
<i>ngulyu ngulyu</i>	<i>Sminthopsis</i> sp.

In the names of introduced animals reduplication is always inherent in:

<i>ipi-ipi</i>	sheep
<i>piki-piki</i>	pig

<i>putyi-putyi</i>	cat
<i>thangki-thangki</i>	donkey

Instances of the very common inherent reduplication in the names of plants are:

<i>maya-maya</i>	Sandhill Gidgee
<i>ngunti-ngunti</i>	Crinum Lily
<i>nhawilyi-nhawilyi</i>	Sturt's Desert Pea
<i>kukurru-kukurru</i>	geranium

There are a few instances of inherent reduplication in categories of nouns that have nothing to do with flora and fauna, as for example several kinship terms and body parts:

<i>yanti-yanti</i>	brother-in-law (A)
<i>kula-kula</i>	nephew
<i>kilyi-kilyi</i>	armpit
<i>kanya-kanya</i>	kidney
<i>ngaRa-ngaRa</i>	heart

A few other nouns have inherent duplication. For example:

<i>nyila-nyila</i>	mirage
<i>purlu-purlu</i>	down (feathers)

It seems that in some but by no means all of these words the reduplication may originally have indicated small size, while in others it may have indicated familiarity.

(2) Variations in the reduplicating syllables

In some of the words that are obligatorily reduplicated a homorganic nasal is present:

<i>kilangkila (kila-ng-kila)</i>	galah
<i>kuRungkuRu (kuRu-ng-kuRu)</i>	a bad cold

In Diyari, as indicated by Austin (1981a:58), in words of three or more syllables only the first two are reduplicated. In cases of inherent reduplication this happens in some names of birds in Arabana-Wangkangurru, as in:

<i>thiki-thikilyara</i>	dotterel
<i>wiya-wiyalarra</i>	rainbird

This partial reduplication is sometimes accompanied by the loss of an initial nasal or velar consonant:

<i>ulyu-mulyuwa</i>	gull
<i>alting-kaltingka</i>	Australian Hobby

Some of the reduplicated words look like compounds with only the second member reduplicated. This may be quite obvious as in *kadnha-kurru-kurru* 'seagull' (alternative to *ulyu-mulyuwa*), which is evidently a compound of *kadnha* 'stone'. Many other cases however are not so clear:

<i>kardintiri-tiri</i>	plover
<i>marintari-tari</i>	unidentified bird

Various kinds of other partial reduplications are found, as in:

<i>alingkiringkiri</i>	intestines
<i>tyilpamparlu</i>	Fire-tailed Finch
<i>kurkurku</i>	Tawny Frogmouth
<i>kardiyardi</i>	Desert Chat

Inherent reduplication in Arabana-Wangkangurru thus shows some diversity of form and, in a few cases – particularly in the names of birds – there appears to have been some play on words.

(3) Optional reduplication in nouns

Optional reduplication in nouns has two main characteristics:

- (a) it conveys a diminutive meaning
- (b) in words of three or more syllables only the first two are reduplicated.

Examples are:

<i>madla</i>	dog
<i>mala-mala</i>	doggie (no pre-stopping, as explained in §2.9.2(4))
<i>karla</i>	creek
<i>karla-karla</i>	small creek
<i>kaltiRi</i>	hill
<i>kalti-kaltiRi</i>	a small hill, a mound

This kind of reduplication remained a living process of derivation and affected even borrowed words:

<i>warli</i>	house
<i>warli-warli</i>	small outhouse (i.e. toilet)

Sometimes the reduplication has an affectionate nuance:

<i>arluwa</i>	child
<i>arlu-arluwa</i>	my dear child

It can also be patronising:

<i>ulyurla</i>	woman
<i>ulyu-ulyurla</i>	my dear woman!

However, in all cases the meaning is predominantly diminutive.

3.16.2 REDUPLICATION IN ADJECTIVES

In adjectival reduplication there is no variability: it is always the entire word that is reduplicated, regardless of the number of syllables.

(1) Inherent reduplication

There is a small group of adjectives which are always reduplicated, and never found in their simple form. This group comprises a few adjectives denoting shape, and some which are by their nature emphatic:

<i>parra-parra</i>	long
<i>parla-parla</i>	short
<i>kumdi-kumdi</i>	twisted
<i>ngarra-ngarra</i>	crazy
<i>yira-yira</i>	crazy
<i>kuna-kuna</i>	bright green

(2) Optional reduplication

In adjectives reduplication adds intensity and emphasis:

<i>kumpira</i>	dead
<i>kumpira-kumpira</i>	long dead
<i>thadlara</i>	frightened
<i>thadlara-thadlara</i>	terrified
<i>puka</i>	dead
<i>puka-puka</i>	stinking dead

An exceptional case is *nyara* 'small', which is reduplicated as *nyari-nyara* 'tiny' with a change of vowel.

(3) Nouns reduplicated to form adjectives

Nouns can be reduplicated to imply 'having a great quantity of', and they thereby fulfil an adjectival function. The method of reduplication is like that in adjectives as regards both form and meaning. Words of three or more syllables are fully reduplicated and the meaning is strongly emphatic:

<i>wiRi</i>	hair
<i>wiRi-wiRi</i>	covered in hair, shaggy
as in <i>madla wiRi-wiRi</i>	a shaggy dog
<i>thurliRi</i>	gibber
<i>wadlhu thurliRi-thurliRi</i>	a place covered with gibber
<i>malka</i>	spot
<i>malka-malka</i>	spotty
<i>tyita</i>	blot
<i>tyita-tyita</i>	blotchy

Inalienable possession is not implied in these adjectives, only close association: a typical example of such close association is found in the placename for William Creek, *Mangu-mardi-mardi* 'Forehead-hairstring-hairstring', that is 'having a lot of hairstring on his forehead'. The reference is to the Ancestral Hare-Wallaby, who was preparing for a ceremony.

The free use of such reduplicated nouns in an adjectival function was found mainly in traditional recitation and in fixed locutions; it was familiar only to the oldest speakers.

3.17 COMPOUND NOUNS

3.17.1 ANALYSABLE COMPOUNDS

Because of the free use of juxtaposition to mark inalienable possession there is no clear demarcation line between juxtaposed nouns and compound nouns. The simplest criterion is purely semantic: a compound is regarded as a unit. Examples are:

<i>thidna-pirri</i>	toenail (lit. foot-claw)
<i>maRa-pirri</i>	fungernail (lit. hand-claw)
<i>kudna-ngampa</i>	the main part of the intestines (lit. guts-grinding dish)
<i>pardi-pulpa</i>	grub-powder (i.e. roasted grubs ground to a powder)
<i>mardi-papu</i>	a ball of string (lit. hairstring-egg)

In many common compound words the second member is not used as a simple noun. Thus *thira* means 'end' but it only occurs in two compound words:

<i>maka-thira</i>	firestick (lit. fire-end)
<i>mardi-thira</i>	the end of a piece of hairstring

The word *piti* means 'quarry', 'main source', hence 'ritual centre'. It is not used as a simple noun, but occurs only as the second member of compound nouns, since there is a need to express what type of source is referred to. There is thus a series of compound nouns:

<i>palthirri-piti</i>	grindstone quarry
<i>arkapa-piti</i>	ochre quarry
<i>thurla-piti</i>	adze quarry
<i>pardi-piti</i>	grub ritual centre
<i>kunya-piti</i>	sorcerer (lit. the main source of boning)

Similarly *piri-piri* 'ghost' is found only in the compound *kumpira-piri-piri* 'ghost of a dead person'. This type of compound approximates the situation where one or both members are no longer transparent within the framework of the language.

3.17.2 UNANALYSABLE COMPOUNDS

In the vocabulary of Arabana-Wangkangurru there are numerous compound nouns that contain elements which are either archaic or borrowed from neighbouring languages (Hercus 1988:73-80). Thus there is evidence to show that the word *ngapa* 'water', widespread in the Lake Eyre Basin and beyond, was once current in Arabana-Wangkangurru. It was replaced by the word *kutha*, probably derived from Arandic *kwatya* 'water'. *Ngapa* has survived in placenames and in some common nouns which are compounds:

<i>ngapa-wiRara</i>	dragonfly
<i>thidna-ngapa</i>	bandicoot species (lit. foot-water)
<i>ngapa-yiwayi</i>	breaking of water (at birth)

Other compounds contain elements borrowed from neighbouring languages such as *warru-paRi* 'Milky Way' (lit. 'white creek': *paRi* is the Kuyani word for 'creek'). There are however a number of compound nouns in Arabana-Wangkangurru which are not analysable, as both elements of the compound are likely to be archaic or perhaps borrowed. All we can

be certain about is that there is no simple word in the language corresponding to them. Such nouns are predominantly placenames and names of birds. Examples are:

<i>Utha-puka</i>	Hookey's Waterhole (the second part of the compound could be <i>puka</i> 'stinking')
<i>kalyi-malyantyani</i>	white crane
<i>ngapuru-kani</i>	a kind of waddy

3.18 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

There are numerous nominal derivatives: they are clear as such from their correspondence to simpler forms. One distinct group of such derivatives is based on composition with *-kardi*, *-ardi* 'fruit' which has become a derivational suffix involving morphophonemic changes (§2.7.5). Apart from this one group however there are no clear patterns of derivation and no readily analysable nominal suffixes.

3.18.1 DERIVATIVES FORMED WITH *-kardi*

The presence of a semantic bond between the languages of the Lake Eyre Basin is shown particularly clearly by the fact that they have nouns formed with the suffixing of a word which means both 'fruit' and 'clitoris'. This word is *kardi* in Arabana-Wangkangurru, *thandra* in Diyari and closely related languages, *kaaka* in Kuyani and *aaka* in Adnyamathanha. This phenomenon has been discussed by Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976). The nouns involved refer to parts of the body, objects in nature and edible plants. As shown in §2.7.5 the initial *k* of *kardi* is usually lost in Arabana. Examples for parts of the body are:

	WANGKANGURRU	PARALLEL FORMS	
		DIYARI	ADNYAMATHANHA
kneecap	<i>pantya-kardi</i>	<i>pantya-thandra</i>	
iris of eye	<i>milki-kardi</i>	<i>milki-thandra</i>	<i>mina-aaka</i>
testicles	<i>manha-kardi</i>	<i>karlu-thandra</i>	<i>ardlu-aaka</i>

These are derived from the simple nouns *pantya* 'knee', *milki* 'eye' and *manh*, which has the same meaning as the compound.

Examples for natural objects are:

pebble, money (A)	<i>kadnha-ardi</i>	<i>marda-thandra</i>	<i>adnya-aaka</i>
rainwater	<i>kutha-kardi</i>	<i>ngapa-thandra</i>	<i>awi-aaka</i>

These are derived from the simple nouns *kadnha* 'stone' and *kutha* 'water'.

Examples for edible plants are:

edible fruit	<i>malyu-kardi</i>	<i>puka-thandra</i>	<i>mayi-aaka</i>
seed of <i>Acacia</i> sp.	<i>kalku-kardi</i>	<i>wirra-thandra</i>	<i>mingka-aaka</i>

This type of derivation has its maximum extent in Diyari and it seems likely that this language was at the centre of the diffusion.

One isolated instance of *-kardi* involves a kinship term. The ordinary word for mother's brother is *kakaka* (A) and *kaga* (W). A mother's brother long deceased is referred to as

ngamakardi (W). This is obviously based on (*ng*)*ama* ‘mother’. The adjacent languages do not have strict parallels, but the ordinary word for ‘mother’s brother’ in Adnyamathanha-Kuyani is *ngamarna*.

3.18.2 OTHER NOMINAL DERIVATIVES

Apart from *-kardi* there is little evidence of any systematic nominal derivation. There are a number of derivative nominals, but they appear to be one-off derivations with no parallels:

<i>kadnhangka</i>	hailstone, from <i>kadnha</i> ‘stone’
<i>mintalpa</i>	clever man (A), as opposed to Wangkangurru <i>minparu</i>
<i>kuthalyuru</i>	wet, from <i>kutha</i> ‘water’

The name of the river Macumba, *Makampa*, comes from *Maka-wimpa* ‘Fire-track’ (§2.14.5). There are two other derivatives ending in *-mpa*, but their origin is not clear apart from the element *thirka* ‘fire-place’:

<i>Mardi-thirkampa</i>	a place where an Ancestor sat making <i>mardi</i> ‘hairstring’
<i>Wibma-thirkampa</i>	an initiation camp, from <i>wibma</i> ‘ceremony’

The unusual final *-yapu* appears in two fairly similar-sounding Wangkangurru words: it seems likely that one was patterned on the other. They are:

<i>wardayapu</i>	track (cf. <i>wati</i> ‘track’)
<i>kardayapu</i>	head (Arabana <i>kardapu</i>)

Such an isolated patterning of one final on another is still a long way from any general nominal derivation by suffixes.

3.19 PREFIXED NOUNS

Classifying prefixes are not a feature of Arabana-Wangkangurru, but there are just a few nouns which can be prefixed in a manner that could ultimately have led to a classification system. There is a tendency for these prefixed forms not to be fully accented and for the second member to have the main stress.

Wangkangurru (not Arabana) frequently prefixes the word *kathi* ‘meat’ to the names of all edible animals, and to a lesser extent birds, as in *kathi-kungarra* ‘(meat-)kangaroo’, *kathi-mayarru*, ‘(meat-)rat’, *kathi-manpi* ‘(meat-)Bronze-wing Pigeon’. The use of *kathi* is common with the names of edible introduced animals too, as in *kathi-pudluka* ‘bullock’ and *kathi-rapiti* ‘rabbit’. The corresponding Arabana word *puntyu* ‘meat’ is not used in this fashion.

Similarly in Wangkangurru the word *paya* ‘bird’ is often prefixed to the names of birds, hence *paya-kuti* ‘swan’, *paya-marriRi* ‘black duck’, *paya-karlathuRa* ‘bustard’. In Eastern Wangkangurru this is almost the rule when the name refers to ancestral beings: as in *paya-kuti-mura* ‘the Ancestral Swan’. Also, in Wangkangurru *pawa* ‘grass seed’ is prefixed to the name of any grass bearing edible seed, even if this name already contains the word *pawa*, thus *pawa-thirrthi-pawa*, and *pawa-wakarla-pawa*. Again, the word *wangka* ‘speech’ is often prefixed to the name of any language and of its speakers if that name does not already begin with the word *wangka*. Thus Wangkangurru people talk about their neighbours as the

Wangk'-arabana and the *Wangk'-aranta*. Ngamini is referred to as *Wangka-ngamani*. This custom appears to have spread further east, since Wangkumara people used the almost unrecognisable term *Wangkatanta* for Aranda.

Kutha 'water' is optionally used in a way that resembles a classifier in both Arabana and Wangkangurru with all kinds of words denoting types and sources of water. Thus instead of just saying *mikiri* for 'well' or *ngarrawa* for 'mound spring' one can say:

<i>kutha-mikiri</i>	desert well
<i>kutha-ngarrawa</i>	brackish water (i.e. a mound spring)

Other examples are:

<i>kutha-kurndu</i>	thick water, claypan water
<i>kutha-thupi</i>	waterhole (the word <i>thupi</i> never occurs without <i>kutha</i>)
<i>kutha-iltyitya</i>	soakage
<i>kutha-nganthu</i>	crabhole water
<i>kutha-kadnhangka</i>	hailstone

Maka 'fire' can optionally be prefixed to any word connected with fire:

<i>maka-thupu</i>	smoke
<i>maka-pirla</i>	charcoal
<i>maka-pudnhu</i>	ashes
<i>maka-yaRu</i>	flame
<i>maka-yalthanga</i>	embers

This type of prefixation is obviously further developed in Wangkangurru than in Arabana. It may have started through the use of words in syntactic association, but it had clearly developed into prefixation and words like *kathi-kungarra* 'meat kangaroo' were felt to be single words with two morphemes, a prefix and a main noun. Whether this development in Wangkangurru is due to influences of classifying languages far to the north and north-east is not clear: there appear to be no signs of such usage in the immediately adjacent languages of the Pitta-Pitta group as recorded by B. Blake and J.G. Breen (1971) and B. Blake (1979).

3.20 NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

Arabana-Wangkangurru numerals and quantifiers are used like adjectives and they follow the normal nominal type of declension, as distinct from the pronominal declension.

3.20.1 NUMBERS

There are three basic numbers in Arabana-Wangkangurru:

<i>nguyu</i>	one
<i>parkulu</i>	two
<i>kulpari</i>	three

Further numbers are:

<i>parkulu-parkulu</i>	four
<i>maRa</i>	five (lit. hand)
<i>parkulu-parkulu-parkulu</i>	six

Higher numbers were heard only from one speaker, Ben Murray, who used expressions like the following:

<i>partyarna maRa partyarna thidna</i>	twenty (lit. all fingers and all toes)
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Ben was educated at Killalpaninna and could therefore have been influenced by Diyari (Austin 1981a:57) and by the teaching of basic arithmetic at the mission.

Nguyu 'one' conveys also the notion of 'the only ones', and can therefore be used in the dual:

(224)	<i>aruna-kunha</i>	<i>nguyu-pula-kunha</i>
	we.DU.INC-POSS	one-DU-POSS
	belonging to only us two	

The locative *nguyu-nga* 'in one' can be used adverbially to mean 'together', and in compound verbs:

- (225) *nguyu-nga-wityi-*
one-LOC-become
to come together
- (226) *nguyu-wityi*
one-become
to become one, to unite (intr)
- (227) *nguyu-nga-ma-*
one-LOC-make
to put together
- (228) *nguyu-ma-*
one-make
to unite (Vtr)

The notion of 'first' is expressed by a clitic (§7.2.3), and there are special adjectives to convey the notion of 'one and only'. In Wangkangurru those adjectives are *nguyu-thawi* (lit. 'one throw'), and *arla-purru* (lit. 'true-having'). Thus one can say either *anthunha arluwa nguyu-thawi* or *anthunha arluwa arla-purru* for 'my one and only child'. The corresponding adjective in Arabana is *yakalanha*.

Numerals and number markers are very commonly used in names of people, as for instance the following: *Wanga-pula* 'Two Mornings', *Wanga-mirri* 'Many Mornings', *Thalka-nguyu* 'One Bilby', *Wimpa-nguyu* 'One Track', *Thara-nguyu* 'One Thigh' (i.e. crippled by a lightning strike), *Palku-nguyu thangkayiwanda* 'One bank of cloud sitting down temporarily' and *Kantha-mirri* 'Many Brooms' (for sweeping together fish).

3.20.2 QUANTIFIERS

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the use of quantifiers is more important than in English, because grammatical marking for the trial and plural occurs only with nouns denoting animates (§3.3.6). Quantifying adjectives are thus the only way of indicating number in inanimates. In both Wangkangurru and Arabana the adjective *mirri* is used occasionally, mainly in names and fixed locutions, such as *muyu-mirri* ‘many days’. It refers to any indefinite number above three. Wangkangurru has a more detailed range of quantifiers than Arabana in that there is an adjective *walpa* which means ‘some’, ‘several’, anything from three to about ten. *Ngadla* is used in Wangkangurru and *nhuka* in Arabana to mean ‘many’, ‘a big quantity of’ (for the use of *nhuka* as a possessive and in attributive phrases see §3.15.3 and §3.15.5). *Wila-wila* in Wangkangurru and *nhuka katiwiRi* in Arabana refer to ‘a multitude, a huge quantity of’. Thus one might say in Arabana:

- (229) *Nharla nhuka katiwiRi thangka-ngura.*
 man very many sit-CONT
 A huge number of Aboriginal people lived there (at Anna Creek).

In Wangkangurru one might say:

- (230) *Amiri thanga-rnda wadlhu ngurku-nga, maka-nga wilawila-nga.*
 we stay-PRES place good-LOC wood-LOC very.much-LOC
 We are staying in a good spot, where there is an enormous quantity of firewood.

There is also a word *mirlu* which does not have an exact equivalent in English. It refers only to people or ancestral beings who form a group, indefinite in number, and travel together. This word is hardly ever used except in traditional recitation: in everyday speech its place has been taken by *mapu*, which was associated with English ‘mob’. Whether it is actually derived from English is not certain as there is also a closely related verb *mapa-* ‘to assemble’, which is unrelated to English.

CHAPTER 4

PRONOUNS

4.1 THE CASE AND NUMBER SYSTEM OF PRONOUNS

In Indo-European languages we are accustomed to see more case distinctions in pronouns than in the nominal system. In Arabana-Wangkangurru as in many other Aboriginal languages the situation is different: in the personal pronouns in particular we can see on the one hand a split-ergative system which entails the presence of a nominative-accusative declension and on the other hand a reduced number of non-peripheral distinctions in comparison with nouns.

4.1.1 THE NUCLEAR CASES

There are considerable differences in the marking of the core cases within the pronoun system of Arabana-Wangkangurru. The hierarchy as to which pronouns have nominative and/or accusative and/or ergative distinctions is not exactly the same as that set up by Silverstein (1976:122). The outline of the situation is as follows:

(1) Absolutive-ergative distinction only (as in nouns designating inanimates)
Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns referring to inanimates

(2) Nominative-ergative and accusative distinction
All singular personal pronouns
Third person plural and second and third dual pronouns
Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns referring to animates

(3) Nominative-accusative distinction only
First person pronoun, dual and plural, both exclusive and inclusive
Second person pronoun plural
All special kinship pronouns, whether they include Ego or not

4.1.2 LIMITED USE OF VOCATIVE

Pronouns other than those of the second person do not occur in the vocative, nor do they take any other emphatic form involving distortion of the final syllable. The interrogatives are the only exception to the rule regarding emphatic forms. If one wishes to express great surprise one can say for instance:

- (231) *Minheyi?*
what.EMP
What on earth is that?

- (232) *WaReyi?*
 who.EMP
 Who on earth is that?

Derivatives from pronouns such as the possessive can take an emphatic or vocative form:

- (233) *Kari-kunheyi!*
 they-POSS.EMP
 It belongs to them, to other people! (and so I can't talk about it).

Second person pronouns can occur in the vocative, though never in the emphatic form; nouns in apposition are used to fill the role of exclamatory form:

- (234) *Urkari mathapurdeyi!*
 you.PL.VOC old.fellows.VOC.EMP
 Hey, you old fellows!
- (235) *Arr'-unpa ulyurleyi!*
 hallo-you.VOC woman.VOC.EMP
 Hallo there, woman!

The restriction on the use of the vocative, as well as the split-ergative system, sets the pronouns apart from the nominal system in Arabana-Wangkangurru.

4.1.3 THE PERIPHERAL CASE SYSTEM

As is shown by the diagram in §3.4.1, the pronominal case system shows different syncretisms from that shown by singular nouns. The following distinctions are made in the peripheral cases:

(Ergative)-instrumental	-ru ~ -ri or special forms
Possessive	-(k)unha
Dative-allative-locative	-(k)irnda
Ablative-causal	-(k)irnda-ıu
Elative	-(k)irnda-nganha

This is a general table: it does not take into account exceptional forms. Moreover, in the first and second person singular pronoun, *-irnda* appears as *-irda* under the nasal dissimilation rule (§2.16.1).

The use of the ablative-causal is uncommon in pronouns, but it is found occasionally:

- (236) *Anthirdara parndu-thi-yangu. (A)*
 me.CSL forgetful-become-PLUP
 He had forgotten all about me.

It is found particularly with emotive verbs:

- (237) *Unkirdara waltu-wityi-rnda. (W)*
 you.CSL fed.up-become-PRES
 I am getting sick of you.

- (238) *Thadlara karikirndara ngura-nganha.*
 frightened them.CSL camp-from
 The people from the camp were frightened of them.

The *elative* suffix *-nganha*, seeing that it usually refers to locations and times, is extremely rare with pronouns (see §4.1.4 below).

4.1.4 THE DATIVE-ALLATIVE-LOCATIVE AS STEM FORM

With personal and demonstrative pronouns, as well as with the personal interrogative *waRa*, the allative-dative-locative functions as a stem form. Special kinship pronouns and the inanimate interrogative *minha* do not follow this rule. The use of the dative-allative-locative (from here on abbreviated to 'dative') as stem form is evidently the absolute construction (§3.12.4) where there are also other factors operating. The dative as stem form is however beyond doubt in the use of the elative suffix and the very common use of the 'having' suffix with pronouns. It is important to note that the possessive adjectives are formed by the addition of *-kunha* to the bare stem of pronouns and do not involve the dative as stem form.

When they are used with nouns, the elative suffix (§3.7.2) and the 'having' suffixes (§3.15) are simply added to the stem. With pronouns however they follow the dative, which functions as stem form:

- (239) *Malyka ularaka-nganha, amirikirnda-nganha.*
 not history-from us.DAT-from
 It is not from the Dreamtime, it is from our times.
- (240) *Anthirda-purru yuka-ka.*
 me.DAT-having go-P
 He went, with me accompanying him.

-purru is used similarly with other pronouns. It is common with third person pronouns and demonstratives, hence:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>karikirnda-purru</i> | accompanied by them |
| <i>pulakirnda-purru</i> | accompanied by the two of them |

It is rare with the personal interrogative:

- (241) *waRa-kirnda-purru?*
 who-DAT-having
 accompanied by whom?

The use of the dative *-kirnda* as stem form has implications for the dual and plural of the nominal system (§3.15.1(2)). Though the Diyaric languages are different from Arabana-Wangkangurru in this respect, there are parallels to case forms being used as stem form in the pronouns of many other Australian languages. In Paakantyi and the neighbouring Ngiyampaa language to the east it is the accusative-genitive which is the stem form (Hercus 1982:112). Similar tendencies are found in highly inflected languages elsewhere, for instance the use of the ablative as stem form in pronouns is well known to students of Sanskrit. The underlying reason for this development seems to be that in highly inflected languages the

nuclear case forms of pronouns are felt to be too case-specific to serve as a general stem. In Arabana-Wangkangurru the threefold distinction nominative-accusative-ergative in the singular of personal pronouns means that there is no absolutive on which a stem form would be expected to be based.

4.1.5 THE TRIAL NUMBER IN PRONOUNS

Since in personal pronouns the plural has a different stem from the singular and dual there is no need for *kari* 'they' to function as pluraliser as it does in the nominal system. This leaves *kari* in its basic function of expressing a trial, and it therefore does not need to be repeated. Thus in the nominal system we have:

<i>ulyurla</i>	woman
<i>ulyurla-kari</i>	women
<i>ulyurla-kari-kari</i>	three women

In the pronominal system we have:

<i>arni</i>	we (inclusive plural)
<i>arni-kari</i>	we three (inclusive trial)
<i>urkari</i>	you (plural)
<i>urkari-kari</i>	you three

In the third person naturally there has to be repetition:

<i>kari</i>	they
<i>kari-kari</i>	they three

The use of the trial in the pronominal system is much more common than with nouns: when using pronouns, speakers of Arabana-Wangkangurru usually like to be most specific as to number. Sentences like the following were frequently heard in situations where English speakers would probably just have said 'we' or 'you' instead of 'we three', 'you three':

(242) *Warlu-wityi-rnda arni-kari.*
 angry-become-PRES we.EXC-TRI
 The three of us are getting very angry (having been kept waiting by you).

(243) *Intyarnda yuka-ka urkari-kari?*
 where go-P you-TRI
 Where did you three get to?

4.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns of the first and second person are amongst the most conservative elements of Australian languages, with widespread similarities, whereas the third person pronouns vary considerably from language group to language group.

4.2.1 THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS

These pronouns have the following forms:

	ARABANA- WANGKANGURRU	ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU
Case	1st singular	2nd singular	
Nominative	<i>antha</i>	<i>anpa</i>	<i>unpa</i>
Accusative	<i>anha</i>	<i>unanha ~ anhanha</i>	<i>unha</i>
Ergative	<i>athu</i>	<i>antu</i>	<i>untu</i>
Dative-allative-locative	<i>anthirda</i>	<i>ankirda</i>	<i>unkirda</i>
Ablative-causal	<i>anthirdara</i>	<i>ankirdara</i>	<i>unkirdara</i>
Elative	<i>anthirda-nganha</i>	<i>ankirda-nganha</i>	<i>unkirda-nganha</i>
Possessive	<i>anthunha</i>	<i>ankunha</i>	<i>unkunha</i>
short form	<i>(anthu)</i>	<i>anku</i>	<i>unku</i>

The external relationships of some of these forms become clear if one takes account of the fact that initial *ng* has been lost in pronouns (§2.6.2). Thus:

(a) first person pronouns

antha corresponds to Pitta-Pitta *ngantya* and is more remotely related to the widespread *nganyi*.

athu corresponds to the widespread form *ngathu*, found in all the languages of the eastern Lake Eyre Basin (Diyari, Ngura, Yarli, Yura and, beyond, in Paakantyi) as well as in Pitta-Pitta.

anha, the accusative, corresponds to the even more widespread *nganha*.

(b) second person pronouns

anpa, and *unpa* are closely related to Pitta-Pitta *inpa* (see also *yinba* in the Djirbal dialect Giraway, Dixon pers.comm.). The use of the suffix *-pa* to mark intransitive subject pronouns is found in a number of languages, as for instance in Paakantyi (Hercus 1982:122).

antu and *untu* are connected with forms like *yundu* in Diyaric, *yundru* in the Ngura languages and *intu* in Pitta-Pitta, while the bases *ank-* and *unk-* bear close similarity to the Pitta-Pitta dative *inku*.

The closest correspondences throughout are with Pitta-Pitta. This is of some general significance as the pronouns, being conservative elements of the language, are of particular importance from the comparative point of view.

4.2.2 THE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUN *uka*

In form the third person pronoun *uka* does not have any cognates in neighbouring languages of the Lake Eyre Basin, but it is related to the Arandic third person pronominal

base (*e*)*kwe-rra-*. In its declension however *uka* resembles the third person pronoun in many other Australian languages (Dixon 1980a:358) in that it occupies a mid-position between the nominal and pronominal systems. It takes the special pronominal endings for the ablative and allative but, unlike the other singular personal pronouns *uka* forms a possessive according to the normal nominal pattern. The full set of forms is as follows:

Case	Pronominal form
Nominative	<i>uka</i>
Accusative	<i>ukanha ~ kunha</i>
Ergative	<i>ukaru</i>
Dative-allative-locative	<i>uka(k)irnda</i>
Ablative-causal	<i>uka(k)irndara</i>
Possessive	<i>ukakunha</i>
Elativ	<i>uka(k)irnda-nganha</i>

For the optional loss of *k* in *-(k)irnda* see §2.7.

The form *kunha*, which looks like an abbreviated form of the possessive, functions as a normal accusative:

- (244) *Mathapurda-ru thiki-lhiku kunha ngura-ruku.*
 old.man-ERG take.back-HIST him.ACC camp-ALL
 The old man took him back to his camp.
- (245) *Nganka-ma-rna kunha.*
 alive-make-PRES him.ACC
 They resurrected him.

The origin of *kunha* is not clear: it is tempting to think that it arose as a reverse process from the use of the accusative with inalienable possession (§3.5.2). However, it seems much more likely that *kunha* is an old form of the accusative based on Arandic (*e*)*kwe-*, and that *ukanha* is a later analogical formation. There are no constraints as to when *ukanha* or *kunha* should be used: but in practice *ukanha* was the more common form and the only one heard in the speech of all except the oldest people.

In both Arabana and Wangkangurru the third person singular pronoun was normally used for persons, very rarely for animals, but never for inanimates – except in the speech of Ben Murray, who may have been influenced by his other languages, Diyari and Thirrari.

4.2.3 DUAL PRONOUNS: FIRST PERSON FORMS

As in the majority of Australian languages, there are in Arabana-Wangkangurru two kinds of first person forms, inclusive (including the person addressed) and exclusive (excluding the person addressed). The full set of Arabana-Wangkangurru forms is as follows:

	ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU	ARABANA- WANGKANGURRU
Case	1st inclusive		1st exclusive
Nominative	<i>arimpa</i>	<i>aruna</i>	<i>ari</i>
Accusative	<i>arimpanha</i>	<i>arunanha</i>	<i>arimha</i>
Dative-allative-locative	<i>arimpakirnda</i>	<i>arunakirnda</i>	<i>arikirnda</i>
Ablative-causal	<i>arimpakirdara</i>	<i>arunakirdara</i>	<i>arikirdara</i>
Possessive	<i>arimpakunha</i>	<i>arunakunha</i>	<i>arikunha</i>
Elativ	<i>arimpakirnda-nganha</i>	<i>arunakirnda-nganha</i>	<i>arikirnda-nganha</i>

The origin of these forms is transparent if one takes into account the loss of initial *ng-* in pronouns.

(a) *ari* – this corresponds to the Common Australian *ngali* ‘we two’.

(b) *arimpa* – this Arabana inclusive form is clearly based on *ari* and a suffix *-mpa* which is combined with *ngali* in many languages to the west and north-west in a variety of functions: thus *ngalimpa* in Yankuntjatjara and other Western Desert languages is the genitive-purposive, in Panyima it is an accusative stem form (Dench 1991:157), while in Walmatjari (Hudson:1978) *ngalimpa* is the first person plural inclusive.

(c) *aruna* – the origin of this Wangkangurru inclusive base is more complex. There can be little doubt that this form has cognates in Diyaric, notably Yandruwantha, where in the accusative, for instance, an inclusive first person dual *ngalunha* contrasts with exclusive *ngalinha* (Breen n.d.a:40). Yandruwantha *ngalu* corresponds to *aru* in the same way as *ngali* does to *ari*. The evidence gathered by Reuther at the beginning of the century gives us some further interesting indications. Reuther (1981:V) does not give *aruna* for the inclusive, but ‘arunto’, which he declines as follows:

Nominative	‘arunto’
Genitive	‘aruntokudna’
Dative	‘aruntokinta’
Accusative	‘aruntona’
Ablative	‘arunto’

‘Arunto’ appears to be based on the common *ngali* > *ari* with the addition of the agent form of the second person singular pronoun *untu*. This pronoun ‘arunto’ was not accepted or even recognised by the Simpson Desert speakers. Reuther learnt about it no doubt from the old Wangkatyaka people who were his main informants throughout his great work. Jimmy and Leslie Russell, who were of Wangkatyaka descent, both said *aru* ‘we two’, but their way of speaking Wangkatyaka had been influenced by the Simpson Desert Wangkangurru with whom they associated for many years. Thanks to the evidence of Reuther we can therefore assume a dialectal progression from the south-west to the north-east as follows:

ARABANA	<i>arimpa</i>	< <i>ari</i> + <i>mpa</i> with associations to the west
WANGKATYAKA	<i>aruntu</i>	< * <i>aru</i> (cf. Yandruwantha <i>ngalu</i>)+ <i>untu</i>
WANGKANGURRU	<i>aruna</i>	probably a lengthened form of * <i>aru</i> (with associations to the east)

These forms and those of the first person plural (§4.2.5 below) are of particular interest, as in many other Australian languages it is only the exclusive form that is specially marked, and not the inclusive (Dixon 1980a:335).

4.2.4 SECOND AND THIRD PERSON DUAL PRONOUNS

Both the second and third person dual are based on the Common Australian dual marker *pula*. The second person dual pronoun is formed by the addition of *pula* to the second person plural stem *uru-* (cf. *ur(kari)* §4.2.5). *Urupula* and *pula* have identical declensions and follow the pattern of the singular personal pronouns and the third person plural in being split-ergative. The full set of forms is as follows:

Case	2nd person	3rd person
Nominative (S)	<i>urupula</i>	<i>pula</i>
Accusative (O)	<i>urupulanha</i>	<i>pulanha</i>
Ergative (A)	<i>urupularu</i>	<i>pularu</i>
Dative-allative-locative	<i>pulakirnda</i>	<i>urupulakirnda</i>
Ablative-causal	<i>urupulakirndara</i>	<i>pulakirndara</i>
Possessive	<i>urupulakunha</i>	<i>pulakunha</i>
Elative	<i>urupulakirnda-nganha</i>	<i>pulakirnda-nganha</i>

4.2.5 THE PLURAL PRONOUNS

The first and second person plural pronouns are nominative-accusative in declension. The full set of forms is as follows:

Case	1st inclusive	1st exclusive	2nd	3rd
Nom. (S+A)	<i>amiri</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>urkari</i>	<i>kari</i>
Acc. (O)	<i>amirinha</i>	<i>aminha</i>	<i>urkarinha</i>	<i>karinha</i>
Erg. (A)				<i>kariri</i>
Dat.-all.-loc.	<i>amirikirnda</i>	<i>amikirnda</i>	<i>urkarikirnda</i>	<i>karikirnda*</i>
Abl.-caus.	<i>amirikirndara</i>	<i>amikirndara</i>	<i>urkarikirndara</i>	<i>karikirndara</i>
Possessive	<i>amirikunha</i>	<i>amikunha</i>	<i>urkarikunha</i>	<i>karikunha</i>
Elative	<i>amirikirnda-nganha</i>	<i>amikirnda-nganha</i>	<i>urkarikirnda-nganha</i>	<i>karikirnda-nganha</i>

*There is a rare variant *karirnda*.

(a) *ami* and *amiri* – as to the origin and association of these forms, it is Pitta-Pitta which is the closest. The Pitta-Pitta first person plural *ngarna* contains a retroflex *m*, like Arabana-Wangkangurru. Pitta-Pitta *ngarna* and Arabana-Wangkangurru *ami* and *amiri* must ultimately be connected with forms of the type *ngana*, which are much more widespread (Dixon 1980a:329). Languages of the Diyari group however have forms of the type *ngayana*. It is probable that the final *-ri* which distinguishes the inclusive *amiri* from the exclusive *ami* represents an abbreviated form of the plural and trial marker *-kari* ‘they’; *ami(ka)ri* would have meant ‘us-mob’ and would be exactly parallel in origin to the second person plural. As

in the case of the first person dual (§4.2.3), it is the exclusive form which is short, and the inclusive is marked by the addition of an additional morpheme.

(b) *urkari* is obviously based on the common second person plural pronoun *yura, nhura* with the addition of the pluralising *-kari*. It is noteworthy however that *amiri* and *urkari*, though formed with the addition of *-kari*, do not follow the declension of *-kari*. They are distinctly nominative-accusative, following the pattern of the first person dual pronoun and of the exclusive *ami*.

(c) *kari* 'they' – Arabana-Wangkangurru differs widely from the other languages of the Lake Eyre Basin and surrounding areas in that it has no sign of the Common Australian third person plural pronoun *thana*. Even in the most ancient of chants there is no evidence of a form *thana*, which appears only in verses that are clearly borrowed from Western Desert languages. It would seem that early in the history of Arabana-Wangkangurru the noun *kari* 'a small crowd' had displaced *thana*. The word *kari* conveys slightly more than the simple notion of third person pronoun plural: it often means 'them' as opposed to 'us': In such circumstances *kari* has to be translated as 'they (that group of other people)', as in:

- (246) *Kari-kunha ngaRu.*
 they-POSS manner
 This is their (other people's) way (of singing, not ours).

4.2.6 POSSESSIVE FORMS OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Possessive adjectives can be formed from all pronouns. The only exceptions are the semi-pronominal kinship terms (§4.3.2): since they are mainly used as stylised forms of address they are never used with the possessive affix. The pronominal possessive adjectives are identical in form and function to those formed from nouns (§3.8.1) and they can be declined in the same way, though on the whole there is a preference for marking other items in a noun phrase for case, rather than the possessive pronominal adjective (§8.1.1). Sentences like the following are therefore unusual and emphatic:

- (247) *Anthunha-ruku ngura yuka-nha.*
 my-ALL camp go-NP
 They should go to *my* place.
- (248) *Thangka-lhuku wadlhu-nga amikunha-nga.*
 stay-HIST country-LOC our.EXC.POSS-LOC
 We stayed in *our own* country.

Anthunha nguraruku yukanha and *Thangkarda amirikunha wadlhunga* would be the ordinary unemphatic rendering of these sentences.

4.2.7 THE 'SHORT' FORM OF THE POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE

In nouns the dative in *-ku* (which is closely related to the possessive adjective marker *-kunha*) is used regularly in a possessive function, particularly when there is a double possessive (§3.8.2). *Ulyurla* 'woman' may serve as an example:

Dative	<i>ulyurla-ku</i>
Possessive adjective	<i>ulyurla-kunha</i>

In pronouns (§4.1.3) the dative is very different from the possessive in form:

Dative	<i>anthirda</i>	to me	<i>ankirda</i>	to you
Possessive adjective	<i>anthunha</i>	my	<i>ankunha</i>	your

The dative is also very different in use: it never occurs in a possessive function in Arabana-Wangkangurru pronouns. The only way of expressing the possessive of, for instance, the second person plural is *urkari-kunha* 'yours'; *urkari-kimda* (dative) is not used as a possessive, and **urkari-ku* or **urkarikimdaku* are not acceptable.

(1) Second person singular

There is however one major exception where the nominal usage *is* reflected in a pronoun. That is in the second person singular, which contains *k* in the radical. *Ankunha* 'your' in Arabana and *unkunha* in Wangkangurru resemble the nominal possessive adjectives in *-kunha* and this may be the reason why a short form in *unku* or *anku* is used as a possessive, particularly with kinship terms:

- (249) *Anya 'nku nhayi.*
 father your here
 Your father is here.

This is felt to be less emphatic than the full possessive adjective:

- (250) *Anya 'nkunha nhayi.*
 father your here
 This one here is *your* father.

Only the oldest speakers used the 'short' form of the possessive of the second person singular: it was one of the nuances of style that was obviously lost early.

Unlike the dative *-ku* form of nouns, the short possessive form of the second person pronoun can occasionally be further declined. It can take the elative suffix:

- (251) *Awarda ngunhi unku-nganha!*
 that give yours-EL
 Give me that (little bit) of yours!

Very similar to this usage are the rare instances where a further possessive adjective is formed from the short form *anku*, *unku* to indicate a double possessive. This secondary possessive adjective is very rare and conveys the meaning 'belonging to yours':

- (252) *athata 'nku-kunha ngunku*
 grandfather yours-belonging.to chewing.tobacco
 your grandfather's chewing tobacco

(2) The first person singular

A short form of the first person possessive, *anthu* (instead of *anthunha*), is probably based on the analogy of *unku* ~ *unkunha*. It is however extremely rare and found only in the fixed locution *anthu-ngaRu* 'you of my own kind', which serves as a semi-pronominal special kinship term (§4.3.2) as in:

- (253) *Anha ngawi anthungaRu-kariya!*
 me.ACC hear my.niece.and.nephew-PL.VOC
 Hey! Listen to me, my nieces and nephews!

4.2.8 'SELF'

In Arabana-Wangkangurru, as in many Australian languages, the reflexive is expressed within the verb (§5.3.3). The word *manhi* 'self' does not fulfil the function of a reflexive pronoun: it is best regarded as an adjectival form meaning 'alone', 'unaided'. It follows the nominal declension and is found only in the following cases:

Absolutive	<i>manhi</i>
Ergative-instrumental-ablative	<i>manhiri</i>
Locative	<i>manhinga</i>

Examples of its use are:

- (254) *Manhi yuka-rnda.*
 self go-PRES
 He goes round by himself.
- (255) *Manhi-nga kurda-wa-lta-nangka-lira.*
 self-LOC fall-TR-BEN-CONT.S-lest
 On your own you might well keep falling down (and hurting yourself) as you go.
 (A) (Said while insisting on helping someone climb up a rocky hill.)

The rare form *muntha* 'self' was heard only a few times in the speech of the oldest people in the same function as *manhi*. It is probably related to the Pitta-Pitta *munthi* 'self' which is used to intensify other pronouns (Blake 1979:223).

- (256) *Muntha-nga yuka-ka.*
 self-LOC go-P
 He went on his own.

4.3 SPECIAL KINSHIP PRONOUNS

As has been discussed by Schebeck, Hercus and White (1973), a most complex system of special kinship pronouns exists in Adnyamathanha and Kuyani. In these two languages there are twelve different sets of pronouns not only to mark the kinship associations of the people to whom the pronouns refer, but in some cases to show the *speaker's* relationship to those people. In Arabana-Wangkangurru the relationship with the speaker is irrelevant, except of course in the first person. The only function of the special kinship pronouns is to refer to pairs and larger groups who were of *adjacent generation* levels, that is parents and children. The following distinctions are made:

- (1) Number – whether dual or plural
- (2) Person
- (3) whether of same or opposite matrilineal moiety.

Arabana-Wangkangurru occupies a mid-position: though the system is less complex than in Adnyamathanha it is nevertheless more developed than in Diyari, where only the dual is

found (with forms almost identical to Arabana-Wangkangurru). The morphemes which distinguish these kinship pronouns are closely related to those used in Arandic (Yallop 1977:99).

4.3.1 KINSHIP PRONOUNS AND COMMENTS ON THEIR USE

The use of special kinship pronouns is obligatory whenever people in a real or classificatory relationship are involved, however far removed and tenuous the classificatory association might appear to people outside the system. Thus Ego and father's cross-cousins would belong to the same moiety and adjacent generation levels and would refer to themselves as *arnanthara* 'we who are in the basic relationship of mother/mother's brother and child'.

The special kinship pronouns are nominative-accusative in declension. Peripheral cases are very rarely found and are formed according to the nominal rather than the pronominal model. This accounts for forms like the locative *alantha-nga* 'in the presence of us two, mother and child'. There are two sets of pronouns depending on which moiety one belongs to. Those used for members of the first moiety are:

Person	Dual	Plural
first	<i>alantha</i>	<i>arnanthara</i>
second	ARABANA <i>anpalantha</i>	<i>aranthara</i>
	WANGKANGURRU <i>unpalantha</i>	
third	<i>pulalantha</i>	<i>karananthara</i>

(This set of pronouns refers to people who are in the real or classificatory relationship of mother and child or maternal uncle and child, i.e. people of the same moiety but adjacent generation levels.)

Those used for members of the opposite moiety are:

Person	Dual	Plural
first	<i>alakiya</i>	<i>arnakara</i>
second	ARABANA <i>anpalakiya</i>	<i>arakara</i>
	WANGKANGURRU <i>unpalakiya</i>	
third	<i>pulakiya</i>	<i>karanakara</i>

Examples of the use of the pronouns are:

(257) *Pulalakiya panti-rda.*
kinship⁹.they.two fight-PRES

They two, who are in the classificatory relationship of father and son, are fighting.

(The people involved were a man and his wife's sister's son.)

⁹ In this and the following examples the term 'kinship' is used in the gloss to imply that a special pronoun is being used. Details of the significance of the pronoun are given in the translation.

- (258) *Alakiya yuka-mda.*
 kinship.we.two go-PRES
 We two, my child and I are going (man speaking).

This can also be said for instance by a woman referring to herself and her brother's or male parallel cousin's child, or female cross-cousin's child:

- (259) *Alantha yuka-mda.*
 kinship.we.two go-PRES
 We two, my child and I are going (woman speaking).
- (260) *Amanthara-kunha ngura.*
 kinship.we-POSS camp
 (This is) our camp, belonging to my mother and us children.
- (261) *Karanakara-nha nhanhi-ka.*
 kinship.they-ACC see-P
 I saw them (the old lady with her brother's children).

The use of the special kinship pronouns throws light on an important feature. It shows how Arabana-Wangkanguru people viewed their own ordered society, how they thought of matrilineal kinship lines 'running straight' with all personal relationships obeying the resulting rules.

4.3.2 SEMI-PRONOMINAL KINSHIP TERMS

There are a number of collective nouns which refer to groups of people who are related to one another in various ways, like *nhupa-maRa* 'married couple' (§1.5.2 and §3.18.2). As distinct from these there is also a special set of terms which is used in lieu of pronouns of the first and second person in conversation with certain relatives, and which is part of a code of politeness whereby one avoids saying the direct 'you'. The second person forms of these politeness kinship terms are set out below.

Kinship address	used when speaking to	category of person
<i>yawu-maRa</i>	any number	cross-cousin (same generation level, opposite moiety)
<i>nguru-maRa</i>	any number	siblings or parallel cousins, (same generation level, same moiety)
<i>ngamarla</i>	one	maternal uncle (adjacent upper generation, same moiety)
<i>unku-kadnhini</i>	two or more	maternal grandmother
<i>anthu-ngaRu</i>	one	'you of my own kind' ¹⁰ niece or nephew, (adjacent lower generation, opposite moiety)
<i>anthu-ngaRu-kari</i>	more than two	nieces or nephews, (adjacent lower generation, opposite moiety)
<i>mu(yu)yuru-maRa</i>	two or more	father (adjacent upper generation, opposite moiety)

¹⁰ There was a particularly important and respectful relationship between father's sister and her nieces and nephews.

This last term *mu(yu)yuru-maRa* could also be used by the people of the upper generation as a first person pronoun dual or plural, 'we, who are *mu(yu)yuru-maRa* to you'. As this was a relationship that commanded respect, the term served as a first person honorific. It was for instance used continually by the two wicked aunts (father's sisters, therefore in the same category as father) in the story 'The Two Trees' when imposing on their nephew.

4.4 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Arabana-Wangkangurru has several series of deictic demonstrative pronouns. The oldest set, called primary deictics here, is composite and intricate in inflection. We can assume that these were the older forms because they alone, to the exclusion of other forms, appear in recitals and archaic types of speech and song. In his short Wangkangurru grammar Reuther (1981:V) gives a number of these forms. These are not used at all by the few surviving speakers. The older generation of speakers used them sparingly, especially Mick McLean, Maudie Naylor and George Kempe, who all spent their earliest years in a monolingual situation. Mick was conscious of the decline of these pronouns: "When I was young the old people said *walitaru*, *nhalitaru* and that *all the time*, but I don't say it so much". The complex system of deictic pronouns was probably amongst the first parts of the grammar to be simplified once the situation became generally bilingual: the complications of the distinctions of distance and the intricate case system of these demonstratives made them become obsolescent. They were replaced by the secondary demonstratives, which are much simpler in declension, and also by third person pronouns used in conjunction with locational adverbs.

4.4.1 DEICTIC PRONOUNS: PRIMARY DEICTIC PRONOUNS IN WANGKANGURRU

Deictic pronouns of all kinds are used in both adjectival and pronominal functions.

(a) Adjectival

- (262) *Untu wangka-rda nhanha mura?*
 you sing-PRES this.ACC Ancestor
 Can you sing (the songs of) this Ancestor?
- (263) *Nhalara wantarda-ra pithi-nangka-rda.*
 this.CSL feather-CSL paint-CONT.S-PRES
 They went on decorating (themselves) with these feathers.
- (264) *Walitaru mudlu-ru wanka-rdaya-ma.*
 that.ABL sandhill-ALL come.up-SP-IMPFF
 He came on his way over from that sandhill.

(b) Pronominal

- (265) *Nhanha athu ngunta-rda, nhanha!*
 this.one I show-PRES this.one
 This is the one I showed you, this one!

- (266) *Nhawula-ru kira thawi-ra!*
 they.two-ERG boomerang throw-PUNC
 So these two are the ones that are throwing boomerangs! (and hit me with one).
- (267) *Punga-ra tharpa-ka nhayi-nha.*
 hut-CSL squash-P this-ACC
 This (man) got squashed to death by a humpy (which collapsed on him).

When used in an adjectival function these pronouns still carry a clear deictic meaning; they are not reduced to a function approaching that of a definite article as, for instance, happens with pronouns of vicinity in Wangkumara on the middle Cooper and Wilson River.

The basis of the Wangkangurru deictic pronouns is quite simple. There are three stems:

<i>nha-</i>	this one right here
<i>ka-</i>	that one
<i>wa-</i>	that one in the distance

These stems have been enlarged by various suffixes with the result that there is a complex system. The following are the simplest and clearly the oldest forms. Both they and the suppletive forms could be recalled only by the most senior speakers:

Simplest forms

Suppletive forms

Base	<i>nha-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>nha-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>wa-</i>
Nominative	<i>nhayi</i>	<i>kayi</i>				
Accusative	<i>nhanha</i>	<i>kanha</i>		<i>nhayinha</i>		
Ergative-ablative				<i>nhalitaru</i> <i>nhaliri</i>	<i>kalitaru</i>	<i>walitaru</i> <i>waluru</i>
Dative-allative				<i>nhalita</i>		
Allative	<i>nharuku</i>			<i>nhalitaruku</i>	<i>kalitaruku</i>	<i>walitaruku</i>
Causal				<i>nhalara</i>		
Locative	<i>nhanga</i>			<i>nhanhanga</i>	<i>kakalanga</i> <i>kanhanga</i>	<i>wanhanga</i>

In all deictics the accusative forms are used only in reference to animates.

It is evident from the table above that there was a greater differentiation of peripheral cases in these pronouns than in the rest of the pronominal system (§4.1.3), because in deictic pronouns there is a separate locative, formed exactly as in nouns. In the primary deictics there was also a nominal-type allative. The absence of the pronominal-type endings *-kirnda* and *-kirndara* may represent an archaism, as *-kirnda* is probably of relatively recent origin (§4.4.5). The absence of *-kirnda* certainly sets the primary Wangkangurru deictics apart from all other pronouns except the interrogative *minha* (§4.5.1).

The forms listed in the table represent the deictic stems with:

- (a) just the addition of a case marker (*nhanha*, *kanha*);
 (b) the addition of *-yi* in the intransitive subject form of the two pronouns of vicinity (The origin of this *-yi* is interesting in that it appears to be a regional development in only a very limited area. Blake (1979:193-194) indicates how *-yi* is used to mark pronouns of vicinity in Pitta-Pitta.);

- (c) the addition of *-l(it)-* of unknown origin (*nhalara, nhalita* etc.);
 (d) repetition of the stem (only in the locative; in the case of *kakalanga* the simple form *kalanga* is not acceptable in Wangkangurru).

The pronoun *wa-* 'that one' is not listed by Reuther in the singular, though he gives some secondary derivatives from it: "worata (singular)", "wawulata (dual) both those", and "wokata", which he takes to be a plural. The deictic *wa-* was certainly defective even in the speech of the oldest and originally monolingual speakers of Wangkangurru: there were no simple forms, only suppletive forms in the singular.

It is clear from the above table that all the primary deictic pronouns, not only *wa-*, were defective. The gaps in the table do not represent gaps in information: they represent gaps in the actual system where the old pronouns were being replaced by extended forms.

4.4.2 EXTENDED FORMS OF THE PRIMARY DEICTIC PRONOUNS IN WANGKANGURRU

The following extended forms were used to supplement the system of primary deictic pronouns in Wangkangurru. There was no difference in meaning from the primary deictics: they denoted 'this one right here', 'that one' and 'that one in the distance'.

Nominative	<i>nhawiki</i>	<i>kawuki</i>	
Accusative	<i>nhawinha</i>		<i>wawinha</i>
Dative-allative	<i>nhawukimda</i> <i>nhawirnda</i>	<i>kawukimda</i>	<i>wawukimda</i>
Ablative-causal	<i>nhawurdara</i>	<i>kawurdara</i>	<i>wawurdara</i>
Possessive	<i>nhawukunha</i>	<i>kawukunha</i>	<i>wawukunha</i>
Locative	<i>nhawirndanga</i>		

The origin of the extending morpheme *-wu ~ -wi ~ -w* is not clear: there are no close parallels in neighbouring languages. The ablative-causative forms contain the affix *-rda* found in the secondary deictics.

4.4.3 DUAL, PLURAL AND TRIAL OF PRIMARY DEICTIC PRONOUNS IN WANGKANGURRU

(1) Dual

Nhawula, kawula, and wawula are the stem forms used in the dual. These duals are clearly based on a weakened form of the third person dual pronoun *pula* and are declined like compounds of *-pula* (§3.3.4), for example *nhawularu, kawularu* 'by these two', 'by those two'. The weakened form of the dual marker is standard in both nouns and pronouns in the neighbouring Diyari language.

(2) Plural

The plural is based on the deictic stems with the addition of the number marker *-kari*:

nhakari these
kakari those

**wakari* was never heard. The extended form *wakarda-kari* expresses the notion of ‘those over there, far away’.

These plural forms are declined like all other compounds of *-kari* (§3.3.4):

- (268) *Kakari-nha manta-thika-rnda.*
 those-ACC take-return-PRES
 I’m coming back to pick up those people.

(3) Trial

The trial is formed by the doubling of the plural/trial marker *-kari*:

<i>nhakari-kari</i>	these three here
<i>kakari-kari</i>	those three
<i>wakarda-kari-kari</i>	those three far away

4.4.4 PRONOMINAL USE OF DEICTIC ADVERBS IN WANGKANGURRU

There are a number of deictic adverbs, based on the stems *nha-*, and *ka-* and *awa-* (which might be derived from a combined stem (*k*)*a-wa-*). There is very little difference in meaning between some of the forms, and they are often used in similar situations:

<i>nhaRu</i>	right here
<i>kaRu</i>	there
<i>karra</i>	over there (some distance away)
<i>kari</i>	over there (some distance away)
<i>nharra</i>	round about here
<i>nharri</i>	over here
<i>kayirra</i>	in the middle distance
<i>awara</i>	there, far away

It is likely that the forms containing *rr* are connected with the Pitta-Pitta suffix *-arri*, which forms locational adverbs implying distance (Blake 1979:193-194). This appears to be a shared feature between Wangkangurru and Pitta-Pitta only, as in the case of the suffix *-yi* (§4.4.1), and it does not affect Arabana.

Adverbs formed directly from *wa-* were never heard except for *waru*, which had assumed a specialised meaning ‘far away (in the past)’, ‘long ago’.

These deictic adverbs can be used as the base of a further set of pronouns following the same declensional system as the primary deictic pronouns (§4.4.1):

- (269) *Wardayapu nhaRu kari-ri ngurku-ku-mayi-ka.*
 road this they-ERG good-DAT-make-P
 They fixed up this road.
- (270) *Nharri-ri Pitha-kalti-kalti-ri yuka-ka.*
 this-ABL box.tree-crooked-crooked-ABL go-P
 They went from this (place called) ‘Crooked Box Tree’ (Coward Springs).

Other commonly used forms include:

nhaRunha this one (ACC)
kaRutaru by /that one (ERG/ABL)

On some occasions extended suffixes were heard, as for instance:

(271) *KaRu-na-ru thika-ka wadlhu-ru.*
 that-EXT-ABL return-P country-ABL
 He came back from that country.

4.4.5 SECONDARY DEICTIC PRONOUNS IN WANGKANGURRU

The following is the paradigm, based on an extended pronominal base in *-rda*, that is used for what can be considered a secondary set of deictic pronouns. This set is well represented in the language of all competent speakers, and represents the common way of expressing demonstratives. The pronouns *nhararda*, 'this one here' *awarda* (probably from **(k)awarda*) 'that one' and *wararda* 'that one further away' follow the nominal rather than the pronominal system in the peripheral cases – although occasionally forms in *-kimda* are used as dative-allative. The full set of forms is as follows:

Case	this (here)	that (there)	that (further away)
Nominative	<i>nhararda</i>	<i>awarda</i>	<i>wararda</i>
Accusative	<i>nharardanha</i>	<i>awardanha</i>	<i>warardanha</i>
Ergative-instrumental-ablative	<i>nharardaru</i>	<i>awardaru</i>	<i>warardaru</i>
Dative-allative	<i>nharardaku</i> (<i>nharardakimda</i>)	<i>awardaku</i> , (<i>awardakimda</i>)	<i>warardaku</i> (<i>wardakimda</i>)
Causal	<i>nharardara</i>	<i>awardara</i>	<i>warardara</i>
Possessive	<i>nharardakunha</i>	<i>awardakunha</i>	<i>warardakunha</i>
Locative	<i>nharardanga</i>	<i>awardanga</i>	<i>warardanga</i>

The stems of these deictics in *-mda* are further extended by the addition of various demonstrative formants and the resulting pronouns are commonly used deictics, though not quite as common as *nhararda*, *awarda* and *wararda*. The case forms are as for *nhararda*, but occasionally shortened forms are heard such as *wakakimda*, for *wakardakimda*:

nhangarda this one here
kanharda this one
nhakarda that one not too far away
kakarda that one not too far away
wanhararda that one
wakarda that one further away

There are rare instances where the vicinity-marking suffix *-yi* (§4.4.1) is added to the nominative:

(272) *Mayarla! maka ngarda-nha warardayi!*
 leave fire burn-NP that
 Leave it! Just let that fire burn!

The following three adverbs are the most commonly used of all deictic adverbs and are compounds of *nhangarda* 'this one here':

<i>nhanhangarda</i>	right here
<i>kanhangarda</i>	at the place we were just talking about
<i>wanhangarda</i>	over there

Though they are predominantly used as adverbs, these compound forms can also double as nominative forms of yet a further set of pronouns. This usage is uncommon: on the rare occasions when they do occur such pronouns follow the same pattern as *nhararda* :

- (273) *Thangka-ngura kanhangarda-nga ngura-nga.*
 sit-CONT that.one-LOC camp-LOC
 (He) was staying in that camp (the one we were just talking about).

The dual of all secondary demonstratives is formed as in the nominal system with the addition of *-pula*, the trial with the addition of *-kari-kari*, and the plural with *-kari* as in *wakarda-pula*, *wakarda-kari*, *wakarda-kari-kari*.

Examples of the use of the extended deictic pronouns are:

- (274) *Ath' unha waru ngunta-ka wakarda!*
 I you.ACC long.ago show-P that
 I explained that to you a long time ago!
- (275) *Wanhararda kathi wadnhi!*
 that meat cook
 Cook that meat over there!

This intricate system of deictic pronouns in Wangkangurru gives the impression of representing a state of flux, with the shorter older forms – which have a complex declension – falling out of use and another system being put in its place, a system that is more elaborate in formation but regular in declension. The most striking feature of the extended forms is the presence of a affix *-rda*, which gives every indication of being a relatively recent addition. This affix has no parallels in the Lake Eyre Basin outside Arabana-Wangkangurru, but it is of particular interest for the reasons given below.

- (1) It is a patently late development, as forms ending in *-rda* were still in the process of replacing an older system in Wangkangurru.
- (2) *-rda* always forms the last member of the stem: in allative adverbs it even follows the case marker, for example Arabana *nhikiri-ku-rda* (§6.2.1).
- (3) *-rda* is part of the pronominal dative-allative-locative suffix *-kirnda*. Because of the pronominal nature of the dual and plural markers *-rda* has a place also in the nominal declension system.
- (4) The origin of the suffix *-rda* is surprising: it seems to be an instance of diffusion from the north. There is in Arandic an affix *arta(ye)* which is added to some deictics, *following* the case marker (Wilkins pers.comm.). In Kaytej it is added not only to deictics but also to quantifiers, and to some but not all interrogatives as well as to third person pronouns. Thus in the paradigm of the word for 'this' in Kaytej we find:

Ergative	<i>atyelarte</i>
Nominative/accusative	<i>anyarte</i>
Dative	<i>atyewarte</i>
Allative	<i>atyewarlarte</i> etc. (Koch pers.comm.)

The secondary deictics thus show Arabana-Wangkangurru as having areal links with languages to the north rather than with other Lakes languages.

4.4.6 DEICTIC PRONOUNS: ARABANA SIMPLE FORMS

In Arabana there are only two simple pronouns *nhiki* 'this here' and *akuru* 'that there'. These are commonly used and follow a partly nominal and partly pronominal declension. The full set of forms is as follows:

Case	this	that
Nominative	<i>nhiki</i>	<i>akuru</i>
Accusative	<i>nhikinha</i>	<i>akurunha</i>
Instrumental-ablative	<i>nhikirmdara</i>	<i>akurukimdara</i>
Dative-allative-locative	<i>nhikirnda</i>	<i>akurukirnda</i>
Alternative dative	<i>nhikiku</i>	<i>akuruku</i>
Possessive	<i>nhikikunha</i>	<i>akuru-kunha</i>
Alternative locative	<i>nhikinga</i>	<i>akurunga</i>

There was an alternative allative, used only in an adverbial function, made from a nominal-type allative with the addition of the suffix *-rda* after the case marker:

<i>nhikirikurda</i>	this way
<i>akurukurda</i>	that way

4.4.7 EXTENDED FORMS OF THE DEICTIC PRONOUNS IN ARABANA

In Arabana as in Wangkangurru the extended forms of the pronoun were made with the addition of *-rda* to the stem. There were four bases that were extended: the three most common were *nhiki* 'this here', *akuru* 'that there' and *awa-* 'that further away' which has parallels in Wangkangurru. (§4.4.5). For reasons that are not clear, *awa-* was extended by the addition of *rnda* (§5.4.1.2). The following were the extended forms:

Case	this here	that (far away)	that there
Nominative	<i>nhikiwarda</i>	<i>awarnda</i>	<i>akarda</i>
Accusative	<i>nhikiwardanha</i>	<i>awarndanha</i>	<i>akardanha</i>
Ergative-instrumental-ablative	<i>nhikiwardaru</i>	<i>awarndaru</i>	<i>akardaru</i>
Dative-allative	<i>nhikiwardakirnda</i>	<i>awarndakirnda</i>	<i>akardakirnda</i>
Causal	<i>nhikiwardara</i>	<i>awarndara</i>	<i>akardara</i>
Possessive	<i>nhikiwardakunha</i>	<i>awarndakunha</i>	<i>akardakunha</i>
Locative	<i>nhikiwardanga</i>	<i>awarndanga</i>	<i>akardanga</i>

There is a fourth extended deictic pronoun *wanhararda*, 'that one yonder' which is identical in declension.

Examples of the use of the deictics in Arabana are:

- (276) *Athu nhiki tyalpa nhuka-mirri tharni-limaru.*
 I.ERG this food much-great eat-PLUP
 I had been eating this enormous amount of food.
- (277) *Nhikiwarda-ru ngunhi-ka.*
 this-ERG give-P
 This is the person who gave it to me.

A variant extended form *nhikirnda* was heard occasionally. It mainly fulfilled the function of a deictic adverb 'right here':

- (278) *Amiri nhikirnda padni wapa-mda-ki.*
 we.INC here not find-PRES-EMP
 We are not finding any (fish) here (so we should go somewhere else).

Occasionally this form doubles as deictic pronoun:

- (279) *Pintikadnha nhikirnda thiki!*
 machine this take.away
 Take this tape-recorder away!

The dual and plural are formed by the addition of *-pula* and *-kari* in the same way as in the nominal system: *awarda-pula*, *awarda-kari*. Unlike Wangkangurru, Arabana does not have the weakened form *-wula* in the dual: *-pula* is the only dual marker.

4.5 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

As is obvious from the discussion above, there is great regional diversity in the demonstrative pronouns, with major differences between Arabana and Wangkangurru. In the interrogative pronouns however there is uniformity between the two dialects. Furthermore, the stems used are widespread in Australian languages.

4.5.1 FORMS OF THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There are three main interrogative pronouns in Arabana-Wangkangurru. There is a fourth pronominal interrogative base *nhangu* – used only in Arabana and only in an indefinite sense (§4.5.2). The three common interrogative pronouns are:

waRa 'who?' referring to humans;

minha 'what?' referring to non-humans and inanimates;

intya 'which one out of two or more?' sometimes used as a simple stem, but more frequently reduplicated. This selective interrogative may refer to both animates and inanimates.

The three pronouns differ in inflection: *waRa* follows the pronominal declension except in the locative, while *minha* and *intya* are strictly nominal in declension. The full set of forms is as follows:

Case	who?	which one?
Nominative	<i>waRa</i>	<i>intya-intya</i>
Accusative	<i>waRanha</i>	<i>intya(nha)-intyanha</i> <i>intyalinha</i>
Ergative	<i>waRaru</i>	<i>intya-intyaru</i>
Dative-allative	<i>waRakimda</i>	<i>intya-intya-ku</i>
Ablative-causal	<i>waRakim dara</i>	<i>intya-intyaru</i>
Possessive	<i>waRakunha</i>	<i>intya-intya-kunha</i>
Locative	<i>waRanga</i>	<i>intya-intyanga</i>

Case	what?
Abslutive	<i>minha</i>
Ergative-ablative	<i>minharu</i>
Dative	<i>minhaku</i>
Causal	<i>minhara</i>
Locative	<i>minhanga</i>

The dual, plural and trial of *waRa* and *intya-intya* are formed as in nouns; *minha* is never marked for number.

<i>waRa-pula</i>	which two?
<i>waRa-kari-kari</i>	which three?
<i>waRa-kari</i>	who (plural)?
<i>intya-pula</i>	which two?
<i>intya-kari</i>	which (plural)?

Examples of the use of the interrogatives are:

- (280) *WaRa-ru unha ngunhi-ka?*
who-ERG you.ACC give-P
Who gave it to you?
- (281) *Minha awarda?*
what that
What is this?
- (282) *Intyaintya mantura-nangka-rda?*
which.one snore-CONT.S-PRES
Which one (of you) is it that keeps on snoring?
- (283) *Intya-nha intya-nha untu yuki-nha?*
which.one-ACC which.one-ACC you take-NP
Whom will you take (out of all the people that are here)?

In Arabana, not Wangkangurru, an adjectival use of *intya* is preferred, though it is not obligatory. The Arabana version of these last sentences would therefore contain *intya-intya nharla* 'which person(s)?'. When great urgency or curiosity is to be expressed, *waRa* and *intya* may be used in the same phrase:

- (284) *WaRa-pula intyaintya-pula?*
who-two which-two
Who two, whichever two is it?

4.5.2 'WHAT'S-ITS-NAME'

In both Arabana and Wangkangurru, the normal interrogative pronouns was used to refer to persons and things which the speaker could not or did not wish to name:

(285) *Athu nhanhi-ka waRa-nha.*
 I see-P who-ACC
 I saw what's-his-name.

(286) *Malya waya-rnda madla thudni-nha nhiki minha-nga.* (A)
 not want-PRES dog cry-NP here what-LOC
 I don't want dingos to howl on this what-d'ye-call-it (tape-recorder) here.

The oldest speakers even transferred the word *minha* in its emphatic form *minhei* into English, as a short and easy way of referring to any mechanical or electronic device with a lengthy name.

In Arabana the adverbial form *nhangu* 'how', often changed to *lhangu*, was widely used in the sense of 'what's-its-name', referring to objects:

(287) *Ardu-karpani nhampa-rda blankets, nhampa-(k)-anta nhangu-ra.*
 women's-camp cover-PRES blankets cover-RECIP-REFL what-CSL
 They cover up the women in the women's camp (during parts of the initiation ritual) with blankets, they cover each other with those what's-their-names.

Excessive use of this term by one particular speaker was taken by others to be a sure sign of senile forgetfulness.

4.5.3 OTHER INTERROGATIVES

WaRa, *minha* and *intya-intya* are the only interrogative pronouns in Arabana-Wangkangurru. The word for 'how many?' is not pronominal; it is an indeclinable which is based on a dative-allative form of the interrogative adverb with the addition of the demonstrative suffix *-rda*. The forms are *withirangkurda?* (W) and *thirangkurda* (A) (lit. 'up to how?'). An example is:

(288) *Withirangkurda untu wardukupa thangka-ra?*
 how.many you.ERG child give.birth.to-PUNC
 How many children have you?

The interrogative adverb *withira* 'how' is used in some idiomatic expressions where one might expect a pronoun:

(289) *Withira 'npa manu-nga thangka-rda?* (A)
 how you mind-LOC sit-PRES
 What do you think?

(290) *Thirangk' unpa manungka-rda?* (W)
 how you think-PRES
 What do you think?

4.5.4 REDUPLICATED FORMS

As is common in Australian languages, the reduplicated forms of the interrogative pronouns *waRa* and *minha* have an indefinite meaning, hence *waRa-waRa* 'whoever', *minha-minha* 'whatever', 'anything':

- (291) *Kari-ri nhanhi-ka waRa-waRa yuka-ngura.*
 they-ERG see-P who-who walk-P
 They could see whoever was coming.
- (292) *Walya athu karinha waRarda-waRarda pidla.*
 soon I.ERG find which-which name
 I'll soon find out what it was called.
- (293) *Thiyarathiyara yuka-ka minha-minha mapi-mda, partyarna ngawi-lhiku*
 whichever.way go-P what-what do-PRES all hear-PUR
waya-mda.
 wish-PRES
 Wherever he went and whatever he did, I want to hear it all.

The interrogative pronouns of Arabana-Wangkangurru are similar to the interrogatives in the other Lakes languages in their form, their use and their meaning. Unlike the demonstratives they do not display any features of major regional interest.

CHAPTER 5

VERBS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Arabana-Wangkangurru language, like other languages of the Lake Eyre Basin, can be said to be verb oriented: information that is carried in English by adverbs and other separate parts of speech is normally conveyed in Arabana-Wangkangurru by the verbal complex. On the one hand the verb-oriented situation is not as pronounced as in languages further to the south-east such as Paakantyi, where the verb is marked for pronoun subject and object. On the other hand the verbal system is decidedly more complex than in the Western Desert languages. It is the most intricate part of Arabana-Wangkangurru grammar.

5.1.1 THE VERBAL WORD

The verbal word in its simplest form consists of the bare root: this can be used as a narrative past or in some circumstances as an imperative (§5.4 and §5.6). Suffixes to indicate voice, tense, aspect and participial function are then added according to a strict ordering sequence. More than one aspect marker may be involved, and there is a ranking order within the aspects, the speed-marking affix preceding all other aspectual markers. Similarly more than one voice may be involved. The following is the basic ordering:

root ± transitory ± voice ± aspect ± tense, mood or participial function ± clitic

When a compound verb is used the order is the following:

root¹ ± transitory ± voice ± aspect + root² ± tense, mood or participial function ± clitic

The transitory form is like an extension of the root and therefore precedes other stem-forming and inflectional suffixes.

The non-past tense also has certain nominalising functions and can be followed by a case marker (§5.6.2(3)):

- (294) *thudni-matha-nta-nha-nga*
howl-together-REFL-NP-LOC
ROOT-VOICE-VOICE-TENSE-CASE
while (the dogs) were howling together (W)

Theoretically there is no limit to the possible 'piling up' of suffixes: verbal words like the following are freely used:

- (295) *Paka-l'-ta-lipama.*
dig-BEN-SP-ANC
ROOT-VOICE-ASPECT-TENSE
They used to dig holes for somebody else, and in a hurry, long ago (i.e they were working as gardeners).

- (296) *Antha pinpi-nangka-rda, padni kilita-a-nangka-rda.*
 I stick-CONT.S-PRES not pull-REFL-CONT.S-PRES
 ROOT-ASPECT-TENSE ROOT-VOICE-ASPECT-TENSE
 I am bogged, I can't pull myself out (although I keep trying) all the time! (A)
- (297) *Kangiri untu puntha-limaru unpa.*
 too.much you.ERG drink-PLUP you
 You have been drinking so much.
- (298) *Kurda-wa-l-ta-nangka-lira.* (A)
 fall-TR-BEN-SP-CONT.S-lest
 ROOT-TRANSITORY-VOICE-ASPECT-ASPECT-MOOD
 You might keep falling down on your way home for someone else to have to pick up.

It seems that length in the end is the limiting factor. Various ambitious verbal words were suggested by me such as:

- (299) *Thawi-lamintya-nta-ngkuwangka-rda.*
 throw-RECIP-REFL-ASP-PRES
 ROOT-VOICE-VOICE-ASPECT-TENSE
 They are hurling each other in all directions. (W)
- (300) *Thaka-lamintya-nangka-rna-liparna.*
 spear-RECIP-CONT.S-SP-ANC
 ROOT-VOICE-ASPECT-ASPECT-TENSE
 They used to spear one another all the time, off and on, long ago. (W)

These are on the margins of acceptability for the language, not because of the number of affixes used, but simply because the reciprocal *-lamintya*, the aspectual *-ngkuwangka* 'in all directions' and the tense marker *-liparna* are amongst the longer affixes in the language. The best speakers of both Arabana and Wangkangurru would make comments along the lines of: "You *can* say that, it's not wrong, but I wouldn't say that word myself, I would put it another way". Wangkangurru and Arabana are identical with regard to both the limitation on length and the ordering rules, even though the actual form of some of the suffixes differs.

5.2 TYPES OF VERBS

5.2.1 CLASSIFICATION

The Western Desert languages and many of the languages of eastern Australia have a system of verb classes or conjugations. There is a limited type of classification in Diyari (Austin 1981a:70) though not in other languages of the Diyaric group. In Arabana-Wangkangurru there is no sign of verb classes as such. This does not mean that there is total uniformity within the verbal system: we can still divide the verbs into certain categories. The type of system however that is known best from Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:207) is simply not there.

Verbs can be divided grammatically into transitive and intransitive verbs, but there are also two types of formal distinction:

(1) According to the verb-final vowel (§5.2.2.):

Verbs ending in *a*
 Verbs ending in *i*
 (there are no verbs ending in *u*)

(2) According to length of the verbal root (§5.2.3-5):

Normal verbs
 Long verbs
 Short verbs

5.2.2 TRANSITIVITY AND VERB-FINAL VOWELS

The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs not only affects the use of ergative versus absolutive subjects: it is also reflected within the verbal system itself. Different suffixes are used in the present tense according to whether a verb is transitive or intransitive. Basic intransitive verbs in Arabana-Wangkangurru cannot take any object or object complement. Most intransitive verbs belong to this category, such as ‘to sit’, ‘to lie down’ and ‘to crawl’.

Another smaller group of verbs can take only cognate objects (or objects that are semantically the same as cognate objects), such as ‘to dance’, ‘to sing’ and ‘to speak’:

- (301) *Mathapurda wangka madlanthi yanhi-rnda.* (A)
 old.man.ABS word bad speak-PRES
 The old man is uttering oaths.

This is similar to the situation in Diyari (Austin 1981a:40, and Blake 1987:61). There are other intransitive verbs that are used with complements in the dative – ‘to like’, ‘to want’, ‘to be hungry for’ (§3.9.1) and others that take a locative in similar functions – ‘to wait for’, ‘to play with’ (§3.12.2).

A dictionary count shows that, in simple verbs, transitives outnumber intransitives roughly five to three. On the other hand such a count also shows that, in the whole verbal corpus, intransitives are in a majority of roughly six to four, because they include the stative verbs and the numerous inchoatives (§5.2.7). Verbs can end either in *a*, or – not quite as frequently – in *i*. Although *i* can be used as a transitivity marker (see §5.3.1) there is no absolute distinction in transitivity between the *i* and the *a* verbs. Both *i* and *a* verbs can be intransitive:

<i>thangka-</i>	to sit
<i>idnhi-</i>	to lie down

Both can be also transitive:

<i>pirda-</i>	to hit
<i>ngunhi-</i>	to give

Very few primary *i* verbs are intransitive, but the large group of inchoative verbs formed with *-thi* in Arabana and *-wityi* in Wangkangurru change the overall situation.

There are just a few verbs that can be used either as transitives or intransitives with corresponding semantic differences:

<i>katharra-</i>	to break into small pieces (transitive)	to disintegrate (intransitive)
<i>tharni-tharni-</i>	to cause pain and irritation (transitive)	to be itchy (intransitive)
<i>thampa-</i>	to sneak after somebody (transitive)	to go sneaking around (intransitive)
<i>waRuwa-</i>	to smell something (transitive)	to emit a smell (intransitive)
<i>ngarda-</i>	to burn (transitive)	to be burnt (intransitive)

5.2.3 LONG VERBS

The verbs of Arabana-Wangkangurru show a remarkable degree of uniformity. Unlike other parts of speech, verbs do not show loss of initial consonants: there are no primary verbs beginning with *a*. This is probably because the verb is central in importance to the sentence and is therefore not liable to be weakly articulated (Hercus 1979). The majority of Arabana-Wangkangurru verbal roots are of two syllables. There are several groups of verbs that are exceptional in that they have stems of three syllables. These are set out below.

(1) verbs in *-ngka*

Members of the largest group of such 'irregular' verbs have a stem of three syllables and end in *-ngka*. Some of them are clearly derived from nominal or adverbial bases:

<i>piRangka-</i>	to open up	<i>piRa-piRa</i>	round
<i>kudnangka-</i>	to disembowel	<i>kudna</i>	bowels
<i>yadlangka-</i>	to approach	<i>yadla</i>	close by
<i>manungka-</i>	to worry	<i>manu</i>	mind
<i>thupungka-</i>	to emit smoke	<i>thupu</i>	smoke
<i>kanpu-kanpungka-</i>	to beat (heart)	<i>kanpu</i>	thud, footstep

Some do not correspond to any nominal or adverbial stems, but they probably did so historically. The most common are:

<i>ngapungka-</i>	to swim (based on <i>ngapa</i> 'water' (Hercus 1988:77))
<i>pangkangka-</i>	to be ailing
<i>pilingka-</i>	to crack, to bang
<i>widnangka-</i>	to hide away (probably connected with <i>widni-</i> (W) 'to go down')
<i>paltungka-</i>	to rise up

The suffix *-ngka* is not found to be productive in Arabana-Wangkangurru. Nevertheless these verbs form a distinct and sizeable group in the language: they do not show any irregularities other than the absence of the past tense in *-ka* and *-kanha*: presumably the presence of *k* in the last and therefore little accented syllable of the long verb stem prevented the use of a suffix containing yet another *k*. In normal verbs there is no such prohibition: for example, *paka-* 'to dig', *pakaka* '(he) dug'.

(2) verbs in *-wa*

A smaller group of 'long' verbs is, like those in *-ngka*, of a secondary nature and derived with the suffix *-wa*. Both transitive and intransitive verbs of this type occur. In a few cases the derivation is evident:

<i>ngampa-yi-wa-</i>	to seek a nardoo stone	(from <i>ngampa</i> 'nardoo stone', with the addition of the intensive <i>-yi</i> (6 below))
<i>ulpuwa-</i>	to tie up hair	(from <i>ulpu</i> 'twine')
<i>purrawa-</i>	to wipe out (tracks)	(connected with <i>purra-</i> 'to die', 'to be finished')
<i>wilyiwa-</i>	to smudge (tracks)	(connected with <i>wilyi-wilyi</i> 'just anyhow' (§6.3.3))
<i>thadlawā-</i>	to frighten	(from <i>thadla</i> 'fear' (noun))

In the last three examples the suffix *-wa* has a causative meaning. In most cases however the derivation is not clear:

<i>ilyirawa-</i>	to move (intransitive)
<i>waRuwa-</i>	to smell (transitive and intransitive)
<i>watuwa-</i>	to walk round
<i>waRawā-</i>	to cover up
<i>warrawa-</i>	to chase

All the long verbs ending in *-wa* were clearly felt to be derivative, as is shown by the use of *-thira* to mark the punctiliar present (§5.2.6(6)).

(3) verbs in *-ra*

These include:

<i>mantura-</i>	to snore (A)
<i>tyalpara-</i>	to be sick of something
<i>kalyara-</i>	to hurry (from <i>kalyara</i> 'quick')

(4) verbs in *-ka* and *-nga*

These are only few in number. Examples are:

<i>yampakā-</i>	to ask (A only)
<i>yampanga-</i>	to ask (W only)
<i>thidlarkā-</i>	to spread out
<i>warrakā-</i>	to turn round (perhaps connected with <i>warra-</i> 'to dance')

In the case of the long verbs in *-ka* we find the same prohibition against the use of the simple past as in the long verbs ending in *-ngka* (§5.2.3(1)).

(5) verbs ending in *-tyi*

Some verbs of this group have simple verbs corresponding to them. *Antyinatyi-* is a special case; it is the only verb in the language that has an initial *a*, and it is very clearly based on a noun, namely *antiyina*, a sign or signal:

<i>antyatyi-</i>	to make amorous advances
<i>ngarityi-</i>	to go down (connected with <i>ngarri-</i> 'to fly')
<i>warityi-</i>	to move around
<i>irityi-</i>	to move, to stir

All verbs of this group are intransitive.

(6) Intensive verbs formed with *-yi* in Wangkangurru

In Wangkangurru the suffix *-yi* is added to just a few intransitive verb stems to indicate intensity. It has purely quantitative implications and does not affect transitivity:

<i>waya-</i>	to want
<i>wayayi-</i>	to like strongly, to desire
<i>wapa-</i>	to go out hunting, to walk around
<i>wapayi-</i>	to go out altogether, to finish, to die

(7) Other long verbs

There are various other long verbs. Some end in *-pa* but others do not follow any particular pattern. The most common are:

<i>tyalpiya-</i>	to cool down
<i>ngarapili-</i>	to rest, 'to have a spell'
<i>tyurlapa-</i>	to lose (A only; W is <i>tyulpa-</i>)
<i>tyilyi-wilyipa-</i>	to tickle
<i>thunt(i)ripa-</i>	to drown
<i>thardupa-</i>	to push in
<i>kikilya-</i>	to slip
<i>parrunta-</i>	to snore (Eastern Wangkangurru only)

Apart from the formation of the past tense in groups (1) and (2), the long verbs do not differ from ordinary verbs in morphology or syntax: they differ from the norm only in the number of syllables.

5.2.4 REDUPLICATED VERBS

Some verbs are inherently reduplicated: such verbs generally describe actions that are by nature repetitive:

<i>yupa-yupa-</i>	to look back while walking along
<i>yaka-yaka-</i>	to chase
<i>nyanya-nyanya-</i>	to have sex
<i>pulthi-pulthinga-</i>	to flutter

More rarely actions may be described that are by nature continuous:

<i>thalki-thalki-</i>	to clear gradually (weather)
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Other reduplicated verbs correspond to simple verbs. With stems of more than two syllables only the first two are reduplicated:

<i>kurpi-</i>	to shake	<i>kurpi-kurpi-</i>	to shiver
<i>parda-</i>	to hold	<i>parda-parda-</i>	to hold back, to restrain
<i>wantya-</i>	to die	<i>wantya-wantya-</i>	to die down slowly (fire), to die slowly, to perish
<i>kudni-</i>	to put down	<i>kuni-kuni-</i>	to make camp (lit. to put down all one's things)
<i>palthi-</i>	to break open	<i>palthi-palthingka</i>	to break open bit by bit

In Diyari, as described by Austin (1981a:68), 'punctual' or 'instantaneous' verbs take on an iterative meaning when reduplicated, while 'process' verbs have a continuative meaning when reduplicated. In Arabana-Wangkangurru reduplication with 'process' verbs can occasionally, though rarely, be as in Diyari and imply a gradual process as in *wantya-wantya* 'to die slowly' quoted above. Generally however reduplication of such verbs is distributive, and implies that the process is happening in a number of places or to a number of people or things; thus *wantya-wantya-* can also mean 'a lot of people dying all around', as of the 'flu epidemic'. Similar examples are:

<i>warni-</i>	to grow	<i>warni-warni-</i>	to sprout up all round
<i>warpi-</i>	to lie on one's back	<i>warpi-warpi-</i>	(people) sprawling about all over the place
<i>tharka-</i>	to stand	<i>tharka-tharka-</i>	to stand around (referring to many people)

When used with the benefactive-causative suffix *-la*, the reduplicated *tharka-tharka-* means 'to line up a large number of people':

- (302) *Ulyurla ngurku tharka-tharka-la-lhuku.*
 woman good stand-stand-BEN-HIST
 (The Perentie) lined up all the good-looking women.

The distributive meaning of the reduplicated verb occurs in the Simpson Desert placename Lake Mirranponga Pongunna, *Mirri ngupa-nguparna* (from *ngupa-* 'to lie prone') 'Many (dead people) lying about' (having been killed by the Lightning Ancestor, *Kuntili*). This distributive function of verbal reduplication is known from a number of other Australian languages (Dineen 1990:173).

5.2.5 SHORT VERBS

In Wangkangurru, but not in Arabana, a small group of very common verbs has a short form of the present tense in *-nta*. These are all verbs with stems that contain a medial nasal:

<i>yanta</i>	he speaks	for	<i>yanhi-rnda</i>
<i>wanta</i>	he follows	for	<i>wadni-rnda</i>
<i>wanta</i>	he runs	for	<i>wadna-rnda</i>
<i>manta</i>	he takes	for	<i>mani-rnda</i>
<i>kunta</i>	he puts	for	<i>kudni-rnda</i>
<i>ngunta</i>	he gives	for	<i>ngunhi-rnda</i>
<i>winta</i>	he goes down	for	<i>widni-rnda</i>

Arabana has only one short verb:

<i>wanta-</i>	he wishes	(from the stem <i>wa-</i> (W <i>waya-</i>))
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The short form serves both as present tense and as a speed form (§5.8.2):

- (303) *Anha manta-ka madla-wili.*
 me.ACC take.SP-P dog-like
 I for a moment thought it was a dog.

The short form also occurs before the transitory stem-forming suffix: further suffixes are then added according to the normal rules of ordering (§5.1.1):

<i>wantayiwalhuku</i>	to follow for a little while
<i>mantayiwalhuku</i>	to pick up for a moment
<i>kuntayiwamda</i>	(he) puts it down temporarily

In all other environments the normal stem is used.

The short form *ngunta* has given rise to a new verb *ngunta-*, 'to show', hence *ngunta-rda* 'he shows', *ngunta-ka* 'he showed'. Similarly *winta* has given rise to a derivative verb *wintawi-* 'to disappear underground'. All the verbs in this list share one common feature: their medial consonant is an *nh* or *n* sound. This special form of the present of a select group of verbs is a striking regional feature of a small area of the north-eastern Lake Eyre Basin. It is not found in the otherwise so closely related Arabana, and is shared only by Ngamini, the language adjoining Wangkangurru immediately to the south-east (Breen 1976a:746), and by Yarluyandi to the east (Hercus n.d.).

5.2.6 VERBS DERIVED WITH *-ma*

Like most languages in the Lake Eyre Basin and further to the east (e.g. Paakantyi) Arabana-Wangkangurru forms transitive verbs by means of a suffix *-ma*. Arabana-Wangkangurru in fact shows greater similarity to Paakantyi than to the adjacent Diyari language in its wide use of the *-ma* suffix. In Diyari *-ma* serves to form transitive verbs from intransitive roots (Austin 1981a:72). In Paakantyi and in Arabana-Wangkangurru transitive verbs can be formed from adjectives. Arabana-Wangkangurru goes even further in forming transitive verbs from nouns, adverbs, from case forms of both adjectives and nouns and even from whole noun phrases. This use of *-ma* creates subtle nuances of expression.

(1) *-ma* with intransitive verbal roots

This usage is not common in Arabana-Wangkangurru. Like the causative in *-i* it involves the syntactic process S > O. Examples are:

- (304) *Mathapurda tharka-mda.*
 man stand-PRES
 S Vi
 The old man is standing up.
- (305) *Mathapurda-nha tharka-ma-yira.* (W)
 old.man-ACC stand-make-PUNC
 O Vtr
 (They) make the old man stand up.

The *-ma* form however conveys a meaning markedly different from the causative forms in *-i*. (§5.3.1). With the *-ma* verbs, as opposed to the causative, the targeted person or animal is made to participate in the action: when based on a verbal root a derivative verb in *-ma* means 'to make someone carry out the action of the verb'. With the benefactive *-la* forms the action is undertaken entirely on behalf of the targeted person or object (for the syntactic implications of this see §5.3.1.(2)). The following table illustrates, going from left to right, decreasing participation of the targeted person or object:

Simple verb	- <i>ma</i> form	causative	- <i>la</i> , benefactive-causative
<i>tharka-</i> to stand	<i>tharka-ma-</i> to get someone to stand up (tr)	<i>tharki-</i> to show, to hold up for display	<i>tharka-la-</i> to prop up
<i>thurka-</i> to get up	<i>thurka-ma-</i> to make someone get up	<i>thurki-</i> to rouse	<i>thurka-la-</i> to wake up (tr)
<i>thangka-</i> to sit	<i>thangka-ma-</i> to make someone sit	<i>thangki-</i> to give birth to, to lay (an egg)	
<i>mitha-</i> to wait	<i>mitha-ma-</i> to arrange a meeting		<i>mitha-la-</i> to wait on behalf of someone else
<i>ngurla-</i> to land	<i>ngurla-ma-</i> to make land, to force to the ground	<i>ngurli-</i> to throw down from the sky, as a whirlwind does to things or people it has picked up	<i>ngurla-la-</i> to carry to the ground, to land a person by plane

There is one isolated case where *-ma* is used simply to extend the verb without making it transitive:

ngarri- to fly *ngarri-ma-* to fly

(2) *-ma* with transitive verbal roots

In its function of transitive verbaliser *-ma* is added to some English verb stems to form borrowed verbs:

cleana-ma- to clean
washa-ma- to wash

In a small group of transitive verbs *-ma* is suffixed to a shortened verb stem in Arabana, but not in Wangkangurru:

ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU	
<i>thatma-</i>	<i>thadna-</i>	to leave
<i>witma-</i>	<i>widnangka-ma-</i>	to steal
<i>itma-</i>	<i>ibma</i>	to touch

This group of verbs shows a historic divergence between Arabana and Wangkangurru and represents a different situation from the ordinary living use of *-ma* as a transitive verbaliser suffixed to intransitive verbs.

(3) *-ma* with adjectives

The most common function of *-ma* is to form verbs from adjectives. Such verbs mean 'to produce the quality described by the adjective', and practically any adjective can be turned into a 'state-inducing' verb of this kind. Examples are:

<i>aratya</i>	straight	<i>aratya-ma-</i>	to straighten
<i>parlu</i>	flat, bare	<i>parlu-ma-</i>	to flatten, to make bare
<i>madli</i>	cold	<i>madli-ma-</i>	to cool (transitive)
<i>madla</i>	bad	<i>madla-ma-</i>	to spoil (W)
<i>kumpira</i>	dead	<i>kumpira-ma-</i>	to kill

-ma can be used with the locative and dative case forms of adjectives to convey nuances of meaning:

<i>nguyu</i>	one	<i>nguyu-ma-</i>	to unite
<i>nguyu-nga</i>	one-LOC	<i>nguyunga-ma-</i>	to put together, to mix up
<i>nguyu-ku</i>	one-DAT	<i>nguyuku-nguyuku-ma-</i>	to make one out of a whole lot of things, to pile things together
<i>ngurku</i>	good	<i>ngurku-ma-</i>	to make good, to improve (transitive)
<i>ngurku-ku</i>	good-DAT	<i>ngurkuku-ma-</i>	to fix up, to cure completely, to make as good as new

-ma can be used to form verbs from derivative adjectives, such as those containing the 'having' suffix (§3.15):

<i>maka</i>	fire
<i>maka-purru</i>	hot, boiling (lit. fire-having)
<i>kuthamaka-purru-ma-</i>	to boil some water

The flexibility of the language with regard to this type of derivation is remarkable; all kinds of modern notions are expressed in this way, as shown by the last fluent speakers:

<i>paRatyi-purru-ma-</i>	to switch on the light (lit. to make light-having)
<i>wangka-purru-ma-</i>	to record a tape (lit. to make full of words)

(4) *-ma* with nouns

Not many nouns describe a state that can be induced; hence verbs of this kind are only rarely formed from noun stems. The most common are:

<i>karna</i>	initiated man	<i>karna-ma-</i>	to put someone through the rules
<i>pulpa</i>	powder	<i>pulpa-ma-</i>	to pulverise
<i>pudnhu</i>	ashes	<i>pudnhu-ma-</i>	to reduce to ashes

When used with the locative of nouns the verbalising *-ma* means 'to put into a position' and it is used mainly with nouns referring to the body:

<i>yarri-nga</i>	ear-LOC	<i>yarringa-ma-</i>	to remember
<i>muna-nga</i>	body-LOC	<i>munanga-ma-</i>	to clasp to one's body
<i>marna-nga</i>	mouth-LOC	<i>mamanga-ma-</i>	to put in one's mouth
<i>wirintyi-nga</i>	dry.grass-LOC	<i>wirintyinga-ma-</i>	to put (fire) into dry grass, to light a bushfire

-ma is only rarely found with other case forms:

<i>thiRi-ra</i>	aggression-CSL	<i>thiRira-ma-</i>	to provoke someone
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(5) *-ma* with adverbs

There are a few instances where *-ma* is used to form transitive verbs from adverbs:

<i>padni</i>	nothing		
<i>padni-li</i>	nothing-ADV	<i>padnili-ma-</i>	to make something come to nothing
<i>yarapa</i>	above (W)	<i>yarapa-ma-</i>	to lift up, to raise
<i>ararda</i>	above (A)	<i>ararda-ma-</i>	to lift up, to raise
<i>aruRa</i>	quickly	<i>aruRa-ma-</i>	to hurry someone up
<i>ilanha</i>	thus	<i>ilanha-ma-</i>	to reduce to such a state

(6) General comments on *-ma*

Verbs formed with *-ma*, regardless of what they are based on, represent a unified and distinctive group in Arabana-Wangkangurru. The *-ma* verbs have some special conjugational features. Seeing that they could all be called 'state inducive verbs' and are therefore semantically akin to the causatives, they can never be used to form further causatives. They cannot occur in the final position in a verbal word and are therefore excluded from use in the dramatic past, which has a zero suffix (§5.4.2.8). The suffix *-Ru* rather than the zero suffix is obligatory in the direct imperative. There are further morphological peculiarities in Arabana: after *-ma* (as well as after the benefactive *-la*) the syllable *-thi* is inserted before the punctiliar present tense and *-yi* before the past marker (§5.4.2) and before the continuous participle suffix *-ngura*:

- (306) *Kutha ngarrawa-ra tyalpa nhiki madlanthi-ma-thira.* (A)
 water brackish-CSL food this bad-make-PUNC
 The brackish water (used in cooking) is making this food no good.
- (307) *Uka-nha paRala-ru ngalpuru-ma-thira.*
 it-ACC moon-ERG dark-make-PUNC
 The moon eclipses it (the sun).

In Wangkangurru in exactly identical environments *-yi* is inserted: this is probably a weakened form of *-thi*.

- (308) *Maka-ru ilanha-ma-yingura.*
 fire-ERG thus-make-CONT
 They were reduced to this (pitiful) condition by the fire.

Because these extended forms made with *-yi* and *-thi* are allomorphic variants of the stem they have not been glossed separately. The reason for this special allomorphic feature is probably that both *-ma* and *-la* are stem-forming suffixes, and above all transitivising stem-forming suffixes. They are thus particularly strongly linked with *-yi*, which forms part of the transitive tense markers in Wangkangurru (§5.4.1.3(3), §5.4.2.1(3)). Verbs formed with *-ma*, regardless of what they are based on, thus represent a unified and distinctive group in Arabana-Wangkangurru, closely associated with the causative-benefactive forms in *-la*.

5.2.7 INCHOATIVE VERBS

There is a series of intransitive verbs meaning 'to become', 'to turn into'. These inchoative verbs are formed with the addition of the verbaliser *-thi* in Arabana and *-wityi* in Wangkangurru. In Arabana there is an independent verb *withi- ~ wityi-* 'to become', from which *-thi* is evidently derived. Wangkangurru *wityi-* serves both as independent verb and as verbaliser. The Wangkangurru forms thus actually show us an affix in the making: *wityi-* fulfils both functions, whereas in Arabana they have split. Inchoative verbs can be formed in

almost the same circumstances as the transitive *-ma* verbs, except that derivation from other verbs is extremely rare.

(1) Inchoative verbs formed from simple verbs

Among the very few instances of this kind of derivation are:

<i>tharka-thi-ya</i>	it (the piece of wood) came to be standing upright (A); from <i>tharka-</i> 'to stand'
<i>tharka-wityi-</i>	to get into an upright position (W)
<i>winta-wityi-</i>	to get under shelter; from <i>winta-</i> '(he) goes down' (W)
<i>kudnala-wityi-</i>	to fall asleep; from <i>kudnala</i> '(he) sleeps'

(2) Inchoative verbs formed from adjectives

These are very common; such verbs can be formed from almost any adjective, except for the few where the sense prohibits it (e.g. *kumpira* 'dead' never forms an inchoative verb, because this place is taken by the simple verb 'to die'). Examples are:

<i>iranya-thi-</i>	to become thin (A)
<i>ngurku-wityi-</i>	to come good, to be cured (W)
<i>warlu-wityi-</i>	to become cranky, to get into a temper (W)

In Arabana there is haplology in the very frequently used verb *madlanthi-* (for *madlanthi-thi-* 'to become bad, to deteriorate').

The following inchoative verbs have developed a specialised meaning which cannot readily be guessed at from the simple adjective:

<i>madli-wityi-</i>	to become cool, to cool down (a euphemism for 'to urinate')
<i>marra-wityi-</i>	to become new (i.e. to split up, to separate from one another (intransitive))
<i>arla-wityi-</i>	to be born (lit. to become true, to become visible)

(3) Inchoative verbs formed from nouns

Any noun, when this is semantically feasible, can be used with *-thi* (A), *-wityi* (W) to form an inchoative verb:

<i>paya-wityi-</i>	to turn into a bird (W)
<i>kadnha-wityi-</i>	to turn to stone (W)

This applies even to nouns of direction:

<i>thirriwa-thi-</i>	to turn east (A)
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(a) From compound nouns

Sometimes inchoative verbs are formed from descriptive compounds of the *bahuvrīhi*-type of possessive, consisting of noun+adjective:

- (309) *Arimpa palku-waka-thi-rnda-ki!* (A)
 we.two body-black-become-PRES-EMP (The Two Snakes)
 Our bodies have turned black! (lit. we have become body-black (having)).
 (The compound *palku-waka* 'body black' means 'someone whose body is black'.)

On another occasion the same Two Snakes state:

- (310) *Mathapurda ngunhanheyi! arimpa pangki-warru-thi-rnda-ki!* (A)
 old.man my.friend we.two rib-white-become-PRES-EMP
 Old man, my friend! Our ribs have turned white! (lit. we two have become ribs-white (having).)
 (The compound *pangki-warru* 'ribs-white' means 'someone who has white ribs'.)

Similar examples are:

- (311) *Marni-nhuka-thi-rnda.*
 fat-much-become-PRES
 (He) is getting very fat. (A)
- (312) *Yarri-pudlu-wityi-ka.*
 ear-incapable-become-P
 (He) went deaf. (W)

(b) Inchoative verbs based on case forms of nouns

The only commonly used case with the inchoative verbs is the locative:

- (313) *wardayapu-nga-wityi-*
 road-LOC-become
 to get onto the road
- (314) *wimpa-nga-wityi-*
 track-LOC-become
 to get onto someone's track

Inchoative verbs can be formed from the causal case of nouns involving feeling:

- (315) *walkara-ra-wityi-*
 grief-CAUS-become
 to get upset

(4) Inchoative verbs formed from adverbs

This type of formation is found only with independent locational adverbs (§6.3.1), never with adverbs based on pronouns. Examples are:

- (316) *warritha-wityi-*
 far.away-become
 to disappear into the distance
- (317) *ngataru-wityi-*
 behind-become
 to fall behind
- (318) *yarapa-wityi-*
 above-become
 to rise up, to get up on top

(5) General comments on inchoative verbs

The inchoative verbs differ from other verbs by use of the allomorph *-ya* for *-ka* in the past tense in Arabana (§5.4.1(1)).

There is great flexibility of expression in the inchoative verbs: they can convey nuances of meaning that have no exact equivalent in English. Thus there is one instance of an inchoative verb based on a pronoun, and that is *minha-wityi-*, ‘what-becoming’, that is ‘what doing’, a questioning verb as in :

- (319) *Unpa minha-wityi-mda?*
 you what-become-PRES
 What are you up to?

There is an idiomatic inchoative verb from a whole sentence:

- (320) *malyka-nguRu-wityi-*
 not-other-become
 to be exterminated, to get to a state where there are no more left

This is derived from the sentence *Malyka nguRu* ‘There is not another’ (i.e. ‘there is not a single one left’).

5.2.8 STATIVE VERBS

There is a small group of words which describe a state or condition: these words can be described as stative verbs. The notions that they convey are usually rendered in English by adjectives. In Arabana-Wangkangurru such verbs are defective, and in some environments can be interpreted as adjectival complements.

(1) List of stative verbs

The following is a full list of stative verbs in the present tense form:

<i>pankirda, panki-pankirda</i>	to be pleased, to be delighted
<i>tyirkarnda</i>	to be happy
<i>pangkangkarda</i>	to be seriously ill
<i>walkirnda</i>	to be sick
<i>mangarnda</i>	to be ashamed
<i>minthirda ~ mintyirda</i>	to be shiny
<i>yurarnda</i>	to be knowledgeable (A)
<i>yurangarda</i>	to be knowledgeable (W)
<i>ngantararda</i>	to be tired (A)
<i>ngarrawapayirna</i>	to be worn out (W)
<i>wityalamda</i>	to be worn out (A)
<i>urkarnda</i>	to be foully dirty

Three stative verbs describing emotions occur only as reflexives:

<i>ngarldiyanta</i>	to be sorry (A)
<i>kudlanta</i>	to be angry
<i>nguyalanta</i>	to be jealous

See (2) below for *kudnala* 'to be asleep'.

Stative verbs are by their nature intransitive:

- (321) *Urkarda arla awarda warli!*
 filthy.PRES truly this house
 This house is absolutely filthy.

Stative verbs expressing emotions can take a locative as well as the causal (§3.11.2) to indicate the source of the emotion:

- (322) *Antha kudlanta mathapurda-nga.*
 I angry.REFL old.man-LOC
 I am angry with the old man.

They can also be used as reciprocals (§5.3.3(2) - (3)):

- (323) *Nguya-lamintya-nta.*
 jealous-RECIP-REFL
 They are jealous of one another.

The stative verbs do not take any tense or aspectual suffixes, other than:

- (a) the present tense;
- (b) the 'lest' form;
- (c) the benefactive form;
- (d) the speed form (which corresponds to the present tense or the reflexive marker).

However those last two are taken only if followed by the 'lest' form, the ancient past or very rarely the immediate past, and more rarely still even the present. Examples are:

- (324) *Kudla-la-thira. (A)*
 angry-BEN-lest
 (They) might get angry.
- (325) *Pankipanki-la-yira ami-nha. (W)*
 pleased-BEN-lest us-ACC
 They might be really pleased with us (for the use of the accusative see §5.3.2(4)).
- (326) *Mintyirda-liparna.*
 shiny.SP-ANC
 It used to be shiny long ago.

The one exception is *urkarda* 'to be filthy dirty'. This is more adjectival in nature than the other stative verbs and is found only in the present tense form.

Stative verbs cannot be used with any tense, mood or aspect marker other than those listed above. There is no need for such markers, as these verbs express a state of affairs the position of which in time and in environment is clear from the context, except for the extreme cases of the immediate past and the ancient past. The ordinary past tense in particular does not need to be expressed since the present often fulfils that function (§5.4.1). When there is a special need to express tense, the stative forms serve as an adjectival complement, and the tense marker is taken by the appropriate existential verb:

- (327) *Uka thangka-ka ngantararda.*
 he sit-P tired
 He was tired (lit. he sat down tired).

(2) *kudnala-* 'to be asleep'

This is a reflexive¹¹ stative verb but it differs from all the others in that it is normally found without the present tense or reflexive marker. Furthermore *kudnala-* can form the ancient past or immediate past without these suffixes:

- (328) *Uka kudnala.*
 he asleep
 He is sleeping.
- (329) *Wadlhu-nga kudnala-liparna.*
 ground-LOC sleep-ANC
 They used to sleep on the ground in the old days.
- (330) *Antha kudnala-tharra.*
 I sleep-IMM
 I was just having a bit of a sleep.

It can also be used in the non-past and the purposive:

- (331) *Kudnala-nha!*
 sleep-NP
 Let him sleep!
- (332) *Kudnala-lhuku waya-rnda. (W)*
 sleep-PUR wish-PRES
 (He) wants to have a sleep.
- (333) *Arimnpa kudnala-lhukei! Wadlhu ngurku-nga. (A)*
 we.two.INC sleep-PUR place good-LOC
 Let's camp in this good spot (here)!

In Arabana there is however an optional present tense form *kudnalta* which is parallel to the benefactive verbs in *-la* (§5.3.2(1)).

In other tenses and moods in both Arabana and Wangkangurru *kudnala* is used as an adjective and the verbal function is fulfilled by the probably cognate word *kurda-* 'to lie down':

- (334) *Malyka anha kudnala tyalku-ma-Ru.*
 not me.ACC asleep awake-make-IMPF
 Don't wake me up when I am asleep.
- (335) *Kudnala kurda-ngura.*
 asleep lie-CONT
 (He) was lying down asleep.

¹¹ *Kudnala* has to be classified as a reflexive verb because it can take the reflexive suffix *-nta*. The use of the verb 'to sleep' as a reflexive is known from languages far afield, e.g. French *s'endormir*.

- (336) *Kudnala kurda-nha.*
 asleep lie.down-NP
 (He) should be asleep.

It seems that *kudnala* is more adjectival by nature than all the other stative verbs including *urkarnda* 'filthy'. It can actually take a nominal ending, namely that of the causal in the expression *kudnalara waya* 'to feel sleepy', formed according to the same pattern as other expressions implying sensations (§3.11.4).

5.3 VOICE

As indicated above, the transitivity of Arabana-Wangkangurru verbs is determined by their semantic nature (§5.2.2). There are however a number stem-forming suffixes that affect the semantic content and the transitivity of verbs; these are the *-ma* forms (§5.2.6), the causative, the benefactive form, and the reflexive and reciprocal.

5.3.1 CAUSATIVE

The causative is widespread in Australian languages (Blake 1987:67) and usually, though not always, involves the formation of a transitive verb from an intransitive. There are two types of causative in Arabana-Wangkangurru, conveying different semantic nuances: the causative in *-i* and the causative in *-la*.

(1) The causative in *-i*

This is limited in Arabana-Wangkangurru to relatively few verbs (mainly intransitive but not exclusively so) ending in *a*. In the formation of the causative this final vowel *a* is replaced by *-i*. The syntactic functioning of this suffix can be illustrated by the following, where a transformation S > O is involved:

- (337) *Thutirla-pula yuka-mda.*
 boy-two go-PRES
 S Vi
 The two boys are going.

- (338) (*Mathapurda Kalathura-ru*) *thutirla-pula-nha iki-ra.* (A)
 (old.man Turkey-ERG) boy-two-ACC drive-PUNC
 O Vtr

The old man Turkey drives the two boys (to the initiation ground).

The causative can imply an immediate impact and can involve an animate or inanimate object:

<i>yuka-</i>	to go (intransitive)
<i>yuki-</i> (A), <i>yiki-</i> (W)	to make go, to move (a sick person), to drove (initians or cattle), to drive a car (transitive)
<i>thika-</i>	to return (intransitive)
<i>thiki-</i>	to take back (transitive)
<i>tharka-</i>	to stand (intransitive)
<i>tharki-</i>	to hold up, to show (transitive)

tharka- to stand (§5.2.6(1))
tharka-la- to make somebody or something stand up

- (341) *Mupu thukulu-nga tharka-la-lhuku.*
 stick hollow-LOC stand-BEN-HIST
 He stood the stick up in a hollow in the ground (in order to 'charge' it, and to convert it into a pointing stick).

(For *tharka-tharka-la-* 'to line up' see §5.2.4.)

The nuance conveyed by the *-la* form is however different from the true causative and from the *-ma* verbs: the *-la* form stresses the fact that the action is being done for or on behalf of somebody or something else. As shown by the table above (§5.2.6(1)) the *-la* causative conveys only minimal or no participation from the person or object that is targeted.

The actual formation of the causative, as distinct from the concept, distinguishes Arabana-Wangkangurru from Diyari to the south-east. There is on the other hand a remarkable resemblance in the causative *-la* forms between Pitta-Pitta, Arabana-Wangkangurru and Aranda, particularly in terms of the semantic nuances (§5.3.2(2)), and this must be regarded as an important regional feature.

5.3.2 THE BENEFACTIVE FORM

The grammatical category which is widely known as the benefactive, for example in Austin (1981a:77) and Blake (1979:205), is found in the Diyari language group and in Pitta-Pitta and is an important areal feature. The Arabana-Wangkangurru usage is in fact identical with Pitta-Pitta both semantically and morphologically: the same suffix *-la* is used.

(1) Morphonemic changes involving the suffix *-la*

As with the *-ma* verbs, in Arabana the syllable *-thi* (Wangkangurru *-yi*) is inserted before the punctiliar present and the continuative suffix *-ngura* (§5.5), and optionally before the past and perfect markers:

- (342) *Maka wapayi-kanha kutha-ru wantyawantya-la-yingura.* (W)
 fire finish-PERF water-ERG go.out-BEN-CONT
 The fire is all finished, the (rain) water made it go out.

In both Arabana and Wangkangurru *-la* is shortened to *-l* before all suffixes that contain a plosive consonant. Hence in the past tense, when the optional *-thi*, *-yi* is not inserted, we find the following:

-la+ -ka > -lka

la+ -kanha > -lkanha

- (343) *Paka-l-ka.*
 dig-BEN-P
 He dug a hole for other people (to put rubbish in).
- (344) *Paka-l-kanha.*
 dig-BEN-PERF
 He has dug a hole for other people (to put rubbish in).

With the present tense and speed marker *-mda* further modifications occur in that the nasal is lost and the retroflex plosive becomes assimilated into the alveolar position:

-la + -mda > -l-ta

As the suffix *-mda* with transitive verbs occurs mostly in Arabana (§5.4.1.2), this is a characteristically Arabana development:

- (345) *Tharka-ma-l-ta. (tharka-ma-la-mda)*
stand-make-BEN-PRES
They get him to stand up (for someone else to look at him).
- (346) *Katyi-l-ta. (katyi-la-mda)*
turn-BEN-PRES
He turns it over.

The *-l-ta* forms are however just occasionally used in Wangkangurru too:

- (347) *Anthunha arluwa ngurla-l-ta.*
my child land-BEN-PRES
They are getting my son down from the plane.

In a few cases *-l-ta* is interpreted as a present tense marker and the full benefactive marker is used as well, as in the variant of the sentence just quoted:

- (348) *Anthunha arluwa ngurla-la-l-ta.*
my child land-BEN-BEN-PRES
(They) are getting my son down from the plane.
- (349) *Pankipanki-la-l-ta.*
very.pleased-BEN-BEN-PRES
(They) are very pleased with him.

The cluster *-lt* is very rare intra-morphemically in Arabana-Wangkangurru and this is the only circumstance in which it occurs between morphemes: the *-lt* forms are therefore very conspicuous. Younger people are unfamiliar with them, regard them as peculiar and have lost the whole concept of the benefactive-causative suffix.

(2) The meaning of the *-la* suffix, causative versus benefactive

The *-la* suffix may fulfil a causative function in some intransitive verbs involving the transformation S>O, as mentioned at §5.3.1.(2), but only in circumstances where it is clear that the action is being taken for something or somebody who does *not* actively participate. Thus *wiya-la-*, formed from *wiya-* 'to laugh' and *thudni-la-*, from *thudni-* 'to cry' can never mean 'to make somebody else laugh or cry' because that somebody else would in fact be carrying out the action. The suffix *-la* in this environment is therefore always benefactive, never causative; in other words there is a transformation S > A:

- (350) *Aluwa-kari wiya-wiya-mda.*
boy-PL laugh-laugh-PRES
S Vi
The children are laughing.

- (351) *Aluwa-kari-ri wiya-wiya-la-thira*. (A)
 child-PL-ERG laugh-laugh-BEN-PUNC
 A Vtr
 The children laugh at (him).

This implies that (they) mock and deride (somebody else, who obviously does not take part).
 Similarly:

- (352) *Thudni-la-thira*. (A)
 cry-BEN-PUNC
 (They) cry over someone, (they) mourn for someone.

This usage is exactly parallel to that shown by Wilkins (1989:258) for the Aranda suffix *-lhile*.

Frequently however, as shown in some of the examples under (1) above, there is some latitude as to whether the suffix *-la* is to be interpreted as causative or benefactive: for example, *irityi-* 'to move, to stir' (intransitive). To this can be added the *-la* suffix in a causative function: *irityi-la-* means 'to make something inert move, particularly a dead body' (so it can indicate who is responsible for the death). This involves S > O. But *-la* can also be added in its purely benefactive function and the meaning then is: 'to move for somebody else's benefit, to bestir oneself for somebody', (i.e. to work for a boss). This involves S > A.

Because the distinctions depend so much on the semantics of the verbs involved, no rules can be laid down as to whether the interpretation of *-la* should be causative or not in these kinds of circumstances. This uncertainty reflects a more widespread tendency elsewhere in Australia. This was first noted for Kayardild by N. Evans (1986:13), who wrote that "the presence or absence of causation is inferred from the context, rather than being a constant element in the meaning of the derivation". The extent of this uncertainty principle in other languages still needs to be investigated.

(3) The benefactive meaning of the *-la* suffix

The 'benefactive form' can be used only if a person other than the subject is targeted by the action. Thus one can say:

- (353) *Thanta wirra-la-rnda*. (A)
 stuff buy-BEN-PRES
 (Father) buys dress material for (them).

But one has to say:

- (354) *Uka-ru thanta wirra-rnda ngunhi-lhiku, nyipa manhi-ri karpa-nha-nga*.
 he-ERG stuff buy-PRES give-PUR dress self-ERG make-NP-LOC
 He (father) buys dress material to give away (to the girls), so that they may make their own dresses.

The use of the benefactive form *wirra-la-rnda* is not permissible here, because father is buying the material for himself to give away.

The 'beneficiary' targeted by an benefactive suffix may indeed be favourably involved, and the *-la* form may act as a true benefactive:

(355) *Mingka paka-rnda kudni-la-lhuku.* (A)

hole dig-PRES put-BEN-PUR

They dig a grave to put him in.

(356) *Kuni-kuni-la-yiwa-rnda.*

put-put-BEN-TR-PRES

They unpack (to set up a temporary camp) for (the others who are still coming).

On the other hand the benefactive form may imply an adverse effect on someone other than the subject:

(357) *Tharni-l-ta.*

eat-BEN-PUNC

They eat (his dinner) for him (because he didn't come in time).

The reference to the 'beneficiary' is usually via the possessive form:

(358) *Unkunha punga karra-l-ta.*

your humpy tie-BEN-PRES

He's fixing up your humpy for you.

This applies in all kinds of contexts, for example 'cooking your food' and 'bringing your water'.

The person to whom the benefactive suffix refers may be only very indirectly involved:

(359) *Anthunha arluwa pirda-la-yira!* (W)

my child hit-BEN-PUNC

They are hitting my child! (lit. they are hitting my child on me!).

This usage is similar to Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979:205), except for the important difference that in Pitta-Pitta the beneficiary is not expressed by the possessive, but by the accusative form of the pronoun.

The benefactive form may change the semantic implications of the verb: it provides nuances that in English can often be conveyed by the use of another verb, as in the case of:

wiya- to laugh

wiya-la- to mock, to deride

thudni- to cry

thudni-la- to mourn (see (2) above)

thiki- to bring back

thiki-la- to bring presents

(4) Grammatical implications of the benefactive form

The causative-benefactive suffix basically makes intransitive verbs transitive. The manner in which this happens in Arabana-Wangkangurru corresponds to what Blake (1987:67) has described as 'object advancement': verbs which normally take a complement in an oblique case take a direct object when the *-la* suffix is used, and the subject becomes the agent, that is:

S > A

oblique > O

- (360) *Pankipankirda anthirda.*
 pleased me.CAUS
 Vi oblique
 They are very pleased with me.

With *-la* and object advancement this becomes:

- (361) *Pankipanki-la-yira arni-nha. (W)*
 pleased-BEN-lest us-ACC
 V_r O
 They might be really pleased with us.
- (362) *Wiya-wiya-rnda mathapurda-nga.*
 laugh-laugh-PRES old.man-LOC
 Vi oblique
 They laugh at the old man.

With *-la* and object advancement this becomes:

- (363) *Kunha wiya-wiya-la-yingura arluwa-kari-ri.*
 he.ACC laugh-laugh-BEN-CONT child-PL-ERG
 O V_{tr} A
 The children went on deriding him.
- (364) *Yanhi-rnda anthirda.*
 speak-PRES me.LOC
 They are talking to me.

With *-la* and object advancement this becomes:

- (365) *Yanhi-la-thira anha. (A)*
 speak-BEN-PUNC me-ACC
 They tell me.

Object advancement is known over a wide area, not only from Diyari (Austin 1981a:158) but from a number of Queensland languages, notably Yidj, where the *-nga-l* affix changes S > O for some verbs and S > A for others (Dixon 1977a:302-312 and 319).

5.3.3 RECIPROCAL AND REFLEXIVE

The reciprocal and reflexive, as in most other Australian languages, are closely connected: they are formed with affixes that change transitive verbs to intransitive. Both the reciprocal and the reflexive can be used with verbs that take dative and locative complements (§5.2.2). The same syntactic rules regarding the reflexive-reciprocal apply to Arabana and Wangkangurru; there are however considerable morphological differences between the two languages.

(1) The reflexive in Arabana and Wangkangurru

In both languages the reflexive is marked in the present and speed form by the suffix *-nta*.

- (366) *Mudluwaru-ru warawa-nta.* (W)
 shield-INSTR cover-REFL
 He covers himself with his shield.
- (367) *Mardi-ra karra-nta.*
 hairstring-CAUS tie-REFL
 He decorates himself (lit. ties himself up) with hairstring.
- (368) *Padni-ki wanpa-nta.* (A)
 not-EMP lift-REFL
 He can't lift himself up.

The situation is similar with a verb that takes a cognate object and usually a locative complement:

- (369) *Antha wangka thimpa-nta.* (W)
 I word converse-REFL
 I am talking to myself.

-nta is only used in the present and as a speed marker: in other situations the reflexive is not shown by any marking on the verb. It is expressed simply by the intransitive usage, that is by the fact that the subject is in the nominative-absolutive, not the ergative case; the subject is S not A:

- (370) *Kardapu tyiRi-nga wintayi-nangka-ngura antha, malyka ngatyi-nha.*
 head flood-LOC hide-CONT.S-CONT INOM not see-NP
 I kept on hiding my head under the floodwaters so that they would not see (me).
- (371) *Unpa madla-ma-yika.*
 you.NOM bad-make-P
 You hurt yourself.

(2) The reciprocal in Wangkangurru

The reciprocal is formed with the addition of the composite suffix *-la-mintya-nta*. The base form of this is *-mintya*, which conveys the meaning of 'each other'. This is obligatorily preceded by the benefactive suffix *-la* because the reciprocal implies an action reflecting on someone other than the subject. In the present it is followed further by the special reflexive-reciprocal present tense marker *-nta*, which can as usual also serve as a speed marker (§5.8.2). As a reciprocal verb is intransitive, the subject is always in the absolutive, it is S, not A:

- (372) *Malyka kutha-ru thurra-lamintya-nta.*
 not water-INSTR splash-RECIP-REFL.PRES
 Don't splash each other with water.
- (373) *Ngunhi-lamintya-nta-ngura kari.*
 give-RECIP-REFL.SP-CONT they
 They used to swap things before leaving (at the end of a ceremony).
- (374) *MinpaRu-pula ngurku-ma-lamintya-nta-naru.*
 doctor-DU good-make-RECIP-REFL.SP-PLUP
 The two clever men had soon cured each other (from the 'flu).

The reflexive is sometimes, though rarely, used on its own to fulfil a reciprocal function. Thus one can say either of the following:

- (375) *Mankarra-pula wiRi kuti-kuti-nta.*
 girl-DU hair pull-pull-REFL
 The two girls are pulling each other's hair.
- (376) *Mankarra-pula wiRi kuti-kuti-lamintya-nta.*
 girl-DU hair pull-pull-RECIP-REFL
 The two girls are pulling each other's hair.

The reciprocal morpheme *-mintya* does not have any immediate cognates; it is probably an innovation affecting only Wangkangurru. The use of *-la* with the reciprocal is however shared with Pitta-Pitta, where it is confined to intransitive verbs (Blake 1979:206).

(3) The reciprocal in Arabana

The reflexive form is widely used to mark the reciprocal. There is however in Arabana another form of the reciprocal, marked by the suffix *-(k)a*, with loss of the plosive consonant after *a* (§2.7.2). This is followed by the reflexive *-nta*:

- (377) *Madla-pula purtha-purtha-(k)a-nta.*
 dog-two bite-bite-RECIP-REFL
 The two dogs are biting one another.
- (378) *Wangka thimpa-(k)a-nta.*
 word say-RECIP-REFL
 They are talking to one another.
- (379) *Panti-ka-nta.*
 fight-RECIP-REFL
 They are fighting against one another.
- (380) *Nguya-ra punta-punta-(k)a-anta.*
 jealous-CAUS break-break-RECIP-REFL
 They are jealous of one another.

This reciprocal marker, seeing that it is always followed by the reflexive, does not allow any confusion with the identical suffix *-(k)a* that marks the transitory aspect in Arabana (§5.8.4).

(4) Irregularities of the reciprocal

The reciprocal of the verb *nhanhi-* 'to see' is formed from a stem *nhata-*, obligatorily in Arabana and optionally in Wangkangurru. Thus the following sentence is the only way of expressing this notion in Arabana:

- (381) *Pula nhata-a-nta.*
 two see-RECIP-REFL
 The two of them look at one another.

In Wangkangurru the use of *nhata-* is optional, and alternative sentences are possible:

(382) *Pula nhata-nta.*
two see-REFL
The two of them look at one another.

(383) *Pula nhanhi-laminya-nta.*
two see-RECIP-REFL
The two of them look at one another.

Some verbs are always used in the reflexive-reciprocal, such as *kudla-nta* 'to be angry', and *wanti-nta* 'to wait' (Wangkangurru only). The verb *pirda-* 'to hit', on the other hand, can take a reflexive or reciprocal marker in Wangkangurru only when it has the meaning 'to strike (without hurting)':

(384) *Ulyurla-kari ngalpa pirda-nta.*
woman-PL lap hit-REFL
The women beat their laps (to beat time during a ceremony).

In its normal meaning 'to strike in order to hurt' *pirda-* cannot be used as a reflexive: this function is fulfilled by the verb *panti-* 'to fight', which is by nature reflexive-reciprocal, though never marked as such in Wangkangurru:

(385) *Kari panti-rda.*
they (ABS) fight-PRES
They are fighting (lit. they are hitting one another).

(386) *Pantali antha panti-ka maRa, tyalpa pirda-yingur' athu. (W)*
nearly I.(NOM) hit.REFL-P hand wood hit-ACT.CONT I.ERG
I nearly hit my hand while I was chopping wood.

(5) 'together'

In Arabana and more rarely in Wangkangurru there is a special suffix *-matha* which is used with intransitive verbs, mainly with verbs of speaking or communicating: it basically conveys the meaning of 'together'. In the present or speed forms the use of the reflexive suffix *-nta* is obligatory after *-matha*. Thus from *yanhi-* 'to speak' in Arabana this type of 'reciprocal' is *yanhi-matha-* 'to speak together', 'to have a conversation':

(387) *Ulyurla-kari yanhi-matha-nta.*
woman-PL speak-together-REFL
The women are talking amongst themselves.

This same sentence is correct for Wangkangurru also, but it is furthermore possible to use the ordinary reciprocal form:

(388) *Ulyurla-kari yanhi-lamintya-nta.*
woman-PL speak-RECIP-REFL
The women are talking amongst themselves.

(389) *Wardu wiya-wiya-matha-nta. (A)*
child laugh-laugh-together-REFL
The children are having a laugh amongst themselves.

- (390) *madla thudni-matha-nta-nha-nga* (W)
 dog howl-together-REFL-NP-LOC
 while the dogs were howling in chorus

Thudni-matha- 'to cry together' is common in both languages in the sense of 'to hold a wake'.

On rare occasions other suffixes could intervene between the verb stem and the 'together' suffix:

- (391) *Karlatyalpa-nganha yanhi-layi-ma-matha-nta*.
 Anna.Creek-from speak-BEN-IMPF-together-REFL
 They were sending messages between themselves and the Anna Creek mob.

There are rare instances of *-matha* being used with transitive verbs:

- (392) *Nhanhi-matha-nta*.
 see-together-REFL
 They all keep an eye on one another.

There seems to be no immediate parallel to these 'together' forms in the other languages of the Lake Eyre Basin.

5.4 TENSE MARKING

The formula for the verbal word given above (§5.1.1) is:

root ± transitory ± voice ± aspect ± tense, mood or participial function ± clitic

This implies that the tense markers can only be followed by clitics, which are to some extent extraneous to the verb. In other words the tense markers, like the suffixes marking mood or participial function, are usually in the final position. As the preferred word order in the sentence is S-O-V, the tense marker is in fact normally in the final position in an utterance (§8.1), and this makes it stand out as an important feature.

Tense in Arabana-Wangkangurru is not normally related to abstract time, but to the time plane from which the speaker views the topic. This is especially clear from the use of the present as a narrative form.

5.4.1 THE PRESENT TENSE

The present tense in Arabana-Wangkangurru, the most commonly used tense, is expressed in a number of ways, with several (sometimes overlapping) underlying semantic values. These are set out below.

(a) A *general* present is an event that is taking place now, a state that exists or is just coming into existence. A habitual nuance is often implied. The general present is also the *quotation form*.

(b) A *punctiliar* action is one just about to happen, or is happening right now. Transitive verbs, seeing that they imply action in relation to an object, are more likely to be used in a punctiliar sense, and are especially so marked in Arabana-Wangkangurru.

(c) An *imperfective* refers to an event that is in progress. The imperfective is listed with tenses, not aspects, because it is so inextricably linked with the present tense system in Arabana-Wangkangurru.

These three values are carried into the past: this happens when a person is telling a story and when there is no emphasis on time, either relative or absolute. This feature is in some respects similar to the English narrative present. The expression of these underlying values is complex in Arabana-Wangkangurru: there are dialectal distinctions, distinctions between transitive and intransitive verbs, and even semantic distinctions that arise from the chance morphophonemic process of nasal dissimilation.

5.4.1.1 PRESENT TENSE SUFFIXES

The distribution of present tense suffixes in Arabana-Wangkangurru is as follows, with regard to the values outlined above:

(a) forms identical for Arabana and Wangkangurru

	Verbs with nasal clusters	Other verbs
Intransitive present <i>and</i> Intransitive punctiliar	<i>-rda</i>	<i>-rnda</i>
With benefactive <i>-la</i>	<i>-l-ta</i> (§5.3.2(1))	
Imperfective, all verbs	<i>-rna</i>	

(b) forms showing differences between Arabana and Wangkangurru

	ARABANA		WANGKANGURRU	
	verbs with nasal clusters	other verbs	verbs with nasal clusters	other verbs
Transitive present	<i>-rda</i>	<i>-rnda</i>	<i>-rda</i>	<i>-rna ~-rnda</i>
Transitive punctiliar	<i>-ra</i>		<i>-(yi)ra</i>	

As is noticeable from the above table, *-rnda* and *-rda* are not strictly in complementary distribution in Wangkangurru. For the use of the suffixes *-rnda*, *-rda* and *-rna* in compound verbs see §5.10.

5.4.1.2 THE PRESENT TENSE IN ARABANA

The following is a more detailed account of the use of these suffixes in Arabana.

(1) *-rnda* with transitive verbs

With transitive verbs this suffix expresses a general present:

- (393) *Ngurka-rnda 'thu partyarnda wadni.*
 know-PRES I.ERG all song
 I know all the songs.

It implies a habitual nuance:

- (394) *Thanta mani-rnda manhi-ri karpa-lhuku, nyipa karpa-rnda manhi-ri.*
 stuff get-PRES self-ERG make-PUR dress make-PRES self-ERG
 (We) get the material to make up ourselves, we make our own dresses.
 (This sentence occurred in a story about the past; Mona Merrick was relating how her family 'used to order prints from Adelaide'.)

-rnda also expresses a generic present:

- (395) *Arlantara-ru nyinta warni-ya-kura kaRu kilta-rnda.*
 cyclone-ERG tree grow-P-CONT.P there uproot-PRES
 Cyclones uproot any trees that have been growing there.

For the use of *-rnda* to express an imperative see §5.6.4.

(2) *-rnda* with intransitive verbs

With intransitive verbs the suffix *-rnda* has a much wider scope. As with the transitives it expresses a general and habitual present:

- (396) *Kutha idnhi-rnda.*
 water lie-PRES
 There is water there.

In addition to these meanings *-rnda* with intransitive verbs implies the immediate future. Thus a person saying farewell might say:

- (397) *Antha thika-rnda Port Augusta-ruku.*
 I return-PRES Port. Augusta-ALL
 I am going back to Port Augusta (I am about to leave).

But using a transitive verb they would continue, saying:

- (398) *Athu thiki-ra mankarra-pula-nha.*
 I.ERG take.back-PUNC girl-DU-ACC
 I am taking the two girls back.

With intransitives *-rnda* can also express a punctiliar event:

- (399) *Uka walkirnda, uka awarda purra-rnda mathapurda.*
 he sick he there die-PRES old.man
 He is sick, he dies there, the old man.
 This was said in a narration, referring to the past.

With intransitive verbs there is thus no distinction made between the habitual nuance and a punctiliar action. Hence the alternative meanings of the following sentence according to context:

- (400) *Uka thadlhu yanhi-rnda.*
 he empty speak-PRES
 He tells lies (habitually).
 He is telling a lie (right now).

When however the habitual meaning is to be stressed, the habitual forms (§5.7.2) are used.

(3) *-rda*

This is the allomorph for *-rnda* according to the rules of nasal dissimilation in the case of verbs whose stems or extended stems contain a nasal-plosive cluster (§2.16):

- wanka-rda* is the present form of *wanka-* to rise up
panti-rda is the present form of *panti-* to fight
pirda-nangka-rda is the present form of *pirda-nangka-* to go on hitting (the continuous stem form of *pirda-* 'to hit')

For the allomorph *-nta* with reflexive verbs see §5.3.3(1) and with 'short' verbs see §5.2.5.

(4) *-ra*

This suffix occurs *only* with transitive verbs and expresses a punctiliar event:

- (401) *Kadnhaardi partyarnda mani-ra.*
 money all take-PUNC
 (The thief) takes all the money (the theft is being committed right now).

Hence the difference between the following two sentences:

- (402) *Nhupa pirda-ra.*
 spouse beat-PUNC
 (He) hits his wife (right now).
- (403) *Nhupa pirda-rnda.*
 spouse beat-PRES
 (He) beats his wife (implying that this is a habitual action, and that the person is a wife-beater).

-ra furthermore can express an immediately anticipated action:

- (404) *Athu yurra pirda-ra!*
 I.ERG bottom hit-PUNC
 I'm going to belt your behind! (I am going to do so right at this moment).

-thira (not shown in the table above) is the allomorph of the punctiliar present in derivative verbs. It is used after the benefactive-causative suffix *-la*, after the verbaliser *-ma* (§5.2.6(2)), and after long verbs ending in *-wa* (§5.2.3(2)):

- (405) *Uka-nha paRala-ru ngalpuru-ma-thira.*
 he-ACC moon-ERG dark-make-PUNC
 There is an eclipse (lit. the moon obscures it (the sun)).
- (406) *Unkunha kutha thiki-la-thira.*
 your water bring.back-BEN-PUNC
 (He) is bringing back some water for you.

(5) *-ma*

This suffix is not common in Arabana. It expresses the imperfective in both transitive and intransitive verbs:

- (407) *Kari ngataru yuka-ma.*
 they behind go-IMPF
 They follow behind (i.e. they are or were still coming).
- (408) *Uka-ru pirda-ma kuya parkulu-nha.*
 he-ERG hit-IMPF girl two-ACC
 He is belting the two girls.
 (The story goes on to describe how one of their relatives comes to their rescue.)

In both Arabana and Wangkangurru the imperfective has been heard on very rare occasions in subordinate clauses when there is a switch of reference. The imperfective implies that the action of the subordinate clause is continuing while the action of the main verb takes place. This function is normally fulfilled by the continuative (§5.5.1). One of these rare examples is the following:

- (409) *Thara-malka-ru nhanhi-kanha, nhanhi-ka ulyurla pirda-ma.*
 leg-stripe-ERG see-PERF see-P woman beat-IMPF
 The policeman saw the whole thing, he saw him beating the woman.
 (For the implications of the perfect in this sentence see §5.4.2.2).

The fact remains beyond doubt that transitive verbs in Arabana, having a threefold distinction *-mda*, *-ra*, and *-ma*, show finer demarcations than intransitives with regard to the various nuances of the present tense: present, punctiliar and imperfective. The intransitives have only the distinction of *-mda* versus *-ma*, that is present versus imperfective. This is logical as most, though certainly not all, intransitive activities, such as walking, sitting, talking and coughing, involve some inherent continuity, and a punctiliar form is not strictly necessary.

5.4.1.3 THE PRESENT TENSE IN WANGKANGURRU

In Wangkangurru the system of suffixes closely resembles that of Arabana in appearance, but in application it is very different indeed.

(1) *-mda*

This suffix marks the present, both general and punctiliar, but it is more restricted than in Arabana, being used mainly in intransitive verbs:

- (410) *Antha thanga-mda.*
 I stay-PRES
 I am staying.
- (411) *Uka ngurku wityi-mda-ki.*
 he good become-PRES-EMP
 He is getting altogether better.

-mda can be used to form the present tense of only two groups of transitive verbs:

(a) verbs whose stems end in *i*, though the form *-ma* is preferred ((4) below)

- (412) *Partyarna kudni-mda!*
 all put.down-PRES
 He writes down everything!
- (413) *Nhanhi-mda kaRu mathapurda-pula-nha.*
 see-PRES there old.man-DU-ACC
 He sees the two old men there.

(b) (just occasionally) verbs formed with the transitivity suffix *-ma* (§5.2.6)

- (414) *Kari-ri wardayapu ngurku-ma-mda.*
 they-ERG road good-make-PRES
 They fix up the road.

Apart from these exceptions, final *-mda* in Wangkangurru has become identified with *intransitive* verbs. It is very limited in its use with transitive verbs. Furthermore final *-mda* is avoided in Wangkangurru as opposed to Arabana in situations completely outside the verbal system, as for instance at the end of adjectives and pronouns. Thus the Arabana adjective *partyarnda* corresponds to Wangkangurru *partyarna*, the Arabana pronoun and adverb *awarnda* 'that', 'there' corresponds to Wangkangurru *awarda* (§4.4.7), and Arabana *intyarnda* 'where?' is represented in Wangkangurru by *intya*. The reasons for this situation are complex and not clear (Hercus n.d.).

(2) *-rda*

This, as in Arabana, is the allomorph of *-mda* that occurs as a result of nasal dissimilation (§2.16). Like *-mda* it is used to mark the punctiliar as well as the general present of *intransitive* verbs:

- (415) *Antha thangka-rda.*
 I sit-PRES
 I am sitting (and I am not going to move).
- (416) *Pudluka mungka-rda.*
 bullock bellow-PRES
 There is a cow bellowing (right now).
 Cattle bellow (in general).

-rda however covers a greater range than *-mda* because it occurs with transitive verbs also: the restrictions that apply against the use of *-mda* with transitive verbs in Wangkangurru do not operate against *-rda*, and this is in fact the normal way of expressing the general present in transitive verbs whose stem contains a nasal cluster. For example:

- (417) *Mathapurda-pula-ru mardi munpa-rda.*
 old.man-DU-ERG hairstring spin-PRES
 The two old men are spinning hairstring.
- (418) *Kadnha wanpa-rda.*
 stone carry-PRES
 (He) carries the stone.

As is the case in Arabana, the present marker *-nda* in Wangkangurru has an allomorph *-nta* with reflexive verbs (§5.3.3(1)) and with 'short' verbs (§5.2.5).

(3) *-ra ~ -yira*

These are allomorphs: *-ra* is used with verbs whose stem ends in *i*, and *-yira* is used with verbs whose stem ends in *a*.

The situation is similar to that in Arabana and *-ra ~ -yira* is used in transitive verbs only, and marks an actual, punctiliar present.

- (419) *Athu nhanhi-ra mankarra-pula-nha.*
I.ERG see-PUNC girl-DU-ACC
I see the two girls (right at this very moment).

- (420) *Kadnha wanpa-yira*
stone lift-PRES
He lifts up the stone.
(This is in contrast to the use of *wanpa-rda* above.)

(4) *-ma*

As in Arabana, this suffix marks the imperfective:

- (421) *Pityamurru ulyurla-ru mani-ma, arni malaru wangka*
boxbark woman-ERG get-IMPF we.EXC however word
yanhi-lamintya-yingura
speak-RECIP-CONT
The women are collecting boxbark (to make a tobacco mix), while we on the other hand are talking amongst ourselves.
- (422) *Kutha nguyu puntha-ma.*
water one drink-IMPF
They go on drinking the same water.

The suffix *-ma* is used to express the general present in those transitive Wangkangurru verbs that do not take the *-rda* form:

- (423) *Ulyurla-ru pawa ngunhi-ma, yalka ngunhi-ma.*
woman-ERG flour give-IMPF onion give-IMPF
The women give (the other people in camp) both grass-seed flour and wild onions.
- (424) *Ngura-nganha thadla-ra waya-ma kari-kirndara.*
camp-from fear-CAUS wish-IMPF they-CAUS
The people from the camp are afraid of them (the strangers).

The equivalence of these forms is clearly illustrated by consistent usage whereby the general present is expressed by *-rda* in transitive verbs that have nasal dissimilation and by *-ma* in all other transitive verbs within the same series of utterances:

- (425) *KarrawaRa* *ngunha punta-rda, kira-ru* *punta-rda,*
 Eaglehawk arm break-PRES boomerang-INSTR break-PRES
pirda-rna kumpira-ku.
 strike-IMPF dead-DAT
 They break the Eaglehawk's wings with their boomerangs, they kill him.
- (426) *Pirda-rna 'kanha, nhampa-rda Altharka-nga.*
 hit-IMPF him bury-PRES Altarkuwa-LOC
 They kill him (the Ancestor Thudnungkurla) and bury him at Altarkuwa.

(5) The present tense markers and areal linguistics.

The punctiliar forms in particular are interesting from the point of view of areal linguistics: the Arabana punctiliar form of transitive verbs is *-ra*, while the Wangkangurru is *-(yi)ra*. (In Yarluyandi there is a present tense marker *-yara*, which is used with all verbs whether transitive or intransitive. This suffix is added in its full form to all verbs, whether their stem ends in *-a* or in *-i*, there is however no proof that the *-yi* of *-yira*, and the *-ya* of *-yara* are related.)

Thus from Arabana to the west, across the two dialects of Wangkangurru and across the boundary to the genetically not closely linked Yarluyandi, there exists a gradation, a step-by-step difference in the way the *r* forms of the present tense are used.

The comparative linguistic implications of the Arabana-Wangkangurru suffixes *-mda* ~ *-rda* and *-rna* are complex. There is a basic distinction from the Diyaric language group, where these suffixes mark a participle (Austin 1981a:87 and 1989:13). Superimposed on this basic distinction are regional similarities in that Arabana and the neighbouring Diyaric language, Thirrari, as well as the distant Yarluyandi, have *-mda* ~ *rda* as the verbal suffix and *partyarnda* for 'all' while, in a wedge right across the area, Wangkangurru and the neighbouring Ngamini and Diyari have *-rna* as the participial suffix and *partyarna* for 'all'.

5.4.2 THE PAST TENSE

The past tense is expressed in a number of ways both simple and complex. The main distinctions are for distance in time and for relative time (the pluperfect). Traversing these two categories there is also a distinction of aspect which conveys whether the event is viewed from the angle of having been completed. The affixes, as will be seen, can be simple or made up from elements that recur in other bound forms. Thus *-nha*, when used with past time, conveys the perfective, and *-ru* gives a causal nuance. The result of this network of different forms of the past is that the Arabana-Wangkangurru language can readily express fine shades of meaning within the verbal word, shades of meaning that in English have to be expressed by separate adverbs.

The following affixes are used:

MAIN PAST TENSES	ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU
Simple past	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-ka</i>
Perfect	<i>-kanha</i>	<i>-kanha</i>
Ancient past	<i>-(k)apuka</i>	
Ancient perfect	<i>-(k)apukanha</i>	<i>-liparna</i>

Immediate past	-thara	-rnanha
Immediate past perfect	-tharakanha	-rmdanha
Narrative	-ru ~ -ri	-ru ~ -ri
Historical	-lhuku ~ -lhiku	-thuku ~ -lhiku
Dramatic past	-∅	-∅

RELATIVE TIME: PLUPERFECT

preceding in time	-yangu	-yangu -karu
preceding in time and perfective	-yangunha	-yangunha
preceding in time and partly causal	-limaru	-limaru
predominantly causal and preceding in time	-naru	-naru, -rinaru -kanha-ru

5.4.2.1 THE SIMPLE PAST

(1) The simple past in -ka

This is by far the most common means of expressing past time of any period. It can refer to the mythological past:

- (427) *Wityira-ru pula yuka-ka.*
 Dalhousie-ABL two go-P
 The two (Boys) went from Dalhousie.

It can also refer to any time, generally within the experience of the speaker:

- (428) *Athu malyka nhanhi-ka irlinha warni-ka!*
 I not see-P thus grow-P
 I never saw it growing like that!
- (429) *Waru nhanhi-k' athu.*
 long.ago see-P I.ERG
 I saw it long ago.

This includes a recent past:

- (430) *Tyalpa tharni-ka.*
 food eat-P
 They had their dinner.

The simple past is the least specialised way of expressing past time: it can be used with any type of verb whether simple or compound and after any of the stem-forming suffixes. Among younger speakers it is the only past tense that has remained alive and that can be recalled with any degree of certainty.

(2) Allomorphs of the simple past: *-ya*

In Arabana inchoative verbs the *k* of the past suffix is weakened to *y*:

- (431) *Ngurku-thi-ya.*
good-become-P
He got well.

- (432) *Pudnu-thi-ya anthunha puntyu! Partyarnda ngarda-ka!*
ashes-become-P my meat all burn-P
My meat has been reduced to ashes! It is all burnt up!

In Wangkangurru this allomorph does not exist and the past of inchoatives is formed with the normal past suffix *-ka*:

- (433) *Ngurku-wityi-ka.*
good-become-P
He got well.

(3) Allomorphs of the simple past: *-yika*

In Wangkangurru after the benefactive suffix *-la* and the verbaliser *-ma* the simple past is marked by *-yika*. In Arabana the same rule applies, except that after the suffix *-la* the use of *-yika* is optional (§5.3.2(1)):

(a) Arabana

- (434) *Madlanthi-ma-yika.*
bad-make-P
He ruined it.

(b) Wangkangurru

- (435) *Wiya-wiya-la-yika.*
laugh-laugh-BEN-P
They laughed at him.
- (436) *Wardayapu kari-ri ngurku-ku-ma-yika.*
road they-ERG good-DAT-make-P
They fixed up the road.

These are the only circumstances in which the allomorph *-yika* occurs in Arabana. In Wangkangurru the use of this form of the suffix is much wider: it is more than an allomorph; it is a variant of the past marker in all transitive verbs whose stem ends in *a*. There is however a nuance of emphasis and vividness in the *-yika* forms that is absent from the simple *-ka* forms:

- (437) *Thara-malka-ru pirda-ka.*
Thara-malka-ru pirda-yika.
leg-stripe-ERG kill-P
The police killed him.

The infix *-yi* which forms part of the variant is the same as that used to form the punctiliar present of transitive verbs (§5.4.1.3(3)).

5.4.2.2 THE PERFECT

The perfect suffix *-kanha* is clearly derived from the simple past in *-ka* with the addition of *-nha* which adds a completive nuance: a suffix *-nhu*, *-nha* is widespread in Australian languages marking the past (Dixon 1980a:381). There is an allomorph *-yikanha* after the verbaliser *-ma* and after the 'benefactive' suffix *-la* corresponding to the allomorphs and the variant that occur in the simple past. Word order within the Arabana-Wangkangurru sentence is fairly free (§8.1), but these perfect forms are almost invariably clause-final, and can be followed only by the clitic *-ki*, which adds further emphasis to the meaning of finality and completeness (§7.1.3):

- (438) *Kutyu-ru pirda-yikanha.* (W)
Kurdaitcha-ERG kill-PERF
The Kurdaitcha man has killed him.
- (439) *Antha manaputu minha kari-ri pidla-kanha-ki.*
I ignorant what they-ERG name-PERF-FIN
I don't know how they ultimately named it.

The contrast with the meaning of the simple past can be seen in the following sentences:

- (440) *Maka-ra ngarda-kanha.*
fire-CAUS burn-PERF
They were burnt in the fire (i.e. they were totally consumed by the fire, they were killed).
- (441) *Maka-ra ngarda-ka.*
fire-CAUS burn-P
They got burnt in the fire (i.e. they received burns and were not necessarily killed).

The contrast can even be seen within one single complex sentence:

- (442) *Thara-malka-ru nhanhi-kanha, nhanhi-ka ulyurla pirda-ma.*
leg-stripe-ERG see-PERF see-P woman beat-IMPF
The policeman saw the whole thing, he saw him beating the woman.

Here *nhanhi-kanha* implies that he saw everything; *nhanhi-ka* means simply 'he saw', and this simple past, unlike the perfect, need not be clause-final (see §8.1).

A similar distinction can be shown in the following sentences:

- (443) *Wadlhu alka nguRu wityi-ka.*
country appearance other become-P
The landscape has changed (it differs from what we saw earlier).
This was uttered on a journey through an unfamiliar area.
- (444) *Wadlhu alka nguRu wityi-kanha.*
country appearance other become-PERF
The country has completely changed in appearance (since I last saw it).
This was uttered when Mick McLean revisited sandhill country near the lower Macumba after more than half a century.

As these examples show, the perfect is a true ‘perfectum’ as it implies that a process has been completed.

5.4.2.3 THE ANCIENT PAST

The ancient past was formed with the suffix *-(k)apuka*. It was used only in Arabana and was relatively rare: only the most elderly speakers used it freely. It is obviously based on the simple past suffix *-ka* which appears twice within this suffix, the first time with elision of the *k*. The origin of the affix *-pu* is not clear, but it is probably connected with the suffix *-pu* used to form a habitual participle (§5.7.2(2)).

-(k)apuka implies that an event took place a long time ago either in the mythological past or just within living memory. Thus it is said of the mythological Emus:

- (445) *Kudna tyurra-apuka.*
guts run-ANC
They had diarrhoea long ago.
(From this is derived the placename *Kudna-tyuraapukanha* ‘Rockwater Hill’).
- (446) *Nhanhi-kapuka.*
see-ANC
He saw it long ago.

5.4.2.4 THE ANCIENT PERFECT

(1) *-(k)apukanha*

In Arabana and Wangkatyaka the ancient perfect tense is formed with the suffix *-(k)apukanha*. This is clearly a derivative of the ancient past suffix *-(k)apuka* and conveys completion of an action in the distant past. For example:

- (447) *Mathapurda-nha pirda-kapukanha.*
old.man-ACC kill-ANC.PF
(They) killed that old man long ago.

-kapukanha is most frequently used to imply habitual action in the past which has now been discontinued. In this function it roughly corresponds to the English ‘used to long ago’:

- (448) *Walpu nhanhi-kapukanha.*
bone see-ANC.PF
They used to see bones long ago (at the massacre site).
- (449) *Paka-apukanha.*
dig-ANC.PF
They used to dig (soakages).
- (450) *Thangka-apukanha.*
sit-ANC.PF
They used to sit there long ago.

(2) *-liparra*

In Wangkangurru the meaning of 'used to long ago' was conveyed by the suffix *-liparna*. This seems to be based on the habitual suffix *-li* followed by the emphatic verbal affix *-pa* (§5.9.2). It is an interesting shared regional feature with the Pitta-Pitta languages. Blake (1979:208) mentions a Pitta-Pitta form *tunʷili* meaning 'used to cry a lot'. He goes on to state:

This example also occurs with *-pariya* suffixed to *-li*. *-pariya* also occurs with *nhangka-li*, *nhangkalipariya* meaning 'used to live'. We have not been able to ascribe a meaning to *-pariya*.

The answer appears to be available from Simpson Desert Wangkangurru. This language makes frequent use of a far distant past habitual form *-liparna*, as in *thangkaliparna* '(they) used to sit there long ago', *kapirri pirdaliparna* '(they) used to kill goannas long ago'. The Wangkangurru form is clearly not related to the corresponding form in Arabana *-apukanha*. The suffix *-liparna* thus shows every indication of being borrowed from Pitta-Pitta.

5.4.2.5 THE IMMEDIATE PAST

This tense involves the immediate past as relative to the point of time under discussion. When the conversation is set in the present, the immediate past refers to the period just preceding the present. If the statement is set in the past, this tense refers to the period just preceding: the immediate past roughly corresponds to the English 'only just'. The Arabana and Wangkangurru suffixes used are very different from each other but their function is identical. The Wangkangurru suffix consists of the completive *-nha* which is added to the present suffixes *-nda* and *-ma*, the latter of which also serves as an imperfective (§5.4.1). There is a slight distinction, not always rigidly maintained, between the two forms.

(1) The suffix *-mdanha*

This is based on the present in *-nda*, and implies that the action is viewed as just completed:

- (451) *Pitya-murra-nga thanga-rmdanha.*
 box-bark-LOC stay-IMM
 (The lizard) had just been sleeping under the bark (when someone threw the log on the fire and it escaped quickly).
- (452) *Maka-ra ngarda-rmdanha.*
 fire-CAUS burn-IMM
 (The meat) had only just got burnt by the fire (when we got there and took it off).
- (453) *Pula wanga parra-parra yuka-rmdanha.*
 two night long-long go-IMM
 The two of them had only just finished walking all night (and they were asked to go mustering).

As usual (§5.4.1.1) *-nda* has the allomorph *-rda* after verb stems containing a nasal + plosive cluster, hence *puntha-rdanha* 'he has just drunk it'.

(2) The suffix *-manha*

This is based on the present and imperfective form *-ma* and implies that the recent action could still be in progress, though not necessarily so:

- (454) *Puntha-lhuku kupula uka yuka-manha.*
 drink-PUR grog he go-IMM
 He has just gone over to have a drink (he might still be walking).
- (455) *Maka-ra ngarda-manha.*
 fire-CAUS burn-IMM
 (The meat) had only just got burnt by the fire (when we got in and it might still be catching a bit).

The immediate past can be preceded by a 'speed' form:

- (456) *Kalkar' antha pinpi-rda-manha.*
 yesterday I stick-SP-IMM
 I got bogged there only yesterday as I was coming along.

(3) The Arabana suffix *-thara*

This suffix represents the only way of marking the immediate past in Arabana:

- (457) *Madla kupa warra-thara anti, uta purra-rnda-yangu.*
 dog small play-IMM now now die-SP-PLUP
 The puppy had been playing here only just this minute, and now all of a sudden it is dead.

If the completive meaning is to emphasised the perfect suffix *-kanha* is appended:

- (458) *Puntha-thara-kanha.*
 drink-IMM-PERF
 He had only just stopped drinking (when the police arrived).

As is shown above, both Arabana and Wangkangurru have special verbal forms for indicating the immediate past, and in both languages it is possible to make a distinction as to whether there is an emphasis on the action being complete or not. The grammatical categories involved are the same, but there is no similarity in the suffixes employed.

5.4.2.6 THE NARRATIVE PAST

This tense is marked by the suffix *-ru ~ -ri*. It was used in recitals of oral traditions to refer to any event of the past, but it was only rarely heard in ordinary conversation. It was preferred in transitive sentences and with verbs that imply a one-off event rather than continuous action: this nuance of 'on that occasion' is what distinguishes the narrative past markedly from the historical past.

- (459) *Pula-ru pirda-ru.*
 two-ERG hit-NAR
 Both of them hit him.

- (460) *MaRakata kudni-ri kutha-nga.*
 rainstone put-NAR water-LOC
 They put the rainstone into the water.
- (461) *WaRukathi-ri nhanhi-ri 'ka-nha.*
 emu-ERG see-NAR he-ACC
 The emus saw him.

There are isolated instances where the narrative past occurs with intransitive verbs, but still implies the nuance 'just this once':

- (462) *Pakalta-ruku yuka, kurda-ru kanhangarda.*
 Mount.Arthur-ALL go sleep-NAR there
 He went to Mount Arthur and slept there (on that one occasion).

The narrative past is limited in use: because of its specialised meaning it is never found after the continuous stem-forming affix *-nangka*, nor after any descriptive verbs.

5.4.2.7 THE HISTORICAL PAST

The historical past, like the narrative past, is used mainly in traditional narrations and descriptions of past events, but it has a different sphere of meaning. It conveys a nuance that is similar to the English expression 'it came to pass that' and it refers to prolonged actions or to a state of affairs. This tense is identical in form with the purposive in *-lhuku ~ -lhiku*, but totally different in function in that it is always associated with the main finite verb, whereas a verb in the purposive usually fulfils the role of a dependent verb.

The historical past is mainly used with intransitives and with verbs that imply continuous action. Particularly common is the sequence:

- (463) *Yuka-lhuku yuka-lhuku yuka-lhuku...*
 go-HIST go-HIST go-HIST
 (They) travelled and travelled and travelled...

This sequence was repeated many times whenever there was a recital describing a long, long journey, be it one of the Ancestors or even one of our own journeys. Almost equally common was the expression:

- (464) *Thika-lhuku thika-lhuku thika-lhuku...*
 return-HIST return-HIST return-HIST
 (They) went back and back and back...

The historical past often occurs with the continuous stem-forming suffix:

- (465) *Pardi pulpa pirda-nangka-lhuku ngampa-ru ulyurla-kari-ri.*
 grub powder hit-CONT.S-HIST stone-INSTR woman-PL-ERG
 The women went on pounding grub-powder on a nardoo stone.

The historical past is second only to the simple past in frequency: it was common in all kinds of story-telling.

5.4.2.8 THE DRAMATIC PAST

In a vivid account of a story the stem form can be used to mark the past to denote quick action. It is felt as a crisp and effective expression: it is not commonplace and therefore has not diminished in dramatic effect. This form of the past can only be used with simple verbs or short verbs; it is incompatible with aspectual and other stem-forming suffixes, except the benefactive *-la*:

- (466) *Wiya-wiya-la-∅* *'ka-nha*.
 laugh-laugh-BEN-DRM he-ACC
 They laughed at him.

An example with a short verb is:

- (467) *Uka-ru manta-∅*.
 he-ERG take-DRM
 He grabbed it (straight away).

Typical examples with ordinary verbs for Arabana are:

- (468) *Amiri kudnaltyiri nhuka-pirri-nha nhanhi-∅ ngarri-rnda-nha-nga*.
 we waterhen many-indeed-ACC see-DRM fly-SP-NP-LOC
 We saw an enormous flock of waterhens flying past quickly.

Wangkangurru examples are:

- (469) *Payayi yampa-∅*.
 aunt ask-DRM
 He asked his aunts.
- (470) *Thupu-ruku wanga-li thiki-∅*.
 smoke-ALL morning-ADV take.back-DRM
 They brought back (the initiand) into the smoke (of the main camp fire).

The dramatic past is characteristically a tense of narration and does not feature in ordinary to-and-fro conversation.

5.4.2.9 THE PLUPERFECT: EARLIER TIME

(1) *-yangu*

This is the suffix used for expressing earlier time, time preceding whatever past events are under discussion without any implication of causality. *-yangu* can occur in main clauses:

- (471) *WabmaRa-ru wimpa wilyiwa-yangu*.
 wind-ERG track wipe-PLUP
 The wind had wiped out his tracks.
- (472) *Maka-karli miltiyamitya-ma-yangu*.
 wood-piece pulp-make-PLUP
 He had reduced the piece of wood to pulp.

It can also occur in subordinate clauses when there is no change of subject:

- (473) *Thithi puntha mardu manu-thi-yangu.*
 tea drink sweet mind-become-PLUP
 He drank his tea, having remembered about the sugar.

The *-yangu* forms are not known to younger speakers and are common in formal accounts rather than in ordinary conversation. They are somewhat stylised and archaic, and they appear in a number of placenames, as for instance:

- (474) *Ulyurla-palhti-yangu-nha.*
 woman-burst-PLUP-PROP
 Where the old woman had burst (a placename in the Warriner Creek, in Arabana country).
- (475) *Yunga-kurda-la-yangu-nha.*
 waterbag-fall-BEN-PLUP-PROP
 Where their waterbag fell down (an alternative name for *Parra-parra* in the central Simpson Desert).
- (476) *Tyalpi-yangu-nha.*
 cool.down-PLUP-PROP
 Where (the initiands) cooled off (a placename in Arabana country, north-east of William Creek).

In these cases the final *-nha* is the proper name marker.

It is possible that the suffix *-yangu* is cognate with the widespread Western Desert past tense marker *-ngu*. There may also be some relationship with the Adnyamathanha perfect marker *-anggu* (Tunbridge 1988:275).

(2) *-yangunha*

This is the perfective form of *-yangu*, and it emphasises that the action had been completed:

- (477) *Madlanthi-ma-yangunha.*
 sick-make-PLUP.PERF
 It had made me very ill.
- (478) *Tharni-yangunha.*
 eat-PLUP.PERF
 He had eaten it up completely (by the time I got there).

The nuances of meaning, such as the distinction between the perfective and the ordinary pluperfect, are characteristic of the intricacy of the verbal system of Arabana-Wangkangurru.

(3) *-karu*

This is a rare form of the pluperfect. It is probably based on the ablative case form *-ru* combined with the simple past:

- (479) *Makathira kardapu-nga karra-karu.*
 firestick head-LOC tie-PLUP
 He had tied the firestick on his head.

- (480) *Kayi thita wityi-karu.*
 here meat-ant become-PLUP
 It (the hairstring) had turned into (a string of) meat-ants.

This form is simply a double past, and as in the case of *-yangu* no causality is implied.

5.4.2.10 THE PLUPERFECT IN *-limaru*

The most common Wangkangurru form of the pluperfect is formed with *-limaru*, which is not clear in its derivation, though the final *-ru* must be based on the ablative marker (see §5.4.2.11). The suffix *-limaru* is identical to a suffix of unknown function found in Pitta-Pitta, as explained by Blake (1979:209):

In a few instances the concomitant suffix *-maru* is added to *-li* with no apparent function:

Wama pithi-li-maru ngantʼya.
 snake kill-*li*-CON I
 I kill snakes.

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the identical suffix *-limaru* has two clearly defined functions.

(a) It can be used with the main verb as a completive:

- (481) *Paya karka-nangka-limaru.* (W)
 bird squawk-CONT-PLUP
 Those birds have stopped their continuous squawking.
- (482) *Yuta tyalpa tharni-limaru.* (A)
 already food eat-PLUP
 He had already had his dinner.

(b) The most common use of *-limaru* is in relative and sequential subordinate clauses, where there is no switch of reference, to show that an action has been completed. Often this implies causality:

- (483) *Kangi puntha-limaru ngulpa thangka-rda.*
 too.much drink-PLUP sick sit-PRES
 He is sick because he has been drinking too much.
- (484) *Walki-lhiku madli-nga yuka-limaru.*
 ill-HIST cold-LOC go-PLUP
 He was ill from walking around in the cold.
- (485) *Padni wapa-ma-limaru, yuka-pina.*
 nothing find-SP-PLUP go-IMPF
 We haven't found anything yet, so let's go.

Sometimes *-limaru* is simply sequential, marking an earlier time without causality:

- (486) *Ngataki thudni-rnda-lhuku manu madlanthi thangka-limaru.*
 afterwards cry-SP-HIST mind bad sit-PLUP
 After (the old lady's death, her daughters) made (a big show of) crying (at the funeral), when they had previously been most unkind (to her).
 (The person saying this was not implying that the daughters were sorry about their previous attitude.)

As is illustrated by the examples, *-limaru* is confined to subordinate clauses whose subject is the same as the subject of the main verb. The following Arabana sentence at first sight looks like an exception:

- (487) *Ngurku arla nhiki puntyu-kithiya, kutha ngurku-nga wadnhi-limaru.*
 good truly this meat-EMP water good-LOC cook-PLUP
 This meat is really excellent, because it has been cooked in good water.

There is however no real switch of reference, because *wadnhi-limaru* must be considered as a restricted agentless passive of the type discussed by Blake (1987:66), and *puntyu* 'meat' is therefore the subject of both clauses.

5.4.2.11 OTHER FORMS OF THE PLUPERFECT

The other forms of the pluperfect are also all complex; they are based on various suffixes with the addition of the ablative case marker *-ru*. The link between the ablative case and sequential subordinate clauses has been pointed out by Austin (1981a:222) and by Dixon (1977a:339). The situation in Arabana-Wangkangurru further illustrates their findings. These forms of the pluperfect imply an earlier action, usually but not necessarily with a causal implication. They are used both with main verbs and with subordinate verbs regardless of whether there is a switch in reference.

(1) *-rinaru* ~ *-inaru*

This is a very common form of the pluperfect in Wangkangurru. The allomorph *-inaru* occurs after a speed-marking aspectual affix, and the variant *-yirinaru* is permissible with transitive verbs whose stem ends in *-a*, that is in situations parallel to the use of the variant *-yika* in the perfect (§5.4.2.1(3)).

This pluperfect occurs in main verbs:

- (488) *Kanmarri pirda-rinaru uka-ru waru wibma-nga.*
 serpent kill-PLUP he-ERG long.ago history-LOC
 He had killed the Rainbow Serpent long ago, in the Dreamtime.

It also occurs in relative subordinate clauses with the same subject:

- (489) *Ngarrawapayi-ma yuka-m'-inaru warritha-ru.*
 worn.out-IMPF go-SP-PLUP afar-ABL
 I am worn out, having come quickly from afar.
- (490) *Anthapadni yuka-rnda, pantya madla wityi-m'-naru.*
 I not go-PRES knee bad become-SP-PLUP
 I am not going, because I suddenly got a bad knee.

- (491) *Apalka parda-yirinaru minha-minha kari-ri ngunta-rda*
 dream take-PLUP what-what they-ERG tell-PRES
wanga-wanga-lki-ki.
 morning-morning-FIN-EMP
 When they have had a dream, they tell people something about it by the time it is morning.

A switch of reference is involved in:

- (492) *Athu malyka ngurka-ngura waRa-nga tharka-yiwa-rnd'-inaru.*
 I not know-CONT where-LOC stand-TR-SP-PLUP
 I had no idea where she had stopped on the way.

A sentence may contain more than one clause with the pluperfect to indicate preceding events:

- (493) *Ngarri-rnda-rinaru 'ka kaRu kurda-ru minha-ru pirda-rinaru.*
 fly.up-SP-PLUP he there fall-NAR what-INSTR kill-PLUP
 After he (the crane) had flown up quickly, he fell to the ground, when that what's-its-name (a bullet) had hit him.

This is a clear case of subordination (Blake 1987:139): the first clause 'after he had flown up' is subordinate to the main clause 'he fell'. The third clause 'when that what's-its-name had hit him' is also subordinate to the main clause, but there is no syntactic relationship between the dependent clauses.

(2) *-naru*

-naru is the common form of the pluperfect in Arabana and fulfils a similar function to Wangkangurru *-rinaru*, except that it can sometimes convey a causal nuance. It occurs occasionally in Wangkangurru. *-naru* can be added to other tense forms: it was used on rare occasions with the ancient past:

- (494) *Kuruna padni kangi katha-liparna-naru.*
 mind nothing too.much travel-ANC-PLUP
 He had gone out of his mind because he had travelled around too much long ago.

(3) *-kanha-ru*

This suffix is distinctly causal and at the same time perfective, being based on the perfect suffix *-kanha*. It conveys the notion 'because such an action had been completed beforehand' as in the story of the Black Snake:

- (495) *Kawa-rnda thurndu ngulpa maka-ra ngarda-kanharu.*
 vomit-PRES stomach sick fire-CAUS burn-PLUP
 He vomited, sick in the stomach, because he had been burnt by the fire.

The preferred position of the pluperfect is as the final item in the sentence: *-kanha-ru* always occupies that position.

5.5 THE CONTINUATIVE

5.5.1 THE GENERAL CONTINUATIVE

The basic meaning of this form, expressed by the addition of the suffix *-ngura*, is continuous action: it is used in the same type of sentence as the English participle in '-ing'. The origin of this suffix is of interest: it occurs in Diyari and Thirrari as an optional addition to the suffix *-ni* which is used in sequential clauses of different subjects (Austin 1981a:222). Austin regards it as a possibility that there is a connection between this Diyari-Thirrari verbal suffix *-ngura* and the Yandruwantha and Yawarawarrka ablative case suffix *-ngura*, which also occurs in Ngamini as a causal suffix. Arabana-Wangkangurru closely resembles Diyari as regards the basic function of *-ngura*: it is the most common verbal suffix used in subordinate clauses where there is a switch of reference.

(1) Allomorph of the continuative: *-yi-ngura*

In Wangkangurru after the benefactive suffix *-la* and the verbaliser *-ma* the continuative is marked by *-yi-ngura*. In Arabana the same rule applies, except that after the suffix *-la*, the use of *-yi-ngura* is optional (§5.3.2(1)). These are the only circumstances in which the allomorph *-yi-ngura* occurs in Arabana.

In Wangkangurru the use of this form of the suffix is much wider. It is more than an allomorph: it is a variant of the continuative in all transitive verbs whose stem ends in *a*. There is however a nuance of emphasis and vividness in the *-yi-ngura* forms that is absent from the simple *-ngura* forms. This situation is exactly parallel to that of the simple past.

Examples of such forms are:

- (496) *Ngurku-ma-yingura.*
good-make-CONT
(He) was fixing it up. (both A and W)
- (497) *Tharka-la-yingura.*
stand-BEN-CONT
(He) was propping it up. (both A and W, but optional in A)

(2) Function of the suffix *-ngura*: main clauses

The suffix *-ngura* can be used with the main verb to express a durative, but then it always refers to the past, never to the present. There seems to be no obvious reason why this should be so: it is however possible that the function of present durative was already fulfilled by another construction, namely by the continuous stem-forming affix with the present tense marker (§5.8.1).

The use of *-ngura* with the main verb corresponds roughly to 'was ...ing'

- (498) *Ngura-nga thangka-ngura.*
camp-LOC sit-CONT
She was staying in camp.
- (499) *Anthunha paper wabmaRa-ru thawi-ngura.*
my paper wind-ERG throw-CONT
The wind was blowing my papers around.

-ngura often occurs in conjunction with the continuous stem-forming affix to express a further nuance of continuity, as is shown by the difference between the following two sentences:

(a) The simple continuative

- (500) *Kangi yanta-ngura.*
 too.much talk-CONT
 They were talking too much.

(b) With the continuous stem-forming affix

- (501) *Kangi yanta-nangka-ngura.*
 too.much talk-CONT.S-CONT
 They went on talking too much.

(3) *-ngura* in adverbial and relative clauses

-ngura occurs frequently in main clauses, but its most characteristic function is to give the continuing cause or background to a main event that is described in another clause. Verbs formed with the continuative in *-ngura* are the normal way of marking relative clauses and adverbial clauses that involve 'time while', 'circumstances in which', and they always infer a switch of reference (§8.2.1.2-3). There is some overlap in this function with the non-past (§5.6.2(3)). There is juxtaposition of the two clauses; adjoining is characteristic of such adverbial clauses as much as it is of relative clauses as described by Hale (1976). The clause which fulfils the function of a subordinate and contains the suffix *-ngura* may precede the other clause, and any tense can be involved:

- (502) *Muyu widni-ngura urkari-kinta thimpa-nha!*
 sun set-CONT you.PL-DAT talk-NP
 When the sun sets she'll still be talking to you people!

More frequently the *-ngura* clause occupies the second position:

- (503) *Maka wapa-yikanha, kutha-ru wantya-wantya-la-yingura.*
 fire go.out-PERF water-ERG extinguish-extinguish-BEN-CONT
 The fire went out: the water gradually extinguished it.
- (504) *Ngawi-lhiku waya-rnda withira yanhi-ngura.*
 hear-PUR wish-PRES how tell-CONT
 I want to hear how he told (the story, before I say anything myself).

Subordinate clauses with *-ngura* are particularly common in relative clauses with main verbs expressing perception:

- (505) *Maka 'thu nhanhi-ra ngarda-ngura.*
 fire I.ERG see-PUNC burn-CONT
 I can see the fire burning.
- (506) *Athu ngawi-ra thutirla yuwa yanhi-ngura.*
 I.ERG hear-PUNC boy loud speak-CONT
 I hear the boy talking loudly.

The use of the non-past is also permissible in such circumstances (§8.2.1), but the *-ngura* forms have a wider range: they can occur when there is a causal inference and where the non-past is therefore less suited:

- (507) *Anth walpu mirra-nta nguringuri-ri tharni-ngura.*
 I leg scratch-REFL fly-ERG eat-CONT
 I'm scratching my leg, which is being bitten by flies.

The continuative form in *-ngura* represents the most common verbal form in subordinate clauses and it was the only one familiar to younger speakers.

5.5.2 THE PAST CONTINUATIVE

In Arabana the suffix *-kura* serves to indicate continuous events in the past; it implies 'time while' in the past only. It is probably based on the amalgamation of the past-marker *-ka* with the continuous *-ngura*. Like *-ngura* it can be used in main clauses:

- (508) *Arni ngataru yuka-kura.* (A)
 we.EXC behind go-CONT.P
 We had been coming along behind.

However, it is more usually found in subordinate clauses:

- (509) *Wangka tyulpa-tyulpa kari-ki yanhi-matha-nta, katarungka*
 word lost-lost they-EMP speak-RECIP-REFL cockatoo
nhikinta yanhi-matha-kura.
 here speak-RECIP-CONT.P
 (Their) conversation was totally lost, they were talking to one another while the cockatoos here were talking to one another.

There is an extended form *-yakura* ~ *-yakuwara* which is preferred with *i* verbs, as it avoids the sequence *i-u* in consecutive syllables. There is also a variant form of the suffix, *-kuwara*, which was freely interchangeable with *-kura*. To express the same notion one could say either of the two following:

- (510) *Ngurku idnhi-(ya)kura.*
 good stay-PLUP
 He had been feeling well (before).
- (511) *Ngurku idnhi-(ya)kuwara.* (A)
 good stay-PLUP
 He had been feeling well (before).

The past continuative was used only in Arabana. There is no corresponding category in Wangkangurru, where only the *-ngura* forms are used. It seems likely that the past continuative was an innovation in Arabana, and the probable origin of the suffix from *-ngura* + *-ka* confirms this view.

5.5.3 'IN PASSING' CONTINUATIVE

This is expressed by the suffix *-rakarna* added to the speed form of a verb. The origin of *-rakarna* is not clear; it is possible that *-ra* is connected with the punctiliar suffix. The form is used in relative clauses whether there is a change of subject from the main clause or not. The meaning to be conveyed is 'as he went'.

-rakarna is used in relative clauses which have the same subject as the main clause:

- (512) *Nhanhangarda kari yuka-rnanha yanta-rakarna.*
 here they go-IMM talk.SP-PASS
 They just went past here, talking as they went.
- (513) *Yuka-ngura puntha-a-rda-rakarna. (A)*
 go-CONT drink-TR-SP-PASS
 They walked past, drinking as they went.

It is also used with a switch of subject:

- (514) *Kari-nh' athu ngawi-ngura wiya-rna-rakarna.*
 they-ACC I.ERG hear-CONT laugh-SP-PASS
 I could hear them laughing as they went.

The 'in passing continuative' was used frequently in conjunction with the continuous stem-forming suffix:

- (515) *Muyu nguRu myyu nguRu arluwa thudni-nangka-rda-rakarna.*
 day other day other child cry-CONT.S-SP-PASS
 Day after day the little child went past, crying continually as he went.

This particular form of the continuative was known only to the oldest speakers and used infrequently, when there was special emphasis on the notion 'as they were passing by'. It was one of the nuances that were most sensitive to the grammatical simplification that took place under the impact of English.

5.6 MODAL FORMS

Arabana-Wangkangurru has a number of modal forms: they express various degrees of commanding, wishing and uncertainty. Of these modal forms the imperative is used only in main verbs, while the non-past, the irrealis, and the 'lest' forms can be used with both main and dependent verbs. What distinguishes the various modal forms is their semantic role, much more than their syntactic function.

5.6.1 THE IMPERATIVE

There are a number of different ways of expressing the imperative according to the nuance that is to be conveyed. Arabana-Wangkangurru shows four main categories: the straight command, an exhortation, a wish and a request. Of these the request is usually rendered by the non-past (§5.6.2). The person to whom the imperative is addressed is not usually mentioned and is understood as a second person pronoun. Just occasionally the inclusive

first person dual or plural pronoun is used; in this case the speaker is involved with carrying out the command, along with the person or persons addressed.

(1) The straight command: the suffix *-Ru*

The straight command is normally expressed by the suffix *-Ru*. When the command is emphatic the vowel of the suffix is heavily accented and made into a diphthong [ou] as in:

- (516) *Thadna-Ru!* [tadnaRou!]
 leave-IMP
 Leave it alone!

Under even greater emphasis the final vowel is further changed (§2.13.3(3)) in the same way as in the vocative, and becomes [ei]: *Thadna-Ru!* [tadnaRei] 'For heaven's sake leave it alone!'.

-Ru is the imperative marker also in the western dialects of Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979:225).

(2) Restrictions on the use of the suffix *-Ru*

(a) *-Ru* only occurs with transitive verbs. This factor could possibly be related to an old *l* or *r* conjugation which was mostly transitive (Dixon 1980a:390).

(b) *-Ru* must be used only with verbs whose stem or extended stem ends in *a*, not *i*. This latter restriction is due to the rules against the sequence *i-u* in adjacent syllables (§2.14.3).

Yuka-Ru! [yukaRou, yukaRei] 'Go away!' was heard a number of times as an emphatic imperative and appears to have been an exception to the rule which precluded *-Ru* from intransitive verbs. *YukaRu* was heard not only in ordinary conversation, but in traditional literature. Thus in the Carpet Snake History the male Snake calls out to the female:

- (517) *Arunha yuka-Ru, nguyu-nga withi-iya!*
 we.two.INC go-IMPF one-LOC become-IRR
 You and I must go, so that we can eventually join up again!

The most senior Arabana people often mentioned a reasonably good speaker of Arabana at Anna Creek in the thirties who consistently broke the rules regarding the imperative. She is said to have uttered forms such as *Thangka-Ru!* 'Sit down!' (unacceptable since *thangka-* is intransitive) and *Thawi-Ru!* 'Throw it!' (unacceptable since the sequence *i-u* is involved). She was ridiculed for this: evidently the rules governing the suffix *-Ru* were clearly perceived by speakers of Arabana-Wangkangurru even at the time when the language was beginning to fall into disuse.

(3) The stem used to express a straight command

This is the only way of expressing a straight command in the case of intransitives and *i* verbs, where *-Ru* is prohibited. The final syllable of the stem is often emphasised, but not to the same extent as with *-Ru*; the vowel is never diphthongised. Examples are:

- (518) *Anha ngawi!*
 me hear
 Listen to me!

- (519) *Kayi nhanhi!*
 here look
 Look here!
- (520) *Anti yuki!*
 now take.away
 Take it away immediately!

In those verbs where *-Ru* is permissible the stem form can be used, but then the stem form implies a more abrupt and immediate command. Thus the first of the following two sentences has more of a sense of urgency than the second:

- (521) *Mayarla! Thadna!*
 let.it.be leave
 Let it be, leave it alone (this instant)!
- (522) *Mayarla! Thadna-Ru!*
 let.it.be leave-IMPF
 Let it be, leave it alone!

In both Arabana and Eastern Wangkangurru there is also an emphatic imperative *-Ra*, which can be used with any verb, transitive or intransitive, but only in extreme situations. Thus, seeing the great Rainbow Serpents advancing, the old women of *Danta-parkulu* sandhill call out to the young people:

- (523) *Kathi-Ra! Kathi-Ra!*
 turn.back-IMPF turn.back-IMPF
 Turn back!
- (524) *Yuka-Ra! (A)*
 go-IMP
 Get out of the way!

By its very nature the emphatic imperative is uncommon and it was used only by the oldest speakers.

(4) The present tense used as imperative

In Arabana the general present tense marker *-mda* can be used to express a straight command where no great emphasis is implied:

- (525) *Malya paRala nhani-mda, mangu parlu withi-ya!*
 not moon see-PRES forehead bald become-IRR
 Don't look at the moon, you might go bald!
- (526) *Anari yuka-mda! (A and W)*
 this.way come-PRES
 Come over here!

In Wangkangurru this usage was restricted to intransitive verbs, as in the sentence above and:

- (527) *Malyka irlinha yanhi-mda!*
 not thus speak-PRES
 Don't talk like that!

This was a very common form of unemphatic straight command.

(5) An exhortation

This is expressed by the addition of the suffix *-pi(na)*; the longer form is used when the plural is emphasised and the nuance 'let us all' is implied. Exhortation forms could occur only in sentences which contained a first person inclusive dual or plural pronoun, or when such a pronoun was implied: the exhortation could only involve the speaker together with the person or persons addressed. Examples are:

- (528) *Amiri yuka-pi!*
we go-HORT
Let's go!
- (529) *Arimpa yuka-rnda-pi!*
we.dual go-SP-HORT
Let us two go quickly!
- (530) *Amiri yuka-rnda-pina!*
we go-SP-HORT
Let's all go quickly!
- (531) *Katarungka yaka-yaka-rnda-pi!*
cockatoo chase-chase-SP-HORT
Let's go quickly and chase cockatoos!
- (532) *Yaka-yaka-rnda-pina!*
chase-chase-SP-HORT
Let's all chase (them) quickly!

Only the oldest Arabana and Wangkangurru speakers are familiar with these suffixes; younger people know only the direct commands.

Very rarely in Arabana the purposive could be used to express an exhortation:

- (533) *Arimpa kudnala-lhukei! Wadlhu ngurku-nga. (A)*
we.two.INC sleep-PUR place good-LOC
Let's camp in this good spot (here)!
- (534) *Malya arimpa nhuka yuka-lhuku thadlu nguyu-pula.*
not we.two.INC much go-PUR only one-DU
Don't let's go too far (away)! There's only the two of us.

(6) A wish

This was expressed by means of the addition of the suffix *-parra*. The origin of this suffix is not clear; it seems unlikely that the *pa-* is connected with *-pa-rnda* 'very much so' (§5.9.2). Unlike the other two forms of the imperative this 'optative' applied mainly to the second and third person and conveyed something of the nuance of 'should' and 'let':

- (535) *Uka yuka-parra, antha thangka-rda.*
he go-OPT I sit-PRES
He should go, I am staying.

- (536) *Mayarla! Kaparra idnhi-parra.*
 let.it.be *kaparra* lie-OPT
 Never mind about the *kaparra*, let it just stay there.
- (537) *Athatha-nha! Thangka-parra ari-kirnda!*
 grandson-EMP stay-OPT we-two-DAT
 Grandson! You should stay with us two!
- (538) *Kanhangarda purka-parra!*
 here cross-OPT
 He should cross here (not over there where he will get bogged)!

There were isolated cases of the use of *-parra* with the first person too:

- (539) *Ah arni yuka-parra manta-yiwa-lhuku kakari-nha Kudnangawa-nganha.*
 ah we.EXC go-OPT fetch-TR-PUR they-ACC Kanowana-from
 We (not you) should go and fetch the people from Kanowana.

Thus *-parra* could be said to mark and optative in general, with a preference for persons other than the first.

-parra was the only bound marker that could be reduplicated in Arabana-Wangkangurru. This happened only in cases of extreme emphasis:

- (540) *Mayarla, yuki-parra-parrai! Uka waya-rnda kadnha awarda.*
 leave take-OPT-OPT(EMP) he want-PRES stone this
 Let it be, for goodness sake let him take that stone away, if he is that keen on it!

This reduplication points to the probability that *-parra* was of recent origin as a bound marker and had originally been a separate adverbial form.

(7) *-nharra*

Wangkatyaka and Eastern Wangkangurru differ from both Arabana and Desert Wangkangurru with respect to the optative, a mood expressing roughly the same as English 'let': a suffix *-nharra* was used. In origin this was probably connected with the non-past *-nha*.

- (541) *Thika-nharra mathapurda-yi!*
 return-OPT old.man-VOC
 You should go back old man!
- (542) *Thika-nharra thika-nharra! Mathapurda-ru arni' nhanhi-ra!*
 return-OPT return-OPT old.man-ERG us see-PUNC
 Let us get back! Let us get back! The old man can see us !

(For *arni'* in lieu of *arninha* see §2.15.1.)

Like the exhortation forms the optative is quite unknown to younger speakers.

5.6.2 NON-PAST

The non-past is marked by the affix *-nha*. It can refer to the future and it can refer to a time contemporaneous with the time of a main verb, but it never conveys a past. It fulfils a number of important functions: it can be used with the main verb of a sentence, but its most

distinctive use is in dependent clauses. The suffix *-nha* may be cognate with *-na* which is used to mark the purposive in Yidiñ (Dixon 1977a:213) and the future in Djabugay and Proto Yidiñ-Djabugay (Dixon, pers.comm.).

(1) The non-past as a main verb

When used with the main verb the non-past can serve as a simple future:

- (543) *Athu anti yabmi-nha!*
 I.ERG soon growl-NP
 I'll get wild (with you) directly.

It can also indicate an urgent wish:

- (544) *Nhanhi-nh'-athu! Athu nhanhi-nha!*
 see-NP-I.ERG I.ERG see-NP
 I want to *see!* I (too) want to see! (uttered by a crippled ancestor who cannot look over the shoulders of others to see a corroboree).

Very often there is vowel distortion to emphasise the urgency (§2.13.3.(3)):

- (545) *Nhiki-rndara ngurla-rnda-nhei!* (A)
 this-ABL descend-SP-NP
 Get down from there at once! (Called out to a child who had climbed up on the very high Alberrie Creek railway water tower.)

The non-past also has a more general meaning of obligation, particularly with the negative:

- (546) *Malyka 'ntu kilya thathi-nha!* (W)
 not you.ERG raw eat-NP
 You shouldn't eat raw food!
- (547) *Malyka ilinha yanhi-nha!*
 not thus speak-NP
 (He) shouldn't talk like that!
- (548) *Ularaka thamunha, malyka ulyurla-ru ngawi-nha.*
 history secret not woman-ERG hear-NP
 It's a secret history, women mustn't hear it.

(2) The non-past in subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses the non-past always marks a switch of reference (§8.2.2.3): it is the equivalent of the purposive when there is a change of subject, indicating a wish or purpose:

- (549) *Uka-ru mingka-nga winta-wi-rna malyka ngawi-nha.*
 he.ERG hole-LOC conceal-completely-IMPV not hear-NP
 He (the Turkey Ancestor) hid the boy right down a hole so that he (the boy) wouldn't hear (the secret song).

- (550) *Malyk' athu nguntya-ra yuwu kupalapurru anthunha-ruku*
 not I.ERG like-PUNC person drunk my-ALL
ngura-ruku yuka-nha.
 camp-ALL go-NP
 I don't like drunks to come to my camp.
- (551) *Kalyarra wangka-yika kari-nha ungku parraparra wityi-nha.*
 quickly sing-P they-ACC neck long become-NP
 He quickly sang (a spell against) them, so that they would become long-necked
 (i.e. so that they would turn into emus).

Another use of the non-past in relative clauses is simply as a switch reference marker, without any sense of purpose:

- (552) *Kutyu-ru nHINGKA-rda nhanhi-lhiku waRanga-waRanga*
 Kurdaitcha-ERG watch.closely-PRES see-PUR where-where
arla-wityi-nha.
 visible-become-NP
 The Kurdaitcha watched closely to see where (his victim) would appear.
- (553) *Athu nhanhi-thara wurru ngarri-rnda-nha.*
 I.ERG see-IMM crane fly-SP-NP
 I've just seen a crane flying past.

The following sentence has the non-past in the main clause in its usual function of expressing a negative wish, and in the relative subordinate clause simply as a switch-reference marker:

- (554) *Malyka wilawila pirda-nha ngura-nga thanga-rnda-nha.*
 not multitude kill-NP camp-LOC remain-SP-NP
 He shouldn't kill those many people who remained behind in the camp.

(3) Case forms of the non-past in subordinate clauses: the locative

The non-past can occur with the locative case marker *-nga*, but only in subordinate clauses. The locative ending adds a sense of position in the general circumstances or in time. Just like the simple *-nha* form, this locative form has two main functions.

On the one hand the form can express an indirect command, an intention or purpose (with of course the switch of reference that is inherent when *-nha* is used in subordinate clauses):

- (555) *Antha waya-rnda untu maka 'nthunha tyintya-rda-nha-nga.*
 I want-PRES you.ERG firewood mine cut-SP-NP-LOC
 I want you to chop up my firewood.

The sense of purpose is clear in the following:

- (556) *Athu ngunhi-ra puntha-nha-nga-thu.*
 I.ERG give-PUNC drink-NP-LOC-EMP
 I am giving you this to drink.

- (557) *Waku ngunhi wadlhu, antha nyurdu kudnala-nha-nga.*
 my.turn give ground I too sleep-NP-LOC
 Give me my chance of having a bit of room, so that I can have a sleep too.
- (558) *Partyarna manta-thika-ma anha nhanhi-nha-nga.*
 all take-return-IMPF me see-NP-LOC
 He is bringing them all back with him so that they can have a look at me (a sick person speaking about someone who has gone to get medical help).

On the other hand the non-past in the locative can also be used without any sense of command or wish; it can be the verb of a relative clause or of an adverbial clause indicating general circumstances:

- (559) *Yarri-pudlu-ru malya ngawi-lhiku nharla yanhi-matha-nha-nga*
 ear-deficient-ERG not hear-HIST man speak-together-NP-LOC
wabmaRa wiRa-nha-nga, tyilti kanta-nha-nga. (A)
 wind blow-NP-LOC big.rain pour-NP-LOC
 The deaf man couldn't hear people when they were talking to each other, nor the wind when it was blowing, nor the flood rain when it was pouring down.
- (560) *Malyka ngunhi-ka anthirda nhingka-rda-nha-nga.*
 not give-P me.DAT ask.for-SP-NP-LOC
 He didn't give it to me when I asked him for it before leaving.

The general circumstances may occasionally, though rarely, imply a cause, as in the following sentences where the position in time is emphasised by the unusual insertion of the punctiliar form before the non-past:

- (561) *Uka unkirdara witya-rnda, kangiri yampaka-thira-nha-nga. (A)*
 he you.CAUS fed.up-PRES too.much ask-PUNC-NP-LOC
 He is fed up with you asking him too many questions.
- (562) *Anthunha mapu-ru karna-ru malyka waya-rnda ilangku pawa*
 my mob-ERG men-ERG not like-PRES thus grass.seed
thawi-ra-nha.
 throw-PUNC-NP
 My mob, the initiated men, didn't like it that they (the spoilt boys) should be throwing grass seeds around like that (when they had been laboriously collected by the women).

The non-past was thus used in some of the same circumstances as the continuative forms in *-ngura*. (§5.5.1). The non-past was however excluded from any clause where there was an implication of earlier time: only the continuative form could be used in such circumstances.

(4) Other derivative forms of the non-past

(a) The causal

This very rarely used method of expression is parallel to the use of the causal case with nouns to indicate emotions (§3.11.4):

- (563) *Thangka-nha-ra waya-rnda.*
 sit-NP-CSL wish-PRES
 (They) want to stay.

(b) Extended form of the non-past *-nha-ka*

This implies a totality, 'from now on, for ever'. It is a rare form used in main clauses but only in traditional recital:

- (564) *Nhala-ra urkari pithi-nha-ka, malyka yalkirri-ri ilangkura!*
 this-CAUS you paint-NP-for.ever not gypsum-INSTR thus
 From now on you must all paint up with these (feathers), not like that with gypsum!

5.6.3 THE IRREALIS

This form is used in both main and subordinate clauses to describe any event that might happen or might have happened. The suffix used to express the irrealis is basically *-iya*. This has the following allomorphs:

- ya* with verbs ending in *i*;
- mīya* with intransitive verbs ending in *a* in Wangkangurru;
- ndiya* with intransitive verbs ending in *a* in Arabana;
- riya* with transitive verbs ending in *a*;

The *-rn* and *-md-* in *-mīya* and *-ndiya* is the general present – speed marker and the *r* in *-riya* is from the punctiliar present. In this environment these suffixes simply act as a link between the irrealis marker *-iya* and the verb stem.

The uncertainty expressed by the irrealis can refer to the future:

- (565) *Wakarda-nha walta nguRu-nga 'ntu ngawi-ya.*
 that.one-ACC time other-LOC you.ERG hear-IRR
 You might get to hear that one (a secret song sequence) another time.
- (566) *Antha ngurku-wityi-ya.*
 I good-become-IRR
 I might get better (but on the other hand I might die).

It can refer to the present:

- (567) *Intya-nha intya-nha untu yiki-ya?*
 which-ACC which-ACC you.ERG take-IRR
 Which one (out of a number of people) are you taking with you?

It can refer to the past to express events that might have happened, but did not:

- (568) *Ngarka-nga yata yuka-rniya.*
 night-LOC further go-IRR
 We could have gone a bit further in the dark (but it is just as well we didn't).

The irrealis can also refer to past events which we simply don't know about:

- (569) *Kari-ri pitya-murru marra-riya.*
 they-ERG box-bark singe-IRR
 They might have singed the boxbark (in the Lizard Increase Ceremony, but nobody knows now whether they did or not).

The irrealis can thus refer to any uncertain event, anything that in fact did not happen or might happen. Despite this wide range of meaning the irrealis is not commonly used: it is much more usual for uncertainty to be expressed by the present or imperfective with the addition of the particle *manarni* 'perhaps'.

5.6.4 THE 'LEST' FORMS

The 'lest' forms express a warning of something unfavourable that might happen. The suffix marking for 'lest' is *-lira* in Arabana, *-liya* in Wangkangurru: that is it is the irrealis suffix preceded by *-l*. Blake (1987:136) points out that 'lest' clauses are not necessarily 'structurally subordinate'; they can be used as independent sentences to indicate a general warning. This is certainly the case in Arabana-Wangkangurru.

(1) Subordinate 'lest' clauses

Typical examples of structural subordination of 'lest' clauses are the following:

- (570) *Maltya kutha puka thawi, antha waRuwa-lira.* (A)
 not water dirty throw I smell-lest
 Don't throw that dirty water down (near me), or else I might become smelly.
- (571) *Pilypa-ru palyi-liya, malyka kardatyiri-nga tharka-nha!*
 lightning-ERG strike-lest not trunk-LOC stand-NP
 Lest lightning might strike you, don't stand right under trees (during a thunderstorm)!
- (572) *Maltya karla-ng' kudnala-nta, arni-nha tyiRi-ri kankangka-rda-lira.*
 not creek-LOC sleep-REFL us-ACC flood-ERG carry.off-SP-lest
 (We) are not sleeping in the creek, a sudden flood might carry us away.

As is shown by these examples, the prohibition may precede or follow the 'lest' clause. Sometimes a prohibition is not expressed but is obviously understood:

- (573) *Wadlhu pinha kumpira paka-liparna-purru, nharla kumpira paka-lira.* (A)
 area already dead dig-ANC-having man dead dig-lest
 The area is already full of (places) where they have been digging (graves for) dead people long ago. You might dig up a dead man!
 (Understood is 'you mustn't dig there or else'.)
- (574) *Wadlhu madlanthi, pinpi-nangka-lira unpa anti.*
 place bad stick-CONT.S-lest you directly
 This is a bad place, you'd be bogged there for good in no time!
 (Understood is 'don't drive in there or else').

- (575) *Kutha ngarrawa-ra kudnaardi madlanthi-ma-lira.*
 water salty-CSL stomach bad-make-lest
 The bore water might upset your stomach.
 (Understood is 'don't drink it or else'.)

(2) Independent 'lest' clauses

Frequently however there is no clearly understood warning and no evident structural subordination:

- (576) *Nhupa-ru yabmi-lira.* (A)
 husband-ERG row-lest
 Her husband might get wild with her.
- (577) *Kutha kanta-liya.*
 water pour.down-lest
 It might pour with rain.
- (578) *Kangi wanti-nt-inaru athu yabmi-lira.*
 too.much wait- REFL-PLUP I.ERG growl-lest
 Having had to wait for so long I might well get wild.

The 'lest' forms in Arabana-Wangkangurru clearly are not just subordinate forms: they are used with main verbs to express a general sense of foreboding in a way that has no real parallel in English.

5.7 PARTICIPLES

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the distinction between finite verbs on the one hand and participles and infinitive forms on the other is not clear-cut. The distinction is not important in the hierarchy of verbal usage: for instance a number of verbal forms such as the pluperfect markers (§5.4.2.10-11) can function as both finite and non-finite. The term 'participle' has been used here simply to denote forms which are predominantly non-finite.

5.7.1 THE PURPOSIVE

The purposive in both Arabana and Wangkangurru is expressed by the suffix *-lhuku*, with the allomorph *-lhiku* after a stem-final *i*:

<i>pirda-lhuku</i>	for hitting, in order to hit
<i>thangka-lhuku</i>	for sitting, in order to sit
<i>tharni-lhiku</i>	for eating, in order to eat
<i>ngunhi-lhiku</i>	for giving, in order to give

The purposive is thus identical in formation to the historical past (§5.4.2.7). There is however little chance of confusion between these two verb forms: the historical past is always a main verb. The primary function of the purposive is to mark the sense of purpose in a subordinate verb which has the same subject as the main verb. Both frequently occur within the same complex sentence, as in:

- (579) *Ngarrapili-lhiku kardapu madli-ma-rna-lhuk' uka*
 rest-PUR head cool-make-SP-PUR he
kudni-kudni-thika-lhuku.
 put.down-put.down-return-HIST
 In order to have a rest and to cool his head (after carrying on his head a heavy grinding stone) he put it down again and again on his way back.

Typical uses of the purposive are the following:

- (580) *Nhinka-ka anthirda kulyi-nga-thu: minha wirra-lhuku'?*
 cadged-P me.DAT money-LOC-EMP what buy-PUR
 He cadged money from me: to buy what?
- (581) *Antha yuka-rnda puntyu mani-lhuku. (A)*
 I go-PRES meat get-PUR
 I am going to get some meat.

(1) The purposive in infinitive function

The purposive form is used in an infinitive function as a complement with verbs implying emotions, 'awaiting', 'wishing', 'knowing how', 'being incapable of' and phrases meaning 'being good for'. The sense of purpose does not necessarily predominate in such clauses:

- (582) *Antha pankirda unha nhanhi-lhiku.*
 I pleased.PRES you.ACC see-PUR
 I'm happy to see you.
- (583) *Antha mangarnda yanhi-lhiku.*
 I ashamed.PRES speak-PUR
 I'm ashamed to say it.
- (584) *Nhanhi-rnda-lhuku waya-rnda.*
 see-SP-PUR wish-PRES
 (He) wants to have a look.
- (585) *Antha manaputu wulpu mumpa-lhuku, munta karpa-lhuku, munta*
 I ignorant flax spin-PUR bag make-PUR bag
milki-ngurku-ma-lhuku.
 eye-good-make-PUR
 I can't spin twine, make bags, nor make bags look pretty.
- (586) *Padni untu ngurka-yira wangka-lhuku!*
 not you.ERG know-PUNC sing-PUR
 You don't know how to sing!
- (587) *Kathi nhayi ngurku tharni-lhiku.*
 meat this good eat-PUR
 This meat is good to eat.
- (588) *Kutha ngurku padni-nga puntha-lhuku.*
 water good nothing-LOC drink-PUR
 (This water) is for drinking when there isn't any good water.

(2) Other uses of the purposive

The purposive can be used to indicate a strong intention as well as a purpose, and can therefore imply a future sense:

- (589) *Wakarra nguyu antha yuka-rnda, malyka thika-lhuku.*
 neck one I go-PRES not return-PUR
 I am going for good (showing the back of my neck only once), never to return.

It can be used as a main verb in exhortations (§5.6.1(5)) and in exclamations ‘oh that’:

- (590) *Uta kari-nha nhanhi-ra, ah padni thangka-lhuku!*
 then they-ACC see-PUNC ah not stay-PUR
 Then (the Perentie) saw them (the girls), oh that I can’t stay!

In such sentences the context as well as the exclamatory intonation preclude any confusion with the historical past.

Although the present tense is the normal quotation form of any verb, the purposive often appears in this function. Thus a person asked ‘How do you say “throw”?’ might answer: *Thawi-lhiku* (throw-PURP).

The purposive is one of the most frequently used forms of the verb. Even people with an imperfect knowledge of the language are familiar with it: they tend to use both the present tense and the purposive as universal forms for any tense or mood.

5.7.2 THE HABITUAL PARTICIPLES

There are a few instances where Wangkangurru and the Pitta-Pitta group actually share not only grammatical categories, but also some unusual verbal inflectional affixes. Thus the affix *-li* is used to mark the habitual in both languages.

(1) The habitual participle in *-li*

This is common in Arabana-Wangkangurru as a verbal adjective describing habitual action. It can be used transitively referring to a person or creature who is in the habit of performing an action. Thus when someone is describing an animal he might be asked:

- (591) *Minha tharni-li?*
 what eat-HAB
 What does it eat?

Again permanent water is described as:

- (592) *kutha idnhi-li-idnhi-li*
 water lie-HAB-lie-HAB
 water that is always lying about

The habitual participle can also be used with a passive meaning to describe the object of habitual action. The agent, if expressed, is in the ergative case. The situation is identical to that described by Blake (1979:208) for Pitta-Pitta:

- (593) *Malyka ulyurla-ru ngurka-li.*
 not woman-ERG know-HAB
 It is something that is unknown to women, a secret.

- (594) *yarirda kathi-la-li*
 evil.magic turn-BEN-HAB
 evil magic that can be turned away, magic for which there is a cure

The passive use of the habitual participle is common even with verbs that only take a 'cognate' object (§5.2.2):

- (595) *warra-li warra-li wadni-pidla*
 dance-HAB dance-HAB song-name
 a verse that one can dance to

The habitual frequently figures as a nominaliser in fixed locutions and names of animals:

- (596) *madla purrtha-li*
 dog bite-HAB
 a savage dog, a biter
- (597) *parraka-nga tharka-li*
 bank-LOC stand-HAB
 a kingfisher (lit. (always) standing on the bank of a creek); there is a variant form with omission of the case marker: *parraka-tharka-li* 'bank-standing'
- (598) *muyu-widni-li warra*
 sun-set-HAB side
 the sunset side

Other common examples are:

<i>muyu-wanka-li warra</i>	the sunrise side
<i>Ngatu-thaka-li</i>	Side-Piercer; this was the name of a well-known Wangkangurru clever man, called Koonki Nutatacullie by Horne and Aiston (1924); see also Hercus (1977a:55)
<i>kira-thawi-li</i>	the evening star (lit. the boomerang thrower)
<i>ngurru-ngamani-li</i>	the morning star (lit. picking it up firmly)
<i>kudna-nhampa-li</i>	the introduced cat (lit. burying its dung)
<i>nguyu thangka-li</i>	the only survivor (lit. one remaining)
<i>yuwu-pirda-li</i>	a murderer (lit. man-killing)
<i>padni yanhi-li</i>	a dumb person (lit. not speaking)
<i>kudna-li kudna-li</i>	a very lazy person (lit. sleeper-sleeper)

An Arabana habitual form that has gone into local colloquial English is *kurda-li* 'in the habit of being lain on', a 'goodly' blanket, that is the lower blanket which is put immediately above the groundsheet (Hercus 1992).

Case forms of the habitual participle are found commonly with these fixed locutions and names as in:

- (599) *Parraka-tharka-li-ri nhanhi-ka.*
 bank-stand-HAB-ERG see-P
 The kingfisher saw it.

The habitual participles are so well established as nominals that they can even be combined with the nominal affix *-purru* 'having':

- (600) *yarirda kathi-la-li-purru*
 evil.magic turn-BEN-HAB-having
 evil magic for which there is a remedy, a curse capable of being turned back
- (601) *wadnhi-li-purru*
 cook-HAB-having
 food that can be cooked

The habitual participle of Arabana-Wangkangurru is flexible and widely used: it is an important part of both the verbal and nominal systems.

(2) The habitual participle in *-pu*

This is exceedingly rare:

- (602) *widnangka-ma-l-ta-pu*
 disappear-make-BEN-SP-HAB
 one in the habit of stealing other people's belongings

There is a likelihood that this form of the habitual participle is related to the Arandic suffix *-pe* used as a frequentative with reduplicated verbs (Wilkins 1989:243).

(3) *-yulku* 'keen on'

This relatively rare suffix is found just occasionally with nominals (§3.15.3(3)), but it is predominantly verbal. It can be added to the stem, or more frequently to the speed form, of a verb to mean 'keen on'. It can also occur after the suffix *-li* to indicate 'permanently addicted to':

- (603) *panti-rda-yulku*
 fight-SP-keen
 a person who is itching for a fight
- (604) *panti-li-yulku*
 fight-HAB-keen
 a person who is always itching for a fight
- (605) *puntha-rda-yulku*
 drink-SP-keen
 a person who desperately needs a drink
- (606) *tharni-li-yulku*
 eat-HAB-keen
 a glutton

The habitual participles were not known to younger semi-speakers.

5.7.3 THE OBLIGATORY PARTICIPLE

This participle is formed with the suffix *-lima*, which appears to be based on the habitual participle. It simply conveys the notion that an action has to be carried out, or an event has to occur: the effect of *-lima* is to convey a sense of obligation to the whole clause. The focus can be on the agent or on the object of an action, neither of which needs to be referred to by a

noun or pronoun. When the focus is on the object the obligatory participle conveys a passive sense:

- (607) *Nharla awarda pirda-lima.*
 man this kill-OBLIG
 This fellow has got to be killed.

This may be expressed more simply:

- (608) *Pirda-lima.*
 kill-OBLIG
 (He) has got to be killed.
- (609) *Tyalpa nhiki tharni-lima. (A)*
 food this eat-OBLIG
 This food has got to be eaten.

When the focus is on the agent this participle has an active meaning:

- (610) *Athu anti tharni-lima.*
 I.ERG soon eat-OBLIG
 I have got to eat (this) directly.

The obligatory form can be used with an benefactive-causative verb stem:

- (611) *Malyka yarirda kathi-la-lima.*
 not magic turn-BEN-OBLIG
 This evil magic can't be turned around.

It can also be used with a reciprocal:

- (612) *Nhata-(k)a-nta-lima. (A)*
 look-RECIP-REFL-OBLIG
 They've got to look at one another.

Even with intransitive verbs there can be a latent passive sense:

- (613) *Ngura ngurku-ma-lhuku uka-kunha, anthunha, ngura kurda-lima-lki.*
 camp good-make-HIST he-POSS mine mine camp sleep-OBLIG-FIN
 He fixed up his bed as well as mine, the sort of bed that one can get to sleep on.

Again, the emphasis can be on the subject:

- (614) *Wati-nga unpa yuka-lima.*
 road-LOC you go-OBLIG
 You have got to go on the track.
- (615) *Purra-lima.*
 die-OBLIG
 (He) has got to die.

There is no evidence that this grammatical category is present in any of the neighbouring languages. In Arabana-Wangkangurru it is used only by the oldest speakers, and is not even recognised by younger people. It is therefore possible that it disappeared from neighbouring languages before they could be recorded.

There is an isolated instance of the use of the locative case with the obligatory participle in a subordinate clause:

- (616) *Thadna-Rei! Athu Arthur-kunha wangka ngawi-lima-nga.*
 stop-IMPF I.ERG Arthur-POSS word hear-OBLIG-LOC
 Stop (talking) while I've got to hear what Arthur is saying!

This example involves a switch of reference and a sense of contemporaneous action which is analogous to the non-past (§5.6.2(3)).

5.8 ASPECT MARKING – BASIC ASPECTS

The aspects are marked by stem-forming affixes. They are semantic devices, adding various nuances to the verb, such as continuity, inception, and transitory action: they form an important part of the verbal system, giving it flexibility. All *except* the speed form and the transitory form are based on verb stems which must have originally functioned as the second member of compound verbs. Subsequently they gradually became fully attached to the main verb and lost all independent function. One aspect marker, however, *-(w)angka*, is derived from *wanka-*, which still functions both as an independent verb and as the second member of a compound verb (§5.8.3 and §5.10.3(1)), thereby demonstrating the links through which aspect marking arose. Thus we can envisage a development:

VERB + ASPECT + TENSE < VERB + VERB + TENSE

5.8.1 THE CONTINUOUS ASPECT

This is marked by the stem-forming affix *-angka*. It is the most common of all aspectual markers in both Arabana and Wangkangurru. Examples of its use in various tenses are:

- (617) *Anya-thu wilpa-angka-rda.*
 father-EMP whistle-CONT.S-PRES
 But their father (the Ancestral Kingfisher) goes on whistling.
- (618) *Uka ngurku-thi-angka-rda. (A)*
 he good-become-CONT.S-PRES
 He (the sick man) is getting better all the time.
- (619) *Mayarla! Ngantya-angka-parra!*
 leave squawk-CONT.S-OPT
 Let it be! Let them (the cockatoos) go on squawking!
- (620) *Mathapurda nguRinguRi ngarru-ru wampa-angka-ngura.*
 old.man flies emu.feather-INSTR chase-CONT.S-CONT
 The old man was continually chasing away flies with an emu feather.

-angka can be used even with the narrative past, implying a one-off event:

- (621) *Manta-angka-ru.*
 take-CONT.S-NAR
 She was getting (yams) on that one occasion.

The continuous stem-forming suffix implies that an action is either repetitive or durative, according to the nature of the verb. It is a purely semantic device, as opposed to the continuative tense form (§5.5.1(2)), which has some syntactic functions. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

- (622) *Thangka-ngura. Nhanhi-ka uka-nha thangka-ngura.*
 sit-CONT see-P he-ACC sit-CONT
 He is (was) sitting down. (I) saw him sitting (there).

The continuative tense here indicates that the action 'sitting' was going on at the time referred to.

- (623) *Thangka-nangka-rda.*
 sit-CONT.S-PRES
 (He) is going on sitting (here), he is staying here on a permanent basis.

The continuous aspect indicates that the action 'sitting' is durative.

The continuative tense can be combined with the continuous aspect:

- (624) *Thangka-nangka-ngura.*
 sit-CONT.S-CONT
 (He) was living (here) (i.e. at the time in question).
- (625) *Papu katyi-la-ya-nangka-ngura.*
 egg turn-BEN-TR-CONT.S-CONT
 (The father emu) was continually coming back and turning over the eggs.

The present tense of the continuous aspect is common in the formation of proper names of women: *Tharpanangkarda* 'Always trampling (as in a dance)', *Kutha-kiRanangkarda* 'Water ever flowing', *Ngupanangkarda* 'Always crouching down (for fear of a lightning strike)'.

The origin of the suffix *-nangka* cannot be demonstrated beyond doubt, but it is highly likely to be connected with a verb stem meaning 'to sit'. This is *thangka-* in Arabana-Wangkangurru, but forms (no doubt related) with an initial *n* are found in other Australian languages, notably Arandic. There is an exact parallel in Pitta-Pitta and Wangka Yutyurru, *nhangka-* 'to sit', with an initial laminal as this is preferred to initial alveolar laterals. Yandruwantha and Mithaka also use the verb 'to sit' to mark the continuous aspect (Breen, pers.comm.).

5.8.2 THE SPEED FORM

The speed form has a twofold meaning: it implies that an action is carried out in haste *and* usually before departing. The speed form is marked by the same suffix as the general present tense (§5.4.1), but there is no question of confusion between the different uses: the present tense marker is always word-final, while the speed form is never word-final. It is closely tied to the root of a verb, always preceding tense or mood or participial markers and any further suffixes, and sometimes the other basic aspect markers (§5.8.4).

The normal suffixes used as speed markers are:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| ARABANA | -rnda ~ -rda |
| WANGKANGURRU | -rnda ~ -rda ~ -rma |

The distinction of the different forms *-nda* ~ *-rda* and *-ma* in both Arabana and Wangkangurru is as in the present tense. The difference made by the use of the speed form can be seen in the following:

(a) No speed form

(626) *Mathapurda-ru kira kapa-ka* (A)
old.man-ERG boomerang make-P
The old man made a boomerang.

(627) *Nhanhi-lhiku waya-nda*.
see-PUR wish-PRES
I want to see.

(b) Speed form

(628) *Mathapurda-ru kira kapa-nda-ka* (A)
old man-ERG boomerang make-SP-P
The old man made a boomerang quickly (i.e. before departing, at the one sitting).

(629) *Nhanhi-nda-lhuku waya-nda*.
see-SP-PUR wish-PRES
I want to take a quick look.

Typical further examples of the use of the speed form are:

(630) *Arni thika-nda kutha yadlangka-rda-nha-nga*.
we.EXC return-PRES rain approach-SP-NP-LOC
We are going back because rain is coming close quickly.

(631) *Thadma-nda-a-rda* (A)
leave-SP-TR-PRES
(She) leaves (the child) for just a little while.

There are a number of other allomorphs of the present tense suffixes: in reflexive verbs (§5.3.3(1)), the reflexive suffix *-nta* doubles as a marker for the general present; 'short' verbs (§5.2.5) have a special form of the present tense in *-nta*; combined with the benefactive marker *-la* the present appears as *-lta* (§5.3.2(1)). All these allomorphic rules apply equally to the speed markers.

(a) Reflexive

(632) *Ngarldiya-nta mathapurda karla-nga kudnala-nta-nha-nga*.
sorry-REFL old.man creek-LOC sleep-SP-NP-LOC
I am sorry that the old man is having a sleep in the creek bed (already, without having had his meal).

(b) Short form

(633) *Kathi ma-nta-ka*.
meat get-SP-P
He picked up the meat (and left).

(c) Benefactive

- (634) *tharka-ma-l-ta-lhuku*
 stand-make-BEN-SP-PUR
 so as to make them get up quickly

The speed form is one of the most frequently used aspectual markers of Arabana Wangkangurru, but only in the speech of those who have a full command of the language. It is one of the features that were readily affected by language decline.

5.8.3 THE INCEPTIVE

The inceptive conveys the notion of 'beginning'. The marker for the inceptive is a stem-forming affix *-wanka*. This is derived from *wanka-* 'to rise', which can also be used as the second member of a compound verb (§5.10.3(1)). In Arabana however, when used as an aspectual suffix, *wanka-* has developed further as a bound form with loss of the initial *w* and the optional insertion of a glide *y*:

- (635) *Ngunhi-(y)anka-rda*. (A)
 give-INCEP-PRES
 They've started giving it out.
- (636) *Paka-ma-anka-lhuku*. (A)
 dig-SP-INCEP-HIST
 They started off digging in a hurry.

In Wangkangurru on the other hand there is no formal distinction between *wanka-* 'to go up' as the second root of a compound verb (§5.10.3(1)) and *-wanka* as an inceptive aspect marker. The distinction is purely semantic. As Mick McLean expressed it: "When you say it like that [i.e. in a verb as an aspect marker], it doesn't mean climbing anything, ha!". Examples are:

- (637) *Uka yanhi-wanka-rda anthi-rda*.
 he speak-INCEP-PRES me-DAT
 He starts talking to me.
- (638) *Wangka-rda-anka-rda*. (A)
 sing-SP-INCEP-PRES
 He is starting to sing.

Sometimes the inceptive meaning is not strong:

- (639) *Antha katiwiRi wityi-ma ilanha pidla-ru ngawi-wanka-lhuku*.
 I big become-IMPF thus name-INSTR hear-INCEP-HIST
 As I was growing up I heard (lit. I began to hear) it called by that name.

In such cases the *-(w)anka* forms are not very different in content from the simple verb.

5.8.4 THE TRANSITORY FORM

This is one of a number of instances where a distinct grammatical category exists in both Arabana and Wangkangurru, but the actual forms used to express this category are unrelated

(as in the reciprocal at §5.3.3). Not only is the function of the respective morphemes the same, but the position also: the transitory marker immediately follows the verb stem or the verb stem plus speed marker. The transitory form conveys the nuance that the action is being performed during the course of travelling, in transit. There are some restraints on the use of the transitory form, in both Arabana and Wangkangurru: for semantic reasons it is never used with some intransitive verbs, particularly verbs of movement, such as *yuka*- 'to go' and *thika*- 'to return'.

(1) The transitory form in Arabana

The transitory form in Arabana is expressed by the addition to the stem or extended stem of the suffix *-(k)a*. There is no danger of confusion with the reciprocal, which uses the same suffix, because the latter obligatorily involves the further addition of a reflexive suffix (§5.3.3(3)):

- (640) *Athu thiki-ma nhiki-nha, uka-ru anti ngurka-lira*
 I put.back-IMPF this-ACC he-ERG first know-lest
thiki-mda-a-mda. (A)
 put.back-SP-TR-PRES
 I am putting it back (now), for fear that he might notice that I am in the process of putting it back, (i.e. so that he won't notice me putting it back).
- (641) *Intyarnda-ru 'npa wanka-a-rda.* (A)
 where-ABL you rise-TR-PRES
 Where have you sprung from?
- (642) *Kupula-purru yuka-mda yabmi-ka-lhuku.* (A)
 grog-full go-PRES abuse-TR-PUR
 The drunkards (on their way home) come and abuse (other people).

The transitory marker normally follows the speed marker:

- (643) *Palku waka-thi-mda-a-mda.* (A)
 body black-become-SP-TR-PRES
 Before they left (Melon Spring) their bodies turned black for a while (the reference is to the Two Snakes).
- (644) *Amiri yuka-ka Mangurani kadhna-ruku, tharka-mda-ka-lhuku.*
 we.INC go-P Mungeranie hill-ALL stand-SP-TR-PUR
 We all went to Mungeranie Hill to stop off for a short while.

More rarely the order may be reversed:

- (645) *Kilta-a-mda-mda.*
 appear-TR-SP-PRES
 He is coming up for a moment (from underground).

(2) The transitory form in Wangkangurru

This is formed by the addition of the suffix *-yiwa* to verb stems ending in *-a* and *-wa* to verb stems ending in *i*. There is also a shortened variant form, *-ya* for *-yiwa*. This is the favoured form with lengthy verbal words. Presumably to avoid a succession of short syllables beginning with *w* there is a restraint against the use of the *-wa* allomorph with verbs

ending in *wi*, and forms like **thawi-wa-*, **ngawi-wa-* were never used. The transitory form in such verbs had to be preceded by the speed marker; hence *thawi-rnda-y(iw)a-* 'to throw something away quickly while travelling', and *ngawi-rnda-y(iw)a-* 'to listen for a moment to something while travelling along'.

The following Wangkangurru sentences illustrate the use of the transitory suffix:

- (646) *Unkulu anpa thika-rnda anha manta-yiwa-lhuku?*
 when you return-PRES me.ACC take.SP-TR-PUR
 When are you coming back to pick me up on your way (to go out on a trip)?
- (647) *Wilypa-ma-yiwa-lhuku pula-ru nhawula-ru.*
 open-make-TR-HIST two-ERG these.two-ERG
 These two opened up (the gate) on their way.
- (648) *Arni katyi-wa-lhuku wardayapu-nga.*
 we.EXC turn-TR-HIST road-LOC
 We took a turn on the track.
- (649) *Arni thangka-rda-ya-rna thiti puntha-lhuku.*
 we sit-SP-TR-IMPF tea drink-PUR
 We were stopping on our way for a little while to have a drink of tea.

The transitory form is very common indeed in the speech of the oldest and most fluent people, in all accounts of travels and everyday mobility both mythological and personal. Neither the Arabana nor the Wangkangurru forms are transparent in their origin.

5.8.5 *-nanga-rnda* 'JUST NOW'

This uncommon secondary aspect implies that the action has just been going on and may in fact still be continuing. Its basic function is to convey immediacy:

- (650) *Antha marka-nanga-rnda.*
 I crawl-now-PRES
 I'm just now crawling round (looking for something).
- (651) *Pula pithi-nanga-nta.*
 two paint-now-REFL
 The two are just now painting up.
- (652) *Maka wapayi-nanga-rnda.*
 fire go.out-now-PRES
 The fire has just gone out.

This suffix conveys a nuance very similar to the immediate past (§5.4.2.5). The difference is that *-nanga* is aspectual. It affects the semantics of the sentence and has the flexibility of being combined with other tense markers, and can therefore occur even with a pluperfect:

- (653) *mitha-nanga-rnda-naru* (A)
 wait-now-SP-PLUP
 after he had just then been waiting for a little while

-nanga is a stem-forming affix that adds the nuance of 'just now' to a tense form. The immediate past however is a tense form and expresses the notion of 'just recently' with regard to the narration in general. The origin of *-nanga* is obscure, but there is a possibility that it is connected with the verb *thanga-* 'to stay', 'to remain'. This suggestion derives some support from the possible equation:

<i>thangka-</i>	to sit	<i>-nangka</i>	continuative stem forming suffix
<i>thanga-</i>	to remain	<i>-nanga</i>	stem forming suffix meaning 'now'

It is also supported by the fact that other stem-forming suffixes are derived from verbs (§5.8, and §5.8.1 for *thangka-*).

5.8.6 OTHER STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

(1) *-alpa* 'not quite'

This rarely used stem-forming affix occurs only in Arabana. It implies unsuccessful action as in:

- (654) *Mirpa-alpa-nangka-rda*
 push.down-not.quite-CONT.S-PRES
 It tried continually but couldn't quite push him over.

-alpa is clearly connected with the Aranda suffix *-elpe*, which is inserted in reduplicated verbal roots and implies 'continuous inception' (Wilkins 1989:247). Thus Wilkins quotes *tny-elpe-tnye-* 'continually on the verge of falling without actually falling' from *tnye-* 'to fall'. This meaning is exactly parallel to the usage of Arabana, and represents an interesting regional link between the two languages. In Wangkangurru this concept is expressed in a totally different way, by means of an adverb, *panta*.

(2) *-wi*

This is confined to Wangkangurru and appears to have ceased to be a living stem-forming suffix: it is confined to a small number of verbs. It is equivalent to an emphatic inceptive, meaning 'to start right now'. An example is:

- (655) *Tharka-wi-rna-nha!*
 stand-start-SP-NP
 (He) should start getting up in a hurry right now!

On hearing this, the brilliant Arabana speaker Arthur McLean, who was familiar with Wangkangurru, said that the Arabana form would be:

- (656) *Tharka-anka-rda-nha*
 stand-INCEP-SP-NP
 (He) should start getting up in a hurry right now!

In other words, he equated the *-wi* form with the inceptive.

This suffix occurred a number of times with the short form of the verb *widni-*:

- (657) *Kudnakardi-nga winta-wi-liya!*
 guts-LOC get.in.SP-start-lest
 (The evil spirit) might straight away start getting into my guts!

There is no convincing evidence as to the origin of *-wi*, though the short verb *widni- ~ wi-* 'to get in' represents a possibility, particularly as a cognate verb *wirri-* 'to enter' is used as the second member of a compound verb in the neighbouring Ngamini and Diyari languages (Austin 1989:15).¹²

(3) *-li* 'in the distance'

This suffix, though shared by Arabana and Wangkangurru, has limited use. It appears to be common with some of the same verbs that also take the suffix *-wi*, and particularly *tharka-* 'to stand'. It is clearly not used freely as a stem-forming suffix:

- (658) *Mathapurda tharka-li-rnda mungara mani-lhiku.*
 old.man stand-DIST-PRES appearance take-PUR
 The old man is standing some distance away to take a photo.

The stem-forming suffix *-li*, even more than *-wi*, gives the impression of being a remnant or archaising form. It is found in the archaic language of song, as in the Rain Song from Boolaburtinna Well in the Simpson Desert, *Ngananyá trakálinya*.

This was interpreted as:

- (659) *Anya ngatyi-rna tharka-li-rnda-nha.*
 father see-PRES stand-DIST-SP-NP
 He sees his father standing over there for a moment, in the distance.

-li is also quite common with *thiki-* 'to take back':

- (660) *Thiki-li-rnda kari-nha. (A)*
 take.back-DIST-PRES they-ACC
 (He) is there in the distance, taking them away.

Nothing is known of the origins of this suffix, which appears to be unconnected with the habitual participle *-li*. There is no danger of confusion with the latter, as this is always word final, whereas the distance marker *-li*, being a stem-forming suffix, is never in the final position.

5.9 ASPECT MARKING – SECONDARY ASPECTS

The secondary aspects provide information about the verb mainly regarding intensity. Unlike the basic aspects they do not form a new and complete verb stem and are found only with the present tense. They appear to be based on old verb stems which have become adjuncts and are no longer used as independent verbs. The secondary aspects are a feature of Arabana rather than Wangkangurru.

¹² There is a complex link between Arabana-Wangkangurru verbs containing *dn* and Diyari verbs containing *rr* as is exemplified also by Arabana-Wangkangurru *kudni-* 'to put down', and Diyari *kurra-* 'to put down'.

5.9.1 *-minti-rda* 'SLIGHTLY', 'A LITTLE BIT'

This suffix is used only by the most fluent speakers of Arabana and is obviously in decline. It tones down the impact of the main verb and is most closely translated as 'slightly', 'just a little bit'. Examples are:

- (661) *Pirda-minti-rda!* (A)
hit-slightly-PRES
Just give him a bit of a smack!
- (662) *Antha idnhi-rna-minti-rda.* (A)
I lie-IMPF-slightly-PRES
I am having a bit of a lie-down.

The *minti-rda* form can convey the fact that the speaker does not wish to commit himself to what he is saying:

- (663) *Unkunha thidna ngurku-thi-rnda-minti-rda.* (A)
your foot good-become-SP-slightly-PRES
Your foot is getting very slightly better momentarily (in fact it hasn't really improved).
- (664) *Athu ngunhi-rna-minti-rda.* (A)
I.ERG give-SP-slightly-PRES
I'll give away just a little bit to start with (of the firewood, but I'll actually keep the bulk of it for myself).

5.9.2 *-pa-rnda* 'VERY MUCH SO', 'GREATLY'

This secondary aspect marker conveys the opposite of *-minthirda*. It denotes a strong intensive. Examples are:

- (665) *Nhukathirnda yanhi-rnda-pa-rnda.* (A)
excessively speak-SP-INT-PRES
He talks too much altogether.
- (666) *Panti-rda-pa-rnda.* (A)
fight-SP-INT-PRES
They are having a tremendous fight.
- (667) *Lhuka-ru wapa-ra-pa-rnda kupa-kupa.* (A)
mother-ERG hunt-PUNC-INT-PRES baby
The mother is frantically looking for her baby.

In Wangkangurru the intensive is common with the verb *ngarra* 'to shake' (transitive) and it conveys the meaning of 'violently rattling two boomerangs together'. The loud vibrating sound was an important feature of the *Warrthampa* ritual:

- (668) *Kira ngarra-pa-rna Warrthampa-ku.*
boomerang shake-INT-PRES Warrthampa-DAT
(They) are rattling boomerangs for the *Warrthampa* ceremony.

The name of the Ancestral Pyromaniac, who set alight the whole of the Macumba and the Alberga, is *Mathapurda Maka-Thaka-pa* 'Old man Fire-Strike-greatly': the final *-pa* is the root form of *pa-mda*. This ritual name is old-fashioned and has no equivalent in the ordinary spoken language, but it points to the fact that *-pa-mda* was originally more flexible and could be used in a wider range of forms. Presumably this was the case also with the other secondary aspectual markers.

5.9.3 *-(y)angkuwangka-rda* 'AROUND', 'VAGUELY'

This secondary aspect is used only in Arabana. It is clearly a reduplicated formation, the reduplication conveying a distributive nuance 'here and there, in all directions'. After verb-final *i* there is a glide *y* at the beginning of the first syllable of the suffix:

- (669) *Maka-nga thangka-angkuwangka-rda nhuka, wangka thimpa-a-nta.* (A)
 fire-LOC sit-around-PRES many speech converse-RECIP-REFL
 There is a whole group sitting around by the fire, talking amongst themselves.
- (670) *Warpi-yangkuwangka-rda.* (A)
 lie-around-PRES
 (He) just lies around.
- (671) *Yanhi-(y)angkuwangka-rda.*
 speak-around-PRES
 He is just vaguely talking (about nothing in particular).

The origin of the suffix *-(y)angkuwangka-rda* remains obscure.

5.10 COMPOUND VERBS

Arabana-Wangkangurru closely resembles the neighbouring languages of the Diyaric subgroup to the east in that it allows verb compounding. The situation in Diyaric and other languages of the eastern Lake Eyre Basin has been discussed in detail by P. Austin (1989). In Wangkangurru, as shown in §5.1.1, such a compound verb follows the following pattern:

root¹ ± transitory ± voice ± aspect + root² ± tense, mood or participial function ± clitic

There is only a limited group of verbs that can act as the second root; these are intransitive verbs of stance or motion, as in Diyaric, but they also include the transitive verb *thawi-* 'to throw'. The second root adds dimensions of direction and movement to the meaning of the first root. The first root carries the main semantic load, governs transitivity, takes an object or complement, and usually – though not always – governs locational forms. One of the main differences from the Diyaric languages is that in Diyaric the first root *has* to be followed by a participial marker (Austin 1989:22), which is identical to the Arabana-Wangkangurru marker for present tense/speedy action before departure. In Arabana-Wangkangurru, on the other hand, there are rules limiting the use of this suffix (§5.10.2(1 - 2)). As shown by the pattern above, the first verb can be used in the stem form without any affix. One can therefore say:

- (672) *Mani-thika-rnda*
 verb-verb-tense
 get-return-PRES
 He goes back to get it. (See however §5.10.2(3) below.)

The regional implications of the use of these suffixes are discussed in Hercus (n.d.).

Only the following verbs were used as the second member of a compound verb:

<i>thika-</i>	to return	(shared with Diyari, Ngamini and Yarluyandi)
<i>wanka-</i>	to go up, to climb,	(a verb of the same meaning is used in Diyari, Ngamini and Yarluyandi)
<i>thawi-</i>	to throw	(a verb of the same meaning is used in Diyari, Ngamini and Yawarawarka)
<i>marka-</i>	to crawl	(shared with Ngamini where it is an auxiliary verb)
<i>wapa-</i>	to hunt round, to go about	(used as auxiliary verb in Diyari, Yarluyandi and Ngamini)
<i>waRityi-</i>	to move around	(cognate with a verb of the same meaning in Diyari)
<i>ngarrityi-</i>	to go down	(shared with Diyari, Ngamini and Yarluyandi)
<i>tharka-</i>	to stand	(shared with Diyari and Ngamini)
<i>yuka-</i>	to go	(extremely rare in this function; close in meaning to <i>wapa-</i> above)
<i>kurda-</i>	to lie down	(also extremely rare in this function)

The number of such verbs may originally have been greater as some of the aspect markers originate from verb compounding, for example *angku-wangkarda* 'going in all directions' (§5.9.4 above). There has thus clearly been a development from 'associated motion' verbal compounds to associated motion suffixes in Arabana.

5.10.1 SEMANTIC DISTINCTIONS WITHIN THE CATEGORY OF 'ASSOCIATED MOTION'

The category of 'associated motion' was first distinguished by Koch (1984): it is widespread in the languages of Central Australia. There are three distinct types of associated motion. The semantic distinctions between the three types are very similar to those found with the affixes of associated motion in Kaytej (Koch 1984), Aranda (Wilkins 1989:270) and those described for Adnyamathanha by D. Tunbridge (1988:207), while further afield Yidiñ (Dixon 1977a:219) shows just the first two distinctions. The situation described by Koch can be exemplified from the use of the most common second root, *-thika* 'to go back':

- (a) prior motion, where the movement back precedes the action: to go back and do (i.e. carry out the action described by the first verb);
- (b) concurrent motion, where the action is concurrent with the movement back: to do something while going back;
- (c) subsequent motion, where the action precedes the movement back: to go back after doing something.

5.10.2 *-thika-* 'TO RETURN'

This is by far the most commonly used second member of a compound verb: in fact in about 45 per cent of its occurrences *-thika* is the second member of a compound. The flexibility of the use of compound verbs can therefore best be illustrated by *-thika*.

(1) Prior motion

The first root always appears in the stem form when prior motion is involved. The use of the present tense – speed marker, which also implies action before departure (§5.8.2), that is subsequent motion, is obviously out of the question when prior motion is to be expressed:

(673) *Iriya-nga thangka-thika-lhuku.* (A)

Iriya-LOC sit-go.back-HIST

He went back to stay at Iriya dam.

(674) *Kari-ri thiki-lhik' ukunha ngura-nga kari-kunha*

they-ERG take.back-HIST him camp-LOC they-POSS

thadna-thika-lhuku.

leave-go.back-HIST

They took him back with them, they went back and (then) left him in their own camp.

The prior motion often involves a sense of purpose, with someone going back in order to carry out an action:

(675) *Wathili thiki-rna kaRu ngunhi-thika-lhuku ngura-nga wathili-nga*
own take.back-IMP there give-go.back-HIST camp-LOC own-LOC

mikiri-nga.

well-LOC

Each man used to take back his own (large lump of red ochre from Parachilna), and go back and (then, or in order to) give it away in his own camp in the desert country.

(676) *Kathi-ki pirda-lhuku kari-ri wilawila ngarka-nga*
meat-EMP kill-HIST they-ERG much evening-LOC

wadnhi-thika-lhuku.

cook-return-HIST

They killed a lot of meat and came back to cook it in the evening.

Speaking of the Kingfisher, their father, the Two Boys in the myth say:

(677) *Thadna-Ru, mayarla! Wilpa-nangka-rda; ngukulu nhanhi-thika-rna*
leave-IMP let.him.be whistle-CONT.S-PRES tomorrow see-return-IMP

arnantara.

we.mother.and.sons

Leave him, let him be! He is just going on whistling; we are coming back to see him another day, we with our mother.

It is a particularly common turn of phrase to use the verb *thika-* (or its causative form *thiki-*) as an independent verb, and then explain the situation further by using *-thika* as part of a compound verb, as in examples (674) and (675) above, and as in the following:

- (678) *Mangu-miRaka-nga walta nguRu-nga pula katha-rna pula*
 forehead-red-LOC time other-LOC two wander-IMPF two
Pinthamarranda-nga thika-rna pirda-thika-lhuku.
 Lloyd's.Bore-LOC return-IMPF kill-return-HIST
 Another time the two (Eaglehawks) were wandering around 'Red Forehead' (Pups Lagoon), they then went back, they went back to Lloyd's Bore to kill (two girls).

This type of tautology is found in other languages where prior motion is distinguished: it has been noted for Kaytej by H. Koch (pers.comm.) and appears to be a regional phenomenon of Central Australian languages.

(2) Concurrent motion

The action is carried out during the return, either throughout, just once or at intervals. It is usual as in the case of prior motion for the first root to appear in the stem form. Examples of the 'throughout' meaning are the following:

- (679) *Kumpirei! Malty' antha nyanyanyanya-thika-rnda!* (A)
 carcass not I bugger.about-return-PRES
 You bastard! I'm not going buggering¹³ back there!
- (680) *Antha wadna-thika-rnda.*
 I run-return-PRES
 I'm running back (to last night's camping place).

Occasionally when concurrent motion is implied the first verb takes the present tense – speed marker. In the following example the repetition of the first verb emphasises that the running is taking place all the way:

- (681) *“Wardu-kareyi! antha wanta-wanta-thika-rnda*
 child-PL.VOC I run.SP-run.SP-return-PRES
yarri ngupa-rnda-naru yurdayurda anthunha” yanta-yiwa-rna.
 ear lie.prone-SP-PLUP things mine speak.SP-TR-IMPF
 “Children, I'll go back, running all the way, to *Kantiwardunha*, because I have forgotten something belonging to me.” That's what (the wicked Crane) said quickly as he was passing (but of course his reasons were quite different).

The term 'having one's ear lying prone', that is 'having one's ear out of action', is an idiomatic expression for 'being inattentive', 'forgetting'.

¹³ The verb *nyanya-nyanya-* actually means 'to have sex', but just like the English 'bugger' it is used vaguely in the sense of 'going' by a speaker who is very angry or wishes to be impolite.

- (682) *Pitha-kalthikalthi-ri kari ularaka-nga parra-rnda-thika-rna*
 box.tree-crooked-ABL they history-LOC travel.as.group-PRES-return-IMPF
Kardaya-nga thangka-lhuku. (A)
Kardaya-LOC sit-PUR
 In the History time (the Cat people), travelling as a group, went back from
 Coward Springs 'Crooked Box Tree' to stay at *Kardaya* 'Yellow Waterhole'.

In Wangkangurru *-rna* is widely used as a general present tense (§5.4.1.3(4)) as well as speed marker and is the preferred form also in compound verbs :

- (683) *Kari nguyu-nga parra-rna-thika-rna.*
 they one-LOC travel.as.group-SP-return-IMPF
 They were going back together, travelling as a group.
- (684) *Thidna ngarda-ngarda-rna-thika-ngura kutha-ruku.*
 foot burn-burn-SP-return-CONT water-ALL
 He was walking back to the water, burning his feet (with every step on the hot sand).

When the action is repeated over the length of the trip a reduplicated verb is used, as above and in the following:

- (685) *KaRu uka-ru tharki-tharki-l-thika-rna pirra-maka.*
 there he-ERG show-show-BEN-return-IMPF message-stick
 He went back, showing people the message stick (on his way).
- (686) *Ngarrapili-lhiku kardapu madli-ma-rna-lhuk' uka*
 rest-PUR head cool-make-SP-PUR he
kudni-kudni-thika-lhuku.
 put.down-put.down-return-HIST
 In order to have a rest and to cool his head (after carrying a heavy grinding stone)
 he put it down again and again on his way back.

(3) Subsequent motion

When subsequent motion is expressed, the first verb always has the present tense – speed marker, as in the following sentence, said by Mick McLean to a relative who asked him why he was standing outside the garage at Copley:

- (687) *Anthunha mintha wadna-rnda, antha wanti-nta-ki mintha*
 my wheel run.loose-PRES I wait-REFL-EMP wheel
ngurku-ku -mayi-nha kunta-thika-nha.
 good-DAT-make-NP put.SP-come.back-NP
 My wheel (i.e. the wheel of our landrover) has come loose; I am waiting for (the mechanic) to fix up the wheel, to put it on and then come back (with the vehicle).
- (688) *Kalti wanga-wanga pirda-rna-thika-rna-naru.*
 Bull Ant early-early kill-SP-return-SP-PLUP
 The Bull Ant had come back at first light after having killed (two dogs).

- (689) *Uka-ru ulyurla-pula manta-thika-rna, after he murder'm all,*
 he-ERG woman-DU take.SP-return-IMPF after.he.murdered.them.all
ngura katyiwiri palyi-rna kanhangarda.
 camp big strike-IMPF there
 He (the Rain Ancestor *Kuntili*) brought back the two women, after he had murdered all (the rest of the camp), it was a big camp that he struck down (with his lightning strike).

There is thus a distinct system that governs the use of the present tense – speed-marking suffixes in compound verbs.

A clear formal distinction is observed between prior motion and subsequent motion: there are no present tense – speed suffixes on the first verb in the case of prior motion:

- (690) *Athu mani-thika-rnda.*
 I.ERG get-return-PRES
 I go back to get something (prior motion).
- (691) *Kadnhini nhanhi-thika-rnda.*
 grannie see-return-PRES
 He goes back to see his grannie (prior motion).

Present tense – speed markers are however used on the first verb where subsequent motion is involved:

- (692) *Athu mani-rnda-thika-rnda. (A)*
Athu manta-thika-rnda. (W)
 I get.SP-return-PRES
 I get something and come back (subsequent motion).
- (693) *Kadnhini nhanhi-rnda-thika-rnda.*
 grannie see-SP-return-PRES
 He has a quick look at his grannie and comes back (subsequent motion).

As the basic sense of the speed marker is ‘speedy action before departing’ it is logical that this marker should be used as a formal distinction to indicate subsequent motion as opposed to prior motion. With concurrent motion the use of the speed marker is variable and optional.

5.10.3 OTHER SECOND-ROOT VERBS

The other second-root verbs generally follow the same pattern as *-thika* but not necessarily all three types of motion are distinguished. As in the case of *-thika* (§5.10.2(3)) the present tense – speed form is used with subsequent motion, and the imperfective, when distinct, marks continuity.

- (1) *-wanka* ‘to go up, to climb’

This verb implies upward motion. This meaning is quite clear in some occurrences of compound verbs that have *-wanka* as second root, as in the following sentences where subsequent upward motion is implied:

- (694) *Kari-nha, ulyurla-kari-nha, mankarra-kari-nha, yarapa-ma-lhuku*
 they-ACC woman-PL-ACC girl-PL-ACC above-make-HIST
thawi-lhiku, thawi-rna-wanka-lhuku wityikura-ru.
 throw-HIST throw-SP-rise-HIST Whirlwind-ERG
 The Whirlwind lifted them up, the women and the girls, and threw them, it threw
 them up (into the air).
- (695) *Muyu arla-wityi-wanka-rda.*
 sun visible-become-rise-PRES
 The sun, rising, becomes visible.

The more general meaning of this verb as a second root is 'to come up to somewhere', 'to get to somewhere'; the original meaning has often become obscured in the compound. Concurrent motion is usually implied:

- (696) *Kutha marka-rna-wanka-da.*
 rain creep-SP-rise-PRES
 The storm is starting to come up quickly.

(2) *-thawi* 'to throw'

This verb usually implies speedy movement, and is associated with concurrent motion:

- (697) *Yarlayarla panyi-rna-thawi-nha.*
 materials collect-SP-throw-NP
 (You) should hurry up getting together some roofing materials (for a humpy
 because rain is coming).
- (698) *Kathi mani-rna-thawi-nha.*
 meat get-SP-throw-NP
 (He) should hurry up getting some meat together.
- (699) *Athu ngurku-ma-l-ta-thawi-ra.*
 I good-make-BEN-SP-throw-PUNC
 I am fixing it up for them straight away.

(3) *-marka* 'to crawl'

This verb is more common as the second member of a compound verb in Arabana than in Wangkangurru, and it implies slow and steady movement. It is generally used in circumstances where concurrent motion is implied:

- (700) *Ngantya-a-nta-marka-rnda. (A)*
 squawk-RECIP-REFL-crawl-PRES
 (They, the cockatoos) are moving along steadily (i.e. moving from tree to tree)
 squawking to each other.
- (701) *Madlanthi-ma-rna-marka-ka. (A)*
 bad-make-SP-crawl-P
 (They, the swarm of locusts) moved along steadily, straight away destroying
 everything as they went.

- (702) *Thupu puntha-puntha-marka-nangka-rda.* (A)
 smoke drink-drink-crawl-CONT.S-PRES
 (He) is walking along slowly, smoking as he goes.

(4) -*wapa* 'to hunt round', 'to go about'

This is used as the second member of a compound verb only in Wangkangurru, not in Arabana, and always with concurrent motion:

- (703) *Uka thika-rna-wapa-rnda thuthirla-nga.*
 she return-SP-hunt.round-PRES boy-LOC
 She hunted around coming back on account of the boy.
- (704) *Uka-kunha-ru nhupa-ru pityamurru mani-wapa-nha.*
 he-POSS-ERG spouse-ERG boxbark get-hunt.round-NP
 His wife is looking around to get boxbark.

(5) -*waRityi* 'to move round'

This verb is uncommon both as a simple verb and as the second verb of a compound. As is to be expected from its meaning, it is usually found with the connotation of concurrent motion:

- (705) *Katyi-rna-waRityi-rnda.*
 turn-SP-move.round-PRES
 He is going round in all directions, turning.

The only other combinations with *waRityi-* that were heard occasionally are:

- yuka-rnda-waRityi-rnda* he moves in all directions as he goes
thika-rnda-waRityi-rnda he moves in all directions as he goes back

(6) -*ngarrityi* 'to go down'

This verb is found only with prior and more rarely with concurrent motion:

- (706) *Pula-ru kunta-ngarrityi-rnda.*
 two-ERG put.PRES-go.down-PRES
 The two go down (into the hole) to put him down (and bury him).
- (707) *Kutha-nga thawi-ngarrityi-rnda.*
 water-LOC throw-go.down-PRES
 (They) come down to throw it in the water.
- (708) *Karla-nga thangka-ngarrityi-rnda.*
 creek-LOC sit-go.down-PRES
 They go down to stop by the creek.

The last two sentences illustrate particularly clearly how the first verb governs location.

(7) -*tharka* 'to stand'

This has been heard only rarely and always implies a stationary position:

- (709) *Yanhi-rnda-tharka-kura.*
 speak-PRES-stand-CONT.P
 They were standing about talking.

(8) *-yuka* 'to go'

This verb has been heard in a few isolated cases as the second verb of a compound, and then only when concurrent motion is implied:

- (710) *Kutha madli puntha-rda-yuka-rnda.* (A)
 water cool drink-PRES-go-PRES
 He is going along drinking a (can of) soft drink.

The notion of 'going about while doing something' can be expressed by *wapa-* in Wangkangurru, but the most usual method for both Arabana and Wangkangurru is by use of the continuative aspect in an independent clause (§5.8.1):

- (711) *Mankarra nyara yuka-rnda kutha madli puntha-nangka-rda.*
 girl little go-PRES water cool drink-CONT.S-PRES
 The little girl is walking along, she's going on drinking a soft drink.

(9) *-kurda* 'to lie down'

This is found commonly, but in only two combinations, *winta-kurda-* and *kudnala-kurda-*:

- (712) *Uka thika-rnda karla-nga winta-kurda-yiwa-lhuku.*
 he return-PRES creek-LOC shelter-lie.down-TR-PUR
 He came back to lie down sheltering in the creek for a while.
- (713) *Kudnala-kurda-ma.*
 sleep-lie.down-IMPF
 (He) lies down, sleeping.

5.10.4 DOUBLE COMPOUNDS

On rare occasions double compounds are formed: these consist of three verbs, in which both the second and third belong to the list of acceptable second member verbs (§5.10).

- (714) *Mingka-nga winta-kurda-ma-thika-ma.*
 hole-LOC shelter-lie.down-SP-return-IMPF
 He is going back to lie down, sheltering in his burrow.
- (715) *Thangka-kurda-thika-lhuku.*
 sit-lie.down-return-HIST
 (He) went back there to lie down, staying there.

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the verb is the most important part of the sentence: the flexibility of the verb in aspect and tense marking, as well as in compounding, makes it possible to express, within the verbal word, features that would be expressed by adverbs in many other Australian languages, particularly those of the Western Desert.

CHAPTER 6

ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

6.1 FORMATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBS

Adverbs in Arabana-Wangkangurru belong to three main classes:

derivational adverbs	open
pronominal adverbs	closed
independent adverbs	semi-closed

The function of adverbs in Arabana-Wangkangurru is straightforward: they qualify the verb and usually immediately precede it. Adverbs of the open class are of particular interest in their formation and from the point of view of comparative linguistics.

6.1.1 DERIVATIONAL ADVERBS FORMED WITH *-li*

This is the most common type of adverb formation. The ways in which *-li* is used to form adverbs of manner are set out below.

(1) from adjectives

Some restrictions operate here: a high proportion of Arabana-Wangkangurru adjectives refer to inherent qualities and, in the same manner as English adjectives like 'big' or 'red' are not involved in adverb formation: they are stative adjectives in the sense described by Goddard (1985:33) for Yankuntjatjara. Thus **warru-li* from *warru* 'white' and **ngurku-li* from *ngurku* 'good' are not acceptable (see however §6.1.3). The following commonly used adverbs are derived from adjectives by means of the suffix *-li*:

<i>tyirka-li</i>	happily	<i>tyirka</i>	happy
<i>paku-li</i>	in vain	<i>paku</i>	vain, empty
<i>aratya-li</i>	in a straight line, correctly	<i>aratya</i>	straight, right
<i>kunti-kunti-li</i>	crookedly	<i>kunti-kunti</i>	crooked, twisted
<i>nguyu-li</i>	on one's own	<i>nguyu</i>	one, alone
<i>partyarnda-li</i>	all together	<i>partyarnda</i>	all, complete (A)

(2) from nouns

Some adverbs are formed from nouns to imply 'in such a manner':

<i>yuparla</i> (A)	shadow
<i>yuparla-li</i>	in the manner of a shadow, as in <i>Yuparla-li ngapara yukarnda</i> 'He walks behind like a shadow.'
<i>paRatyi</i>	the light of a flame
<i>paRatyi-li</i>	by the light of a flame

<i>thirpi</i>	a single person
<i>thirpi-li</i>	as a single person, in celibacy; <i>thirpili thanga-</i> to live in celibacy

There is a more specialised but very common usage in which adverbs with a directional connotation roughly equivalent to 'ways' are formed from nouns by means of the suffix *-li*. Examples are:

<i>karla</i>	creek	<i>karla-li</i>	along the creek (lit. creek-ways)
<i>mudlu</i>	sandhill	<i>mudlu-li</i>	following the sandhills
<i>parraka</i>	cliff	<i>parraka-li</i>	along the cliff
<i>marna</i>	mouth	<i>marna-li</i>	(full) up to the brim
<i>kardapu</i>	head	<i>kardapu-li</i>	head first (lit. following the head)

An example of this usage is:

- (716) *Kardapu-li mingka-nga wanka-rda.*
 head-ADV hole-LOC rise-PRES
 They came up in the hole head first.

The verbs qualified by such adverbs can be transitive as well as intransitive:

- (717) *Yakayaka-rna uka-ru karla-li.*
 chase-IMPF he-ERG creek-ADV
 He chased it along the creek.

Adverbs of this kind are often reduplicated, as in:

<i>kurla-li kurla-li</i>	all through the cane grass (<i>kurla</i>)
<i>marnda-li marnda-li</i>	in Indian file (<i>marnda</i> 'row')

(3) from nouns in the locative and from noun phrases

<i>irrya-nga-li</i>	noisily (from the locative case of <i>irrya</i> 'noise')
<i>pantu-nga-li</i>	along the salt lakes, from salt lake to salt lake (from the locative of <i>pantu</i> 'salt lake')
<i>puthurru-nga-li</i>	(from the locative of <i>puthurru</i> 'dust') as in <i>puthurrungali warra-</i> 'to chase only dust' (lit. to chase dustily)

The derivation can also be from whole noun phrases. This is a living process in Arabana-Wangkangurru and is not confined to fixed locutions:

- (718) *kalya nguyu-li yukarnda*
 time one-ADV goes
 once he goes
- (719) *Manu-thati-li yukarnda.*
 dry-mind-ADV goes
 He goes preoccupied.
- (720) *Thanta-purru-li yukarnda.*
 things-having-ADV goes
 He goes with all his things (i.e. weapons), in a fully prepared fashion.
- (721) *Wimpa-nguyu-li anari yuka-rnda.*
 track-one-ADV this.way come-PRES
 He is coming this way leaving only one track (i.e. he came, but didn't go back).

- (722) *kadnha-yarapa-li*
 hill-on.top-ADV
 along the top of the hills (W)

This type of adverbial phrase can be combined with an ergative adverbial formation (§6.1.2) regardless of whether the main verb is transitive or intransitive:

- (723) *PiRi nguyu-ru-li warra-mnda.*
 space one-ERG-ADV run-PRES
 (You) are behaving as if (you) had all the room in the world.

(4) from directional nouns, particles and adverbs

-li is commonly used to form adverbs from directional nouns, as in *kudnangkari-li* 'in a southerly direction'. A further example is:

- (724) *Thirriwa-li warra-nga yuka-ka.*
 east-ADV side-LOC go-P
 He went in an easterly direction along the side.

-li is also used to form an adverb from the negative particle *padni* 'no, nothing', hence *padni-li* 'for nothing, in vain, unsuccessfully', heard frequently with the verb *wapa-* 'to seek':

- (725) *Maka-pirla wapa-lhuku padni-li.*
 coal-black seek-HIST nothing-ADV
 (We) looked in vain for the manganese (mine).
- (726) *Padnili parda-lhuku. Padnili wapa-ru kaRu*
 unsuccessfully grab-HIST in.vain seek-NAR there
katha-nangka-lhuku ikara-nga ikara-nga.
 wander-CONT.S-HIST swamp-LOC swamp-LOC
 (The Perentie) couldn't get hold of (the Goanna). He looked in vain, and he wandered about there in one swamp after another.

-li can be used to form adverbs of manner from other adverbs. Often the change of meaning involved in this derivation is minimal:

<i>mirri-li</i>	closely	<i>mirri</i>	this side
<i>wanga-wanga-li</i>	in the mornings	<i>wanga-wanga</i>	early
<i>ngurra-li</i>	altogether, for good	<i>ngurra</i>	firmly, for ever
<i>muntu-li</i>	locally, around here	<i>muntu</i>	around here
<i>muthi-li</i>	in the same way, just as if	<i>muthu</i>	like (§7.2.4)
<i>panta-li</i>	nearly but not quite	<i>panta</i>	hardly, not (§6.3.4)

Examples of the use of these adverbs are:

- (727) *Muntu-li warra-nha!*
 around.here-ADV play-NP
 Play around here!
- (728) *Muthili kantha-ngura kutha pirda-ma.*
 same.way pour-CONT water hit-IMPF
 They (the two wicked Aunts) were beating the water (in a dish to make a sound) just as if rain was pouring down.

- (729) *Panta-li ngarda-ka.*
nearly-ADV burn-P
He was half burnt.
- (730) *Panta-li panti-ka maRa.*
nearly-ADV hit-P hand
(I) nearly hit my hand.

(5) from verb phrases

Very rarely subordinate verbal forms can be made to fulfil an adverbial function with the addition of *-li*:

- (731) *Uka-ru ngurka-ra kaRu ngawi-liparna-li ngampa ngurku.*
he-ERG know-PUNC there hear-ANC-ADV stone good
He knew according to what he had heard long ago that there was a good
grindstone there.

(6) General comments on adverbs in *-li*

There are a number of *-li* adverbs that come from stems that are no longer recognisable in the language. They are set out below.

<i>akali</i>	the wrong way, contrary. This is also used as a multifunctional location word (§6.3.1(3)).
<i>walyili-walyili</i>	nearly, not quite. This is probably connected with the adverb <i>walya</i> 'soon, directly (but not right now)'.
<i>putili-putili</i>	separately, one's own way (W)
<i>yurndali</i>	separately, apart
<i>kamarndali</i>	by separate paths (W)
<i>wantali</i>	on the way back (var. <i>wantaru</i>)

The adverbial marker *-li* is of interest from the comparative point of view: it is identical in form to the Diyari ergative marker *-li*, (Austin 1981a:121), and to the Yandruwantha ergative marker *-li*. This had some adverbial functions as shown by Breen (n.d.a:47): *rdu* 'back', *rdu* 'backwards'. The Aranda ergative suffix *-le* (Wilkins 1989:339) is widely used to form adverbs of manner in the same way as Arabana-Wangkangurru *-li*. So on both sides Arabana-Wangkangurru has neighbours where the ergative is used in this fashion. This makes it likely that the same situation prevails in Arabana-Wangkangurru and that it is the ergative marker that is used in the derivation of adverbs of manner. In the history of Arabana-Wangkangurru however there were further developments: the ergative marker became *-ru* ~ *-ri* (for a similar change of *l* to *r* see *ngali* > *ari* §4.2.3), while the older form *-li* was retained in the adverbial function and became dissociated from the ergative. The links between the ergative case and the adverbs of manner prevailed and there followed a new wave of derivation of adverbs from the new ergative as shown below (§6.1.2).

6.1.2 ADVERBS FORMED FROM NOMINALS IN CASE FORMS

(1) Adverbs of manner

The ergative-instrumental-ablative marker *-ru* ~ *-ri* is used with nominals to describe the manner of the action of any verb, transitive or intransitive (see also §3.6.2):

<i>kathu</i>	quiet	<i>kathuru</i>	quietly
<i>nyilka</i>	slow	<i>nyilkaru</i>	slowly
<i>kawaRa</i> (A)	quick	<i>kawaRaru</i>	quickly
<i>kalyara</i> (W)	quick	<i>kalyararu</i>	quickly
<i>manhi</i>	alone, self	<i>manhiri</i>	by oneself
<i>paku</i>	empty, vain	<i>pakuru</i>	for nothing (cf. <i>pakuli</i> §6.1.1(1))
<i>nguyu</i>	one, alone	<i>nguyuru</i>	on one's own (cf. <i>nguyuli</i>)

Not quite clear in formation is the adverb *walparndaru* 'up and down'. This looks like an ergative-instrumental formation, based on a stem that must be connected with the present tense *walpa-rnda* of the verb *walpa-* 'to roll on the ground' (intransitive).

'Double' adverbs are not uncommon: the ergative form can on occasions be combined with the *-li* derivation of adverbs, as in *piRi nguyu-ru-li* quoted above (§6.1.1(3)) and *paku-ru-li* 'in vain' (see §6.1.1(1)). Even independent adverbs can appear in an ergative form. Thus in Wangkanguru the independent adverb *kangi* 'too much' is often extended to *kangiri* without any evident change of meaning except for the fact that *kangiri* is permissible only in transitive sentences. Thus one can say:

- (732) *Kangi(ri) puntha-rda.*
 too.much (ADV) drink-PRES (Vtr)
 (He) drinks too much.

But one can say only:

- (733) *Kangi yanhi-rnda.*
 too.much talk-PRES (Vi)
 (He) talks too much.

Kangi is exceptional in this. Other adverbs of manner transparently based on the ergative can be used with intransitive verbs:

- (734) *Kathu-ru yuka-rnda.*
 quiet-ADV go-PRES
 (He) walks away quietly.
- (735) *Nyilka-ru yuka-rnda.*
 slow-ADV go-PRES
 (He) walks slowly.

The locative is used adverbially in a few rare instances with nominals to describe the circumstances of the action of the verb:

<i>manhi</i>	self	<i>manhi-nga</i>	on one's own
<i>arlan</i>	true	<i>arlan-nga</i>	in truth, for real

(2) Locational and temporal adverbs

There are some isolated instances of the use of the causal case to form adverbs:

<i>pangki</i>	rib, side	<i>pangki-ra</i>	crossways (A)
<i>kuku</i>	back	<i>kuku-ra</i>	backwards

This usage probably arose from the fact that the causal case had some functions which were close to the domain of the ergative-instrumental (§3.1.1.3).

Some of the nouns referring to locations and times can naturally be used in the allative and the locative to form adverbial phrases:

<i>warra-nga</i>	on the side	from	<i>warra</i>	side
<i>ngarka-nga</i>	in the evening	from	<i>ngarka</i>	evening

However, such forms are simply part of the declensional system and cannot be considered as separate adverbs.

In an isolated instance the locational expression is based on a stem that is no longer in use, as in *palpa-nga* 'sideways'.

6.1.3 ADVERBS FORMED FROM DERIVATIONAL VERBS

(1) *-marnda*, *-marna*, *-mara*

As indicated above (§6.1.1(1)), stative adjectives cannot form adverbs by means of the suffix *-li*. There are nevertheless a few adjectives of this category that convey notions which describe the action of the verb: these are adjectives of quality and quantity. Adverbs are formed from these by the suffixation of the present tense forms of the transitive verbaliser *-ma* 'to make' (§5.2.6):

<i>ngurku</i>	good	<i>ngurku-marnda</i>	'making a good job of it', doing it <i>well</i>
<i>madlanthi</i> (A)	bad	<i>madlanthi-marnda</i>	'making a mess of it', doing it <i>badly</i>
<i>madla</i> (W)	bad	<i>madla-marna</i>	doing it <i>badly</i>
<i>nhuka</i> (A)	a lot	<i>nhuka-marnda</i>	frequently, too much (this notion is conveyed in Wangkangurru by the independent adverb <i>kangi(ri)</i>)

This suffix follows some of the rules of the general present tense marker (§5.4.1): it is normally *-marnda* (and very rarely *-mara*) in Arabana, and *-marnda* or *-marna* in Wangkangurru. It is found only with transitive verbs:

- (736) *Nhuka-mara nhanhi-li*. (A)
a.lot-ADV look-HAB
He used to look at it a lot.
- (737) *nhuka-marnda puntha-limaru* (A)
much-ADV drink-PLUP
having had too much to drink
- (738) *Untu madla-marnda iki-ra*.
you.ERG bad-ADV drive-PUNC
You drive badly.
- (739) *Ngurku-marna thiki-lhiku!*
good-ADV take.back-PUR
Take it back carefully!

The adjective *tyirka* 'happy', 'nice' is unusual in that it can function as an active adjective, hence *tyirka-li* 'nicely' (§6.1.1(1)). It can also – without any evident change of meaning – function as a qualitative adjective, hence *tyirka-marnda* 'nicely'. A combined form *tyirka-li-marnda* was heard several times:

- (740) *Tyirka-li-marnda nhampa-ru.*
 nice-ADV-ADV bury-NAR
 They covered it over nicely (so that nothing would show).

This adverbial function of *-marnda* is probably a parallel for transitive verbs to the use of qualitative adjectives with *-ma* in the first part of compound verbs, with the main verb always intransitive, as for instance in the sentence (§5.1.1.3(3)):

- (741) *Madlanthi-ma-rna-marka-ka.* (A)
 bad-make-SP-crawl-P
 (They, the swarm of locusts) moved along steadily, straight away destroying everything as they went (*marka-* 'to crawl' being the intransitive verb).

There is little doubt that the use of *-marnda* as an adverbial suffix in Wangkangurru reflects a remnant of the system of adverbial 'serial' verbs, as described by Dixon (1972:301-302) for Dyrbal.

In Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979:212) there is an adverb-forming suffix *-marnta*. This is added to exactly the same types of adjectives as the corresponding Arabana-Wangkangurru forms:

manha bad *manha-marnta* badly

It also has a wider function, being used with placenames to indicate 'in the direction of'. This suffix is clearly analysable in terms of Arabana-Wangkangurru, but unanalysable in terms of Pitta-Pitta. There is therefore a strong possibility that it represents a borrowing from Arabana-Wangkangurru. Because of its limited range it is less likely to be a genetic feature.

(2) *-thirnda*

In Arabana, not Wangkangurru, there is a frequently used adverb of the same type, but which occurs only with intransitive verbs. This is *nhuka-thirnda* 'greatly, too much'. It is based on *nhuka* 'a lot', combined with the present tense of the intransitive inchoative verbaliser *-thi*:

- (742) *Yuka-rnda nhuka-thirnda.* (A)
 go-PRES much-ADV
 (They) go there altogether too much.

This adverb is sometimes further extended with the adverbial marker *-li*:

- (743) *Malya nhuka-thirnda-li yanhi-nha!*
 not much-ADV-ADV speak-NP
 Don't talk too much!

Possibly by analogy with the Arabana *nhuka-thirnda*, the corresponding Wangkangurru form *kangi*, *kangiri* was sometimes extended to *kangirirnda*. This is used in exactly the same circumstances as *nhuka-thirnda*:

- (744) *Yuka-rnda kangiri-ri-rnda.*
 go-PRES too.much-ADV-ADV
 (They) go there altogether too much.

6.2 PRONOMINAL ADVERBS

6.2.1 PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF LOCATION

As indicated above (§4.4.4) the numerous deictic pronouns, both in simple and extended forms, can serve as pronominal adverbs of location; thus *nhayi* 'this one here', can at the same time mean 'here' and *wararda* 'that one there' can mean 'there'. There is very little difference in meaning between some of the forms, particularly in Wangkangurru where there are so many possibilities. Thus all the adverbs beginning with *nh* basically mean 'here' and the English rendering suggested here is only approximate:

ARABANA	WANGKANGURRU	
<i>nhiki</i>	<i>nhayi</i>	here
	<i>nhaRu</i>	right here
	<i>nharri</i>	over here
	<i>nharra</i>	round about here
<i>nhikirnda</i>	<i>nhararda</i>	here
<i>nhikiwarda</i>	<i>nhanhangarda</i>	right here
<i>akuru</i>	<i>kaRu</i>	there
	<i>karra</i>	right there (some distance away)
	<i>karri</i>	over there
	<i>kayirra</i>	in the middle distance
<i>akarda</i>	<i>kanhangarda</i>	at the place we were just talking about
<i>awarnda</i>	<i>awara</i>	there far away
	<i>wanhangarda</i>	there, very far away

There are also two additional Arabana forms which are used only adverbially and do not have a pronominal function. These are:

<i>nhikinarnda</i>	here
<i>awanarnda</i>	there far away

For connections between the Wangkangurru forms and the Pitta-Pitta suffixes *-arri* and *-yi*, see §4.4.1. In a few isolated instances the locative case suffix *-nga* is added to these adverbs of location without any evident change in meaning:

<i>nhanhangarda-nga</i>	here
<i>kanhangarda-nga</i>	there

(1) Adverbs implying 'direction towards'

All the adverbs listed above with the exception of the simple *nhayi* and *nhiki* can be used to indicate 'direction towards' as well as 'location where':

- (745) *Awarnda yuka-ka kutha mani-lhiku.*
 thither go-P water get-PUR
 (She) went over there to get some water.

Nhayi and *nhiki* are more restricted in use than the other locational adverbs because the corresponding pronominal forms are confined to the nominative case (§4.4.1 and §4.4.6).

A few of the adverbs can be extended to form distinct adverbial allatives in ways set out below:

(a) With the addition of the allative marker *-ruku ~ -riku + rda*

nhikirikurda (*nhiki-riku-rda*) (A) hither

(b) With the addition of *-ku + -rda* (in the case of adverbs ending in *-Ru* or *-ru*)

nhaRukurda (*nhaRu-ku-rda*) hither

kaRukurda (*kaRu-ku-rda*) thither

akurukurda (*akuru-ku-rda*) thither (far away)

These forms are interesting in that the suffix *-rda* which acts as a stem-forming suffix in deictic pronouns is here obligatory after the dative case marker *-ku*. It comes *after* the case marker, as in Arandic, from where this suffix appears to have spread (§4.4.5).

(c) With the adverbial suffix *-li* as in §6.1.1(4)

These specifically allative adverbs can alternate freely with the various simpler forms, as shown for instance by the following Wangkangurru passage describing the migration of Wangkangurru people to Killalpannina:

(746) *Diyari-kunha wadlhu-ruku yuka-ka. KaRu mikiri-nganha kaRukurda*
 Diyar-POSS country-ALL go-P there desert-from thither

yuka-ka. Kanhangarda mapu wilawila thangka-ngura.
 go-P there crowd multitude stay-CONT

They went to Diyar country. A lot of people from the desert went there, to that place. A great multitude of (Aboriginal) people were living there.

There is a further instance in this description of how people rearranged their wurleys according to the weather:

(747) *KaRu wabmaRa wiRa-ngura nhawiki nguRa kudni-mda*
 that.way wind blow-CONT this camp place-PRES

nhanhangarda-li-ki, nhanhangarda kurda-lhuku. Warrpa
 this.way-ADV-EMP this.way lie-HIST south-west.wind

wiRa-ngura nhaRu, thirriwa-ru nhawiki ngura kudni-lhiku.
 blow-CONT this.way east-ABL this camp place-HIST

When the wind was blowing that way (they) put their camp this way, they would lie down this way. When a strong south-west wind was blowing this way they would place their camp facing east (lit. from the east).

(2) Adverbs implying 'direction from'

All the adverbs listed above except *nhiki*, *nhayi* and those ending in *-rri*, *-rra* can take an ablative suffix to convey the meaning of 'direction from'. The most commonly used forms are:

ARABANA

WANGKANGURRU

nhikirmda-ru *nhaRu-ru* from here

nhikiwarda-ru from here

akuru-ru *kaRu-ru* from there

awarnda-ru *awara-ru* from there (far away)

In contrast to the situation with the allative adverbs, the affix *-rda* is *never* added at the end of these ablative adverbs.

(3) Interrogative adverbs of location

(a) Arabana

Arabana differs from Wangkangurru in the use of the suffixes *-mda* and *-ra* not only in the extended forms of the deictic pronouns and in the present tense (§5.4.1.3) but also in the formation of interrogative adverbs. Thus the normal way of expressing ‘where?’, ‘where to?’ in Arabana is by means of the interrogative adverbs *intyarnda* and *intyara*, which appear to be synonymous and can both be used in any type of interrogative sentence, transitive or intransitive, though *intyara* is much less common than *intyarnda*:

- (748) *Intyarnda wadlhu ngurku kudnala-lhuku?* (A)
 where ground good sleep-PUR
 Where is there a good place to sleep?
- (749) *Anthu waku intyara kudnala?* (A)
 I in.turn where sleep
 And where in turn should I sleep?
- (750) *Intyarnda untu yuki-nha?*
 where you.ERG drive-NP
 Where are you driving to?

Both Arabana and Wangkangurru use the reduplicated form *intya-intya* ‘wherever is it?’ if the ‘where’ question is asked with great excitement.

(b) Wangkangurru

In Wangkangurru, apart from the ‘excited’ reduplication *intya-intya*, there are two ordinary interrogative adverbs of location: *intyali* ‘where’ and *waRanga* ‘in which place?’ (based on the locative form of the interrogative pronoun §4.5.1). A third interrogative adverb, *thiyara* ‘which way?’ (§6.2.3), can be used only as a perlocative. Examples are:

- (751) *Intyali maka? WaRanga?*
 where fire(wood) whereabouts
 Where is the firewood (which you promised would be at this camp site)?
 Whereabouts?
- (752) *Thiyara yuka-ka?*
 which.way go-P
 Which way did he go?

The locational adverbs can be used in indirect speech:

- (753) *Intyali yuka-ka, waRa-nga thangka-ka athu malyka ngurka-yira.*
 where go-P which.place-LOC sit-P I.ERG not know-PUNC
 I don’t know where he went or whereabouts he stayed.

The reduplicated *intya-intya* as mentioned above (§6.2.1(3)) is always emotional and intensive, but *intyali* and *intyarnda* when reduplicated indicate a plurality of places and the notion of ‘wherever’:

- (754) *Intyali intyali yuka-kanha thimpa-rda.*
 where where go-PERF tell-PRES
 He talks about all the places where they had gone.

Arabana-Wangkangurru *intya* is clearly cognate with the widespread ‘where’ word *waNHDHa* (Dixon 1980a:375). The form closest to *intya* is Pitta-Pitta *wintha*. The Arabana-Wangkangurru form has clearly undergone loss of initial *w* in this word; interestingly Wangka-Yutyurru and Wangkamadla, the two dialects of the western languages of the Pitta-Pitta group which are closest to Wangkangurru, show loss of the whole initial syllable in these interrogatives (Blake 1979:225 and Breen n.d.b). Wangkangurru *thiyara* ‘which way?’ is just a semantic extension of *thiyara* ‘how?’. Thus going from east to west we find the following forms:

	PITTA-PITTA	WANGKA-YUTYURRU	WANGKANGURRU	ARABANA
where?	<i>wintha</i>	<i>thana</i>	<i>intyali</i>	<i>intyarnda</i>
how?	<i>withila</i>	<i>thilampara</i>	<i>thi(ya)ra, thirangku</i>	<i>withi(ya)ra</i>
how many?	(<i>minhamarnta</i>)	(<i>minhamarnta</i>)	<i>withirangku</i>	(<i>widnhanha</i>)

(In this table words that are not immediately cognate have been put in brackets. The Pitta-Pitta and Wangka-Yutyurru forms for ‘how many?’ can be interpreted as meaning literally ‘making what?’ – see §6.1.3).

From this table a regional cross-language development becomes clear: Wangka-Yutyurru and Wangkamadla were central to a change which involved loss of the initial syllable in interrogative adverbs. In the case of the word for ‘where?’ Arabana and Wangkangurru just followed enough to lose the initial *w*. In the case of the word for ‘how?’ Wangka-Yutyurru, Wangkamadla and Wangkangurru went together in the loss of the initial syllable, as opposed to Pitta-Pitta and Arabana.

(4) Case forms with interrogative adverbs of location

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the locative and the *allative* are both naturally implied by the ordinary interrogative adverbs of location, except for *waRanga*, which is patently a locative and cannot be used in an allative function. Thus the following are the ordinary means of expression:

- (755) *Intyarnda yuka-rnda?* (A)
Intyali yuka-rnda? (W)
 where go-PRES
 Where are you going to?

In Arabana a marked form of the interrogative of direction can also be used. This is based on *intyara*, but always shows vowel assimilation and use of the pronominal affix *-rda* (§6.2.1(1)), hence *intyirikurda*. Thus one can say:

- (756) *Intyirikurda unpa yuka-rnda?* (A)
 where.to you go-PRES
 Where are you going to?
- (757) *Intyirikurda untu kuti-ra?* (A)
 where.to you drag-PUNC
 Where are you dragging it to?

On a few occasions in Wangkangurru *intyali* can be further marked for the locative:

- (758) *Intyali-nga thangka-ka?*
 where-LOC sit-P
 Where did he stay?

The *ablative* however is not implied and has to be marked by the ablative suffix *-ru ~ -ri* (§3.3.1). This is similar to the situation in English:

- Where is he? ('at' almost always omitted)
 Where is he going (to)? ('to' optional)
 Where is he coming from? ('from' obligatorily present)

- (759) *Intyarnda-ru mani-ka?* (A)
Intyali-ri mani-ka? (W)
 where-ABL get-P
 Where did (you) get it from?

In heated conversation one can ask the question:

- (760) *Intya-intya-ru?* (A and W)
 where-where-ABL
 Where on earth from?

In both Arabana and Wangkangurru, if a vague location is implied, the word *piRi* 'room, gap', 'space' can be added to the adverbial phrase with or without case marker:

- (761) *PiRi intyali-ng' anpa kurda, intyali-nga piRi-ng' anpa kurda?* (W)
 place where-LOC you lie.down where-LOC place-LOC you lie.down
 Where and in what sort of place could you lie down?
- (762) *Intyarnda piRi-ng' kilta-nangka?*
 where place-LOC appear-CONT.S
 Where and in what sort of place does he keep turning up?

(5) Elative adjectives

The elative suffix *-nganha* (§3.7.2) which forms adjectives meaning 'originating from, inhabitant of' is very commonly used with adverbs of 'location where'. Particularly frequent is *kanhangarda-nganha* 'the people from that place, the place we have just been talking about', 'the locals'. All the deictic locational adverbs except *nhayi* and *nhiki* (see (1) above) can form such derivatives, but only the extended forms in *-rda* and *-mda* are common in this function, as for instance *nhikirmda-nganha* (A), *nhararda-nganha* (W) 'originating from here'.

The interrogative adverbs can form derivatives in *-nganha*, the only exception being *thiyara* 'which way?', since that in itself implies a transition rather than a location:

- (763) *Intyarnda-nganha anpa?* (A)
Intyali-nganha unpa? (W)
 where-from you
 Where are you from?

6.2.2 PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF TIME

Practically all the notions of time, even those one might expect to be connected with deictics, such as ‘now’, are expressed by independent adverbs; the only forms connected with the pronominal system were *ukaliri*, which must be classified as a linking particle rather than an adverb (§6.3.6(3)), and *unkulu* ‘when?’. As far as this latter form is concerned, it is to be noted that the Arabana-Wangkangurru form differs from those of Wangka-Yutyurru (*winkulu*) and Wangkamadla (*winku*), the western languages of the Pitta-Pitta group, only by the fact that the *i* of the first syllable in those two languages is assimilated to the following *u* in Arabana-Wangkangurru, a change that is no doubt connected with the prohibition against the vowel-sequence *i-u*. (§2.14.4).

Like most interrogative adverbs *unkulu* usually begins a sentence:

- (764) *Unkulu untu tharni-ra?*
 when you.ERG eat-PUNC
 When do you have your dinner?

The ablative case form *unkulu-ru* conveys the meaning of ‘since when?’ in both Arabana and Wangkangurru, while the allative *unkulu-ruku* expresses ‘till when?’. Neither of these interrogatives is common:

- (765) *Unkulu-ruku anpa thangka-rda?*
 till-when you stay-PRES
 How long are you staying?

6.2.3 PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF MANNER

It is characteristic of Arabana-Wangkangurru and the neighbouring languages that these so-called ‘predicate determiners’ (Austin 1981a:112) are not formally part of the pronominal system, but are independent without any formal similarities with the deictics. As in the case of the adverbs of time, the interrogatives form an exception: they clearly belong to the pronominal system. The word for ‘thus’ has a tenuous link with pronouns.

(1) ‘thus’

The Arabana-Wangkangurru word for ‘thus’, ‘in this way’, which has a base *il-*, was probably connected in a more distant way to deictic pronouns meaning ‘this’. It appears in the following forms:

- ARABANA *ilanha, ilinha, ilinhari*
 WANGKANGURRU *ilanha, ilinha, ilinharda, ilanga, ilinhanga, ilinhangku, ilangkurda, ilangkurdali, ilangkuru, ilangkunga*

These forms are all based on a radical *ila-* ~ *ili-* with the addition of *-ngku* (see below), *-rda* (§6.2.1(1)), *-nha* (probably connected with the adverbial suffix *-nha* of Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979:213)), *-ri*, *-li* (§6.1.1(6)), and the locative case marker *-nga*).

Ilinha and the variant *ilanha* are frequently used to refer to direct speech which can either precede or follow (for a similar situation in Diyari see Austin 1981a:113):

(766) “*Awarda minha-kali? Nhiki minha-kali?*” *Ilinha yanta.*
 that what-EMP this what-EMP like.this speak.PRES
 “What is this? What is that?” That’s how (he) talks.

(767) *Ilinha yanta: “Yantakara thangka-rda!”*
 thus speak.PRES west sit-PRES
 (He) speaks like this: “Stay in the west!”.

Ilanha, ilinha can not only refer to a verb but imply a whole situation:

(768) *Uka-ru wardu wathili mani, malya waya-rnda wardu-kupa*
 he-ERG child own take not want-PRES child-small
nguthi, ilanha nharla, whitefellow. (A)
 other.man’s thus Aboriginal.man whitefellow
 He took his own child, he didn’t want the baby that was another man’s,
 (anybody would act) like this, Aboriginal or white.

The various other forms of the adverb ‘thus’ appear to be synonymous:

(769) *Kanhangarda kurda-thika-lhuku ilinha-nga:*
 there sleep-return-HIST like.this-LOC
 They went back to sleep there like this: (there follows a song describing their return).

(770) *Malyka ilinha ilangkurda nharra ngura-ruku iki-nha,*
 not thus this.way here camp-ALL bring-NP
thamuna! Mathapurda-kari-ri pirda-liya.
 secret old.man-PL-ERG kill-lest
 He shouldn’t bring it back here, like this, in this way, to the camp, it’s secret!
 The old men might kill him.

(771) *Pawa ipa-nangka-rda ilinha-rda.*
 seed grind-CONT.S-PRES thus-rda
 They went on grinding seed like this.

(772) *Ilangku mangka kardapu-wiRi.*
 thus mangka head-hair
 It’s like this (referring to a verse that has just been sung), *mangka* (in another language) means ‘head-hair’.

The only specific distinction between the forms was that *ilangkuru*, marked with the patent ergative *-ru*, could be used only in transitive sentences.

The origin of the base *ila-* ‘thus’ is not certain¹⁴, but there is no doubt that it is closely related to the adverb *yilaki* ‘thus’ in Wangka-Yutyurru, the westernmost language of the Pitta-Pitta group (Breen n.d.b). This adverb shows clear signs of being connected with the deictics, as there is also a Pitta-Pitta adverb *ila:rri* ‘there’. These forms could possibly be related to the widespread eastern Australian third person stem *nyulu*. It is uncertain whether there is any connection with the Yandruwantha interrogative stem *ila ~ idla* (Breen n.d.a:

¹⁴ There is a possibility that *ila-* is connected with *itla*, the ‘stylistic morpheme’ of Adnyamathanha, which has a number of derivatives in that language: *itlaangu, itlawi, itlatyi* and *itlaku*.

5.11). Of the various Wangkangurru derivative forms based on *ila-* the one that is truly puzzling in origin is *ilangku*. There is no suffix *-ngku* in the language except in two other Wangkangurru adverbs of manner, which are basically the same: *thirangku* 'how?' and *withirangku* 'how many?'. The only similar suffix over a wider area is the Western Desert ergative marker *-ngku*, and the relationship between adverbs of manner and the ergative case has already been shown (§6.1.1(6)). Apart from the Midlaliri group of Arabana, who lived in the Coober Pedy area, none of the speakers of Arabana-Wangkangurru were immediate neighbours to Western Desert speakers, though there were some ritual links. It is therefore surprising that Wangkangurru and not Arabana should make use of a suffix *-ngku*.

Various affixes are involved in the derivation of the other forms of the word for 'thus'. The locative suffix, the ergative suffix *-ru* and the pronominal *-rda* are all analysable in terms of adverbial derivation in Arabana-Wangkangurru (§6.1.1 and §6.2.1(1)).

(2) 'how?'

The following forms are used:

Arabana *withira*
Wangkangurru *thirangku, thi(ya)ra, and intyali*

These words are frequently reduplicated for emphasis, particularly in Wangkangurru. Their derivation and their association with the western languages of the Pitta-Pitta group has been discussed above (§6.2.1(3)).

The Wangkangurru words *thirangku* and *thi(ya)ra* appear to be synonymous, and both correspond to *withira* in Arabana, as shown in the following sentences:

(773) *Withira-withira untu tyintya-rda?* (A)
Thiyara-thiyara untu tyintya-rda? (W)
how-how you.ERG cut-PRES
How are you going to cut it (when you haven't got a knife)?

(774) *Withira 'npa manungka-rda?* (A)
Thirangku-thirangku unpa manungka-rda? (W)
how you think-PRES
What do you think?

(The use of 'How do you think?' for 'What do you think?' is a regional feature that is shared with Western Desert languages; see Goddard (1985:250).)

Intyali is primarily a locational adverb (§6.2.1(3)), but occasionally it can be used in Wangkangurru in the sense of 'which way?' and 'how?', as in:

(775) *Paku yanhi-rnda 'thu, padni ngurka-nha intyali-intyali pidla-liparna.*
vain speak-PRES I.ERG not know-NP how-how call-ANC
I am talking nonsense: I wouldn't know what they called it long ago.

(3) 'how many?'

The concept of 'how many?' is expressed in Wangkangurru by a pronominal adverb based on 'how'. This word *withirangkurda* appears to have been originally an allative 'up to how' with the addition of the pronominal suffix *-rda* (§6.2.1(1)):

- (776) *Withirangkurda nhuthi unpa?*
 up.to.how brother you
 How many brothers do you have?

The Arabana *widnhana* 'how many?' is adjectival, not adverbial. It is not clear in derivation but is obviously connected with (*w*)*intya* 'where?'.

6.3 INDEPENDENT ADVERBS

In Arabana-Wangkangurru there are numerous adverbs which are independent in the sense that they are not patently derived from ordinary nominals or from pronouns. The following represents a full though not exhaustive list of all independent adverbs.

6.3.1 ADVERBS OF LOCATION

These words indicate position and correspond closely to what Dixon (1977a:157) has described for Yidjñ and more widely (1980a:282) as 'locational qualifiers'. They can all be used to form inchoative verbs (§5.2.7(4)). In Arabana-Wangkangurru such words fall into three distinct classes: multifunctional location words, double-function location words, and ordinary locational adverbs.

(1) Multifunctional location words

A small group of the adverbs of location have a fourfold function: they can be free adverbs; they can function as postpositional particles and govern a noun in the locative §3.12.3; they can form a compound with a noun; they can function as adjectives and appear in verbless sentences. Typical of this small group are *thuRu* 'inside'¹⁵ and *yadla* 'close by'.

(a) In adverbial use:

- (777) *ThuRu thangka-rda.*
 inside sit-PRES
 (He) stays inside.
- (778) *Yadla-yadla kurda-rna.*
 close.by-close.by lie-PRES
 (He) lies down close by.

(b) As a postpositional particle:

- (779) *punga-nga thuRu*
 humpy-LOC inside
 inside the humpy
- (780) *kutha-nga yadla*
 water-LOC close
 close to the water

¹⁵ The reduplicated form *thuRu-thuRu* is a noun meaning 'island' (because it is inside a lake).

(c) In composition with a noun but with no difference in meaning:

- (781) *kutha-yadla*
 water-close
 close to the water

(d) As adjective in the complement of a verbless sentence:

- (782) *Anthunha ngura yadla.*
 my camp close.by
 My camp is close by.

ThuRu 'inside' is so closely associated with 'location within' that it cannot be used in composition except where another case is involved; see (2) below.

The other words in this small group are:

<i>warritha</i>	at a distance (from)
<i>marruru</i>	on the other side (of some major obstacle)
<i>parraRa</i> (W)	in the middle (of)
<i>ampurdu</i> (A)	in the middle (of)
<i>yarapa</i> (W)	on top
<i>ararda</i> (A)	on top
<i>karlatyuntu</i>	in the centre (of)

Thus one can say:

- (783) *Kutha-nga parraRa pula thanga-rda.* (W)
 water-LOC middle two stay-PRES
 The two of them stayed in the middle of the water.

Alternatively, with no apparent difference in meaning, one can say *kutha-parraRa* 'in the middle of the water'.

Sometimes however there is a semantic difference between the postpositional and the compound usage. Thus *yarapa* or *ararda* can occur with a noun in the locative to indicate that something was actually located on top:

- (784) *Paya tyalpa-nga yarapa thangka-rda.* (W)
Paya nyinta-nga ararda thangka-rda. (A)
 bird tree-LOC on.top sit-PRES
 A bird is sitting in the top of the tree.

But in composition these words imply 'above':

- (785) *Tyalpa-yarapa wanta-rda.* (W)
Nyinta-ararda ngarri-rda. (A)
 tree-above fly-PRES
 It flies above the trees.

This subtle distinction is lost where a further case form is involved:

- (786) *Tyalpa-yarapa-ru ngantya-rda.*
 tree-on.top-ABL call-PRES
 (The cockatoos) call out from the treetops.

Yadla 'close' in both Arabana and Wangkangurru can be followed by an emphatic clitic *-pirri-pirri*, which is commonly used with one other word, *waku* 'in turn' (§6.3.3).

(2) Case forms

All these multifunctional locational words semantically imply 'position where' and can never be marked further for the locative. They also imply 'direction towards' and (with the rare exception of *warritharuku*) they are not marked for the allative. 'Movement away from' is however implied only in *marruru* 'on the other side' and in all other words of this group has to be marked by the ablative case. This is parallel to the situation with pronominal adverbs of location (§6.2.1(4)) and is widespread in Australian languages (Dixon 1977a:157). As indicated above, this means that when a noun is involved there is juxtaposition and no other case form can be involved:

- (787) *Wadlhu-nga thuRu thanga-rnda.*
ground-LOC inside remain-PRES
(It) remains underground.
- (788) *Wadlhu-thuRu-ru wanka-rda.*
ground-inside-ABL arise-PRES
(It) comes up from under the ground.

(3) Double-function location words

Two other locational words can be used independently or can form compounds with nouns, but they cannot function as postpositional particles:

- katinari* beyond, over the top
akali in the opposite direction (this is also an adverb of manner, meaning 'wrongly' – see §6.1.1(4))

Hence one can say:

- (789) *Katinari yuka-rnda.*
beyond go-PRES
He goes over the top.
- (790) *Mudlu-katinari yuka-rnda.*
sandhill-beyond go-PRES
He goes over the top of the sandhill.
- (791) *Akali yuka-rnda.*
wrong.way go-PRES
He goes the wrong way.
- (792) *WabmaRa-akali yuka-rnda.*
wind-against go-PRES
He goes against the wind.

Katinari and *akali* can imply either the locative or the allative depending on the circumstances, and cannot be further marked for case.

(4) Ordinary locational adverbs

The following words are used only adverbially and cannot fulfil any other function:

<i>anari</i>	this way
<i>ngataru</i> (W)	behind (cf. <i>ngata</i> 'again' §6.3.2)
<i>ngapara</i> (A)	behind
<i>yataru</i>	further (cf. <i>yata</i> 'more', 'some more' §6.3.2)
<i>apurdu</i>	down
<i>kurla-warra</i>	sideways (W) (formed by the addition of <i>warra</i> 'side' to an unknown base; the corresponding Arabana word <i>pangki-ra</i> is simply the causal form of <i>pangki</i> 'side, ribs' – see §6.1.2(2))
<i>nguti</i>	that far and no further, turning around

The following have an optional *-li* (§6.1.1(4)):

<i>muntu(li)</i>	near
<i>marri(li)</i>	yonder, on the other side (see however <i>marruru</i> below)
<i>marri(li)-marri(li)</i>	far and wide, everywhere (said mainly where great distances are involved as of the wind travelling, or the clouds, or light)
<i>mirri(li)</i>	this side (§6.1.1(4))
<i>parintyali</i>	far away (formed with the adverbial marker <i>-li</i> from an otherwise unknown base – §6.1.1(6))

The following adverb is very commonly used as a temporal adverb – see §6.3.2(2):

<i>ipali</i>	in front (W)
<i>ipa ~ ipara</i>	in front (A)

Slightly different in function is

<i>ityarda</i>	close together (this can serve as an adjective in the fixed locution <i>pantya ityarda</i> 'knees close-together', 'knock-kneed')
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Examples of the use of some of these forms are:

- (793) *Ama ngataru yuka-rnda.* (W)
 mother behind walk-PRES
 (Their) mother walks along behind (them, the Two Boys).
- (794) *Nhupa ngapara wadni-rnda.* (A)
 wife behind follow-PRES
 His wife follows behind.
- (795) *Yataru iki, puka-purru!*
 further take stink-having
 Take it further away, it stinks!

These adverbs imply both 'location at' and 'direction towards', except for *anari* 'this way' and *yataru* 'further' which are purely directional. They are never used in connection with any other case, including the ablative.

(5) Points of the compass

Words referring to the cardinal points are:

<i>thidnangkara</i>	north
<i>thirriwa</i>	east
<i>kudnangkari</i>	south
<i>yantakara</i>	west

These forms are identical with the corresponding Diyari words. Their origin is not altogether clear, except that a suffix *-ngka*(LOC) + (*r*)*ra* is widespread in compass-point terms (Whitehead 1990:39). The words for points of the compass are similar in usage to the multifunctional words of location:

- (a) they imply the locative and allative, but are marked for the ablative;
 (b) they can serve in an adjectival function with the word *warra* 'side'.

Examples of their use are:

- (796) *Uka-kunha anya-ku wadlhu thirriwa.*
 he-POSS father-DAT country east
 His father's country is in the east.
- (797) *Kari yuka-lhuku yuka-lhuku thirriwa.*
 they go-HIST go-HIST east
 They travelled and travelled to the east.

Marking for the ablative and use with the noun *warra* are shown in the phrases:

- (798) *thirriwa-ru*
 east-ABL
 from the east
- (799) *thirriwa-warra-nga*
 east-side-LOC
 on the eastern side

6.3.2 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

Like the locational words, the temporal adverbs show some variety of usage. There are two distinct groups: adverbs which can be marked for case, and compound adverbs; and ordinary temporal adverbs.

- (1) Adverbs which can be marked for case, and compound adverbs

The following are examples of marking with *-ku* and *-rda*:

<i>wangara</i> (A)	tomorrow (a derivative of <i>wanga</i> 'early')
<i>wangara-ku-rda</i> (A)	for tomorrow, until tomorrow
<i>ngukulu</i> (W)	tomorrow
<i>ngukulu-ku</i> (W)	for tomorrow, until tomorrow

(For *-ku-rda* see §6.2.1(1)(b).)

The following may be classified as nouns, though *kalya* and *kadlha* are never found independently :

<i>kalya</i> (W)	time, turn
<i>kadlha</i> (A)	time, turn
<i>walta</i>	occasion, day

All are joined to adjectives to form adverbial compounds. Compounds of *kalya*, *kadlha* are never marked for case:

<i>kalya-nguyu</i>	once (lit. time one)
<i>kalya-parkulu</i>	twice (lit. time two)

The final *-ru* of the very rare Arabana form *kadlha-parkulu-ru* 'twice' is presumably based on an ergative form serving as general adverbial marker (§6.1.2(1)).

Walta is much more flexible in use. It is found most frequently with the adjective *nguRu* 'other' to form the adverb *walta-nguRu* 'another time', 'on another occasion'. This is heard in isolated instances with a locative ending, *walta-nguRu-nga*, without there being any noticeable difference in meaning. *Walta* can also be used in the locative case, *walta-nga*, to mean 'one day', 'when the occasion arises', and it occurs as the second member of a compound in Wangkangurru, *kalka-walta*, *kalkalta* 'recently', 'the other day'.

(2) Ordinary temporal adverbs

These adverbs imply position in time and are indeclinable:

<i>ipali</i>	at an earlier time, previously, first (W)
<i>ipa ~ ipara</i>	at an earlier time, previously, first (A)
<i>kalka-walta</i>	yesterday, very recently (W) (lit. recent-day)
<i>kalkalta</i>	yesterday, very recently (shortened form of above) (W)
<i>kalkara</i>	in a little while, recently (causal case form of <i>kalka</i> which is not found independently)
<i>kalkaru</i>	immediately, quickly (ablative case form); other words for 'quickly' are based on adjectives (§6.1.2(1))
<i>wanga</i>	early
<i>wangarapurda</i>	last night (A)
<i>wangapurda</i>	last night (W)
<i>wanga-wanga</i>	at sunrise
<i>waru</i>	long ago (A)
<i>yarndi</i>	long ago (W)
<i>yarnda</i>	for a while for a few days
<i>akulinpa</i>	before too long
<i>ngata</i>	again (probably cognate with Diyari <i>ngarda</i> 'next' Austin 1981a:230).

The two adverbs following are based on the adverbial and exclamatory particle *anti* 'soon!':

<i>antili</i>	just now
<i>antiliyinpa</i>	for the first time

Ipali / *ipara* 'before' also serves as a locational adverb (§6.3.1(3)) and is particularly interesting in derivation. It must be connected with the Arandic tense + *le-iperre* forms, 'after

something happens' (Wilkins 1989:209 ff). The final syllable shows a difference between Arabana and Wangkangurru that is to some extent shared by the interrogative *intyali / intyara ~ intyarnda* 'where' (§6.2.1(3)). In view of the connection with the Arandic forms it is not surprising that *ipa ~ ipara* and *ipali*, unlike other adverbs, can follow the verb.

Examples for the use of some of these adverbs are:

(800) *Antiliyinpa antha yuka-rnda.*

first.time I go-PRES

I am going (to that place) for the first time.

(801) *Wanti-rna-yangura, maka-thirka ilangku mapa-rna ipali,*
wait-IMPF-CONT fire-oven thus prepare-IMPF first

antili yarra-wityi-rnda. (W)

soon born-become-PRES

(In the birth-camp) they are waiting, they make a fire oven like this first, the birth will soon take place.

In the following Wangkangurru sentence the adverb *ipali* is repeated in different positions for emphasis by the male Carpet Snake, who is furious because other people have been there before to dig up the special patch of wild onions that he had pegged out:

(802) *Ulyurlayi! Ipali yalka aruna-kunha ipali kari-ri paka-rna-yika,*
woman.VOC.EMP first onion us.two-POSS first they-ERG dig-SP-P

uta tharni-ka kari-ri.

already eat-P they-ERG

Woman! They (these other people) have dug them up first, those wild onions belonging to us two, first, they have eaten them already!

(803) *Arni ipa yuka urkari ngataru thangka-kura.* (A)

we.EXC earlier go you.PL behind stay-CONT.P

We went on ahead (of you) and you stayed behind.

(804) *Anthi antili widni-nangka-thara thangka-lhuku,*
I just.now settle.down-CONT.S-IMM sit-PUR

antha ngantararda. (A)

I tired

I have only just settled down to sit (resting), I am (too) tired (to look for more firewood).

Adverbs implying duration 'for a short while', 'for a moment' are absent from Arabana-Wangkangurru since this meaning is conveyed by the speed form of the verb (§5.8.2).

(3) Elative adjectives

Like other adverbs (§6.2.1(5)), these temporal adverbs could take part in forming one particular derivative, and that is the elative adjective 'coming from', as for instance:

ipali-nganha from before, earlier

kalka-walta-nganha from recent time

yarndi-nganha (W) from olden days

Examples are:

- (805) *ulyurla uriya yarndi-nganha* (W)
 woman used olden.days-from
 an old and decrepit woman
- (806) *Partyarna-ru ngurka-ra mathapurda-kari-ri ipali-nganha mapu-ru.*
 all-ERG know-PUNC old.man-PL-ERG olden.days-from mob-ERG
Antha manaputu, nyarinyara (W)
 I ignorant youngster
 All the old men, the whole mob who came from the old (i.e. pre-white) days,
 they knew it (the Wangkangurru Wilyaru ceremony). I don't know it, I am a
 youngster (compared to them).

6.3.3 INDEPENDENT ADVERBS OF MANNER

There are very few such adverbs, since most adverbs of manner are formed by derivation from adjectives and nouns (§6.1.1). Two particular words which from their English translation might appear to be adjectives are clearly adverbial: they are never found in noun phrases, only in verb phrases. They are:

warra without looking, accidentally
unpurdu immobile, as a fixture

Examples of their use are:

- (807) *Tyalpa-nga warra yuka-ka* (W)
 tree-LOC accidentally walk-P
 He accidentally walked into a tree.
- (808) *Mathapurda kunku unpurdu thangka-rda.*
 old.man blind without.mobility sit-PRES
 The blind old man stayed without moving from there.

Warra and *unpurdu* must always immediately precede the verb and obviously cannot occur in verbless sentences. For example, the following could never be used to mean 'the old man is motionless' or 'the old man is not looking':

**mathapurda unpurdu*
 **mathapurda warra*

Other independent adverbs are

kangi (A) and (W) too much
kangi-ri (W) too much (for the use of the ergative see §6.1.2(1))
waku in turn (the extended form *waku-pirri-pirri* means 'in quick succession'; the only adverb similarly extended is *yadla-pirri-pirri* – §6.3.1(1))
wilyi-wilyi just anyhow
untya in vain
arlarla truly (reduplicated form of the adjective *arla* 'true')

The following sentences illustrate the use of independent adverbs of manner, which invariably precede the verb:

- (809) *Wilyiwilyi thangka-rda.*
 anyhow sit-PRES
 (She) lives just anyhow (i.e. in appalling squalor).
- (810) *Wilyiwilyi yuka-rnda.*
 anyhow walk-PRES
 He walks just anyhow (i.e. he just lurches around).
- (811) *Waku ngunyi wadlhu, antha nyurdu kudnala-nha-nga!*
 in.turn give ground I too sleep-NP-LOC
 Give me in turn a bit of room so that I can get to sleep too!

6.3.4 NEGATIVES

There are three main negatives in Arabana-Wangkangurru:

malyka (W), *maltya* (A) roughly equivalent to English 'not' (adverb)
padni roughly equivalent to English 'no' (adverb, noun and exclamatory)
panta roughly equivalent to English 'failing to' (adverb)

The distribution in usage between these forms is complex; there are differences in both meaning and function, but there is also some overlap.

(1) *malyka* / *maltya*

This is the only negative that can be used in prohibitions, whatever way they are expressed, be it through the imperative, the purposive or the non-past. It is almost invariably sentence-initial, though on rare occasions it can follow an object or an agent:

- (812) *Malyka matha-matha puntha-yiwa-lhuku mathapurda ngunanhiya!*
 not much-much drink-TR-PUR old.man friend.VOC
 Don't drink so much mate!
- (813) *Malyka 'nha tyuRuma-Ru!*
 not me tease-IMP
 Don't tease me!
- (814) *Maltya ngunhi!* (A)
 not give
 Don't give (it to him)!
- (815) *Ulyurla-ru malyka ngawi-nha.*
 woman-ERG not hear-NP
 Women mustn't hear it.
- (816) *Mayutha kari anthunha yanhi-ka, malyka yata warka-withi-nha*
 boss they mine say-P not again work-become-NP

warli-nga. (W)

house-LOC

My bosses said “You mustn’t come back to work in the house!” (i.e. they sacked me after an ‘incident’).

Malyka / malya is truly adverbial in function and is also the only negative that can be used to qualify an adjective or another adverb:

(817) *Malya nhuka-thirnda-li yanhi-rnda.* (A)

not much-ADV-ADV speak-PRES

He doesn’t talk much.

(818) *Malyka mathirri, nyaRa.*

not big small

It’s not big, it’s only little.

In negative statements *malya / malyka* is the most commonly used form (see (4) below).

(4) *padni*

Padni could function as a nominal meaning ‘nothing’, and particularly as a privative, ‘not having’ (§3.15.4), as for instance in:

(819) *Antha kadnhaardi-padni.* (A)

I money-nothing

I haven’t got any money.

(820) *Thurndu-padni thadlu walpu thika-ngura.*

belly-nothing empty bone return-CONT

(The spectre of the dead man) was coming back without any belly, just as bare bones.

(821) *Yatu-padni-ri uka-ru nhurka-ka.*

satisfied-nothing-ERG she-ERG swallow-P

Being still unsatisfied she (the Ancestral Rainbow Snake) swallowed (him too).

This usage is identical to that of Diyari *pani* (Austin 1981a:44).

Padni is also very common in locative phrases of circumstance (§3.12.4) such as:

(822) *anthirda padni-nga*

me.LOC nothing-LOC

when I was (not yet) there (before my time)

Padni is commonly used in negative statements (see (4) below):

(823) *Padni ngura-ruku thika-ru.*

not camp-ALL return-NAR

(He) didn’t go back to (his) camp.

Padni is adverbial in function in such sentences, and not nominal: it is clearly not a nominal object as it is freely used in sentences where another direct nominal object is expressed:

(824) *Padni athu ngurka-yira tyalpa pidla.*

not I.ERG know-PUNC tree name

I don’t know the name of those trees.

As seen here, *padni* is similar to Pitta-Pitta *pani* in that it occurs frequently as the first word of a sentence (see (4) below).

One important function of *padni* is not shared with the other negatives; this is its function as an exclamatory particle 'no!' in answer to any direct question:

(825) *Untu ngawi-ka? Padni.*
 you.ERG hear-P no
 Did you hear (understand) this? No.

(826) *Anpa kadnhaardi-purru? Padni.*
 you money-having no
 Do you have any money? No.

(3) *panta*

The basic meaning of this adverb is 'failure'. In some instances it implies 'hardly', and most frequently it means 'in vain':

(827) *Panta palyi-ra.*
 failed hit-PUNC
 (I) missed it (lit.(I) failed to hit it).

(828) *Pant' athu ngurka-yira.*
 hardly I know-PUNC
 I hardly know. (In other words 'I really don't know properly, though I tried to find out'.)

(4) Semantic differences between the three negatives

Of the three negatives, *panta* stands apart in that it always implies a failed attempt. The other two negatives are often synonymous in general negations. There is however an underlying, though not always perceptible semantic difference between *maltya / malyka* on the one hand and *padni* on the other: *maltya / malyka*, being the adverb used in prohibitions, has the nuance of a desired negative result, while *padni* can have the nuance of an involuntary negative result. Moreover *padni* can have the further implication of 'nothing'. The contrast between the three negatives can be seen in the following sentences, the first set from a Wangkangurru speaker, the second from Arabana :

(829) *Athu malyka ngunhi-ra.*
 I.ERG not give-PUNC
 I am not giving it (to you) (I have no intention of doing so).

(830) *Athu padni ngunhi-ra.*
 I.ERG not give-PUNC
 I am not giving (any of) it (to you) (there are probably some good reasons why I can't or shouldn't).

(831) *Athu panta ngunhi-ra.*
 I.ERG unsuccessfully give-PUNC
 I am trying to give it (to you) (but you won't take it).

(832) *Athu tyalpa maltya tharni-ra irrya thangka-angka-kura. (A)*
 I.ERG food not eat-PUNC noise sit-sit-CONT.P
 There is no way I would eat my dinner while that noise was going on.

- (833) *Athu tyalpa padni tharni-ra irrtya thangka-angka-kura.* (A)
 I.ERG food not eat-PUNC noise sit-sit-CONT.P
 I couldn't eat my dinner (or any of my dinner) while that noise was going on.
- (834) *Athu tyalpa panta tharni-ra irrtya thangka-angka-kura.* (A)
 I.ERG food not eat-PUNC noise sit-sit-CONT.P
 I couldn't eat my dinner (though I tried) while that noise was going on.

Arabana-Wangkangurru differs from Arandic and other languages to the north in not having verb-negating suffixes. There are some similarities in the expression of negatives with Diyari, which shares the form *padni*, but the Diyari system is simpler. The closest resemblance is to Pitta-Pitta, which also has three sentence negatives. Pitta-Pitta has *malhu*, and Wangka-Yutyurru, the westernmost language of the Pitta-Pitta group, has *malyu* as the only form to be used in prohibitions. *Malhu / malyu* is similar both in form and meaning to Arabana-Wangkangurru *malyka / malya*. As shown above *padni* implies an involuntary negative as opposed to the purposeful negative *malyka / malya*. This 'involuntary' nuance is no doubt related to the use of *pani* in Pitta-Pitta: *pani* means 'to be unable' (Blake 1979:222). Thus negation is expressed in Arabana-Wangkangurru very much as it is in the Pitta-Pitta languages, except that there is a slightly different arrangement of the functions. The data quoted here come from Wangka-Yutyurru (Breen n.d.b):

ARABANA-WANGKANGURRU		WANGKA-YUTYURRU
<i>malyka</i> (W), <i>malya</i> (A)	not (negative and prohibitive)	<i>malyu</i>
<i>panta</i>	failing to	<i>pani</i> (often sentence initial)
<i>padni</i> (often sentence initial)	not (not prohibitive), privative	<i>yawu</i>
<i>padni</i>	no	<i>malyu</i>

The Diyari system is as follows:

<i>pani</i>	no, nothing, privative
<i>wata</i>	not, negative and prohibitive
<i>pulu</i>	being incapable, failing to (see (7) below)

The Diyari system has only the one way of saying 'not'. It is possible that this simpler system is more archaic and that the finer distinctions in Pitta-Pitta and Arabana-Wangkangurru represent a shared innovation in line with distinctions between negative and prohibitive in other languages (Dixon 1977a:372).

(5) Negative adverbial forms in *-ri*

Both *padni* and *malyka / malya* form adverbial derivatives with the suffix *-ri*. This however is where the resemblance ends. The derivative *padni-ri* from *padni* is typical of the adverbs of manner formed by means of the ergative-instrumental suffix *-ru ~ -ri* (§6.1.2(2)). It roughly corresponds to the English 'by no means':

- (835) *Kari-ri padni-ri wapa-ra.*
 they-ERG nothing-ADV find-PUNC
 No way could they find (it).

Malya-ri ~ malyka-ri however cannot be regarded as an adverb based on the ergative instrumental suffix, because in words ending with *-a* this is *-ru*. *Malya-ri ~ malyka-ri* is not a general negative adverb, for it is used only in the temporal sense 'not yet':

- (836) *Malyka-ri yuka-rnda!*
not-yet go-PRES
Don't go yet!
- (837) *Malya-ri wadnhi-rnda tyalpa.* (A)
not-yet cook-PRES food
(She) is not cooking dinner yet.

In this function *-ri* is undoubtedly cognate with the Diyari suffix *-rlu* 'still', which means 'yet' when suffixed to the negative (Austin 1981a: 178-9). Consider the following Diyari sentence:

- (838) *Wata-rlu nhawu thuraRa-yi.*
not-yet he sleep-PRES
He is not sleeping yet.

This is paralleled in Arabana-Wangkangurru:

- (839) *Malya-ri kudnala.*
not-yet sleep
(He) is not sleeping yet.

For the derivative adverbial forms *padni-li* and *panta-li* 'nearly' see §6.1.1. *Malyka-li* is used in statement negation:

- (840) *Wanga-wanga thurka-rna-yangu malyka-li maka nhampa-nhampa-rda.*
early-early rise-SP-PLUP not-ADV fire bury-bury-PRES
(He, the Fire-striker), having got up early, didn't cover up his fire (before leaving).

(6) *parndu* (A), *manaputu* (W), 'ignorant, unable', *anhaku* 'I don't know'

Most Aboriginal languages have fixed locutions with the meaning 'I don't know'. Arabana *parndu* and Wangkangurru *manaputu* are typical of these: they are normally adjectives used with the first person singular pronoun in the sense of 'ignorant' 'incapable', but sometimes the pronoun is omitted and the words are used as an exclamation. So a person being asked a question might answer:

- (841) *Antha parndu.*
I ignorant
I don't know.

He might also simply answer *parndu!* 'Don't know!'. The meaning however is wider than the English 'ignorant' and covers English 'I don't know how to', or 'I can't'. *Antha parndu* or *antha manaputu* can therefore equally be said in answer to any request as well as to a question. So a person being asked to sing might say *Antha parndu* 'I can't', or 'I don't know how to', or a person being asked to collect firewood might say *Antha parndu*, and point to the fact that he has a sore foot or some other reason why he cannot.

There is also an exclamation *anhaku* which occurs only in answer to a direct question and means 'I don't know' and to some extent also implies 'and I don't care'. It is invariably accompanied by the shrugging of shoulders. The exclamation *anhaku* is connected with the first person pronoun (accusative *anha*). It is a regional feature and corresponds to Kuyani

nganhaku and Diyari *nganyiku*. The parallelism between the languages is not complete since Arabana *anha* and Kuyani *nganha* are accusative whereas Diyari *nganyi* is nominative.

Parndu (A), and *manaputu* (W), 'ignorant, unable' can take a purposive complement (as in example (585)). Both, as well as *anhaku* 'I don't know' can take a subordinate adverbial or relative clause as a complement:

- (842) *Anhaku minha-ru wapayi-yangu.*
 I.don't.know what-ABL finish-PLUP
 I have no idea what he died of.

(7) *puḏlu* 'defective'

This word is used as a type of privative, but only in the one compound *yarri-puḏlu* 'deaf' (lit. ears defective). It is used also to form the derivative verb *puḏluwa-* 'to fade away, to disappear' (e.g. a track). There can be little doubt that this word is connected with the Kuyani negative particle *puḏlu* and the Diyari particle *pulu* 'cannot'.

6.3.5 ADVERBIAL AND EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES

(1) *uta* (W) / *yuta* (A)

This particle is interesting on account of its wide sphere of use, identical for Arabana and Wangkangurru. The basic meaning is 'now', 'at this moment', though this is not always clearly evident. The wide semantic range of *uta* ((A) *yuta*) is linked with its use as an exclamation, a particle and an adverb, and with pitch. A very rare extended form, *utarra*, means 'directly'.

(a) Use as exclamation

yuta / uta 

As an exclamation uttered on a rising pitch the word means 'now!', 'ready!', 'now then!'. This is uttered to encourage others to action, in the sense of 'let's go!', 'OK!'. When used in this fashion the word is frequently followed by *-ki-thi*, the most emphatic combination of clitics: *uta-ki-thi!* Emphasis is also often conveyed in this word just as in vocatives and imperatives by distortion of the final vowel: *utei!* Before starting up a new story or song or often even just a new verse, Arabana people would always say *yuta*, and Wangkangurru *uta*, without vowel distortion if they were singing on their own, but with emphasis and vowel distortion if they were wishing to make others participate.

yuta / uta 

When uttered as an exclamation on a falling pitch this word means 'now that's it', 'finished!' (i.e. that is the end of the story, or of the song). Naturally with this intonation there is never any final vowel distortion nor is there any addition of emphatic clitics. Examples are:

- (843) *Marrkara-pula thika-ngura. Yuta. (A)*
 cod-DU return-CONT that's.it
 The Two Cod went on their journey back. That's the end of the story.

- (844) *Yuwu thangka-ngura Yatalknga-nga, yuwu wathili thangka-ngura.*
 people sit-CONT Yatalknga-LOC people own sit-CONT

Pula yuka-ma thangka-lhuku, thangka-yiwa-lhuku kari-kirnda. Uta. (W)
 two go-IMPF sit-PUR sit-TR-PUR they-LOC that's.it
 There were (Goanna) people at *Yatalknga*, some of their own people were staying there. So the two (Goannas) went to stay there, to stay for a while with them. That is it.

(b) Use within sentences as introductory particle

yuta / uta

Within a sentence *yuta / uta* can be used as a particle, introducing a new action, roughly equivalent to 'now then'. In this function it is always sentence-initial:

- (845) *Uta panti-rda-naru thika-lhuku kari purku-wityi-ka Ipinyarda-nga.*
 now fight-SP-PLUP return-HIST they finish-become-P Ipinyarda-LOC
 Now that they had finished their battle (the Grubs) went back and they finished at *Ipinyarda*.
- (846) *Uta kari-nha nhanhi-ra, ah padni thangka-lhuku!*
 then they-ACC see-PUNC ah not stay-PUR
 Then (the Perentie) saw them (the girls), oh that I can't stay!

In this function *yuta / uta* is occasionally followed by the emphatic particle *-thu*.

(c) Use within sentences as an adverb

yuta / uta

When used as an adverb, as distinct from a particle, *yuta / uta* means 'already, now' and always immediately precedes the verb:

- (847) *Athu yuta ngunta-thara.*
 I.ERG already show-IMM
 I've already just told you this.
- (848) *Uka-ru uta nhanhi-ka.*
 he-ERG already see-P
 He had already seen it.

(d) Usage in neighbouring languages

Wilkins (1989:365) points out an exactly parallel usage for the Aranda particle *kele* 'ready, already, OK; so the end':

As part of a clause *kele* can mean (i) either that the event in that clause has already happened in which case it typically occurs before the verb, or (ii) it can mean that the previous event or series of events is now over and the present clause is introducing a new event, in which case it commonly occurs as the first element in the clause.

Aranda and Arabana-Wangkangurru thus share in every detail the unusually varied semantic features and the diverse functions of a particle basically meaning 'now', though the

actual words used are not related. This hidden shared feature between the two languages is of particular interest in that it shows the subtlety of the network of diffusion in this area.

(2) *walya* 'soon', 'directly', later, definitely not now!'

This word could serve as as an adverb:

- (849) *Uka thika-rnda walya kurda-lhuku.*
 he return-PRES soon lie.down-PUR
 He is coming back so that he can lie down directly.

Unlike the other exclamatory adverbs it can be used with the dative marker *-ku*:

- (850) *Walya-ku thanga-rnda.*
 later-DAT stay-PRES
 He is staying till later.

The most common use of *walya* however is as an exclamation, usually repeated a number of times, in answer to anyone pestering the speaker to come or to hurry: *Walya, walya, walya!* 'Just a minute!'. It is often intended as a bad-tempered response, implying that the speaker has no intention of hurrying. The same exclamation with the same nuance occurs in Diyari (Austin 1981a: 37).

(3) *anti* 'now', *antina* 'immediately'

An example of the use of these two particles is:

- (851) *Anti nhikirnda thangka-rda antinha kutha-ng'*
 now here sit-PRES immediately water-LOC
ngarityi-rnda-lhuku. (A)
 go.down-SP-PUR
 He is sitting here now, (ready) to get down into the water straight away.

Anti is sometimes marked further with the adverbial marker *-li*:

- (852) *Anti-li yuka-rnda.*
 now-ADV come-PRES
 He is coming right now.

Anti, but not the extended forms, can be used in exclamations to indicate 'now', 'I'm on my way!'. In contrast to *walya* it represents an enthusiastic response.

(4) *yadni* 'now already'

This word is used only rarely in adverbial function, mainly in Arabana:

- (853) *Mathapurda yadni thangka-rda, tyalpa tharni-ra. (A)*
 old.man now sit-PRES food eat-PUNC
 The old man is already sitting here and eating his lunch.

When used as an exclamation, usually repeated a number of times, *yadni* means 'very soon!'. As a response to a request it is neutral, midway between *walya* and *anti*.

(5) *mayarla* 'Leave it!' 'Let it be!'

This word can be used in an adverbial function to imply 'freely', 'without hindrance':

- (854) *Maka mayarla ngarda-nha waRarda-na.*
 fire freely burn-NP that-EMP
 Let that fire just burn freely.

The most common use of *mayarla* however is as an exclamation, meaning 'Leave it alone!', 'Let it go!'. In many cases *mayarla* is followed by the imperative of *thadna*- 'to leave', hence *Mayarla! ThadnaRu!* A number of languages to the north, for example Kaytej and Warumungu, have very similar expressions where an exclamation 'Leave it alone!' is followed by the imperative of the verb 'to leave', and this would appear to be a widespread feature of Central Australian languages.

6.3.6 ADVERBIAL AND LINKING PARTICLES

(1) *pinha* 'already'

Pinha 'already' implies that the event referred to is completed and the verb is always in the past tense. There is however a derivative *pinhalka* 'still' which implies that the action has started and is still in progress. The origin of *-lka* is not clear, but it could possibly be connected with the noun *alka* 'appearance'.

Both *pinha* and its derivative differ from ordinary temporal adverbs in that they are often in the initial position in a sentence and may precede a pronoun rather than the verb. They may not however precede a noun:

- (855) *Pinha 'thu nhanhi-ka.*
 already I.ERG see-P
 I had already seen it.
- (856) *Pinha-lki aruna wanti-nta-naru.*
 still-EMP we.two wait-REFL-PLUP
 The two of us had still been waiting.

Pinha is cognate with the Arandic verbal affix *penhe* 'after' (Koch 1992, Breen, pers.comm.) and has further cognates in northern languages.

(2) *ya* 'and'

Ya, the linking particle 'and', widespread in the Diyaric language group, does not occur in Arabana. It is very rarely used in Wangkangurru, and serves only to link words, not clauses. It is confined to fixed locutions where a contrast is involved, so that the meaning is closer to 'both... and...'. For example:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>malka-malka, pirla ya warru</i> | painted stripes, both black and white |
| <i>wanganga ya waltanga</i> | morn and noon (lit. morning and day) |

It is not certain whether *ya* can be regarded as a free particle: it would be the only monosyllable in the language. It is not strongly accented and possibly could be considered a proclitic.

(3) *ukaliri* 'and then', 'at the time we were talking about'

This is the most common linking particle marking a sequence in a story. *Ukaliri* links what is about to be said to what has just preceded. It is equivalent to English 'and then', and it occurs only at the beginning of a sentence:

- (857) *Ukaliri wadni wangka-rda.*
 then song sing-PRES
 And then (he) sang the corroboree.
- (858) *Ukaliri yuka-lhuku yuka-lhuku.*
 and.then go-HIST go-HIST
 And then (he) travelled and travelled.

This adverb is clearly derived from the third person pronoun *uka* by means of 'double' adverbial suffixes (§6.1.2(1)), *-li* and *-ri*.

6.4 EXCLAMATIONS

Arabana-Wangkangurru has a wide range of exclamations, which are pronounced with various degrees of emphasis, depending on the situation: most of them are pronounced with emphasis on the final syllable and they can optionally show the kind of vowel distortion (§2.13.3) that is characteristic of vocatives and imperatives. The forms listed below nearly always have vowel distortion.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>yakayi</i> [yakei] | the pan-Australian exclamation of surprise and distress. |
| <i>yakayayi</i> [yakayei] | an expanded variant of the same exclamation. |
| <i>kawayi</i> [kawei] | bang, crash! |
| <i>malykarayi</i> [malykarei] | no, don't! |
| <i>kuya</i> [kuyei] | literally 'oh girl!' said in exhaustion and dismay, and said to anybody, not necessarily a girl. |
| <i>kumpira</i> [kumpirei] | literally 'oh dead one!' is the most common exclamation of disgust and abuse. It can be addressed to a person and is then roughly equivalent to 'You bastard!', but it can also be a general exclamation roughly equivalent to 'damn!'. This exclamation can be followed by emphatic clitics and is then not subject to vowel distortion (§7.1.4(3)). |

Uta and the rest of the exclamatory adverbs have been discussed separately (§6.3.5) as have the negatives *padni* 'no' and *anhaku* 'I don't know' (§6.3.4). Other exclamations are listed below.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>arayi</i> | yes (A) (probably derived from <i>ngarayi</i>). |
| <i>piyi</i> | yes (W). |
| <i>ko</i> | yes (Eastern Wangkangurru). This is probably borrowed from the neighbouring Yarluyandi; it is a widespread word in Diyaric and is also recorded for Kurna in the Adelaide area (Simpson, pers.comm.). |
| <i>anha</i> | This is roughly equivalent to English 'I see' or 'you don't say!'. It is frequently interjected by people listening to a story to convey the fact that they were still listening attentively. <i>Anha</i> can also be |

uttered sarcastically in the same way as English 'I see' with the meaning 'I don't believe it'. Both Diyari (Austin 1981a:37) and Kuyani have the cognate interjection *nganha*, which is identical in use. *Anha* is probably not immediately connected in origin with *anhaku* (§6.3.4(6))

arru

hallo there! This is the ordinary form of greeting in Arabana-Wangkangurru. When the greeting is more personal the second person pronoun or a vocative follows:

Arru'npa 'Hallo to you!'

Arru mathapurdeyi! 'Hallo old man!'

In Arabana there is an emphatic variant *arrupa*, used to call for attention.

ayi

This is a most common explanation uttered by someone seeking attention in a quiet way, as someone asking a question confidentially:

Ayi, untu nhanhi-ka mankarra-pulanha?

Eh! Did you see those two girls?

mayi

go on then! What happened next? This is usually said to someone who is too longwinded in telling a story.

*katyu-katyu-katyu
nhanha*

Shhh! (lit. quiet-quiet-quiet).

OK then! This was used for instance in the following sequence of conversation between Mick McLean and me:

M: *Unpa ngawilhiku wayarnda?*

Do you want to hear it (the song cycle from *Urlita*)?

L: *Ah ngurku, pangkirda ngawilhiku.*

Oh good, I'd be delighted to hear it.

M: *Nhanha...*

All right then (and he begins the story)

nhaku

so that's it! This is not a common interjection: it is uttered in acknowledgment of an explanation, sometimes with a slightly dismissive undertone. It is identical in form, though not accentuation, with the clitic *-nhaku* 'first' but appears to be unconnected with it in meaning and function.

ngarayi

oh well (reluctant agreement), oh dear (I am exhausted)

wayi

This exclamation is uttered to attract attention, similarly to English 'hey' and it is used particularly in Arabana. Thus the ancestral Bull Ant comes up impatient for food, calling:

(859) *Wayi! wayi! puntyu-na!*

hey hey meat-EMP

Hey, give me meat!

CHAPTER 7

CLITICS AND CLITIC PARTICLES

7.1 CLITICS

Clitics are bound morphemes that are neither stem forming nor part of the declensional or conjugational system. With the exception of the one proclitic form (§7.2.4) they always come at the end of a word following all other bound morphemes.

Clitics, and particularly the emphatic clitics, are part of the finer style of language, and there are often idiosyncratic preferences among speakers. This is certainly the case in Arabana-Wangkangurru. People with only a partial knowledge of the language do not use the emphatic clitics at all.

7.1.1 TYPES OF CLITICS

There are two main types of clitics. One group consists of monosyllables which simply add emphasis or finality to the word to which they are attached. These do not have any independent accent, though they may assume a strong stress accent in emotional situations – this stress accent however does not belong to the clitic as such, but to the whole word unit of which the clitic forms part. The other clitics (except for *muthutu*) are clitic particles: they have two or more syllables, those with two syllables bearing a secondary accent on their first syllable, those with three having a secondary accent on their second syllable, the first syllable remaining unaccented. They have a much more specific semantic value and differ from free particles only by their lesser accentuation (and in the case of trisyllabics on the position of that accentuation) and by the fact that they are always bound to the word to which they refer. The emphatic clitics are:

-thu / -thi / -tha

-ki,

-lki,

-lya, -ilya

-na, -nu

-rra

7.1.2 THE EMPHATIC CLITIC *-thu / -thi / -tha*

In Arabana-Wangkangurru the most common emphatic clitic is *-thu*. It is particularly usual in exclamatory sentences and questions:

- (860) *Thiyara yuwu-thu?*
where person-EMP
Where are the (Aboriginal) *people?*

- (861) *Nhayi-thu wiya malyka thudni-li!*
 this-EMP child not cry-HAB
 But *this* child is not a cry-baby!

In Wangkangurru after a final *i* this clitic sometimes shows vowel harmony and becomes *-thi* though this is by no means the rule, as shown by the typical example *nhayi-thu* above. *-thi*, *-thu* is particularly common in Eastern Wangkangurru, and in this dialect, after a final *i*, it always shows vowel harmony:

- (862) *Minha wararda? Kapiirri-thi!*
 what that goanna-EMP
 What's that? It's a goanna!
- (863) *Nhararda warli-thi!*
 this.here hut-EMP
 That's (his) hut here!

The neighbouring Diyatic language Yarluyandi has a clitic which is always *-thi*. It is difficult to establish whether borrowing occurred from or into Yarluyandi: all that is certain is that there was diffusion of the use of *-thi* across language boundaries and a distinct gradation: *-thu* in Arabana, occasional change by vowel harmony in Western Wangkangurru, obligatory allophonic variation between *-thu* and *-thi* in Eastern Wangkangurru, and *-thi* only in Yarluyandi.

The clitic *-thu* / *-thi*, though attached to the final word, can sometimes throw emphasis on the whole utterance that precedes it:

- (864) *Malyka nhanhi-thika-rna ngura-nga-thu.*
 not see-return-IMP camp-LOC-EMP
 (She) is not even bothering to go back and see (her sick husband) in his camp.

Similarly, when there is an interrogative nuance in a sentence, the clitic *-thu* / *-thi* conveys the sense of 'surely', 'didn't you?':

- (865) *Ngatyi-ka kathi marka-nha-thu?*
 see-P animal crawl-NP-EMP
 (Surely) you saw (the wounded) animal crawling along, (didn't you)?

-tha is occasionally used as a variant of *-thu* in Wangkangurru:

- (866) *Partyarna nguyu-nga-tha.*
 all one-LOC-EMP
 They are all together.
- (867) *Walya athu kari-nha-tha.*
 soon I find-NP-EMP
 I'll soon find it.

-tha is heard rarely and then only after words ending in *a*: it is not a regular allomorph, but an uncommon variant of *-thu* after *a*.

7.1.3 OTHER CLITICS SHOWING EMPHASIS AND FINALITY

(1) *-ki*

This is a more emphatic clitic than *-thu*. It is always phrase-final except when it is further reinforced by a following *-thi ~ -thiya*. In fact *-ki* is almost invariably sentence-final.

-ki is particularly common with verbs, adding an air of definite assertion to forms of the past, particularly the perfect; it conveys the nuance of ‘completely’ and adds urgency to exhortations and wishes:

- (868) *Purku wityi-kanha-ki.*
 finished become-PERF-EMP
 They finished altogether.
- (869) *Partyarnda maka-ru ngarda-kanha-ki. (A)*
 all fire-ERG burn-PERF-EMP
 They were all completely consumed by the fire.
- (870) *Athu wangka-nha-ki.*
 I.ERG sing-NP-EMP
 I am definitely going to sing it (in spite of what he says).
- (871) *Yuka-rnda-pina-ki!*
 go-SP-HORT-EMP
 Let’s all go straight away!

It is also found with nominals:

- (872) *Ngulpa parnda-ki, katiwiRi-ki.*
 sick big-EMP huge-EMP
 (He) is seriously ill, most gravely ill.

It is even found with adverbs:

- (873) *Arla-ki yuka-rnda.*
 truly-EMP go-PRES
 Truly it goes.

Though it has a strong emphatic effect the clitic *-ki* is nevertheless inconspicuous: people are not aware of having uttered it. If a sentence ending with *-ki* has to be repeated, this creates an artificial atmosphere and the emotional stress of the original utterance is no longer there. In such repetitions the clitic *-ki* is omitted.

(2) *-lki*

-lki may originally be a compound form: it is probably based on the adverbial marker *-li + -ki*, and it could also be related to the Aranda clitic *-rlke* ‘too’ (Wilkins 1989:352). It is added to both verbs and nominals to indicate finality and ‘right up to’. It is always phrase-final, and not necessarily sentence-final. With nouns it is most commonly added to locative (§3.12.1) and allative forms:

- (874) *Wanka-rda parlu-nga-lki.*
 get.up-PRES open-LOC-EMP
 (He, the Possum Ancestor) came right out into the open.

- (875) *Ngarrityi-ma karla-nga-lki.*
go.down-IMPF creek-LOC-FIN
(They) are going down, right in the creek.
- (876) *Ngarrityi-ma karla-ruku-lki.*
go.down-IMPF creek-ALL-FIN
(They) are going right down to the creek.
- (877) *Thika-mda ngura-ruku-lki. (A)*
return-PRES camp-ALL-FIN
They are going right back to their own camp.

It is also common with adverbs of place:

- (878) *Kutha wanka-ngura yadla-lki.*
rain rise-CONT close-FIN
The rain was coming right up close.

-lk is particularly associated with the purposive and the historic past tense of verbs as well as the obligatory participle, forms which in themselves conveyed a sense of finality and of a goal reached or to be reached:

- (879) *thika-lhuku-lki*
return-PUR-FIN
until (I) get back
- (880) *Muna-ng'-ma-lhuku-lki.*
chest-LOC-make-HIST-FIN
He ultimately put it on his chest.
- (881) *Kurda-lima-lki.*
lie.down-OBLIG-FIN
We ultimately have to lie down.

This clitic is used only by the oldest and most fluent speakers of both Arabana and Wangkangurru.

(3) *-lya ~ -ilya*

This clitic occurs mainly at the end of exclamations conveying the sense of 'yes, that is really what happened'.

In Wangkangurru only, in very strongly emphatic situations the longer form *-ilya* is used. This gives rise to the unusual situation of vowels in hiatus within a word complex, (as found also with the emphatic *-arla* (see (5) below), and *muthu-* (§7.2.4). This hiatus makes the clitic *-ilya* even more conspicuous, as in *waru-ilya* 'a long time ago indeed, in the distant past' and:

- (882) *Karna-ilya!*
men-indeed
Initiated men, that is what they were now! (They had suddenly turned into initiated men, because they had dived into a pool where there was a submerged rock).

(4) *-na ~ -nu*

This clitic is emphatic and contrastive. It is added to adjectives, pronouns and (more rarely) nouns, never to verbs:

- (883) *Thiti ngurru-ngurru-nu mardu alka madla.*
 tea strong-strong-but flavour kind bad
 (This tea is good) but really strong tea has a horrible kind of taste.

It is common in questions:

- (884) *Minha nhiki-na?*
 what this-EMP
 What's this thing here?

A variant form *-ni* was heard only from the two speakers who were of part Wangkatyaka ancestry, as in:

- (885) *Kumpira-ni! Walpu.*
 dead-EMPH bones
 There is something dead here! Some bones.

(5) *-rra*

This clitic is used after the first word in a sentence to add emphasis:

- (886) *Pula-rra ngarrityi-rna.*
 two-EMP descend-IMPF
Both were coming down.
- (887) *Mudlu-nga-rra kikilya-rnda-ngarrityi-lhiku.*
 sandhill-LOC-EMP slide-SP-descend-HIST
 They went sliding all the way down the sandhill.

7.1.4 COMBINATIONS OF CLITICS AND ORDERING

For special emphasis combinations of clitics are used, usually with a strong final stress accent, except in the case of *-lya-rra-(na)*, where there is a secondary accent on *-lya*. The following combinations are permissible, and *only* in that order:

-ki-thi ~ -ki-thiya
-lki-thi
-lya-rra ~ -lya-rra-na
-na-ki, -na-thu
-tha-na

From this list it is clear that *-thu / -thi* (but not the variant *-tha*) occupies the final position in all the permissible combinations, and that it always shows vowel harmony when linked with another clitic.

(1) *-ki-thi*

All the best speakers of both Arabana and Wangkangurru make frequent use of the combined clitic *-ki-thi*. This is the most common combination of clitics, and it adds strong emphasis to the word to which it is attached:

- (888) *Kutha kanta-ngura katyiwiRi-ki-thi.*
 water pour-CONT big-EMP-EMP
 There was the most tremendous downpour.
- (889) *Uka purku-wityi-lhiku kanhangarda-ki-thi.*
 he finish-become-HIST there-EMP-EMP
 He finished in this very place.
- (890) *Uka tyalpa-ru kikilya-rna-ki-thi!*
 he tree-ABL slip-IMPF-EMP-EMP
 And there he was, slipping down from that tree!

Sometimes an exclusive nuance is implied by this double clitic:

- (891) *Kanhangarda-nganha-ki-thi wadni warra-lhuku.*
 there-from-EMP-EMP corroboree dance-HIST
 It was the people belonging to that place (and nobody else) who danced the corroboree.

-ki-thiya is the exclamatory form, with vowel distortion of the final syllable (§2.13.3):

- (892) *Waru-ki-thiya!*
 long.ago-EMP-EMP
 It was long, long ago!

(2) *-lki-thi*

This combined form expresses even stronger finality than the simple *-lki*:

- (893) *mudlu-nguru-ruku-lki-thi*
 sandhill-other-ALL-FIN-EMP
 right over to another sandhill
- (894) *Maltya kurda-nha karla-nga-lki-thi! (A)*
 not lie-NP creek-LOC-FIN-EMP
 Don't camp right in the creekbed (in case there is a flood)!

(3) *-na-thu*

This combined clitic generally conveys the meaning 'really' even more emphatically than the simple *-na*, and it is particularly common in exclamatory sentences:

- (895) *Markinyangkurla-thu kaga-na-thu!*
Markinyangkurla-EMP uncle-EMP-EMP
 The Ancestor *Markinyangkurla* really was my uncle! (i.e. my uncle identified himself with this Ancestor).
- (896) *Kumpira-na-thu mirlantanyi!*
 dead-EMP-EMP mouse
 Damn that mouse!

(For this use of *kumpira* see §6.4.)

Sometimes, as common in exclamations, the strong stress leads to distortion of the final vowel (§2.13.3):

- (897) *Thungka-na-thei!*
 stinking-EMP-EMP
 What a revolting smell!

(4) *-lyarra* ~ *lyarra-na* ‘absolutely’

These combined and very emphatic forms occur only in Arabana: there are similar forms in the adjacent but not closely related Kuyani language to the south. The combination *-lyarra(na)* attracts a secondary accent on the first syllable, as in:

[púka] rotten [púka-lyàrra] absolutely stinking

While *-lyarra-na* is always final in a sentence, *-lyarra* can occur within the sentence. Typical examples are:

- (898) *Minha-k' anpa yanhi-rnda wangka madlanthi-lyarrana?*
 what-DAT you speak-PRES word bad-absolutely
 Why do you utter such absolutely filthy words?

- (899) *Nhanhi-k'-athu puntyu parnda-lyarrana! (A)*
 see-P-I.ERG meat large-absolutely
 I saw an absolutely enormous animal!
 (This was in a story about an old Arabana man seeing a bull for the first time.)

- (900) *Marna waka-lyarra thangka-ngura.*
 mouth black-absolutely stay-CONT
 They were cannibals (lit. they had their mouths painted jet-black).

(5) *(-li)-tha-na*

Unlike the other combined clitics, *-tha-na* is of restricted use. This emphatic form occurs only after adverbs in *-li* (§6.1.1): this is surprising as the simple clitic *-tha* normally occurs only after a final *a* (§7.1.2):

kamardali-tha-na totally differently
akarli-tha-na totally wrong

Like the simple emphatic clitics, the combined forms are an important stylistic feature which gives scope to conspicuous personal variations.

7.2 CLITIC PARTICLES

These are bound forms; they are always linked to another word, but they differ from the emphatic clitics in that they have a closer resemblance to free particles: they have at least two syllables, carry a secondary accent, and have a distinct semantic value.

7.2.1 *-wili* ‘LIKE’

This is the most commonly used clitic particle: it can follow nouns, adjectives, more rarely verbs, and even pronouns and adverbs; it follows whatever is the item of comparison. The only markers that can follow *-wili* within a word complex are emphatic clitics.

The most frequent items of comparison are nouns or even whole noun phrases:

- (901) *Uka-ru ngurka-ra kungarra-wili.* (A)
 he-ERG think-PUNC kangaroo-like
 He thought it looked like a kangaroo.
- (902) *Thidna nguyu-wili yuka-ka.*
 foot one-like go-P
 He went (unwillingly) as if that were his last step.
- (903) *Madl' anthunha-wili awarda madla.*
 dog mine-like this dog
 This dog is exactly like mine.

More rarely *-wili* may qualify adjectives or verbs:

- (904) *Uka athata nguRu-wili-ki.*
 he grandfather different-like-EMP
 The grandfather (was suddenly) totally different as it were (i.e. he showed himself in his true colours).
- (905) *Kari-ri wanpa-rda nhampa-yiwa-lhuku-wili.*
 they-ERG lift.up-PRES bury-TR-PUR-like
 They lifted him up as if they were going to bury him (but they didn't because he turned out to be still alive).

It may be rarely used also with adverbs (*yadla-wili* 'close by as it were', *waru-wili* 'long ago as it were'), and pronouns (*awarda-wili* 'like this one').

The Arabana-Wangkangurru form *-wili* is clearly cognate with the Pitta-Pitta *wiri* 'like' which was similar in use (Breen, pers.comm.), though it is sometimes transcribed as a free particle (Blake 1979:220).

7.2.2 *-nyurdu* 'AS WELL', 'TOO'

This clitic particle is almost as common as *-wili*, and is parallel in usage: it follows the item to which it refers, and this can be any part of speech except another particle.

The only markers that commonly follow *-nyurdu* are the emphatic clitics. On very rare occasions, after pronominal forms, *nyurdu* can be followed by the affix *-rda*, usually associated with deictic pronouns (§4.4.5) as in *anthunha -nyurdu-rda* ('mine-too' *-rda*). This implies that *anthunha-nyurdu* is felt to be a single pronominal word and *-rda* can therefore be added.

Pronouns are the most common parts of speech that precede *nyurdu*:

- (906) *Ngupintya-puru warra-ma wadni! Mathapurda katiyiwiRi kanhangarda*
 headgear-having dance-IMPF ceremony old.man old there
yanhi-ngura: "Anha-nyurdu iki-ra wardu-karei! Athu-nyurdu
 say-CONT me-too take-PUNC child-PL.VOC I.ERG-too
nhanhi-nhaou! Wardu-karei!" (A)
 see-NP.EXC child-PL.VOC
 They were dancing a ceremony with very special headgear. That ancient old man (who was crippled and couldn't get up) kept on saying: "Pick me up too, children! I too want to have a look! Eh, children!"

-nyurdu occurs frequently with nominals too:

- (907) *Partyarna, mankarra-nyurdu pirda-rnanha.*
 all girl-too kill-IMM
 They had just killed them all, the young girls too.
- (908) *KaRu Wamparla, kaRu Irunpa-nyurdu thika-ka.*
 there Possum there Perentie-too return-P
 The Possum went back there, and the Perentie too.
- (909) *Uka kanhangarda Urumbula-nga -nyurdu thika-rna.*
 he there Urumbula-LOC-too go.back-IMPF
 He goes back along the *Urumbula* (line) as well (as along that of the Ancestral Fire).

-nyurdu can be appended to adverbs and verbs, though less frequently:

- (910) *Madla wityi-ka kalka-nyurdu.*
 bad become-P evening-too
 She got sick (again) in the evening as well.
- (911) *Amari ilanha ngatyi-rna-nyurdu.*
 this.way thus look-IMPF-too
 He's looking this way (as well as listening).

An important point regarding the positioning of clitics can be illustrated by the use of *-nyurdu*. Like other clitics, it is always appended to the word which it qualifies, hence a difference in position involves a difference in meaning:

- (912) *Anthunha-nyurdu-thu apirla-ku. Apirla-kunha ngura.*
 my-too-EMP father's.mother-DAT father's.mother-POSS home
 It belonged to *my* paternal grandmother too (as well as to George Kemp's grandmother). It was my paternal grandmother's place.
- (913) *Anthunha apirla-ku-nyurdu.*
 mine father's.mother-DAT-EMP
 It belonged to my paternal *grandmother* too (as well as to me).

As is well known, word order fulfils a grammatical function in English and is therefore generally not available to express further nuances, for which other devices such as accentuation have to be used. In Arabana-Wangkangurru word order (and particularly the positioning of clitics) is available to express these nuances (§8.1.2).

7.2.3 OTHER CLITIC PARTICLES

(1) *-nhaku* 'first'

-nhaku is attached to whatever item it qualifies, which can be any part of speech – a noun, an adjective or (particularly) a verb:

- (914) *Anthu kaRu thangka-ka, mikiri-nga-nhaku.*
 I there sit-P desert-LOC-first
 I lived there, I lived in the desert at first.

- (915) *Antha tyalpi-rnda-nhaku.*
I cool.off-PRES-first
I'll cool off first (before I have the drink you are offering me).
- (916) *yanhi-lamintya-nta-naru-nhaku*
talk-RECIP-REFL-PLUP-first
having first talked it over amongst themselves

It can also be attached to a pronoun or an adverb:

- (917) *Anha-nhaku ngunhi!*
me-first give
Give it to *me* first (before any of the others).
- (918) *Maka-ra ngarda-kanha kanhangarda-nhaku.*
fire-CSL burn-PERF there-first
(People) got burnt by the Fire at that place first.

There is a difference in meaning and function between *-nhaku* and the adverb *ipali* (§6.3.2(2)): *ipali* indicates 'at an earlier time', 'previously', and usually refers to the whole sentence, whereas the clitic *-nhaku* implies priority just for the one item to which it is attached.

(2) *-nhari*

This clitic particle is identical in form with the Pitta-Pitta particle *nhari* 'now', which is often almost meaningless (Blake 1979:221). In Wangkangurru the meaning of *-nhari* is equally vague, and it can generally be translated by 'now'. It can sometimes convey the sense of 'in spite of everything', 'just the same' and implies a general nuance of 'don't worry about it'. *-nhari* can follow any part of speech and occur anywhere in the sentence:

- (919) *Anritya-ru thawi-ngura-nhari thardu-ma-yingura.*
Anritya-ERG throw-CONT-now knock.down-make-CONT
The mountain *Anritya* (a legendary mountain to the north) threw them down right then (from its slopes), it knocked them down.
- (920) *Awula-nhari yuka-nha.*
two-now go-NP
The two of them should go just the same.
- (921) *Mirri-nhari nhanhi!*
close-now look
Have a close look now just the same!

-nhari is used only in Wangkangurru and is one of the many features shared by Pitta-Pitta and Wangkangurru as opposed to Arabana.

(3) *-pirri ~ -pirri-pirri*

This clitic particle is used mainly (§6.3.1(1)) after adverbs to give the meaning of 'quite', 'just about':

<i>yadla-pirri-pirri</i>	quite close
<i>waku-pirri-pirri</i>	in turns

-pirri-pirri does not completely follow the pattern of other clitic particles in that it approaches the status of a stem-forming suffix: in certain fixed locutions it does in fact form a derivative noun or adjective, which can then take case-marking suffixes. One expression is particularly common, *kumpira-pirri-pirri* 'quite dead' (i.e. a deceased spirit). In Arabana *nhuka-pirri* 'quite a lot' is also a fixed form and can take declensional markers:

- (922) *Paya nhuka-pirri-nha nhanhi.* (A)
 bird much-quite-ACC see
 We saw quite a large number of birds.

-pirri and the two next listed forms *-mirri* and *-arla* show in a progressively clearer fashion how a clitic can be formed from a free adjective.

(4) *-mirri*

This clitic particle implies 'an excess of', as in:

- (923) *Nhuka-mirri yanhi-rnda.*
 much-excessively talk-PRES
 He talks too much.

Originally *mirri* was a free nominal meaning 'many', 'a crowd'. This function of *mirri* is archaising and is restricted to proper names:

<i>Mirri-thira</i>	Many Ends (the name of an Ancestor)
<i>Wanga-mirri</i>	Many Mornings (Jimmy Russell)
<i>TyiRi-mirri</i>	Many Floods (Emily Russell)
<i>Mirri-ngupa-nguparnda</i>	Many (dead) people lying round (Lake Mirranponga Pongunna).

(5) *-arla*

Unlike the preceding two clitics, *arla* can still function as a free adjective meaning 'true', 'real', 'evident'. It can however also serve as a clitic with the meaning of 'very'. In both Arabana and Wangkangurru it is frequently attached to adjectives, and more rarely to nouns and verbs:

<i>madla</i>	bad	<i>madla-arla</i>	very bad
<i>kupa</i>	little	<i>kupa-arla</i>	tiny (A)
<i>mathapurda</i>	old man	<i>mathapurda-arla</i>	a very old man
<i>minparu</i>	witchdoctor	<i>minparu-arla</i>	a witchdoctor par excellence
<i>pantima</i>	(they) are fighting	<i>panti-ma-arla</i>	they are having a real fight

- (924) *ulyurla uriya yarndi-nganha*
 woman decrepit long.ago-from
 a decrepit old woman

- (925) *ulyurla uriya yarndi-nganha-arla*
 woman decrepit long.ago-from-very
 a truly ancient decrepit woman

(6) *-pinthi* (A) / *-pithi* (W)

This clitic particle is close in meaning to *-manarni* ((9) below); it throws doubt on what precedes and minimises the impact, conveying the general nuance of 'slightly'. Arthur

McLean (Arabana) always gave the English rendering 'a little bit'. This clitic is more common in Arabana than in Wangkangurru and occurs with nouns, verbs and adverbs:

<i>ngulpa</i>	sick	<i>ngulpa-pinthi</i> (A), <i>ngulpa-pithi</i> (W) slightly ill,
<i>parnda</i>	big	<i>parnda-pinthi</i> (A) not very big
<i>ngurku</i>	good	<i>ngurku-pinthi</i> (A), <i>ngurku-pithi</i> (W) almost all right
<i>ngamarla-purru</i>	miserable	<i>ngamarla-purru-pinthi</i> (A) slightly miserable
<i>warritha</i>	far	<i>warritha-pinthi</i> (A), <i>warritha-pithi</i> (W) not too far

(926) *Ngurku-ku-pinthi yuka-ka* (A)
 good-DAT-slightly go-P
 He walked a bit better.

(927) *Yuka-rnda-pinthi motorcar uka* (A)
Yuka-rnda-pithi motorcar uka (W)
 go-PRES-slightly motorcar it
 This motorcar sort of goes.

This clitic particle is clearly connected with the Diyari particle *pinthi* 'it is rumoured that', which is identical in form to the Arabana *pinthi* and used in a very similar manner, mainly at the end of clauses, though it can also occur initially (Austin 1981a:173).

(7) *-kali*

This clitic expresses uncertainty, and corresponds to 'might be':

(928) *Warritha-kali*
 far-might.be
 It might be a long way.

-kali occurs after interrogatives to express yet further uncertainty, in the same manner as English 'on earth' following interrogatives:

(929) *Minha-kali!*
 what-ever
 What on earth is this!

-kali can also follow an adjective or particle to form part of a tag; it conveys the meaning 'perhaps not', and the adjective is then repeated in a positive meaning:

(930) *ngurku-kali ngurku*
 good-perhaps.not good
 whether it is good or not

(931) *padni-kali padni*
 not-perhaps.not not
 whether or not

There is little doubt that the postpositional form *kali* is connected with the Pitta-Pitta free particle *kali* 'I don't know' (Blake 1979:241).

(8) *-malaru* [malàru]

-malaru is a contrastive postpositional form: it is always attached to the item which is being set apart, and can never stand independently or at the beginning of a phrase. *-malaru* and *manarni* ((9) below) have no accent on the first syllable and a secondary accent on the second

syllable. This accentuation would be enough to set them apart from all other words in the language and confirms the view they are always enclitic. Examples are:

- (932) *Kari partyarna Antikirinya, antha-malaru Wangkangurru!*
 they all Antikirinya I-however Wangkangurru
 These people are all Antikirinya, I on the other hand am Wangkangurru!
- (933) *Ikityaru pawa-kunha-malaru.*
 bag flour-POSS-however
Ikityaru however is a bag only used for flour (as opposed to an ordinary carrying bag).
- (934) *Kari yuka-ngura pirda-lhuku, uka yuka-ngura nhanka-ma-lhuku-malaru.*
 they go-CONT kill-PUR he go-CONT alive-make-PUR-however
 They (the Kurdaitcha) go to kill, he (the witchdoctor) on the other hand goes to bring them back to life.

Unlike other clitics *-malaru* and *-manarni* (below) cannot be followed by any of the monosyllabic emphatic clitics.

(9) *-manarni* [manàrni]

This clitic particle conveys uncertainty and corresponds roughly to 'perhaps' or 'so they say'. It is common particularly in sentence-final position, that is it is enclitic to the last word, and it casts doubt on the whole statement. It is no doubt cognate to the Pitta-Pitta word *marna*, which is similar in meaning and usage (Blake 1979:220). For example:

- (935) *Maka-ru -manarni puthu-ru waRawan-ta.*
 fire-ABL-they.say coolamon-INSTR protect-REFL
 (He, the Ancestral Turtle) covered himself from the fire, so they say, with a coolamon.

(10) Combined clitic: *-nhaku-nhari*

This is the only combination of clitic particles that is permissible in the language, and the two elements always appear in the same sequence. *-nhaku-nhari* conveys a strong sense of immediacy and priority:

- (936) *Anha-nhaku-nhari ngawi!*
 me-first-now hear
 Now listen to me first!

7.2.4 PROCLITIC PARTICLE, *muthutu-* ~ *muthu-*

There is only one form that can be interpreted as a proclitic particle, and that is *muthutu-* more rarely *muthu-* 'like'. This is found only in Wangkangurru. It is used with nouns and pronouns and always precedes the item of comparison:

- (937) *Muthutu-pirrinti yuka-rnda.*
 like-perentie go-PRES
 He walks like a perentie.

- (938) *Muthuta-pudluka iki-rna.*
 like-bullock drive-IMPF
 (He, the Turkey Ancestor) is driving them (the initiands) along like bullocks.
- (939) *Uka yuwu muthutu-antha.*
 he person like-I
 He is a blackfellow just like me.
- (940) *Muthu-angka thangka-ngura.*
 like-alive sit-CONT
 (He) sat there as if he were alive.

The cognate form *muthili* is not a clitic and functions as a full adverb (§6.1.1(4)). It appears that both the comparative particles *-wili* and *muthutu-* 'like' are bound to the item of comparison, one as an enclitic and one as a proclitic, reflecting the fact that their status arose from a free word order.

CHAPTER 8

SYNTAX

This chapter on the syntax of Arabana-Wangkangurru is not intended as an exhaustive description of the syntactic system, many aspects of which are accounted for as part of the morphology: it is simply a discussion of some salient points and a look at features of regional or general interest.

8.1 MAIN CLAUSES: ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS

The preferred order in Arabana-Wangkangurru is:

Subject or Agent ± Object + Verb

This word order, though preferred, is far from obligatory. Only a limited number of verb forms are tied to the final position, with their position being grammatically determined. Accordingly the field remains wide open for an interplay between grammatical determination and semantics in Arabana-Wangkangurru word order. The freedom of word order is clear from numerous instances of alternation in position as in the following sentences, which do not differ greatly in meaning, except that in the first sentence there is a little more emphasis on the word for 'dream' (§8.2.1.2):

(941) *Nhanhi-rinaru apalka.*
see-PLUP dream
V O
He had seen a dream.

(942) *Apalka parda-layi-rinaru.*
dream hold-BEN-PLUP
O V
He had had a dream about somebody.

8.1.1 GRAMMATICALLY DETERMINED POSITION

(1) Imperatives

In sentences which contain a direct imperative the verb obligatorily has to come last. Everything else – objects, nominal forms of all kinds and adverbs, however emphatic – has to precede. This rule applies whether or not the imperative is accompanied by exclamatory emphasis and vowel distortion (§2.13.3(3)):

(943) *Anha nhanhi!*
me see
Look at me!

- (944) *Kadnhaardi ngunhi!* (A)
 money give
 Give me some money!
- (945) *Anari yuka!*
 here come
 Come here!
- (946) *Wadlhu-nga thawi!*
 ground-LOC throw
 Throw it on the ground!

The same rule applies to all the various ways in which the straight imperative is expressed, as is seen from the relevant examples (§5.6.1(1 - 4)). It does not apply to the exhortation and 'wish' forms which may occur elsewhere in the sentence:

- (947) *Athatha-na! Thangka-parra ari-kirnda!*
 grandson-EMP stay-OPT we.two-DAT
 Grandson! Please stay with *us two*!

(2) Perfective forms and 'lest' forms

The perfective forms, whether or not followed by the emphatic clitic, practically always occur at the end of a sentence: they express a sense of finality (§5.4.2.2). The same rule applies to other past tenses formed with the help of the suffix *-nha*, which in these combinations conveys the sense of completion. This includes the ancient perfect of Arabana and the immediate past of Wangkangurru, as well as the derivative pluperfect in *-kanha-ru* (§5.4.2.11(3); for an exception see example (1059) below). In nearly all the few instances where they are not sentence-final, such verbs occur in clause-final position, with a subordinate or adjunct clause following:

- (948) *Wati nguru-nga kari ilanha yuka-kanha, thirriwa yuka-kanha.*
 track other-LOC they thus go-PERF east go-PERF
 Thus they went another way, they went east.
- (949) *Kari-kunha ngawi-ka untu, kari-nha ngawi-kanha kari wangka-ngura.*
 they-POSS hear-P you.ERG they-ACC hear-PERF they sing-CONT
 You heard their (songs), you have heard them singing.
- (950) *Untu anti watyi-rnanha.*
 you now cook-IMM
 You've just finished cooking.
- (951) *Mathapurda-nha pirda-apukanha.* (A)
 old.man-ACC kill-ANC.PERF
 They killed that old man long ago.

The 'lest' forms follow a similar pattern:

- (952) *Kangi yanta-nangka-liya.*
 too.much talk-CONT.S-lest
 He might go on talking interminably.

As the underlying word order is AOV / SV in any case (§8.1 above), these examples do not in themselves prove anything: what is noteworthy is the almost total absence of instances where the perfective and the 'lest' forms occur anywhere other than in final position.

(3) The negative

The position of the negative particles *malyka* / *maltya*, *padni* and *panta* (§6.3.4) is generally predetermined: they precede the item that is to be negated.

- (953) *Kari-ri ngunhi-ka ngampa ngurku, maltya kalturru.*
 they-ERG give-P nardoo.stone good not broken
 They gave him a good nardoo stone, not a broken one.

When these particles are used as sentence negators they must always precede the verb:

- (954) *Kari-ri malyka wayayi-rna.*
 they-ERG not like-IMPF
 They did not like (him).

(4) Tags

Any constituent that serves as a tag has by its very nature to be in the final position: this applies even to a contrasting negative as in the expression *maltya kalturru* 'not a broken one' in example (983) and in the following:

- (955) *Ngurku-wityi-ka padni-kali padni.*
 good-become-P not-perhaps.not not
 He got better, or maybe he didn't.

(5) The non-past

Verbs in the non-past, whether used in a main or subordinate clause, are usually sentence-final and practically always clause-final (for one of the rare exceptional circumstances see example (1001). Part of example (956) below may appear to be an exception, but it is not, as the pronoun is enclitic to the verb and forms a unit with it (§8.2.3.): *Nhanhi-nh'-athu!*

The examples given for the non-past (examples (542) - (562)) illustrate this final position. It is only the rare causal form of the non-past that forms an exception (§5.6.2(4)).

8.1.2 SEMANTICALLY DETERMINED WORD ORDER

The sentence in Arabana-Wangkangurru has two focal points, two positions of prominence into which the main items of discussion may be placed for emphasis: the beginning and the end. The end position (§2.13.3(3)) is the only one which can be associated with emphatic vowel distortion:

- (956) *Nhanhi-nh'-athu! Athu nhanhi-nhei!*
 see-NP-I.ERG I.ERG see-NP.EMP
 I want to *see!* I (too) want to *see!* (uttered by a crippled ancestor who could not look over the shoulders of others to see a corroboree).

Emphasis by position is obviously even more noticeable if it is contrary to the standard preferred word order. Thus a verb is emphatic in initial position:

- (957) *Wiya-wiya-la-lhuk' uka-nha.*
 laugh-laugh-BEN-HIST he-ACC
 They *laughed* at him.

Again, an object may precede the subject and occur in the initial position:

- (958) *Partyarna uka-ru pirda-ka, malyka nguRu thangka-ngura.*
 all he-ERG kill-P not other sit-CONT
 He killed them *all*, not a single one remained.

Similarly a noun or adjective, whether subject or object, is emphasised by being in the final position, normally occupied by a verb:

- (959) *Kutha kantha-ngura katiwiRi-ki-thi.*
 rain pour-CONT big-EMP-EMP
 The most tremendous amount of rain came pouring down.

This has a much more dramatic statement than the ordinary SV order:

- (960) *Kutha katiwiRi kantha-ngura.*
 rain big pour-CONT
 It rained heavily.

- (961) *Uka-nha ulyurla pirda-lhuku, kutha-ngaRu-nga, kutha iki-ngura*
 this-ACC woman kill-HIST water-matter-LOC water carry-CONT
partyarna.
 all
 He killed this woman on account of the water, she was carrying the water away,
all of it.

8.1.3 ENCLITIC PRONOUNS

Because of the preferred AOV / SV word order it is not common to find a verb followed by a pronoun subject, though this can occur. When it does happen it can represent a very special form of usage: the pronoun is enclitic to the verb, and the whole expression forms a unit. This applies most noticeably to pronouns of the first and second person singular, and more rarely dual and plural, rather than the third persons, which have more in common with nouns. The final vowel of the verb is elided during the enclitic process. Thus the standard expression represents two separate words, as in:

- (962) *Antha yuka-rnda.*
 I go-PRES
 I am going.

However, the alternative represents a single unit, with one main accent:

- (963) *Yuka-rnd'-antha!*
 go-PRES-I
 I'm going!

Similarly the pronoun may be regarded as enclitic in the following:

- (964) *Ngawi-nangka-rd'-untu?*
listen-CONT.S-PRES-you.ERG
Are you listening?
- (965) *Thika-rd'-arniri.*
return-PRES-we.INC
We are all going back.
- (966) *Thangka-ngur'-uka mudlu-nga.*
sit-CONT-he sandhill-LOC
He was sitting on a sandhill.

The verb need not necessarily be in a sentence-initial position to attract an enclitic pronoun:

- (967) *Warru irpi nhanhi-r'-athu, warru murilya.*
white claypan see-PUNC-I.ERG white dry
I can see a white claypan, white and dry.
- (968) *Waru nhanhi-k'-athu.*
long.ago see-P-I.ERG
Long ago I saw it.

There are semantic limitations on this usage: the enclitic forms are not used when there is strong emphasis on the pronoun. Thus the answer to the question 'What are you doing?' could well be *Thangkard'antha* 'I am *sitting down*'. If someone wanted to say 'I am *staying*', implying that, in contrast to others, they were absolutely refusing to go anywhere, they would have to say *Anthathangkarda* using the normal free and accented form of the pronoun and stressing the verb in its final position.

Apart from being enclitic to the verb, personal pronouns can be enclitic to the negative particles *malyka* / *maltya* and *panta* 'failed to', but only when these are in sentence-initial position:

- (969) *Malty'-antha waya-rnda tyalpa tharni-lhiku. (A)*
not-I want-PRES food eat-PUR
I don't want anything to eat.

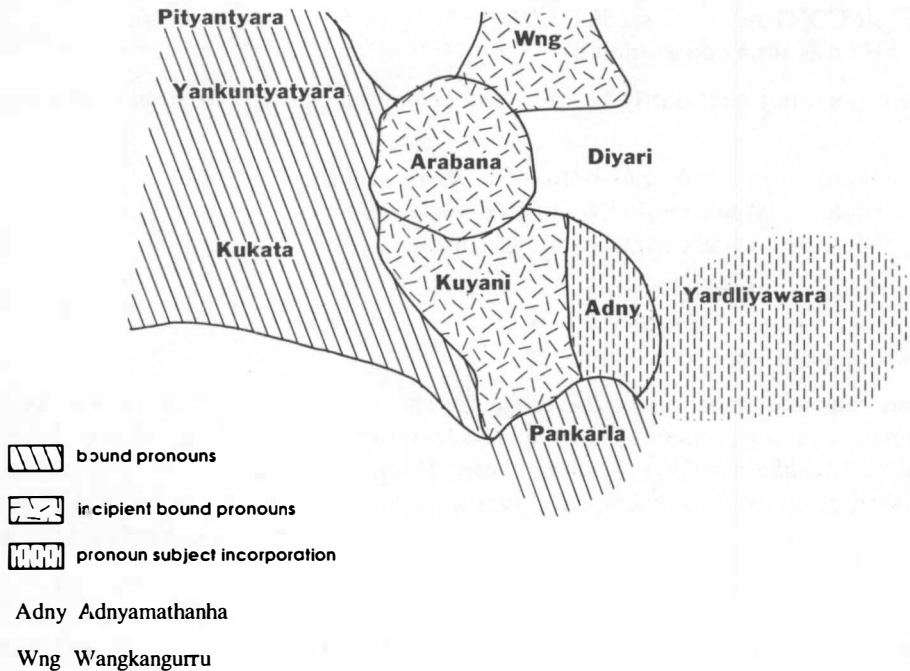
Padni 'not' was used in similar environments (§6.3.4), but was always followed by the full pronoun forms.

The only other word which, when sentence initial, could attract an enclitic was *minha* 'what?', as in:

- (970) *Minha'-npa wangka?*
what-you language
What language (i.e. 'nationality') are you?

There is no dialectal difference between Arabana and Wangkangurru with respect to the enclitic pronouns. In both languages enclitic pronouns are not uncommon in subordinate clauses, other than purposive (§8.3.3(2)). This feature of Arabana-Wangkangurru grammar is of interest from the comparative point of view. The languages to the south belonging to the Yura group, notably Kuyani, as well as the Western Desert languages, have bound

pronouns, particularly pronoun subject forms enclitic to verbs. They also make an optional use of bound forms following the initial word in a sentence, particularly if that is a negative or an interrogative. This characteristic is shared by languages much further to the south-east, namely the Kulin languages of Victoria. Pronoun subject incorporation was the rule in the Yardliyawara-Malyangapa language group. From the evidence listed above it appears that Arabana-Wangkangurru had the beginnings of a system of bound pronouns. Whether this was an independent development or the result of diffusion remains uncertain.



MAP 3: PRONOUN INCORPORATION
(drawn by Theo Baumann)

8.2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

8.2.1 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES – GENERAL

Arabana-Wangkangurru has no conjunctions: clauses are juxtaposed and *both* the grammatical and some semantic functions of subordinate verbs are conveyed by suffixes attached to the subordinate verb.

The findings of Hale (1976) for Warlpiri subordinate clauses are applicable also to Arabana-Wangkangurru: relative clauses are adjoined rather than embedded. As in Warlpiri this applies both to Hale's NP-relative clauses and to his T-relative clauses, as well as to some cases where both interpretations are appropriate. The main types of subordinate clauses are:

- (a) purposive clauses, including complement clauses of verbs of emotion, 'forgetting', 'wishing' and 'awaiting';

- (b) adverbial-relative clauses (Hale's T-relative and NP-relative clauses), except for those included in (c);
 (c) complement clauses of verbs of perception and knowing;
 (d) 'lest' clauses.

8.2.1.1 THE DEFINITION OF 'SAME SUBJECT'

Purposive clauses are chosen here to illustrate the definition. In same-subject subordinate clauses containing the purposive form, the subject is not normally expressed: it is understood to be the same as the subject of the main clause, *or at least to be included within it*. Thus subordinate clauses containing the first person dual and plural are considered same-subject clauses if the speaker is included, but this is apparent only from the context. If a speaker says the following to another person, the use of the purposive (i.e. same-subject form) implies that the speaker will drink tea too:

- (971) *Athu thiti ngunhi-ra puntha-lhuku.*
 I.ERG tea give-PUNC drink-PUR
 I give (you) some tea to drink.

Should the speaker wish to be excluded he would use the switch-reference form:

- (972) *Thiti ngunhi-ra puntha-nha-nga.*
 tea give-PUNC drink-NP-LOC
 (I) give (you) some tea to drink.

If the speaker wished to emphasise the reference he would say:

- (973) *Athu thiti ngunhi-ra untu puntha-nha-nga.*
 I.ERG tea give-PUNC you.ERG drink-NP-LOC
 I give (you) some tea for you to drink.

(1) Subject of main clause as subset of subject of subordinate clause

The principles of same-subject subordinate clauses are identical to those that operate in Diyari (Austin 1981a:198 and 1981b): the subject of a singular main clause can be included in the dual or plural subject of a subordinate clause in sentences of the kind 'You (singular) cook something for you two (or you plural) to eat', or 'He cooks something for them two (or all of them) to eat' – provided that the subject, in this case the person doing the cooking, forms part of the subject of the subordinate clause (i.e. takes part in eating). Similarly, a dual in the main clause can be included in a same person plural in the subordinate clause. The situation in Arabana-Wangkangurru differs however from that described for Diyari, in that this is usually all left to implication and the 'same subject' of the subordinate clause is hardly ever expressed. In purposive clauses in Arabana-Wangkangurru, in contrast to Diyari, it is the verb form that indicates whether there is a switch of reference; the pronouns are often simply understood, almost invariably so in same-subject clauses, which is to be expected according to the general principles of same-subject deletion:

- (974) *Athu kathi wadnhi-ra anti thami-lhiku.*
 I.ERG meat cook-PUNC directly eat-PUR
 I am cooking meat so that (I, we two, or all of us) can eat it soon.

The same-subject form *thamilhiku* simply implies that the subject of the main clause (the cook) is included. It would be most unusual to specify this further except if the speaker wanted to make sure that the person addressed is not included:

- (975) *Athu kathi wadnhi-ra arni tharni-lhiku.*
 I.ERG meat cook-PUNC we.EXC eat-PUR
 I am cooking meat for us (but not you) to eat.

The rules of inclusion are exactly the same as in Diyari (Austin 1981a:198), in that a second person (of a lesser number) in the main clause is regarded as being included with a first person dual or plural form inclusive:

- (976) *Urupula thurka-rndei! Partyamd'-arniri yuka-lhuku.* (A)
 you.dual rise-PRES all-we.PL.INC go-PUR
 Get up you two! so that we can all get going.

Similarly a third person (of a lesser number) in the main clause is regarded as being included with a first person dual or plural form exclusive. The situation can be summarised in a similar manner to that in Diyari as follows:

MAIN CLAUSE	SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
1st person singular	1st person singular, dual or plural
2nd person singular	2nd person singular, dual or plural, 1st dual or plural inclusive
3rd person singular	3rd person singular; dual or plural provided that 'they' includes the person mentioned in the main clause; 1st dual or plural exclusive
1st person dual	1st person dual or plural, 1st person plural inclusive
2nd person dual	2nd person dual or plural, 1st person plural inclusive
3rd person dual	3rd person dual or plural provided that 'they' includes the person mentioned in the main clause, 1st person plural exclusive

Because the 'same subject' of the subordinate clause is usually implied rather than expressed, evidence for this table is drawn mainly from inference and from general discussion with speakers.

(2) Subject of subordinate clause as subset of subject of main clause

Here too Arabana-Wangkangurru shares the Diyari system (Austin 1981b) in that there is a lack of symmetry: when the number referred to in the subordinate clause is less than in the main clause there is no question of any inclusion, and only the *exact* equivalent can be regarded as a same subject:

- (977) *Antha mudlu-nga wanka-rda, wadlhu nhanhi-lhiku.*
 I sandhill-LOC climb-PRES country see-PUR
 I'll go up to the top of the sandhill to have a look at the country.

In this sentence 'I' is the subject of both clauses, and naturally the purposive form, that is the same-subject form, is used. The identical sentence could be uttered by the driver of a car and might imply 'I'll go to the top of the sandhill so we can all have a look at the country'. The same-subject form is used because I am doing the driving and I am included among the people looking. Illustrating the reverse case, a Wangkangurru speaker was heard to say:

- (978) *Amiri mudlu-nga wanka-rda, athu nhanhi-nha-nga.*
 we.INC sandhill-LOC climb-PRES I.ERG see-NP-LOC
 We'll go up to the top of the sandhill so that I can see (where we are).

The speaker was making it clear that only he, and not the rest of the party, would be able to see where we were. The same-subject form *nhanhilihiku* is not acceptable here. In such sentences the subject of the *subordinate* clause forms a subset of the subject of the main clause. Moreover in such sentences the subject of the subordinate clause cannot be guessed at, but has to be expressed. By being singled out for the action of the subordinate clause the subject is felt to be different: the use of the same-subject verb form is therefore considered wrong, and only the switch-reference marking verb forms, the non-past (NP) or the locative form of the non-past are permissible.

These general principles defining the 'same subject' apply not only to purposive clauses but to the other types of subordinate clauses in Arabana-Wangkangurru.

8.2.1.2 AFFIXES USED IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The affixes used in subordinate clauses are set out below.

TYPES OF CLAUSES	SAME SUBJECT	DIFFERENT SUBJECT
purposive clauses	<i>-lhiku ~ lhuku</i>	<i>-nha</i> (NP), <i>-nha-nga</i> (NP-LOC)
adverbial-relative and complement		
continuous and also any time	relevant tense markers	<i>-ngura</i> , rarely <i>-nha</i> , <i>-kura</i> (A), <i>kuwara</i> (A)
same time, past only	relevant tense markers	<i>-ngura</i> , <i>-kura</i> (A), <i>kuwara</i> (A)
same time, in passing	<i>-rakarna</i>	<i>-rakarna</i>
general circumstance adverbial		<i>-nha-nga</i>
adverbial-relative		
cause and/or earlier time	<i>-limaru, naru,</i>	<i>-naru, -kanharu</i>
implied		
mainly temporal	<i>-yangu</i>	
purely temporal sequence	<i>-(r)inaru</i> (W)	<i>-(r)inaru</i> (W)
'lest' clauses	<i>-liya</i> (W) <i>-lira</i> (A)	<i>-liya</i> (W) <i>-lira</i> (A)

The ordering of the type of clauses in the table above goes from maximum differentiation between same subject and different subject as shown in purposive clauses to total absence of differentiation as in 'lest' clauses. For details of the 'same time, in passing' suffix see §5.5.3.

8.2.1.3 COMMENTS ON THE AFFIXES

(1) Purposive clauses

The use of the individual verbal affixes that occur in subordinate clauses has been discussed in §5.5 to §5.7 above; what is given here is only a syntactic overview of some of the main features. In purposive clauses the main distinction is that between same-subject and switch-reference marking:

- (979) *Antha wanti-nta thika-lhuku.*
 I wait-REFL return-PUR
 I am waiting to go back (home).
 (Same subject: I am doing the waiting and I will be going home).
- (980) *Antha wanti-nta unpa thika-nha.*
 I wait-REFL you return-NP
 I am waiting for you to come back.
 (Different subject: I am waiting and you will be coming back).

There is however a further possibility:

- (981) *Antha wanti-nta unpa thika-nha-nga.*
 I wait-REFL you return-NP-LOC

This can mean 'I am waiting for you to come back', but the use of the locative form *-nha-nga* gives a nuance of general circumstance and the meaning can also be equivalent to 'I am waiting until you get back'.

For the use of the locative form see §5.6.2(3). The locative case marker is associated with switch-reference marking over a wide area of Central Australia: this situation has been pointed out by Austin (1981a:331) as a possible case of indirect syntactic diffusion.

(2) Adverbial-relative and complement clauses, same subject

Because clauses are adjoined and because the ordinary past tense markers can be used in same-subject subordinate clauses, it is sometimes not possible to tell whether subordination or parataxis is involved. The following is probably a case of parataxis:

- (982) *Uka malya ngurku-thi-ya, apityi nhandhika kumpira, kubmari-purru.* (A)
 he not good-become-P father see.P dead blood-having
 He (the little boy) never quite recovered: he had seen his father dead, covered in blood.

The following, on the other hand, is probably a case of subordination, at least in the opinion of the writer, mainly on account of the use of *-yangu*, which is so common in subordinate clauses:

- (983) *Malya thiki-mda ngura-ruku, ngurrali parnduthi-yangu lhuka.* (A)
 not take.back-PRES home-ALL altogether forget-PLUP mother
 She didn't take (the children) home, (because) she, the mother, had completely forgotten (all about them).

(3) Adverbial-relative clauses, switch of reference

This is marked by the use of the affix *-ngura*, as in the following complement clause:

- (984) *Kari-ri partyarna-ru ngurka-yira | minha ngaRu-nga minha*
 they-ERG all-ERG know-PUNC | what manner-LOC what
 A V (main clause) |
ngaRu-nga pirdayi-ngura kari-ri.
 manner-LOC kill-CONT they-ERG
 V A

They all knew exactly how and why they (these other people) had killed (him).

If the people concerned had done the deed themselves the sentence would be:

- (985) *Kari-ri partyama-ru ngurka-yira | minha ngaRu-nga minha*
 they-ERG all-ERG know-PUNC | what manner-LOC what
 A V (main clause) |

ngaRu-nga pirdayi-ka.

manner-LOC kill-P

V

They all knew exactly how and why they had killed (him).

The use of *-nha* in complement clauses is much rarer; it is found for instance in the following complex sentence where a relative clause is itself dependent on a pronoun in the purposive clause:

- (986) *Kumpira partyama mapa-rnda-rna uka-nha nhanhi-lhiku maka-ra*
 dead all collect-SP-IMPF he-ACC see-PUR fire-CSL

ngarda-rnda-nha.

burn-SP-NP

Those bastards (lit. 'dead people') all quickly crowded together to see him being burnt by the fire.

A typical example of an adverbial clause indicating circumstances is the following:

- (987) *Kutha yadlangka-rda-nha-nga punga-nga kari thangka-rda.*
 rain approach-SP-NP-LOC humpy-LOC they sit-PRES
 When the rain comes close they sit in the humpy.

(4) Relative clauses in complement versus adverbial clauses

In Arabana-Wangkangurru, as in most Australian languages, there are many situations where it is hard to distinguish between T-relative and NP-relative clauses. However, with verbs of perception in Arabana-Wangkangurru the difference is marked by the use of *-nha-nga* versus *-ngura*. Of these two switch-reference suffixes, *-nha-nga*, marked as it is for the locative, conveys the adverbial notion 'as the action was taking place', while *-ngura*, the continuative verb form, refers to someone in the process of performing the action (but rarely *-nha* fulfils the same function as in example (986) above). In the following sentence the object of the verb 'to hear' is understood, being the song to which the speaker had been referring:

- (988) *Athu ngawi-ka mathapurda thata-ru*¹⁶ *wangka-ngura.*
 I.ERG hear-P old.man dead-ERG sing-CONT
 I heard a man now dead singing it.

The following lays more emphasis on the time the speaker heard the song:

- (989) *Athu ngawi-ka mathapurda thata-ru wangka-nha-nga.*
 I.ERG hear-P old.man dead-ERG sing-NP-LOC
 I heard (it) when a man now dead was singing it.

¹⁶ For the rules of case marking in such noun phrases see §8.2.2.4(2).

When the object of the verb of perception is marked in the main clause and when the *-nha-nga* form is used, the speed form of the verb is preferred, as the attention is focused on the actual moment of the event. This is shown for instance in a sentence similar to example (989) but different in that the focus is on the time of the event:

- (990) *Athu ngawi-ka kari-nha wangka-rda-nha-nga.*
 I.ERG hear-P they-ACC sing-SP-NP-LOC
 I heard them as they were singing.

It is also shown in the following:

- (991) *Athu ngawi-ka kari-nha yuka-rnda-nha-nga.*
 I.ERG hear-P them-ACC go-SP-NP-LOC
 I heard them as they were coming (i.e. at the very moment when they came).

This contrasts with example (949) where *kari-nha*, the accusative of the main clause, is used, but where the nominative *kari* is also expressed as the subject of the subordinate clause. It contrasts also with:

- (992) *Athu ngawi-ka kari yuka-ngura.*
 I.ERG hear-P they come-CONT
 I heard them coming (lit. I heard (it) they were coming; I might have heard the process for quite a while).

It is thus precisely when the object of the verb of perception is expressed (an object that is the subject of the subordinate clause) that an adverbial clause is preferred in Arabana-Wangkangurru. This is a situation where English syntax would make us expect a relative clause. When the object of the verb of perception is an unexpressed 'it', that is when the object represents the action that is taking place, then Arabana-Wangkangurru uses a relative clause.

The other suffixes used in adverbial-relative clauses, *-kura* (A), *kuwara* (A) and *-rakarna*, do not involve any further discussion and relevant examples are given in §5.5.2 - 3.

(5) Earlier time implied

-limaru, *-yangu* and the rare form *-kanharu* have restricted reference: they are used only with same subject subordinate clauses. *-limaru* is both completive and causal (§5.4.2.10). The completive sense prevails in the following:

- (993) *Nyipa marra wirri-nangka-rda, tyalpa tharni-limaru*
 clothes new wear-CONT.S-PRES food eat-PLUP
arni yuta. (A)
 we.EXC already
 We are wearing new clothes, having already finished our dinner (i.e. we are getting ready to go out).

The causal sense prevails in:

- (994) *Antha ngarra-wapayi-ma warritha-ru yuka-limaru.*
 I heart-finish-IMPF afar-ABL go-PLUP
 I am exhausted as I have travelled from far away.

-yangu is usually mainly temporal:

- (995) *Kutha palyi-wityi-ma-yangu, thika-ru kaRu Muniranha.*
 water wide-become-SP-PLUP go.back-NAR there *Muniranha*
 When the water had flooded right out it flowed back to there, to *Muniranha* 'Fish Hole'.

A purely causal function is less common with *-yangu*, but it can be noted occasionally:

- (996) *Akaputatyika,*¹⁷ *kardapu-nga pityirrayi-yangu.*
Akaputatyika head-LOC redden-PLUP
 (The bird is called) *Akaputatyika*, because it had got (in the myth) a red mark on its head.

For the use of *-naru* and *-kanharu* see §5.4.2.11(2 - 3).

(6) 'Lest' clauses

The 'lest' clauses do not show any distinction between 'same subject' and switch of reference; the suffix *-liya / -lira* is used for both as shown in §5.6.4 above. This is a widespread phenomenon: switch-reference marking in 'lest' clauses is not known in any Australian language (Austin 1981a).

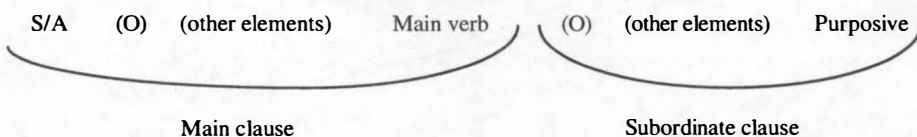
8.2.2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES – ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS

8.2.2.1 POSITION OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES: SAME-SUBJECT PURPOSIVE CLAUSES

There is considerable liberty in the relative position of subordinate clauses and the main clause: normally the main clause precedes the subordinate clause, but the situation differs according to the type of clause, same-subject purposive clauses being the most complex. The positioning of these same-subject clauses is subject to special rules. Three possibilities exist, with the further complication that purposive clauses quite commonly have other clauses dependent upon them.

(1) Main clause followed by subordinate clause

In same-subject purposive clauses the most common usage is main clause followed by subordinate clause, and the normal order is as follows:



This is seen in the sentence

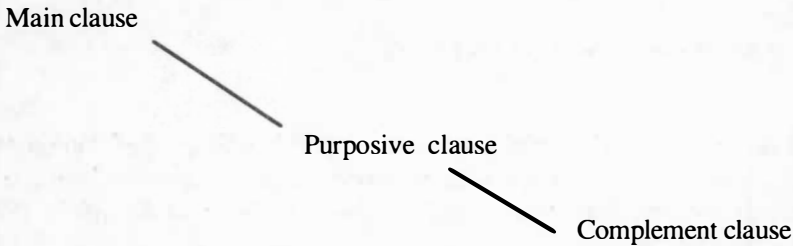
- (997) *Athu kira kapa-yira | mathapurda-nha pirda-lhuku.*
 I.ERG boomerang work-PUNC | old.man-ACC kill-PUR
 A O Main V | O Subordinate V
 I am getting ready a boomerang to kill the old man.

¹⁷ This is a Wangkangurru version of the Lower Aranda word *akapertatyeke*, from *akaperte* 'head' and *atyetyeke* 'red' (Breen, pers.comm.).

If the purposive clause governs another subordinate clause this order is practically the rule, as in:

- (998) *Kutyu-ru* *nhingka-rda* | *nhanhi-lhiku* | *waRanga waRanga*
 Kurdaitcha-ERG look-PRES | see-PUR | where where
 Main clause | Purposive clause | Complement clause
- arla-wityi-nha.*
 visible.become-NP
 The Kurdaitcha kept an eye open to see where he (the victim) would appear.

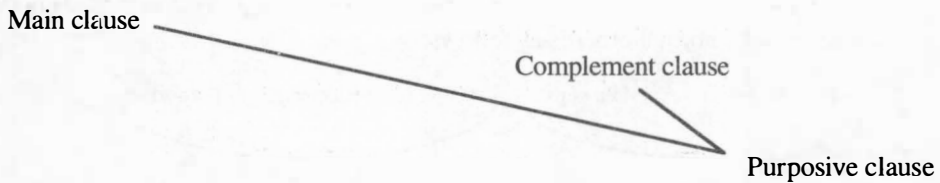
This sentence is analysed as follows:



It is extremely rare for a purposive clause to be separated from the main verb by its own dependent clause. This construction was stylised and confined to traditional recitation:

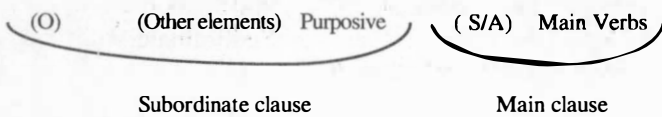
- (999) *Yata uka kathi-ma-thika-ma* | *waRanga waRanga*
 again she turn-IMPF-return-IMPF | where where
 Main clause Complement clause
- mungka-nangka-rda* | *nhanhi-lhiku.*
 grunt-CONT.S-PRES | see-PUR
 Purposive clause
- She turned back again to see where this grunting sound came from (lit. where this grunting sound came from to see).

This can be analysed as:



(2) Subordinate clause followed by main clause

This is an optional order: it is less common than the reverse and implies an emphasis on the subordinate clause. The order is:



Examples are:

- (1000) *Ngarrapili-lhiku,* | *kardapu madli-ma-rna-lhuk'* |
 rest-PUR | head cool-make-SP-PUR |
 Subordinate clause | Subordinate clause |

uka-ru kudni-kudni-thika-lhuku.
 he-ERG put.down-put.down-return-HIST
 Main clause

In order to have a rest and to cool down his head for a while he put down (onto the ground the heavy pounding stone he was carrying on his headband) while he was on his way back.

- (1001) *Kutha mani-lhiku* | *yuka-rnd'antha.*
 water get-PUR | go-PRES.I
 I am going to get some water.

The use of the enclitic pronoun in this environment is common (§8.1.3).

(3) Embedding of subordinate clause

With the intransitive verb 'to wish' a complex order is followed: the purposive clause is incorporated into the main clause and comes between the negative and the main clause subject, if expressed on one side, and the main verb on the other:

(Negative) (S) (O) (other elements) Purposive Main Verb

This is seen in the following sentences:

- (1002) *Malty'* | *unkunha midlha nhanhi-lhiku* | *waya-rnda:*
 not | your face see-PUR | wish-PRES:
 NEG | O Subordinate V

Main clause beginning Subordinate clause Main verb

antha ngurrali yuka-rnda. (A)

I altogether go-PRES

I don't want to see your face (ever again): I am going for good.

- (1003) *Kari watunguru* | *wangka* | *yanhi-lhiku* | *waya-rnda.*
 they rest | language | speak-PUR | wish-PRES
 O V

Subordinate clause

These other people want to talk in the language (too).

Like the verbs of wishing, one other set of intransitive verbs, namely the verbs of movement, can also be associated with embedded purposive clauses:

- (1004) *Anthā kutha mani-lhiku yuka-rnda* (or *warramda* or *thikamda*).
 I water get-PUR go-PRES (or run or go back)

Subordinate clause

I am going (or running or going back) to get water.

Peripherals which may occur in the subordinate clause before the verb include adverbs (e.g. 'quickly', 'right now'), or case forms (e.g. locatives, as in *puhunga* 'in a dish'). There are however restrictions on the main clause: embedding is not acceptable if this contains any peripherals other than the negative. Thus the following sentences are incorrect: **Anthā kutha manilhiku karlaruku yukamda* 'I am going to the creek to get some water' (because the main clause contains the peripheral *karlaruku* 'to the creek') or **Anthā kutha manilhiku anti yukamda* 'I am going straight away to get some water' (because the main clause contains the peripheral *anti* 'straight away'). Such sentences have to be constructed without embedding, with the subordinate clause either preceding or following the main clause:

- (1005) *Anthā karla-ruku yuka-rnda, kutha mani-lhiku*.
 I creek-ALL go-PRES water get-PUR
 I am going to the creek to get some water.
- (1006) *Kutha mani-lhiku anthā karla-ruku yuka-rnda*.
 water get-PUR I creek-ALL go-PRES
 I am going to the creek to get some water.

8.2.2.2 POSITION OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

(1) Switch-reference purposive clauses

When there is switch-reference the purposive sense is conveyed by the non-past participle or by this participle in its locative form (§5.6.2(3)). Subordinate clauses of this type are restricted as to their position and are found *only following* the main clause:

- (1007) *Athu tyalpa ngunhi-rnda | untu tharni-nha-nga. (A)*
 I food give-PRES | you.ERG eat-NP-LOC
 Main clause Subordinate clause
 I am giving you some food so that you can eat it.
- (1008) *Karla nguRu-ruku yuka-ka malya kunha nhanhi-nha-nga. (A)*
 creek other-ALL go-P not him see-NP-LOC
 He went off to another creek, so that they (the police) would not see him.

The reverse order in such sentences is not acceptable.

Switch-reference purposive clauses thus exhibit a striking difference from same-subject purposive clauses, where the reverse order and embedding are permissible. This contrast illustrates the fact that the two types of purposive clause, same-subject and switch-reference, were felt to be fundamentally distinct.

(2) Causal and temporal clauses

It is most usual for the main clause to come first:

- (1009) *Thika-lhuku kaRu* | *anti yuka-rnda-yangu.*
return-HIST there | just go-SP-PLUP

Main clause Subordinate clause

He went back after he had only just got here.

- (1010) *Ulyurla wanga-li yuka-rna* | *mathapurda kudnala-nga.*
woman early-ADV go-IMPF | old.man sleep-LOC

Main clause Subordinate clause

The woman went away in the night while the old man was sleeping.

The reverse order is less common, but grammatically fully acceptable: the above sentences could therefore be turned around without difficulty. The only difference would be a greater focus on the subordinate clause. This greater focus can be seen in the following instances:

- (1011) *Amiri uta thathi-m-inaru* | *yatu wityi-kanha.*
we already eat-SP-PLUP | full become-PERF

Subordinate clause | Main clause

Because we have been eating things on the way we are all full.

- (1012) *Kangi mitha-a-rnda-limaru ankirda* | *antha kudla-nta. (A)*
too.much wait-TR-SP-PLUP you-DAT | I angry-REFL

Subordinate clause | Main clause

Because I have been waiting for you too long I am getting angry.

(3) Complement clauses

Both types of order are permissible. It is possible, though unusual, for the complement clause to precede the main clause:

- (1013) *WaRanga waRanga yuka-ka* | *athu malyka ngurka-yira.*
where where go-P | I.ERG not know-PUNC

Subordinate clause | Main clause

I don't know where he went.

However, the complement clause usually comes last, and always so when the non-past is used:

- (1014) *Nhanhi-wa-rna* | *kaRu wilawila thangka-ngura thadlu ulyurla.*
see-TR-IMPF | there many stay-CONT only women

Main clause | Subordinate clause

He noticed that there were many people there, but only women.

- (1015) *Ngawi-nangka-rda* | *kari wangka-rda-nha-nga.*
hear-CONT.S-PRES | they sing-SP-NP-LOC

Main clause | Subordinate clause

I listened while they were singing.

If the complement clause is itself governed by a subordinate clause, this normally precedes the main clause, while the complement clause follows:

- (1016) *Ngawi-lhiku* | *waya-rnda* | *withira withira yanhi-ngura*.
 hear-PUR | wish-PRES | how how speak-CONT
 Subordinate clause | Main clause | Subordinate clause (Complement)
 (I) want to hear how (you) say it (lit. to hear I wish how say).

(4) General patterns

We can thus see a distinct pattern in the positioning of subordinate clauses, with decreasing mobility as follows:

(a) Maximum mobility

Same-subject purposive clauses

(b) Medium mobility

Temporal and causal clauses

Complement clauses

(c) Minimum mobility

Switch-reference purposive clauses.

8.2.2.3 WORD ORDER WITHIN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Hale (1976:88) pointed out for Warlpiri that word order in subordinate clauses is stricter than in main clauses, with the verb always being in final position (see also Blake 1987:162). This is the general tendency in Wangkangurru also, though it is not an absolute rule: the tendency is evident to varying degrees in different types of subordinate clauses.

(1) Purposive clauses: same subject

When the purposive verb form is used, the subject or agent is not separately expressed, as it is the same as that of the main clause (§5.7.1). The object always precedes the verb, which is final:

- (1017) *Uka-ru kira kapa-yira mathapurda-nha pirda-lhuku*.
 he-ERG boomerang make-PUNC old.man-ACC kill-PUR
 O V

He made a boomerang to kill the old man.

- (1018) *Antha yuka-rnda kutha mani-lhiku*.
 I go-PRES water get-PUR
 O V

I am going to get some water.

A sentence like the following is considered wrong:

- **Antha yuka-rnda mani-lhiku kutha*.
 I go-PRES get-PUR water
 V O

On rare occasions and for particular emphasis, adverbs could follow the subordinate verb, as in:

- (1019) *Antha thika-ma arlarla pirda-ma-lhuku waku nyurdu.*
 I return-IMPF truly beat-SP-PUR turn too
 ADV V ADV

I am going back to pound (nardoo on this grinding stone) in my turn *too*.

(2) Purposive-type clauses, switch-reference

Those purposive clauses where there is a switch of reference (§5.6.2(2)) also adhere to an SV / AOV order:

- (1020) *Yarirda-ru uka-ru wangka-ru, yalka-ru, ngura katyiwiRi, |*
 spell-INSTR he-ERG sing-NAR onion-ABL camp big |
 S

ngura-nganha partyama wantya-nha.
 camp-from all die-NP
 V

He sang the whole big camp with a magic spell, over (this matter of) the wild onions (which had been stolen), so that all the people belonging to that place would die.

- (1021) *Ulyurla-nta antha yuka-rnda wadni tharki-tharki-nha-nga.*
 woman-ALL I go-PRES ceremony show-show-NP-LOC
 O V

I am going over to the women so that they can show me their ceremony.

- (1022) *Antha waya-rnda untu mak' anthunha tyintya-rda-nha-nga.*
 I want-PRES you.ERG firewood mine cut-SP-NP-LOC
 A O V

I want you to chop up my firewood.

Any other constituents, non-nuclear case forms such as *pamiyakuru* 'with an axe' or adverbs such as *kalyaranga* 'quickly', follow the object and precede the verb. Any other order is not normally acceptable and clauses of the following type are considered wrong:

**untu tyintyardanhanga maka anthunha*
 you cut.NP.LOC firewood mine
 A V O

**maka anthunha tyintyardanhanga untu*
 firewood mine cut.NP.LOC you.ERG
 O V A

There are however some circumstances in which a different order is permitted in purposive clauses with switch of reference: this seems to be when the subordinate agent is a noun which is anticipated by a pronoun:

- (1023) *Antha wapa-la-lhuku yuka-rnda katyi uka-ru mani-nha-nga*
 I search-BEN-PUR go-PRES spear he-ERG get-NP-LOC
 O A V

mathapurda-ru
old.man-ERG
A

I am going to search around on his behalf so that this old man can get back his spear.

These cases however are exceptional, and on the whole the word order in purposive clauses is much more strictly AOV / SV than in any other type of clause.

(3) Causal and temporal clauses

These clauses are of the category called T-relative clauses in Hale's terminology (Hale 1976:79). Regardless of whether the same subject is used, or whether there is a switch of reference, the order is generally AOV / SV, the main feature being the final position of the subordinate verb:

(a) 'Same subject'

- (1024) *Ngulpa-thi-ya puntyu puka tharni-limaru.*
sick-become-P meat rotten eat-PLUP
O V

He got sick because he had eaten the rotten meat.

- (1025) *Puka waRa-rnda-rda kutha madlanthi-nga ngapungka-kura. (A)*
rotten smell-SP-PRES water bad-LOC bathe-P.CONT
V

(He) has a revolting smell because he has been bathing in foul water.

(b) Switch-reference

- (1026) *Ilinha wabmaRa wiRa-ngura mathapurda-ru warrukathi waRuwa-liya.*
thus wind blow-CONT old.man -ERG emu smell-lest
A O V

The wind was blowing in such a way that the old man might have smelt the emu (being cooked).

- (1027) *Ngura unkunha-ruku antha yuka-ka kudnangkari-ri wabmaRa*
camp your-ALL I go-P south-ABL wind

katyiwiRi wiRa-ngura.
big blow-CONT

When I was walking over to your camp a strong wind was blowing from the south.

(c) Exceptions

The order in causal and temporal clauses is by no means as strict as with purposives, and there are instances in same-subject clauses where the agent may follow the verb:

- (1028) *Anha nhanhi-limaru kari-ri, partyarnda nhikirnda-ru ngarri-rnda.*
me.ACC see-PLUP they-ERG all here-ABL fly-PRES
O V A

As soon as they had seen me, they (the cockatoos) all flew up from here.

- (1029) *Antha maRa panti-rda tyalpa pirda-yingura athu.*
 I hand hit.REFL-PRES tree hit-CONT I.ERG
 O V A

I hit my hand when I was chopping a tree.

Similarly in switch-reference clauses the agent is stressed by being in final position. This type of order is not at all uncommon: the tendency to put the agent or subject in final position for emphasis constitutes the most common exception to the AOV / SV order in all subordinate clauses.

Occasionally an emphatic adverb or other element may be final, following the verb:

- (1030) *Antha wanti-nta pula-ru mulyuru-ru kilita-rnda unkulu unkulu.*
 I wait-REFL two-ERG mud-ABL pull-PRES when when
 A V ADV

I'm (just) waiting till whenever the two of them (manage to) pull (the bogged car) out of the mud.

- (1031) *Malyka pula wayayi-ma kangi thaka-ngura kudna-ru.*
 not two like-IMPF too.much pelt-CONT shit-INSTR
 V INSTR

The Two (Men) were displeased because (the people at Kudnara) pelted (their little brother) all the time with shit.

There is no doubt that in general the word order regarding agents and adverbs is freer than with purposive clauses. As regards the object (apart from the exceptional cases where there are two objects) there is, as in the purposives, a strong resistance against putting the object in final position.

(4) Subordinate clauses as complements of verbs of perception, telling and knowing

Here the standard word order is different: the verb is usually in final position when the subject (transitive or intransitive) is not expressed, otherwise that position can be occupied optionally by the subject or agent:

- (1032) *Malyka untu ngurka-ngura minha-wityi-ngura uka?*
 not you.ERG know-CONT what-become-CONT he
 V S

You don't know what happened to him?

- (1033) *Uka-ru nhupa pirda-ka: | athu nhanhi-ka | uka-kunha nhupa*
 he-ERG wife beat-P | I.ERG see-P | he-POSS wife
 O

pirda-nha-nga nharla-ru, nharla akarda-ru. (A)
 beat-NP-LOC man-ERG man that-ERG
 V A A (apposition)

He beat his wife: I saw him beating her, that man.

- (1034) *Kari-ri partyama-ru ngurka-yira | minha ngaRu-nga minha*
 they-ERG all-ERG know-PUNC | what manner-LOC what
 A V (main clause) |

ngaRu-nga pirdayi-ngura kari-ri.
 manner-LOC kill-CONT they-ERG
 V A

They all knew exactly how they (these other people) had killed (him).

The word order A(O)V / SV in such clauses would be equally acceptable, and one could say for instance both the following:

(1035) *minha ngaRunga kariri pirdayingura*
 ADV A V
 why (how) they had killed (him)

(1036) *Athu ngawi-ka kutha tyarlungka-rda-nha-nga.*
 I hear-P water splash-SP-NP-LOC
 S V

I heard the water splashing.

Occasionally an adverb can follow the subordinate verb:

(1037) *Malyka uka-ru ngunta-lhuku wayayi-rna makathira thawi-rinaru ipali.*
 not he-ERG tell-PUR wish-IMPF firestick throw-PLUP before
 O V ADV

He (Green Ant) did not want to let (anyone) know that he had already thrown away the firestick.

Though the order in these types of clause is freer than in other subordinate clauses, particularly in comparison with purposive clauses, the basic restriction remains: it is not permissible for the object to follow the verb.

8.2.2.4 THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE

A simple noun phrase can occur anywhere within a sentence; it is however a unit, and cannot be discontinuous. There are simple and composite noun phrases, a composite noun phrase containing a second or further noun phrases in apposition to the first. Within the noun phrase itself there is freedom as to the position of possessive adjectives, but all other adjectives and pronouns are regulated as to position. The basic order is:

Noun ± Adjective

± Possessive Adjective + Noun ± Possessive Adjective

(i.e. the possessive adjective may appear on either side of the noun).

Australian languages vary in the way grammatical relations by case are expressed in a noun phrase: in some languages they are expressed only at the end of the noun phrase, in others they are expressed as part of each word in the noun phrase. Arabana-Wangkangurru is not strictly a phrase-marking language nor strictly a word-marking language (see Blake 1987:77). Case marking is the norm for the final member of a noun phrase, and if that is an adjective the noun of the noun phrase may or may not also be marked for case. The other rules are set out below:

(a) A possessive adjective, which may precede the noun, is rarely marked for case when in that position.

(b) When there are two adjectives, only the final one is marked for case. When there is a definite gap, and the second adjective is felt as a separate noun phrase, or at least a tag, then case marking is obligatory on both.

(c) When there are two nouns in apposition both are marked for case.

(d) Case is not normally marked more than twice in one noun phrase when adjectives are involved, and if there are two marked members they are preferably the last two.

(e) The vocative case is marked only once and has to be in final position in a noun phrase.

(f) When two nouns are so closely and habitually associated that they form a compound, only the final member of that compound is inflected for case:

- (1038) *Ngunta-rda-yangu mathapurda-pula-ru Kurkari-Yurkunangku-ru...*
 tell-SP-PLUP old.man-two-ERG *Kurkari-Yurkunangku-ERG*
 As they were going the two old men (Snakes) *Kurkari* and *Yurkunangku* said...

We therefore have the following alternatives for ordering within a noun phrase (the examples are from Wangkangurru, but identical rules apply in Arabana):

(1) Possessive adjective and noun

(a) Standard expression:

- (1039) *anthunha wadlhu-nga*
 my country-LOC
 POSS N+CASE
 in my country

(b) Less common:

- (1040) *wadlhu anthunha-nga*
 country my-LOC
 N POSS+CASE
 in my country

(c) Uncommon:

- (1041) *ngura-nga ukakunha*
 camp-LOC POSS
 N+CASE POSS
 in his camp

(d) Unusual and emphatic:

- (1042) *wadlhu-nga anthunha-nga*
 country-LOC my-LOC
 N+CASE POSS+CASE
 in my country

(e) Very rare and highly emphatic:

- (1043) *Uka-ru-malaru anthunha-ru kaka-ru warrukathi wadnhi-ngura.*
 he-ERG-however my-ERG uncle-ERG emu cook-CONT
 PRON+CASE POSS+CASE N+CASE
 (They were all cooking sparrows), he, my uncle, however was cooking an emu.

(2) Noun and adjective

This may be exemplified by the noun phrase *wadlhu katiyiwiRi* which has the specific meaning of 'big place', 'important site'.

(a) Standard expression:

- (1044) *wadlhu katiyiwiRi-nga*
 country big-LOC
 N ADJ+CASE
 in a big place

(b) Almost equally common:

- (1045) *wadlhu-nga katiyiwiRi-nga*
 country-LOC big-LOC
 N+CASE ADJ+CASE
 in a big place

(3) Possessive adjective, noun and adjective

(a) Standard expression:

- (1046) *anthunha wadlhu katiyiwiRi-nga*
 my place big-LOC
 POSS N ADJ+CASE
 in my big place

(b) Equally common

- (1047) *anthunha wadlhu-nga katiyiwiRi-nga*
 my place-LOC big-LOC
 POSS N+CASE ADJ+CASE
 in my big place

(c) Less common

- (1048) *wadlhu katiyiwiRi-nga anthunha-nga*
 place big-LOC my-LOC
 N ADJ+CASE POSS+CASE
 in my big place

Of the following two phrases, the first is just acceptable as a highly emphatic and unusual phrase, with case being marked three times, while the second is unacceptable as case is marked on the pre-nominal possessive rather than just on the last or last two items:

- anthunha-nga wadlhu-nga katiyiwiRi-nga*
 my-LOC place-LOC big-LOC
 **anthunha-nga wadlhu katiyiwiRi-nga*
 my-LOC place big-LOC

8.2.2.5 COMPOSITE NOUN-PHRASES

The situation here is quite different, case marking being *obligatory* on all members. The reason for this is presumably that apposition is involved. Each member has greater independence and the noun phrase is not a simple unit; it must be regarded as a composite noun phrase. This is illustrated in the following:

(1) Personal pronoun and noun

- (1049) *Athu nguyu-ru ngurka-ra.*
 I.ERG one-ERG know-PUNC
 PRON+CASE ADJ+CASE
 I alone know (lit. I, the only one, know).

- (1050) *Uka-ru wityikura-ru ngurla-la-yangu.*
 he-ERG whirlwind-ERG lift-BEN-PLUP
 PRON+CASE N+CASE
 He, the whirlwind, had lifted them up.

(2) Personal pronoun and noun and adjective

- (1051) *Kari-ri mathapurda-kari-ri kumpira-kumpira-kari-ri ngunta-ka.*
 they-ERG old.man-PL-ERG dead-dead-PL-ERG show-P
 PRON+CASE N+CASE ADJ+CASE
 The old men, long dead, told (me).

(3) Two or more nouns

Whether the nouns are in apposition or linked by an unexpressed 'and', there is always repetition of the case marker on the nouns or on each subordinate noun phrase.

(a) Noun in apposition:

- (1052) *Thika-rnda ngura-ruku Panti-riku.*
 return-IMPF camp-ALL Panti-ALL
 N+CASE N+CASE
 They are going back to camp, to Panti.

Noun phrase in apposition (alternatives):

- (1053) *Thika-rnda Panti-riku, ngura kari-kunha-ruku.*
 return-IMPF Panti-ALL camp they-POSS-ALL
 N+CASE N PRON POSS+CASE
 They are going back to Panti, to their own camp.
- (1054) *Thika-rnda Panti-riku, ngura-ruku kari-kunha-ruku.*
 return-IMPF Panti-ALL camp-ALL they-POSS-ALL
 N+CASE N+CASE POSS+CASE
 They are going back to Panti, to their own camp.

(c) Complex: apposition and coordination:

- (1055) *Nhanhi-ka partyarnda-ru ngura-nganha-ru, mathapurda-ru, ulyurla-ru*
 see-P all-ERG camp-from-ERG old.man-ERG woman-ERG
wardukupa-ru.
 child-ERG
 All the people from the camp saw it, old men, women and children.

The rules of case marking illustrated above indicate that Arabana-Wangkangurru is closer to being phrase marking than word marking. The usage discussed above reflects the extent to which individual parts of noun phrases nevertheless retain independence.

8.2.2.6 NOUN PHRASES CONTAINING PERSONAL NOUNS

Nouns referring to persons differ from all other nominals in three aspects of case marking; they take:

- (a) an accusative ending;
- (b) the special locative ending *-nta*, characteristic of personal pronouns;
- (c) the special causative ending *-ntara*, characteristic of personal pronouns.

Arabana-Wangkangurru usage clearly illustrates the widespread tendency in Australian languages for the final word in a phrase to determine the choice of case marker (Blake 1987:79). However, the special case markers of personal nouns listed above are never transferred to a phrase-final adjective, even if it clearly refers to a person. Thus with a simple personal noun Arabana-Wangkangurru has:

- (1056) *Mathapurda-nta yanhi-rnda.*
 old.man-LOC speak-PRES
 I'm talking to the old man.

However, when an adjective is used, it takes the normal locative ending:

- (1057) *Yanhi-rnda mathapurda nguru-nga.*
 speak-PRES old.man other-LOC
 I'm talking to another old man.

(*Mathapurda-ntanguru-nga* is acceptable but **mathapurdangurunta* is definitely not.)

Similarly the accusative marker is never added to an adjective:

- (1058) *Mathapurda-nha Ngatu-thakali-nha nhanhi-ka.*
 old.man-ACC Ngatu-thakali-ACC see-P
 He saw old man *Ngatu-thakali*.
- (1059) *Nhanhi-ka mathapurda ngurku.*
 see-P old.man good
 He saw that good old fellow.

(*Mathapurda-nhangurku* is a valid alternative, but *ngurkunha* is totally unacceptable.)

Since some pronouns are nominative-accusative whereas nouns and adjectives follow an ergative system, it is quite possible to have both systems in operation within one composite noun phrase:

- (1060) *Manta-yikanha kathi aruna unkunha payayi-pula-ru.*
 take-PERF meat we.two.NOM you.POSS aunt-DU-ERG
 We have taken the meat, we, your two aunts.

This shows Arabana-Wangkangurru functioning as a truly mixed accusative-ergative language.

8.3 VERBLESS SENTENCES

In Arabana-Wangkangurru, as in many other languages (not only in Australia), there are a number of types of sentence which do not contain a main verb; the predicate consists of a noun phrase. There are limitations on the type of predicate, and there are clear demarcations between verbless sentences and those in which an existential verb has to be used. In verbless sentences both the subject and the predicate are in the nominative-absolutive form and the subject usually precedes the predicate. The subject and the predicate have to agree in number. There are three main types of verbless clauses: equational, descriptive and locational.

8.3.1 EQUATIONAL CLAUSES

In such clauses the subject is being identified with the predicate: the predicate cannot therefore be an adjective. Only descriptive clauses have adjectival complements. The theory of non-verb predicates has been described in detail for Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990), and the situation in Arabana-Wangkangurru has much in common with Gooniyandi. In equational clauses a pronoun is equated with a noun:

- (1061) *Nhayi pantu-Mirlaka.*
 this salt.lake-Mirlaka
 This is Mirlaka salt lake.

Alternatively, the equation may be negated:

- (1062) *Malyk'-antha thutirla, antha karna!*
 not-I boy I man
 I am not a boy, I am an initiated man!

Again, the pronoun may be an interrogative, as in two out of the four following equational clauses:

- (1063) “*Minha nhiki?*” “*Nhiki arkapa.*” “*Minha nhiki?*” “*Nhiki mardi.*” (A)
 what this this ochre what this this hairstring
 “What’s this?” “This is red ochre.” “What’s this?” “This is hairstring.”

(This is part of a series of questions asked by *Thudnungkurla*, who from a baby suddenly turned into an old man, but did not know anything about the world of grown-ups.)

- (1064) *WaR' anpa?*
 who you
 Who are you?

- (1065) *Minha mardu uka?*
 what mardu he
 What ‘meat’ is he? (i.e. what is he in terms of matrilineal moiety).

In answer to questions there is very often ellipsis of the subject; the subject is understood from the question, as in the continuation of the text of example (1064):

- (1066) *"Nhiki-na minhakali?" "Pulka."*
 here-EMP whatever white.hair
 "Whatever is this here?" "(It is the ritual) white hair."

Equational clauses are a distinctive but limited part of the Arabana-Wangkangurru system of verbless sentences.

8.3.2 DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSES

This is a much more variable category than equational clauses. In descriptive clauses the predicate expresses some description or attribute of the subject:

- (1067) *Anthunha anya minpaRu katiwiRi.*
 my father doctor great
 My father is a great doctor.
- (1068) *Mayarru-mingka parlaparla, wadnangkani-mingka parraparra.*
 rat-hole short carpet.snake-hole long
 Rat holes are short, carpet snake burrows are long.

A very common type of verbless clause is one in which the subject is described as belonging to someone, and the predicate therefore contains a possessive adjective:

- (1069) *WaRa-kunha arluwa-kari?*
 who-POSS child-PL
 Whom do these children belong to?
- (1070) *Mathapurda-kunha arluwa-kari.*
 old.man-POSS child-PL
 (They are) the children of (that) old man.

Relative adjectives also frequently occur in the predicate:

- (1071) *Pula Wityira-nganha.*
 two Dalhousie-from
 Those two are from Dalhousie.
- (1072) *Antha Mikiri-nganha.*
 I Well-from
 I come from the Well country (the Simpson Desert).

'Active' adjectives, adjectives that inherently describe an activity, cannot be used in such predicates. This is a feature shared with other languages, for instance Yankuntjatjara (Goddard 1985:37) and Kayardild (Evans 1985). Thus **uka kathu* 'he quiet' is not acceptable, and a verb has to be supplied, as in:

- (1073) *Uka kathu thangka-rda.*
 he quiet sit-PRES
 He is staying quiet.

(1) 'Having' and privative predicates

These are particularly frequent in the predicate of verbless sentences:

(1074) *Anpa kadnhaardi-purru, antha-malaru kadnhaardi-padni.* (A)
 you money-having I-however money-nothing
 You've got money, but I haven't got any.

(1075) *Kutha maka-purru.*
 water fire-having
 The water is hot.

(1076) *Mathapurda wardukupa-nhuka.* (A)
 old.man child-much
 The old man has a lot of children.

In Arabana *nhuka* 'many, much' functions as a 'having' suffix. By contrast a sentence like the following would not be acceptable:

**Mathapurda wardukupa-pula*
 old.man child-DU

This is because *wardukupa-pula* 'two children' is just a dual and cannot be interpreted as a 'having' form; the predicate cannot be interpreted as descriptive or equational because it does not agree in number with the subject. What one would have to say in Arabana is:

(1077) *Mathapurda-kunha wardukupa parkulu.*
 old.man-POSS child two
 The old man has two children.

(2) Inalienable possession

With words that refer to parts of the body and to other types of inalienable possession, juxtaposition indicates possession (§3.15.5) and this is common in verbless predicates:

(1078) *Uka thidna-piRapiRa.*
 he foot-round
 He has round feet.

This rule applies even if the body-part term is used metaphorically:

(1079) *Ngura tyuwiRi, ngura malyka palyi-marna.*
 camp narrow camp not wide-mouth
 The camp (among trees) is narrow, the camp hasn't got a wide entrance.

Interrogative verbless clauses usually begin with the interrogative. In other types of descriptive clauses it is rare for the predicate to precede the subject:

(1080) *Malyka katiwiRi awarda, nyarinyara.*
 not big that small
 That one is not big, it is small.

(3) Omission of subject

Ellipsis of the subject is quite a common phenomenon in descriptive clauses, but is subject to a number of rules. The subject can readily be omitted if the predicate consists of an

ordinary noun or adjective; this includes possessive adjectives as well as compounds formed with the 'having' suffixes:

- (1081) *Kari-kunha. Nguthi. Malyka ibma-Ru!*
 they-POSS not.belonging.to.us not touch-IMP
 (This is something) belonging to other people. (It is something) not belonging to us. Don't touch it!
- (1082) *Thamuna.*
 (This is) a secret.

Similarly one could say:

- (1083) *Maka-purru! Malyka ibma-Ru!*
 fire-having not touch-IMP
 It's boiling hot! Don't touch it!
- (1084) *Marni-thapu.*
 fat-having
 (He is) very fat.

The elative however, though an adjectival form, shares some of the characteristics of a locational predicate (§8.3.3). Therefore, with elative predicates, this type of ellipsis is found only in the answer to a question:

- (1085) *"Kutha-ularaka intyara-nganha?" "Parraparra-nganha."*
 Rain-history where-from Burraburrina-from
 "Where is this Rain history from?" "(It is) from Burraburrina."

When the predicate is a privative compound or an inalienable possession compound, this type of ellipsis is not permissible, because part of the compound would automatically be interpreted as subject. The following is correct:

- (1086) *Yaltya marna-palyi.*
 frogs mouth-wide
 Frogs are wide-mouthed.

This however cannot be abbreviated to *marna-palyi* 'wide-mouthed' because *marna* would automatically be regarded as subject, giving the meaning below:

- (1087) *Marna palyi.*
 mouth wide
 The mouth (or opening) is wide.

Similarly the privative compound *kadnhaardi-padni* 'money-without' would be interpreted not as '(he is) money-without', but as:

- (1088) *Kadnhaardi padni.*
 money nothing
 There is no money.

8.3.3 LOCATIONAL CLAUSES

Locational verbless clauses are restricted in use, and cannot refer to humans and higher animals; only general locational questions are not so restricted:

- (1089) *Intyarnda kadnhaardi?* (A)
 where money
 Where is the money?
- (1090) *Kadnhaardi punga-nga.* (A)
 money house-LOC
 The money is in the house.
- (1091) *Intyali ama?*
 where mother
 Where is (your) mother?

It is quite common, but only in answer to questions, to omit the subject of locational clauses and to reply with the locational predicate:

- (1092) *Punga-nga.*
 house-LOC
 (It, the money) or (She, mother) (is) at home.

If however one wanted to answer '(My) mother is at home' the following sentence would be unacceptable:

**Ama punga-nga.*
 mother house-LOC

A verb would have to be supplied, as in:

- (1093) *Ama punga-nga thangka-rda.*
 mother house-LOC sit-PRES
 (My) mother is at home.

The definition of 'higher animal' in this connection seems to be roughly 'one that can be readily associated with human stance verbs, such as sitting and standing'. In other words, birds and mammals go with the humans, while fish and insects go with the inanimates:

- (1094) *Kutha-hupi-nga ngampuru ngadla.*
 waterhole-LOC yellowbelly many
 There are many yellowbelly in the waterhole.

The following however is not acceptable:

**Warrukathi mudlu-nga.*
 emu sandhill-LOC
 There are emus on the sandhills.

The closest rendering would be:

- (1095) *Warrukathi mudlu-nga thanga-rnda.*
 emu sandhill-LOC stay-PRES
 The emus stay on the sandhill.

In fact, one would probably more normally not use a copula-like verb, but say:

- (1096) *Warrukathi mudlu-nga minthika-rda.*
 emu sandhill-LOC walk.about-PRES
 The emus are walking about on the sandhill.

There is somewhat greater liberty in the order of constituents in locational clauses than in identifying and even descriptive clauses. The complement can precede the subject, particularly if the subject consists of noun + adjective:

- (1097) *Karla-nga patharra katiyiwiRi, yarndi-nganha.*
 creek-LOC box.tree big old.time-from
 There is a big, ancient gum tree by the creek.
- (1098) *Patharra-nga pardi nhuka. (A)*
 box.tree-LOC grub many
 There are many grubs in the box tree.

Verbless and existential sentences are interesting particularly in that they show distinctions between higher and lower animates, distinctions that are not paralleled elsewhere in the syntactic or morphological system. The rules regarding accusative marking are strictly human on the one hand, and non-human and inanimate on the other (§3.5.1).

8.3.4 EXISTENTIAL VERBS

There is no simple copula in Arabana-Wangkangurru: there are a number verbs that can fulfil the function of a copula but at the same time they are 'stance' verbs. The use of a copula is obligatory in locational clauses involving humans and higher animals. It is also necessary in other types of equational clauses when mood or tense has to be expressed. The choice of verb used depends on the nature of the subject.

(1) *idnhi*- 'to be lying down'

This verb is commonly used when the subject refers to anything that lies flat on the ground, such as water, dust, charcoal and hailstones:

- (1099) *Kadnhangka idnhi-rnda.*
 hailstone lie-PRES
 Hailstones are lying (there).

Idnhi- can be simply existential and also act as a means of expressing tense:

- (1100) *Mudlu katiyiwiRi kanhangarda idnhi-liparna.*
 sandhill big there lie-ANC
 There used to be a big sandhill there long ago (but most of it has blown away).

Normally with subjects that do not refer to higher animates (§8.3.1 - 3 above) the existential verb is not expressed, and so when *idnhi*- is used it can give the special emphasis that something actually does exist, particularly in answer to a challenge that it does not. So, arriving at another person's favourite camp site someone might say:

- (1101) *Maka padni!*
 firewood nothing
 There isn't any firewood (here)!

The indignant response would be:

- (1102) *Maka idnhi-rnda.*
 firewood exist-PRES
 There *is* firewood (here).

Similarly a Wangkangurru speaker might claim to have left her money at home, and if anyone suggested that in fact she did not have any, she would say with emphasis either of the following:

- (1103) *Kulyi idnhi-rnda.*
 money exist-PRES
 There *is* money.
- (1104) *Kulyi punga-nga idnhi-rnda.*
 money house-LOC exist-PRES
 There *is* money at home.

This usage cannot apply to plants ((3) below) nor to higher animates. So if a dog had been left at home one could not say:

**Madla punga-nga.*
 dog house-LOC

One would have to say:

- (1105) *Madla punga-nga thangka-rda.*
 dog camp-LOC sit-PRES
 The dog is at home.

Only if the dog were dead or unconscious could one say:

- (1106) *Madla punga-nga idnhi-rnda.*
 dog camp-LOC lie-PRES
 The dog is lying at home.

With a lower animal or inanimate subject (other than plants) one can therefore distinguish three forms of existential clause: a simple statement without a verb; a clause using *idnhi-* to mean something is lying there, something exists; and one using an accented *idnhi-* as an emphatic existential.

(2) *warpi-nangka-*

This is a continuative stem which means 'to be lying about', 'to be spread out over a distance', 'to lie around sprawling'. It can be used in that sense to refer to anything inanimate that is lying about, ranging from puddles of water to sleeping, semi-conscious or dead humans. It is most commonly used with the general continuative form *-ngura*:

- (1107) *Ngura-nganha-kari partyarna ngulpa warpi-nangka-ngura.*
 camp-from-PL all ill lie.about-CONT.S-CONT
 The people from the camp were all lying around, ill.

This verb only rarely serves as a copula and has only been heard in this function with natural features that are spread out:

- (1108) *Mudlu warpi-nangka-ngura.*
 sandhills lie-CONT.S-CONT
 There were sandhills (barring the way to where we wanted to go).
- (1109) *Kadnha warpi-nangka-ngura Yaltya-wati-nha.*
 mountain lie-CONT.S-CONT Frog-Path-PROP
 A mountain was (there), Mount Robinson ('Frog Path').

Because of its limited scope *warpi-nangka-* occupies only a minor position among the existential verbs.

(3) *warni-*

When the subject refers to plants, locational existential clauses can be verbless, as illustrated by example (1097) and by the following:

- (1110) *Tyalpa mudlu-yarapa.*
 tree sandhill-on.top
 There is a tree on top of the sandhill.

When a copula has to be supplied to express mood or tense, or to emphasise existence then this is usually *warni-* 'to grow', 'to rise up'. This applies both to trees and to small plants:

- (1111) *MaRaru yadla warni-ngura wanti-ngardla.*
MaRaru near grow-CONT corkwood-crowd
 There was a grove of corkwood near *MaRaru* (a major site in the central Simpson Desert).
- (1112) *Wakimpa mudlu-nga warni-liparna, partyarna rapiti-ri tharni-ka.*
Wakimpa sandhill-LOC grow-ANC all rabbit-ERG eat-P
 There used to be *wakimpa* (powerful healing herbs) in the sandhills; the rabbits have eaten them all.

Warni- has a distinct but limited function as a copula in Arabana-Wangkangurru.

(4) *tharka-*

This verb means 'to stand' and is used widely as a copula in Diyari for anything animate or inanimate that stands up (Austin 1981a:103). It can occur in this function in Arabana-Wangkangurru too, but is not so common, because where large spread-out natural features are involved the verb *warpi-nangka-* is the normal copula. As shown above, *warni-* is used for plants, but occasionally *tharka-* can occur when trees are involved, particularly when the reference is to unique specimens, and the same applies to rocks:

- (1113) *Marni-nga patharra parkulu tharka-rnda, Thutirla-pula.*
Marni-LOC box.tree two stand-PRES Boy-DU
 At *Marni* (the Taranga waterhole) there are two box trees, (they are) the Two Boys.
- (1114) *Kadnha kanhangarda tharka-ngura ularaka-nganha.*
 rock there stand-CONT History-from
 A rock is there that belongs to the History time.

The verb *tharka-* is so narrowly confined to ‘what stands up’ that it is very often not clear when it retains its basic meaning and when it is used as copula. Thus *tharka-* could mean either ‘stand’ or ‘exist’ in the sentence:

- (1115) *Kanhangarda punga tharka-rnda.*
 there humpy stand-PRES
 There are still some humpies (standing) there.

Tharka- never acts as copula where humans or higher animals are concerned; it can only mean ‘stand’ in those circumstances. For example:

- (1116) *Mathapurda mudlu-yarapa tharka-ngura.*
 old.man sandhill-on.top stand-CONT
 The old man was *standing* on top of the sandhill (not simply there).

(5) *thangka-* ‘to sit’

This is the normal copula used where the subject refers to humans, higher animals and motorcars. When such subjects occur in locational existential clauses a verb has to be used in Arabana-Wangkangurru, as illustrated by example (1093) above. When this verb serves as copula it is neutral as to stance, and the notion ‘to sit’ has totally faded. Thus the following sentence does not even hint that the baby would have been able to sit:

- (1117) *Arluwa nyara puthu-nga thangka-ka.*
 child tiny dish-LOC sit-P
 The tiny baby was in a wooden dish.

Thangka- also serves in equational and descriptive sentences (§8.3.1 - 2) when tense has to be expressed, hence:

- (1118) *Antha minpaRu.*
 I doctor
 I am a witchdoctor.
- (1119) *Antha minpaRu thangka-ka.*
 I doctor sit-P
 I was a witchdoctor (but I have now lost my special powers).
- (1120) *Kaparra-padni-nga kari ngurku thangka-liparna.*
 feud-nothing-LOC they good sit-ANC
 In the old days when the blood feud was finished they would be contented.

Thangka- could even be used for plants as in the following, where a location clause with the copula *thangka-* is followed by a verbless equational clause:

- (1121) *Urkala thangka-liparna kanhangarda, arni-kunha tyalpa nhayi urkala.*
 Urkala sit-ANC there us-POSS tree this urkala
*Urkala*¹⁸ used to be (the name of a tree that grew) there; it was a tree belonging to our people, this *urkala*.

¹⁸ *Urkala* means ‘bloodwood’ in Lower Aranda and Antekerrepenha (Breen, pers.comm.).

(6) *thanga-* 'to remain'

This verb is almost certainly related to *thangka-* 'to sit'. It is defective and is not found in any tense other than the non-past and the immediate past in Wangkangurru (which is based on the present). It therefore cannot adequately fulfil one major component of the function of a copula, that of expressing tense. It has the same range of possible subjects as *thangka-*, namely humans, higher animals and motorcars. The semantic nuances of *thanga-* are however quite distinct and different from the other existential verbs: it implies that the subject either is left behind when everybody else has gone, or is actually opting to remain in a place. Because its meaning is so closely associated with place, *thanga-* is found only in locational clauses. The implication is very often that the subject of *thanga-* is unwillingly in a place. So in confirmation of the statement: *Ama punganga thangkarda* at example (1093), a Wangkangurru speaker immediately said:

- (1122) *Ama punganga thanga-rnda ngamarla-purru!*
 mother house-LOC stay-PRES pity-having
 Mother is staying (perhaps having to stay) at home, poor thing!

Other examples are:

- (1123) *Motorcar ikara-nga thanga-rnda.*
 motorcar swamp-LOC remain-PRES
 The car is (still) in the swamp (we haven't been able to unbog it yet).
- (1124) *Madla-thaRi mingka-nga thanga-rnda.*
 dog-little hole-LOC remain-PRES
 The puppies are still in the burrow.

-thanga- thus occupies a limited and specialised position as an existential verb in Arabana-Wangkangurru. Being close to, yet different from, *thangka-* 'to sit', which is the most neutral of the existential verbs, it illustrates just one of the many finer semantic distinctions that are woven into the framework of Arabana-Wangkangurru grammar.

CHAPTER 9

TEXTS

9.1 ARABANA TEXTS

9.1.1 A CONVERSATION WITH ARTHUR MCLEAN

(January 1969, parts of tape 228, recorded at the Davenport Reserve, Port Augusta, on a small dune overlooking the old folks home).

TEXT

1. A: *Antha Arabana nharla, antha wardu-kupa thangka-ka Arabana*
I Arabana man I child-small sit-P Arabana
ngura-nga, Arabana wadlhu-nga. Anthunha apityi Arabana lhuka
camp-LOC Arabana country-LOC my father Arabana mother
Arabana. Ngura apityi-ku? Anthunha ngura athu ngurka-ra,
Arabana own.site father-DAT my own.site I.ERG know-PUNC
Uthapuka, Yaltya ngura. Yampi awarnda wardu-kupa.
Hookey's Frog camp Yumpy there child-small.
2. L: Old Inyurla¹⁹ is sitting down there not doing anything.
3. A: *Uka thangka-rda paku mathapurda Inyurla-nha, paku*
he sit-PRES unoccupied old.man Inyurla-PROP unoccupied
thangka-rda. Uka thangka-rda mitha-a-rnda, tyalpa-ku mitha-a-rnda, tyalpa
sit-PRES he sit-PRES wait-TR-PRES food-DAT wait-TR-PRES food
tharni-lhiku. Malya watuwa-nangka-rda, thangka-rda uka mathapurda
eat-PUR not walk-CONT.S-PRES sit-PRES he old.man
ngura-nga uka-kunha, uka-kunha ngura-nga. Uka-kunha mirraRa
camp-LOC he-POSS he-POSS camp-LOC he-POSS friend
warpi-nangka-rda.
lie-CONT.S-PRES
4. *Uka mathapurda Tim²⁰ ulyurla-purru impinya-yuka-rndayangu.*
he old.man Tim woman-having sneak-go-PLUP

¹⁹ The reference is to Tom Bagot Inyurla, the most senior and knowledgeable Lower Southern Aranda man (§1.6.2).

²⁰ The reference is to Tim Strangways (see §1.1.2.2), the most senior Arabana man who had left the old folks home – which he found good but boring – to go on a trip to Port Lincoln, which was the home town of his new companion. Unfortunately he never returned; he died the following week.

Warritha yuka-rnda ngura nguRu-ruku. Uka walta nguRu-nga thika-rnda
 far.away go-PRES camp other-ALL he time other-LOC come-PRES
kadnhaardi mani-lhiku.
 money get-PUR

5. L: You been working in Arabana country?

6. A: *Arabana ngura-nga antha irtyi-ka. Antha irtyi-ka Nhilpanha*
 Arabana camp-LOC I work-P I work-P Nilpinna.

I don't know nharla name, only Nhilpanha.
 I don't know *nharla* name, only *Nhilpanha*.²¹

7. L: *Anpa ngurra irtyi-rna?*
 you altogether work-PRES

A: *Arayi.*
 yes

L: *Kangi anpa thangka-rda?*
 too.much you stay-PRES

8. A: *Awarnda wadlhu-nga irtyi-nangka-rda. Wadlhu ngurku.*
 that country-LOC work-CONT.S-PRES country good

L: *Minha anpa irtyi-nangka-rda?*
 what you work-CONT.S-PRES

A: *Anth a irtyi-ka pudluka nhantu-nga mapa-rnda, ipi*
 I work-P bullock horse-LOC muster-PRES sheep
padni-nga pudluka nhuka.
 nothing-LOC bullock many

TRANSLATION (A CONVERSATION WITH ARTHUR MCLEAN)

1. A: I am an Arabana man, I lived in Arabana country as a child. My father was Arabana, and so was my mother. (You asked me about) my father's own site (lit. his camp)? I know my own site, it is Hookey's Waterhole (4 miles from Oodnadatta). It is a main site for the Ancestral Frogs. Yumpy Jack²² was there (too) as a small child.
2. L: Old Inyurla is sitting down there not doing anything.
3. A: He is just sitting there doing nothing, old Inyurla, just sitting there. He sits there and waits, he waits for meals, to have his food. He doesn't walk about, the old man sits in his camp, in his own camp. His companion²³ is lying around.

²¹ *Nhilpanha* was in fact the Aboriginal name of Nilpinna Springs, the site of the old main station.

²² Yumpy Jack was reputed to have been the first Antikirinya person to be born near Oodnadatta, which was traditionally just inside Arabana country, on the border of Lower Southern Aranda.

²³ The old folks home had pleasant separate units in an outdoor setting, shared between two people. The only problem was that people had absolutely nothing to do.

4. Old Tim went sneaking off with his girlfriend. He has gone a long way away to other people's country. He'll come back before too long to collect his pension.
5. L: You were working in Arabana country?
6. A: I worked in Arabana country, I worked on Nilpinna. I don't know its Aboriginal name, only Nilpinna.
7. L: You worked there continually?
A: Yes.
L: You stayed there for a long time?
8. A: I went on working in that country (for a long time). It was a good place.
L: What work did you do?
A: I worked there mustering cattle on horseback, there weren't any sheep but lots of cattle.

9.1.2 TWO STORIES OF THE EARLY DAYS FROM NEAR *Kardaya* (YELLOW WATERHOLE)

This waterhole is now almost totally buried by sand, but it was an important place traditionally, a main camp for the Urumbula Native Cat song cycle. It is south of William Creek, on the border of Kuyani country. Other senior Arabana people also knew about the attack by a vengeance party near Yellow Waterhole, which is the subject of the text: the event was mentioned every time we passed the waterhole, which was many times, because it was right on the old Marree-Oodnadatta road.

(1) AN INTERTRIBAL VENGEANCE PARTY

TEXT

(Arthur McLean, on 16 May 1970 near Woorana Waterhole on the lower Frew).

1. *Nharla thangka-ka waru, kaRu mudlu-nga. Akuru ikara-nga*
person sit-P long.ago there sandhill-LOC over.there swamp-LOC
Kuyani-na, minha wangka nguRu, Wardityi-karla-nganha, thadlu
Kuyani-EMP what language other Mulga-Creek-from only
mathapurda, pinya.
old.man vengeance.party.
2. *Paku-ilya yanhi-ngura wanyiwanyi-ma-wili Kari-ri Wardityi-nganha-ru*
empty-EMP speak-CONT taunt-IMPF-like they-ERG Mulga-from-ERG
arni-nha pirda-lhuku Karlatyalpa-nganha, nhuka pirda-lhuku.
us.EXC-ACC kill-HIST Anna.Creek-from many kill-HIST
3. *Waru athu nhanhi-ka walpu mudlu-nga wabmaRa-ru*
long.ago I.ERG see-P bone sandhill-LOC wind-ERG
mirra-naru, paya-paya-ru walpu kilita-mda.
scratch-PLUP bird-bird-ERG bone pull.out-PRES

TRANSLATION (AN INTERTRIBAL VENGEANCE PARTY)

1. Long ago some (Arabana Aboriginal) people stayed there on the sandhill. Further away over in the swamp there were Kuyani people, speaking some language other (than ours); these were only grown-up men, they were a vengeance party.
2. They said things just for nothing as if to taunt (our mob). Those people from the Mulga Creek (i.e. the Warriner Creek) they killed our people from Anna Creek, they killed a lot of them.
3. Long ago I saw the bones which the wind had eroded on the sandhill, and birds pulled up bones (out of the sand).

(2) THE BULL

TEXT

1. *Mathapurda-pula nhikirnda yuka-rnda, yuka-rnda Mirripaka-ruku, Kuyani*
 old.man-two here go-PRES go-PRES Mirrabuckinna-ALL Kuyani
pidla Mirripaka-nha. Pula yuka-kanha-ki. Pudluka nhani-ka parnda,
 name Mirrabuckinna-PROP two go-PERF-EMP bullock see-P big
mathapurda nyinta-nga wanka-rda. Pudluka mathapurda
 old.man tree-LOC climb-PRES bullock old.man
thangka-angka-ngura karluka.
 sit-sit-CONT male
2. *Mathapurda nguRu yanhi-rnda: "Mathapurda ngunanheyi, malya*
 old.man other speak-PRES old.man friend.VOC not
thadla!"
 afraid
"Thadma, mathapurdayi pirda-lira anti!"
 leave old.man.VOC kill-lest directly
"Athu nhuka-pirri-nha pirda-ka katyi, kira, pirrimpara,
 I.ERG many-quite-ACC kill-P spear boomerang large.spear
mudluwarru-purru."
 shield-having
Yanhi-rnda mathapurda nguRu-thu: "Ayi tyurkukala-ru pirda-lira,
 speak-PRES old.man other-EMP eh certain-INSTR kill-lest
thiRi-nhuka mathapurda parnda."
 cheek-much old.man big
3. *Awarnda pudluka mathapurda thangka-kanha, uka-ru mirrili*
 that bull old.man stay-PERF he-ERG close.by
paka-nangka-ngura, uka ngurra-li thangka-rda. Uka malaru
 dig-CONT.S-CONT he hard-ADV stay-PRES he however

wanta-rda-rna, nhikimda-ru yuka-ka, anari yuka-ka.
 run-SP-IMPF here-ABL go-P this.way go-P

TRANSLATION (THE BULL)

1. Two old men were walking along here, they were going to Mirrabuckinna.²⁴ That is a Kuyani name, Mirrabuckinna. They were just walking along. They saw a huge bull, and they climbed up a tree. The bull stayed (nearby).
2. One old man said to the other: "Don't be scared".
 "Don't try anything (lit. leave it), old man, (or) he'll surely kill us in a minute!"
 "I have killed a lot of people (though) they had spears, boomerangs, fighting spears and shields."
 The other old man said: "Eh! He'll kill us for certain, he's savage and absolutely huge".
3. That old bull stayed put, he went on churning up the ground close by, he stayed there. But that man (presumably the one that admitted to being frightened), he ran away quickly from there and came this way (i.e. to Anna Creek for help).
 (The other man was apparently later rescued from the tree by Arabana stockmen from Anna Creek and the story was treasured as a joke about Kuyani people).

9.1.3 THE TRAGEDY OF A SMALL BOY

(Tape 325, 16 May 1970)

This is the story of the death of Arthur McLean's brother. It must have happened around the turn of the century, in any case before the closure of Wood Duck Station in 1904. Arthur was at Wood Duck Station with his mother at the time.

TEXT

1. *Pula thika-ka kadnhini-maRa, kadnhini-ri thiki-ka*
 two return-P grandmother-having grandmother-ERG take.back-P
Ihuka nhanhi-naru, Ihuka Thundritha-nga, kanhangarda Thundritha,
 mother see-PLUP mother Thundritha-LOC there Thundritha
Wood Duck Station. Pula thika-ka Ariltyipaka-ruku, Ariltyipaka-ru
 Wood Duck Station two return-P Algebuckina-ALL Algebuckina-ABL
thika-ka anari yuka-lhuku Mudlarda-nga kurda-lhuku.
 return-P this.way go-PUR Smithfield-LOC sleep-HIST
2. *Awarnda kuthathupi-nga kutha kalpakalpa-lhuku, arlaliki thidna*
 that waterhole-LOC water collect-HIST finally track
padni-rnda-thika-lhuku karla-li-karla-li. Tyalpa tharni-lhiku, ulyurla
 lose-SP-return-HIST creek-ADV-creek-ADV food eat-HIST woman

²⁴ This is a small waterhole about 20 kilometres north northwest of Mulgaria: it was an important site in Kuyani country.

yanhi-ngura: “*Malya warritha yuka-rnda, nhiki warra-nangka-rda,*
say-CONT not far go-PRES here play.around-CONT-PRES

antha kudnala-nha kadhiniya!”
I sleep-NP grandson.VOC

3. *Nhiki kutha-nga kutha-nga warra-nangka-rda billycana. Kadhini*
here water-LOC water-LOC play-CONT.S-PRES billycan grandmother
kudnal-ta. Murlapara nhuka mapa-ngura, paya thaka-ka
sleep-PRES pigeon many assemble-CONT bird throw.at-P
karla-karla-nga awarnda marrili thaka-nangka-rda maruthili
creek-creek-LOC there beyond throw.at-CONT.S-PRES duck
thaka-rnda. Kadhna yadla end of that karla. Paya thaka-nangka-rda.
strike-PRES stone close end of that creek bird throw.at-CONT.S-PRES.
Ngarka-nga intyarnda?
sunset-LOC where
4. *Kadhini thurka-rnda kudnala-ra: “Wiyayi, kadhiniya intyarnda*
grandmother rise-PRES sleep-CSL boy.VOC grandson.VOC where
warra-nangka-rda?”. Padni-li. Muyu widni-ngura, thidna wadni-lhiku:
play-CONT.S-PRES nothing-ADV sun set-CONT track follow-HIST
“Nhikirnda-ra paya wanti-la-nangka-rda”. Kadhna-thira-nga
here-ABL bird run.after-BEN-CONT.S-PRES stone-end-LOC
kardi-ri-kardi-ri yuka-ka. Karla kupa-kupa wapi-ngura.
crooked-ADV-crooked-ADV go-P creek small-small finish-CONT
5. *“Padni nhiki”: thidna tyulpa-rnda kadhna-thira-nga. Padni*
nothing here track lose-PRES stone-end-LOC nothing
nhanhi-rnda. Wapa-nangka-rda, wapa-nangka-rda. Ngalpuru-thi-rnda
see-PRES search-CONT.S-PRES search-CONT.S-PRES dark-become-PRES
wapa-nangka-rda, karka-rnda, malya wangka parda-ngura.
search-CONT.S-PRES call-PRES not word hold-CONT
Purka-nangka-rda arlali, padni thadma-rnda: “Kudnala-nga anthirda
wade-CONT.S-PRES finally not leave.off-PRES sleep-LOC I.LOC
kadhini paya tyawi-tyawi-ngura”.
grandson bird chase.about-chase.about-CONT
6. *Yuka-rnda wardayapa-nga-thi-lhiku mudlu-nga – that is where that old lady*
go-PRES track-LOC-become-HIST sandhill-LOC that is where that old lady
pick’m up track but he cut out again, couldn’t find’m.
picked up track but it cut out again could not find it.
7. *Kari thika-ngura, Thilpili, uka Thirriili, Kalpili Warpili aratya*
they return-CONT Thilpili he Thirriili Kalpilil Warpili straight

yuka-lhuku – it was dark when they got there, *marutya-nga thidna-wimpa*
 go-HIST it was dark when they got there heat-LOC foot-print

padni, wardayapa padni-nga marutya-ra pirda-ka.
 nothing path nothing-LOC heat-CSL kill-P

TRANSLATION (THE TRAGEDY OF A SMALL BOY)

1. The two of them, maternal grandmother and grandson, were travelling back, the grandmother was taking (the boy) back with her after he had been to see his mother, his mother was at *Thundritha*, that is Wood Duck Station. They went back to Algebuckina (presumably to collect some rations from the railway siding) and from Algebuckina they came this way²⁵ and they slept at Smithfield.
2. They got some water at that waterhole, and then they went where there wasn't any road, along the creek (i.e. the Neales). They had their (midday) meal and the old woman said: "Don't go too far away, keep playing around here, I want to have a sleep, grandson!".
3. He played right there with his billycan by one bit of water and then by the next (in the Neales). His grandmother slept. A lot of topknot pigeons crowded together there. He threw sticks²⁶ at them, and then, along a little creek on the other side (i.e. a small tributary of the Neales coming off the tableland), he went on throwing sticks at black ducks. The tableland was close by at the end of that (little) creek. He went on throwing sticks at birds. When sunset came where was he?
4. The grandmother got up from her sleep: "Young boy! Grandson! where are you playing?". (She called) in vain. The sun was setting and she followed his track: "He ran away from here after birds". At the edge of the tableland his track twisted about here and there, and the little (tributary) creek came to an end.
5. "There is nothing here": she lost his track on the edge of the tableland. She could not see anything. She went on searching and searching. It grew completely dark and she went on searching. She called out, but he did not answer. In the end she walked about in the water. She did not give up (saying): "While I was asleep my grandson was chasing about in all directions after birds".
6. She walked about and she got onto his track on a sandhill – that is where that old lady picked up his track but it cut out again, and she couldn't find it.
7. They were on their way back (from Algebuckina) *Thilpili, Thirriili, Kalpili* and *Warpili*,²⁷ they came straight there (where the grandmother was) – it was dark when

²⁵ Arthur was speaking at Woorana Waterhole on the lower Frew, so his grandmother was travelling east from Algebuckina. *Mudlarda* 'Smithfield' is called 'Cliff Hole' on modern maps and is only about 15 kilometres down the Neales from Algebuckina. Presumably the old lady was taking her grandson back to the large camp at *Katanha* 'Louse' Waterhole on the lower Macumba, where many Arabana people were living.

²⁶ *Thaka*- usually means 'to spear'. It was made clear however that in this context it simply meant 'to throw a stick at'.

²⁷ These were senior Wangkangurru men, also on their way to *Katanha*: *Warpili* was the stepfather of George Kemp and *Thilpili* was stepfather to Maudie Naylor. They arrived on the following evening.

they got there. Because of the extreme heat (and blowing sand) there were no footprints left, and as there was no path (the little boy) perished in the heat.

9.2 WANGKANGURRU TEXT: THE EASTERN SECTION OF THE FIRE HISTORY

9.2.1 COMMENTS

The Fire History is one of the major myths linking not only various parts of Central Australia to each other, but linking them also to the major area of influence to the north-east, the channel country of the Diamantina. The main part of this myth, like so many other mythological traditions, connects Wangkangurru with the north through Pitta-Pitta country.

J.G. Reuther was told by Wangkangurru people about the Fire History, and as usual he names the Ancestor by a nickname, "Wiringujuna", that is *WiRi-nguyu* 'One Hair'. He quotes two verses, verse 1 and a 'turned round' version of verse 5 of the Western Fire History (Reuther 1981 X:37-41). He was not given any information about the sites belonging to this History other than the name of a place called *Ngandritya* far to the north where the Ancestor was said to come from. He indicates that this might be in the Macdonnell Ranges. Another brief version has come to us from Elkin (1973:246). Elkin too quotes verse 1, though his transcription is not as close to Mick McLean's version as is Reuther's. In an earlier article (1934-35:182-183) Elkin gives more detail and shows that his informants knew the myth of "Yigauara the Native Cat" as the maker of the Fire. Siebert also had information on the Fire History, particularly the earlier history of the Fire and the "Wiluma" country. He quotes a verse from the Fire on the Mulligan song cycle, which is also known as the *Wapiya*, but this verse is not one of those recorded by Mick McLean. In Siebert's work the myth appears under the guise of "Kadiwonkuru, a legend of the Yaurorka", (Howitt 1902:409-411).

The Fire History shows lines of connection not only with the Leichhardt River far away to the north-east, but also with the Aranda Fire Myth, which is centred on *Urupunya* (Strehlow's "Rubuntya") mentioned in outline by him (1969:144). The History shows the complex chain of religious and mythological interaction between the many groups that lay in the path of the tradition. This major song cycle was sung by Mick McLean, mainly in January 1974.

The following texts are quoted from Tapes 630 - 640.

9.2.2 EARLIER HISTORY OF THE FIRE

TEXT

1. *Maka Ingkurdna-ru* *Maka uka yuka-ka kaRu kurda-ma-yiwa-lhuku*
 Fire *Ingkurdna-ABL* Fire he go-P there sleep-SP-TR-PUR
- Urupunya, yantakara, Tom Buzzacot-kunha wadlhu-nga: uka-kunha*
 Urupunya west Tom Buzzacot-POSS country-LOC he-POSS

According to Mick McLean's version of the story Arthur's maternal grandmother was in fact Lower Southern Aranda, and although she had lived in Arabana country for a long time she in fact still had a communication problem with Arabana and Wangkangurru people, and this further delayed the desperate search by these quite particularly skilled trackers.

anya-ku wadlhu Urupuntya.
 father-GEN country Urupuntya

2. *Thidnangkara, thirriwa yuka-ka Mathapurda yuka-ka ngura nguRu,*
 north east go-P Old.Man go-P camp different
ngura nguRu, wangka nguRu wangka nguRu
 camp different language different language different
Alyawarra, Kaitityi, Waramanga, Wambaya-kunha wadlhu-nga
 Alyawarra Kaytej Warumangu Wambaya-POSS country-LOC
thanga-ka wadlhu pidla Leichhardt, malyk'-athu ngurka-yi-ra.
 stay-P country name Leichhardt not-I know-ACT-PUNC
3. *Kanhangarda kudna-arna-yiwa-rna parraRa kurda-arna-yiwa-rna kathi alka*
 there sleep-SP-TR-PRES middle lie-SP-TR-PRES animal kind
nguRu nhanhi-lhiku kutha-nganha mapu, crocodile, alligator, turtle-turtle
 different see-HIST water-from mob crocodiles alligators turtles
maka-ru-manarni puthu-ru warawa-nta.
 Fire-ABL-perhaps dish-INSTR protect-REFL
4. *Arlali uka thika-ka Wangkamadla-kunha wadlhu-nga*
 finally he return-P Wangkamadla-POSS country-LOC
nguyu-nguyu Mathapurda thika-rna.
 alone-alone Old.Man return-IMPF

TRANSLATION (EARLIER HISTORY OF THE FIRE)

1. The ancestral Fire started at *Ingekurdna*, that is Horseshoe Bend on the Finke, and he travelled to *Urupuntya* to camp overnight. *Urupuntya* is in the west (west of Alice Springs) in Tom Buzzacot's country: *Urupuntya* is Tom Buzzacot's father's country.
2. That Old Man Fire he travelled north-east, he travelled and travelled (thousands and thousands of years ago), there was one different camp after another, and one different language after another, Alyawarra, Kaytej, Warumangu; he stayed in Wambaya country and in the country that was called Leichhardt. I don't know it, I don't even know its Aboriginal name.
3. There he camped overnight and saw strange animals, creatures belonging to the water, crocodiles, alligators, turtles. The Turtle, so they say, covered himself from the Fire with his coolamon (trying to save himself by putting it on his back, and so it became his shell).
4. Finally the Fire returned to Wangkamadla country; he, that Old Man Fire, was travelling all alone.

9.2.3 THE FIRE-MAN

TEXT

1. *Maka-ng' kurda-lhuku mathapurda-ru, Maka-thakapa-ru, uka thika-rnda*
fire-LOC camp-HIST Old.Man-ERG Fire-striker-ERG he return-PRES
kudnangkari, uta maka mapa-rna-yi-rna kakari-nha, Leichhardt.
south now fire make-SP-ACT-IMPF they-ACC Leichhardt
2. *KaRu kurda-rna-ya-lhuku uka parraRa, Ngurlupurlu-kunha wadlhu-nga,*
there camp-SP-TR-HIST he middle Ngurlupurlu-of land-LOC
kurda-rna-yiwa-rna uka-ru maka paku-li thadna-ru, malyka
camp-SP-TR-IMPF he-ERG fire empty-ADV leave-NAR not
nhampa-rda-yiwa-rna.
bury-SP-TR-IMPF
3. *Maka katiwiRi wityi-rnda malyka mapa-rna, malyka uka-ru*
fire big become-PRES not make-IMPF not he-ERG
waya-yirna maka mapa-lhuku, malyka uka-ru nhampa-rda-yika,
wish-ACT fire make-PUR not he-ERG bury-SP-P
maka wararda katiwiRi wityi-rna.
fire that big become-IMPF
4. *Old.Man Maka-thakapa ukaliri-thu yuka-ka, maka uka-ru*
Old.Man Fire-striker now-EMP go-P fire he-ERG
kathi-nangka-rda thangka-angki-rda katapu-nga ha! Makathira, Mathapurda
turn-CONT.S-PRES keep-keep-PRES head-LOC ha firestick Old.Man
thika-rna uka-ru wanka-thika-rna kaRu nhangara-ku
return-IMPF he-ERG rise-return-IMPF there hither-DAT
Kudnara-nga-li arla-nga Mulligan I think.
Kudnara-LOC-EMP true-LOC Mulligan I think
5. *Uka-ru maka malyka nhampa-ka, ngura-nga maka katiwiRi*
he-ERG fire not bury-P camp-LOC fire big
wityi-rnda, maka ngataru catch'm kulyurru, wiRintyi, partyarna
become-PRES fire behind caught grass bushfire all
tyalpa ngarda-rna.
tree burn-IMPF
6. *Uka thangka-liparna Mathapurda ngura-nga, Kudnara-nga.*
he sit-ANC Old.Man camp-LOC Kudnara-LOC

TRANSLATION (THE FIRE-MAN)

1. The Old Man Fire-striker camped alongside a fire. He was going back to the south, and he started off a fire (which burnt) those people there, on the Leichhardt.

2. He camped halfway, in Ngurlupurlu people's country, he camped there overnight and in the morning he left his fire just as it was, he didn't bury it before setting off.
3. The fire grew big, he did not light it (on purpose), he had not actually wanted to start a fire, he had simply not buried his camp fire and it became a great blaze.
4. The Old Man Fire-striker travelled on, he travelled round with his fire(stick), he kept it going. He carried his firestick on his head, he got up to go this way to the place that is truly called *Kudnara*, it is on the Mulligan I think.
5. He did not bury his fire (when he left his camp in the morning) and it became a big fire, the grass caught alight and it became a vast bushfire: all the trees burnt.
6. He stayed there for a while, the Old Man, long ago, in the camp at *Kudnara*.
(Then, according to later parts of the story, he left. Before the fire got to *Kudnara*, he travelled on across the desert to the Macumba.)

9.2.4 FIRE ON THE MULLIGAN: THE CAMP AT KUDNARA

TEXT

1. *NguRa-nga thangka-rda yadningka-pula thangka-ngura kanhangarda,*
camp-LOC stay-PRES young.men-two stay-CONT there
kari-ri ngunta-kanha-ki anha, Kudnara wadlhu pidla
them-ERG show-PERF-EMP me-ACC *Kudnara* country name
Wirluma-nha.
Wirluma-PROP
2. *Kari anthunha anya nyara pidla Thiwi-thiwi anya-pula*
they.three my father younger name 'Flame' father-two
ularaka-nga thangka-ngura, pidla MaRaru-nganha Pintha-mirri,
history-LOC stay-CONT name *MaRaru-from Pintha-mirri*
Pintha-nguyu.
Pintha-nguyu
3. *Pula thika-naru waru ngura-nga malaru*
two return-PLUP long.ago camp-LOC on.the.other.hand
yuka-rnda-naru pula yadningka-pula-thu, thika-ma-ya-ma pula kaRu
go-SP-PLUP two young.men-DU-EMP return-SP-TR-IMPF two there
Kudnangawa Kungki katyi-ma-yangu thika-ru Kuntiyiri-ri
Kanowana Coongie turn-SP-PLUP return-NAR Cooncherie-ABL
Kudnara-ruku.
Kudnara -ALL
4. *Wangkangurru yanta wangka katyi-ma wangka*
Wangkangurru speak language change-PRES language
nguRu wangka nguRu yanhi-rnda, Yawarawarka, Wangkamadla.
different language different speak.I-PRES Yawarawarka Wangkamadla

5. *Pula thangka-thika-lhuku; apirla, ilyili ngura-nga.*
two stay-return-HIST father's.mother father's.father camp-LOC
6. *Thangka-ngura uka-nha palthirri-ri pawa ipa-lhuku,*
stay-CONT his-ACC.POSS grinding.stone-INSTR grass.seed grind-PUR
thangka-rda pawa ipa-nangka-rda
stay-PRES grass.seed grind-CONT.S-PRES
7. *Wangkamadla yuwu kanhangarda-nganha karna, ulyurla Wangkamadla.*
Wangkamadla people there-from man woman Wangkamadla
8. *Anti walta nguRu-nga pula mathapurda-pula thika-ngura.*
soon time other-LOC two old.men-two return-CONT
9. *Pula-kunha kuparli Thiwi-thiwi thangka-ngura Kudnara-nga.*
two-POSS younger.brother Thiwi-thiwi stay-CONT Kudnara-LOC
10. *Thaka-ma 'ka-nha thuthirla ngura-nganharu thaka-ma kudna-ru*
pelt-PRES him-ACC boys camp-from pelt-IMPF shit-INSTR
paku-ru malyka waya-yi-arna.
nothing-ABL not like-ACT-IMPF
11. *Uka-nha thaka-arna, kangi thaka-arna, kaRu*
him-ACC pelt-IMPF too.much pelt-IMPF there
yadningka-pula-ru kutha-ru thurra-arna, washa-ma-ma
young.men-two-ERG water-INSTR sprinkle-PRES wash-make-IMPF
kudna-ku thata-ma walta nguRu walta nguRu. Wadlhu pidla Kudnara.
shit-DAT dry.off-PRES time other time other country name Kudnara
12. *Walta nguRu-nga pula-ru nhanhi yata thaka-ngura, malyka pula*
time other-LOC two-ERG see.NAR again pelt-CONT not two
waya-yi-rnda kangi thaka-ngura kudna-ru kudna-ra
like-ACT-PRES too.much pelt-CONT shit-INSTR shit-CSL
thaka-nangka-ngura.
pelt-CONT.S-CONT
13. *Yadningka-pula yabmi-rnda, yanta-ra:*
young.men-two growl-PRES say-PUNC
'Kangi-ri-k' urkari thaka-yira ari-kunha kuparli!'
too.much-INSTR-EMP you.PL pelt-PUNC we-two.POSS brother

TRANSLATION (FIRE ON THE MULLIGAN: THE CAMP AT KUDNARA)

1. The Two Men were staying in a camp, so the old people told me, the name of the place was *Kudnara*, and the country was *Wirlumanha*.
2. The three of them stayed there, the one from whom my father's younger brother took his name, *Thiwi-thiwi* 'Flame' and the Two Men, my own father (ie. his ancestral namesake) and his elder brother. Those three lived there in the History

time. The Two Men took their names from the Kangaroo Rat Initiation History at the *MaRaru* site in the Simpson Desert: they were called *Pintha-mirri* ‘Many Facets’ (referring to the edge of the initiation knife) and *Pintha-nguyu* ‘One Facet’.

3. Once long ago the Two Men had returned to their camp, having come back through Kanowana and Coongie and turning to go via Cooncherie²⁸ to arrive at their camp at *Kudnara*.
4. They spoke Wangkangurru (they were Wangkangurru men), but they changed languages (as they crossed tribal boundaries) and they spoke one different language after another, they spoke Yawarawarka and Wangkamadla.
5. The Two Men came back from their travels and their paternal grandfather and grandmother were staying at the camp.
6. They were at home grinding grass seeds, they ground grass seeds continually.
7. There were Wangkamadla people at that place, who belonged there, Wangkamadla initiated men, and Wangkamadla women.
8. Then on another occasion those Two Men came home again.
9. The younger brother of the Two Men, their little brother named *Thiwi-thiwi* was also living at *Kudnara*.
10. The (Wangkamadla) boys from the camp pelted him with shit, they did this without provocation, just because they didn’t like him.
11. They pelted him many times, but the Two Men sprinkled their brother with water and washed off the shit and dried him. This happened over and over again, that is why the place is called *Kudnara* ‘With Shit’.
12. Then one time the Two Men saw them again pelting their brother, they did not like their brother being pelted so much with shit, being pelted continually.
13. The Two Men spoke out in anger and said: “You are pelting our young brother too much!”.

9.2.5 THE FIRE COMES (PROSE SECTION AND WAPIYA VERSES)

TEXT

1. *Anti uka-ru ngunta-ru: “Mingka paka-Ru katakata!”*
soon he-ERG say-NAR hole dig-IMPF deep
2. *Pula-ru paka-ma ulyurla-mathapurda-ru, kari*
two-ERG dig-IMPF woman-old.man-ERG they
kurda-ma-la-kuda-ma arluwa-mapu.
sleep-IMPF-BEN-lie.down-IMPF child-mob

²⁸ Cooncherie, north-east of Clifton Hills, was an important site for the Mindiri Emu History as well as the Two Men. It was also the site of a massacre (*The end of the Mindiri people*, Hercus & Sutton, eds, 1986).

3. *Uta pula-ru nhanhi, Maka yadla mani-ma pula-ru.*
now two-ERG see.NAR Fire near bring-IMPF two-ERG
Maka ngatyima ngarda-ngura.
Fire watch-PRES burn-CONT
4. *Wantantara-nga thangka-ngura.*
big.sandhill-LOC sit-CONT
5. **(The men of the camp say, speaking in Wangkamadla):**²⁹
“Minha yukulu thadla-rangi?”
what you.two look.at-PRES
6. **(The Two Men answer in Wangkamadla):**
“Ngarapa kudna³⁰ warili thadla-rangi.”
north.wind faeces rising look.at-PRES
(They then start singing the first four Wapiya verses.)
7. *Kari ngura-nganha yampa-ma: “Minha urupula nhanhi-ra?”.*
they camp-from ask-IMPF what you.two see-PUNC
8. *They were going out every morning, you see, Ngudluwaltu Karna.*
they were going out every morning you see Wallaby Men
“Minha urupula nhanhi-ra?”
what you.two see-PUNC
9. *“Ngarapa kudna warili thadla-rangi.”*
northwind faeces rising look.at-PRES
10. *Karna-pula wangawanga yuka-ngura mudlu-nga thangka-lhuku,*
man-two early.morning go-CONT sandhill-LOC sit-PUR
thangka-lhuku nhatyi-nangka-rda thiyara thiyara Maka ngarda-ngura,
sit-PUR watch-CONT.S-PRES where where Fire burn-CONT.S
straighten'm out to that ngura-ruku then.
straighten it out to that camp-ALL then
11. *Yadla-thiya-ka Maka ngarda-ngura Kudnara-nta.*
close-become-P Fire burn-CONT Kudnara-DAT
(There follows a fifth Wapiya verse.)
12. *Mathapurda ngudluwaltu been go away then hunting you know.*
Old.Man wallaby been gone away then hunting you know
13. *Pula-nha ngunta-rda-ya-ma: “Kathi-nga yuka-nda irlili-pula-ya!”.*
two-ACC tell-SP-TR-IMPF meat-LOC go-PRES grandson-two-VOC
14. *Ngudluwaltu was Wangkangurru and those two karna-pula,*
Wallaby was Wangkangurru and those two Men-two

²⁹ General explanatory comments by L. Hercus are given in bold type within brackets.

³⁰ *Kudna* is the widespread term for ‘excrement’, and ‘excrement of fire’ is a stylish way of referring to ‘smoke’. There was a particular reason for the use of this expression here: the story of *Kudnara* is based on the throwing of *kudna*.

- Ngudluwaltu's grandson, old man tell me, my old man.*
 Wallaby's grandson old man told me my old man
15. *Arlarda yuka-ka kathi-ng' kata-lhuku pula-ru nhanhi-ka*
 ready go-past meat-LOC travel-PUR two-ERG see-P
Maka ngarda-ngura nhanhi-lhiku mirri-li ngarda-ngura yadla-ki,
 Fire burn-CONT see-HIST this.side-ADV burn-CONT close-EMP
mirri, yadla-ki ngarda-ngura.
 this.side close-EMP burn-CONT
16. *Maka-ru yaka-ma-ya-ma uka-kunha, yaka-ma-yiwa-nda!*
 Fire-ERG chase-SP-TR-IMPF he-POSS chase-SP-TR-PRES
Maka-ru Ngudluwaltu uka-nha, paltungka-rda Maka partyarna,
 Fire-ERG Wallaby he-ACC loom.over-PRES Fire all
walyili walyili Maka-ru parda-ngur' uka-nha.
 almost almost Fire-ERG grab-CONT he-ACC
17. Along main place now:
 this is the main place now
(There follows another Wapiya verse.)
18. *Mingka-nga uka-nha winta-kurdarna-thika-ma, kata-nga*
 hole-LOC he-ACC go.down-lie-return-IMPF deep-LOC
thuRu-kithi katyi-naru pidla:
 inside-EMP turn-PLUP name
(A further verse follows.)
19. *Uka-kunha wadlhu katakata, katakata, malyka Maka-ru*
 he-POSS place deep deep not Fire-ERG
idna-li. Maka paltungka-rda yarapa, yarapa ngarda-ma mirrili.
 touch-HAB Fire loom-PRES above above burn-IMPF close.by
20. *Maka wanka-rda, wadlhu-nga thuRu thangka-ngura apirla-thu,*
 Fire rise-PRES ground-LOC below sit-CONT grandmother-EMP
anya-nyara, payayi-nyara kari arluwa uka-kunha.
 father-younger aunt-younger they child he-POSS
21. **(The Two Men sing standing high up above in the sky. They sing three more Wapiya verses, this time in their own language, Wangkangurru. The first is):**
Tyi Mákata³¹ kúrda-kurda tyi Mákata kúrda
 oh Fire fall-fall oh Fire fall
Tjilíndrimirpé riluntá tyilíndrimirpé rilú
(This second line is probably a version of tyirlimpa tyirlimpa 'alight, alight' distorted in verse.)

³¹ -ta is an additional syllable that has been added (as often happens in the song language).

22. *kurda-kurda-ma nguyu thika-ma maka-ra.*
fall-fall-PRES one return-IMPF fire-CSL
23. **(The next verse is):**
Tyi wánga payá raluntá tyi wánga payá raluntá
early morning bird early morning bird
Tyilíndrimirpé riluntá tyilíndrimirpé riluntá
alight alight
24. *Pula Maka-ra yarapa thika, kaRu-nha yarapa pula-ru*
two Fire-CSL above return there-EMP above two-ERG
nhanhi nhakari-nha mapu wilawila kama kari-nha, partyama
see they-ACC mob multitude men they-ACC all
kutha-nga tyalparru thangka-rda kutha-ru nhangka-ma-nha.
water-LOC (packed ?) sit-PRES water-INSTR alive-make-NP
25. *ThuRu ngarda-ngura wadlanyanmarra kari pidla-ra*
below burn-CONT heaped.up.like.flat.dishes they name-CSL
Maka-ra nguyu-nga ngarda-ma nguyu-nga-ma-ma kari-nha,
Fire-CSL one-LOC burn-IMPF one-LOC-make-IMPF they-ACC
wadlanyanmarra ngupa-ma.
heaped.up.like.flat.dishes lie-IMPF
26. **(The next Wapiya verse to be sung by the Two Men is):**
Wadládmanyánmá wadládmanyánmá
grinding dish stacked grinding dish stacked
YaRúdla³² thityarítá³³ yaRúdla thityarítá
flames burning flames burning
27. **(The last verse is):**
Yarúdla thityarítá yarúdla thityarítá
flames burning flames burning
Yadláyanmanya wádla'yanmanyá
grinding dish stacked grinding dish stacked
YaRúla rityimpiré yaRúla yutunpiré
flames alight flames alight
**(Rityimpire is probably another transformation of the word tyirlimpa-
'to set alight'.)**
28. *Kanhangarda-nganha ngura-nganha partyama ngarda-ngura,*
there-from camp-from all burn-CONT
palthirri andall Maka-ra ngarda-ma Maka-nga wityi-ma
grinding stone and all Fire-CSL burn-IMPF Fire-LOC become-IMPF

³² -*dla* is another case of an additional syllable; the normal word for flame is *yaRu*.

³³ This word is known only from this particular song.

partyama, mardi partyama, nguyu-nguyu nhangka-wityi-ma, Mayi-palkuru.
 all string all one-one alive-become-IMPF Gecko

TRANSLATION (THE FIRE COMES)

1. Soon after, one (of the Two Men said to his grandparents): "Dig a hole, a very deep one".
2. The two old people, the woman and the old man (started) to dig (night after night) while the children were sleeping.
3. Then the Two Men saw the Fire, they were bringing it closer (by incantations), they were watching it burning.
4. They were sitting on a high sandhill.
5. **(The men of the camp say, speaking in Wangkamadla):**
 "What are you two looking at?"
6. **(The Two Men answer in Wangkamadla):**
 "We are looking at what the north wind is bringing up!"
(Then follow the Wapiya verses as recorded on Tape 203, 27 May 1968 beginning with the first four verses. These are mainly in Wangkamadla with some admixture of Aranda. No adequate explanation of the purely Wangkamadla verses is yet available, hence they have been omitted here.)
7. The people from the camp asked again:
 "What can you two see (from up there?)".
8. They went out every morning, you see, those Two Wallaby Men.
 "What can you two see (from up there)?"
9. "We can see what the north wind is bringing up!"
10. The Two Men went early every morning to sit on top of the sandhill, they sat there watching which way the Fire was burning and they directed it straight to this camp (by means of incantations).
11. The Fire came close, it came burning towards *Kudnara*.
(The Two Men sing a fifth Wapiya verse.)
12. The Old Man (grandfather) Crescent Nail-tailed Wallaby, he had been away hunting.
13. He had said to the Two Men: "I am going for meat, my two grandsons!"
14. That Crescent Nail-tailed Wallaby was Wangkangurru, and the Two Men, the Wallaby's grandsons: they were Wangkangurru too, that is what my old father told me.
15. The Wallaby had got ready and had gone off for meat when the Two Men saw the Fire burning, it came burning quite close, it came over this side, burning closer.

16. The Fire chased him, the Fire chased him along, that Old Man Wallaby; the whole mass of Fire loomed up, and very nearly, very nearly the Fire got hold of him.
17. This is the main place now.
(There follows another Wapiya verse.)
18. He managed to get back and dive down into his burrow. When he got right down below they turned round the words of the song:
(A further verse follows.)
19. His burrow was deep, very deep and the Fire could not touch it. The Fire loomed up above, it burnt right overhead.
20. The Fire flared up, but down below the ground there sat the paternal grandmother (of the Two Men), their father's younger brother, their younger aunt and her children.
21. **(The Two Men sing standing high up above in the sky. They sing the following three Wapiya verses, this time in their own language, Wangkangurru):**
The Fire falls down (upon the camp), the Fire falls down (upon the camp),
(all is) alight, alight.
22. The Fire came down and he (the old man Wallaby) had come back on his own on account of the Fire.
23. **(The Two men continue singing):**
(Like) early in the morning birds come gliding
(Like) early in the morning birds come gliding
(The flames) that are alight (come drifting near).
24. The Two Men rose up high again,³⁴ above the Fire, they looked down from on top, and they saw this large multitude of people from the camp who all stayed in the water.³⁵ They all packed in there to save themselves with the water.
25. The people down there got burnt, their bodies were heaped up like flat grinding dishes, as is said in the verse. The Fire burnt them all in the one place, because of the Fire they had all gone to the one place, and they lay there in a heap.
26. **(The next Wapiya verse to be sung by the Two Men is):**
(Bodies) heaped up and stacked like grinding dishes
(Bodies) heaped up and stacked like grinding dishes
Flames burning, flames burning.
27. **(The last verse is):**
Flames are burning, flames are burning
(Close by are bodies) heaped up and stacked like grinding dishes
Flames burning, flames burning.

³⁴ They had supernatural powers and could walk in the sky, but this time they also had the assistance of the Two Snakes, as explained in the next section.

³⁵ The water of the Kudnara Waterhole. This was apparently a major waterhole on the Mulligan above Kalidawarry.

28. The people from the camp were burnt, all of them, everything was reduced to ashes, even the grinding stones, everything was consumed by the Fire, all the hairstring, only one single creature from there survived, and that was the Knob-tailed Gecko.

9.2.6 THE SNAKES

TEXT

1. *Maka yadla wityi-ngura, Kurkari, Yurkunangku papu-ru*
Fire close become-CONT *Kurkari Yurkunangku egg-ABL*
wanka-rda, warna-ma warluwa-rnda, Maka-ra thadlarawa-nta,
rise-PRES stretch-IMPF anxious-PRES Fire-CSL fear-REFL
thika-rnda ngura-ruku, thangka-rda waRu-nga.
return-PRES camp-ALL sit-PRES warm-LOC
2. *Maka kanyu wanka-lhuku ngarda-ma; pula ngupa-ngura*
Fire steadily rise-HIST burn-IMPF two lie-CONT
waRu-wityi-ma.
warm-become-IMPF
3. *Muyu nguRu-nga yuka-lhuku pula, katiwiRi-ki.*³⁶
day other-LOC go-HIST two big-EMP
4. *Walta nguRu-nga yuka-lhuku, Mathapurda Arlakura tharni-lhiku*
time other-LOC go-HIST Old.Man Mulga.Snake eat-PUR
waya-ma; walta nguRu-nga yuka-lhuku, walyili-walyili parda-ma.
wish-IMPF time other-LOC go-HIST nearly-nearly grab-IMPF
5. *Maka ngarda-ngura ngarrityi-ma pula ngunha kudni-rnda-runaru,*
Fire burn-CONT come.down-IMPF two arm place-SP-PLUP
maka ngunha kudni-rnda parraRa pula waya-nangka-ngura.
Fire arm put-PRES middle two wish-CONT.S-CONT
6. *Ngunha kudni-ngura wantantara-nga pula-nha pirda-lhuku*
arm put-CONT sandhill-LOC two-ACC kill-PUR
waya-ma parda-ngura, yadningka-pula-ru maRa-ru parda-ma
wish-IMPF grab-CONT young.man-two-ERG hand-INSTR grab-IMPF
7. *Maka piRa-ngura-ki, Maka-nga karlatyundu maka-nga*
Fire open-CONT-EMP Fire-LOC centre Fire-LOC
paRara-nga wangali kudni-ma-yingura Maka; Maka padni-nga
middle-LOC early put-SP-CONT Fire Fire none-LOC
pula-ru parda-ka, yarapa wityi-ma.
two-ERG grab-P above become-IMPF

³⁶ They were Snake Ancestors and so had supernatural qualities, hence they grew up immediately.

8. *Pula-ru parda-ma, yarapa Yurkunangku, Kurkari-nha yarapa*
two-ERG grab-IMPf above *Yurkunangku Kurkari-ACC* above
pula-nha; yadningka-pula-ru parda-yiwa-ma, yarapa wityi-ma
two-ACC young.man-two-ERG grab-TR-IMPf on.top become-IMPf
thangka-rda, gettingride!
sit-PRES getting ride
9. *Maka-yarru-nga, maka-yarru-nga pula wanka-rda, kaRu yarapa pula-ru*
fire-flame-LOC fire-flame-LOC two rise-PRES there on.top two-ERG
nhatyi-ma-wityi-ma, pula-ru kuparli nyurdu
see-IMPf-become-IMPf two-ERG younger.brother also
ngantya-ma-yingura: "Thiwi-thiwi yantili."
call-SP-CONT *Thiwi-thiwi* burn
10. *Ukaliri palki-nga wara-lhuku parda-ma uka-ru,*
now belt-LOC hang-PUR grab-IMPf he-ERG
yuka-nangka-lhuku.
go-CONT.S-HIST
11. *Kari yarapa-ki yanhi-rnda: "Thutirla-ki", uka yanhi-rnda-kithi:*
they above-EMP speak-PRES boy-EMP he speak-IMPf-EMP
"Thithilaya nganha Thiwi-thiwili yantili nganha!"
elder.brothers me *Thiwi-thiwi* burn me
"Maka-ra 'ntha ngarda-ma nhuthi-pula-ya!"
'Fire-CSL I burn-IMPf elder.brother-two-VOC
12. *Pula-ru kathu-ma-ma. "Maka-na tyuru kurrakurra, kutyima!"*
two-ERG quiet-make-IMPf Fire-LOC (inside?) fall pull
"Apuka Maka nhatjiru kurrakurraku witjingura."
quiet Fire see fall become
13. *Kathu-ma-ru pula-ru thutirla: "Kathu wityi-nha maka-ra*
quiet-make-NAR two-ERG boy quiet become-NP Fire-CSL
ngarda-rnda-naru, malyka yanta".
burn-SP-PLUP not speak
14. *Maka-ru kunha mama-rnda mirrili, thutirla-nha; thutirla-nha*
Fire-ERG he.ACC take-PRES this.side boy-ACC boy-ACC
maka-ru mama-ru.
Fire-ERG take-NAR
15. *Uta nhatyi-ma kari yarapa-ru, Maka-ra ngarda-ngura*
now see-IMPf they above-ABL Fire-CSL burn-CONT
Thiwi-thiwi-nha, thutirla tyurlatyurlapa-ma Maka-ru, Maka ngalthi-ngura
Thiwi-thiwi-PROP boy lose-IMPf Fire-ERG Fire burn.up-CONT

anthunha anya nyara Thiwi-thiwi-nha.
 my father little *Thiwi-thiwi-PROP*

16. *Malyka uka-ru ngunta-ka minha-minha warra-nga pula,*
 not he-ERG show-P what-what side-LOC two
afterthe Maka.
 after the Fire

TRANSLATION (THE SNAKES)

1. When the Fire was still approaching *Kurkari* the Green Snake and *Yurkunangu* the Red-bellied Black Snake just hatched from the egg, they stretched out, and immediately they began to be afraid on account of the Fire; they went back to where their camp was, and sat there in that warm place.
2. The Fire came up steadily, burning along, and the two Snakes lay there (in their camp), keeping warm.
3. A day or so later they both went out, they had already grown quite big.
4. Another time they went out again, and the old man Mulga Snake wanted to eat them, the next time after that he very nearly got them.
5. All this time the Fire was coming down towards them, it went round them on two sides and tried to encircle them in the middle.
6. The arms of the Fire came around (those two Snakes) as they stood on a high sandhill; it was about to seize them, ready to kill them, when the Two Men got hold of them with their hands.
7. The Fire opened out, they were in the very centre of the Fire, right in the middle of the (arms of) Fire which had surrounded them early in the morning; right in the middle where there was no Fire the Two Men grabbed them and went up.
8. The Two Men held and got on top of *Yurkunangu* and *Kurkari*, they held the two Snakes for a moment and then sat on them as they went up – they were getting a ride!
9. On the flames, on the flames they rose up and as they got to the top they started to look around, and as they went they also called their younger brother, saying (in Wangkamadla): “*Thiwi-thiwi* is getting burnt!”.
10. Now he (the younger brother) got hold of their large hairstrung belt so that he could hang from it as they went along.
11. They, up on top (feeling the pull on the hairstrung belt) said: “It’s the boy!”. He called out to them (in Wangkamadla): “Hey you two, my elder brothers! The Fire is burning me, *Thiwi-thiwi!*”.

12. The Two Men tried to keep him quiet (so that the Fire would not hear him), but he called out: "I am falling right into the Fire, pull me out!". They said: "Keep quiet,³⁷ you see the Fire, you will fall into it!".
13. The Two Men tried to make the boy keep quiet: "He should keep quiet while the Fire is burning him, he shouldn't talk!".
14. The Fire got hold of the boy right then close by, the Fire took him, that little boy.
15. Now they could see from up top, they could see *Thiwi-thiwi* getting burnt. They lost that boy on account of the Fire, the Fire burnt my father's younger brother *Thiwi-thiwi* to embers.
16. He (my father) never told me which way the Two Men went after the Fire.

³⁷ *Apuka* is a rendering of the Wangkamadla word *tapu*- 'quiet' by Wangkangurru people who were not accustomed to pronouncing initial alveolar or retroflex consonants. Breen (n.d.) gives *taputyi* 'keep quiet' for Wangka Yutyurru (and Wangkamadla is a dialect of the same language as Wangka Yutyurru; see §1.3 above). *Ṭapu* is listed for Pitta-Pitta in the vocabulary by Blake (1979:231).

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