

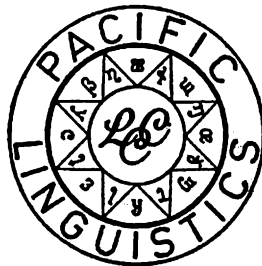
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series B – No. 65

BASIC MATERIALS IN WANKUMARA (GALALI):
GRAMMAR, SENTENCES AND VOCABULARY

by

M. McDonald & S. A. Wurm



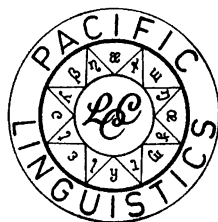
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M. McDonald & S.A. Wurm



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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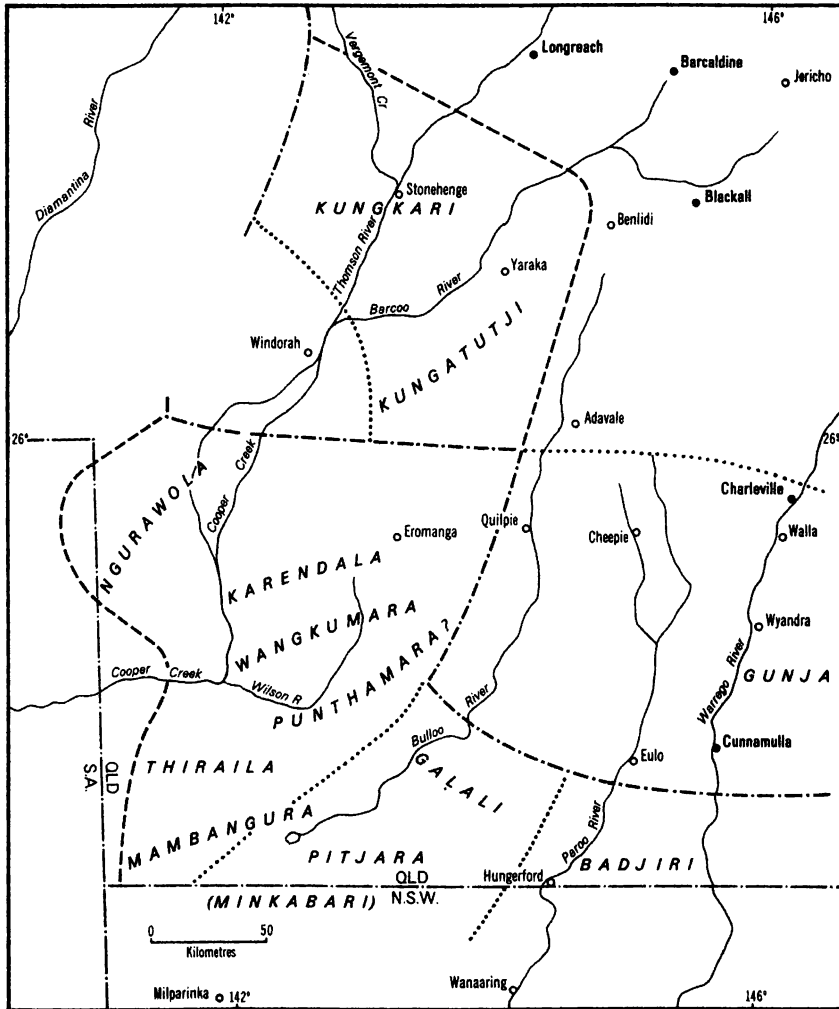
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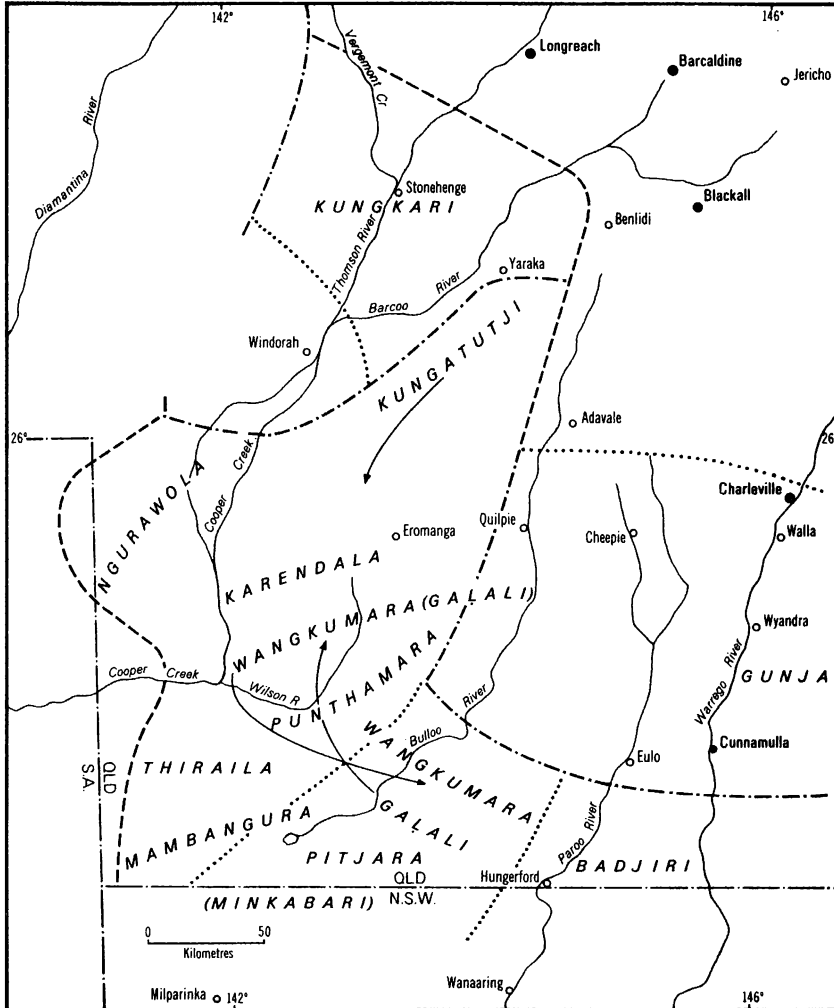
SOME ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-WESTERN QUEENSLAND
 (as approximately located at the time of the first major white contact)



- Boundary between languages belonging to the same subgroup
- Boundary between languages belonging to different subgroups of the same group
- . - . - . Boundary between languages belonging to different groups of the same family

Boundaries between dialects of a language are not shown

SOME ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-WESTERN QUEENSLAND
 (as approximately located in post-contact times)



Boundary between languages belonging to the same subgroup

----- Boundary between languages belonging to different subgroups of the same group

- . - . - . Boundary between languages belonging to different groups of the same family

Boundaries between dialects of a language are not shown

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. LANGUAGE AND BACKGROUND

The language presented in this monograph is one of the dialects of what Breen (1971) has called the 'Wilson River Language'. The informant, Charles Philips, called this language Gaḷali, but it is clearly different from a language in which Breen (personal communication) has obtained highly consistent materials from several informants who also referred to their language as Gaḷali. It appears that this latter Gaḷali is a dialect of what Breen refers to as the 'Bulloo River Language' and to which, in addition to Gaḷali, also the dialect called Waṅkumara belongs on which Curr (1886-87) has published materials. Also included in this language is a dialect referred to as Pitjara (not to be confused with the different Bidjara language spoken further north and described in Breen 1973) as well as probably Minkabari if it really is a dialect name. At the same time, the Wilson River language includes, in addition to Charles Philips' 'Gaḷali', Buṅḅamara, modern Waṅkumara, Thiraila, Mambangura, the modern form of Kungatutji, as well as Karendala and perhaps Ngurawola (Breen 1971). These two languages, together with the Badjiri language, constitute, according to Breen, the Ngura Subgroup of what he calls the Karnic Group which comprises the former Arabanic, Dieric, Mitakudic and Pittapittic Groups (Wurm 1972).

Charles Philips' 'Gaḷali' is very close to modern Waṅkumara and Buṅḅamara, though a small proportion of its vocabulary is Bulloo River Gaḷali (and a somewhat larger proportion is common to the Wilson River language in general, and to Bulloo River Gaḷali). The grammar of Charles Philips' 'Gaḷali' is however very much like that of modern Waṅkumara, with one important difference: in modern Waṅkumara, two noun classes exist, one comprising masculine singular nouns, and the other masculine plural and non-masculine nouns. In Charles Philips' 'Gaḷali', which may well be called Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) for the purpose of this monograph, only the non-masculine class is in general evidence, and all nouns belong to it. Conversely, in the Buṅḅamara dialect, only the masculine class is preserved, and all nouns are members of it.

Breen (1971) points out that some groups of Southwest Queensland appear to have abandoned their original languages (but not their names) and adopted the Wilson River language when moving into a new language area as a result of tribal disruption. He says that one such group seems to have been the Waṅkumara; he draws attention to the fact that modern informants identify Waṅkumara with the Nockatunga area, but Curr's correspondent F.W. Myles (Curr 1886-87, vol.II:36-41) puts it

into the Thargomindah area. Breen suggests the possibility that the Waṅkumara may have moved in the early days of settlement from Thargomindah to Nockatunga and adopted the local language there.

Tindale (1974) suggests a movement in the opposite direction in saying about the Waṅkumara:

Loc.: Cooper Creek east of Nappa Merrie and Orientos to the Wilson River at Nockatunga. In post contact times at Charleston and Ngarcowlah where they mixed with uncircumcised Kalali

and in Tindale 1940 he says that "tribal disruption took some to Thargomindah where they mixed with uncircumcised Kalali".

It appears that the linguistic evidence favours Tindale's assumption: Curr's (i.e. Myles') Waṅkumara and Bulloo River Gaḷali appear to be dialects of one language. If the speakers of that Waṅkumara, on moving into the Wilson River area, adopted the language spoken there, to produce modern Waṅkumara, and some Bulloo River Gaḷali speakers did the same - as evidenced by Charles Philips' 'Gaḷali' - one would expect both these adopted languages to show identical characteristics. Insead, one of them, modern Waṅkumara, shows a quite elaborate, marked two-class system of noun classification, whereas the other one, Charles Philips' 'Gaḷali', shows a simplified system which suggests that the speakers of Bulloo River Gaḷali, probably a non-classifying language, had difficulties in understanding the system and functioning of the Wilson River language noun-classes, and resorted to adopting the markers of only one - the non-masculine - of the two noun classes. Buṅdamara shows a comparable simplification, in assigning all nouns to the masculine class only, which makes it possible to assume that it does also not represent the original Wilson River language. It too, may be the result of the adoption of that language by some other outside group whose original language had no noun-classes. It seems likely that modern Waṅkumara, with its fully operating noun class system, is the direct descendant of the original Wilson River language, and Curr's (i.e. Myles') Waṅkumara a Bulloo River dialect resulting from the adoption of that language by Waṅkumara immigrants from the Wilson River area - an immigration corroborated by Tindale's remarks. If Bulloo River Waṅkumara has no noun classes, as seems likely to be the case, this constitutes no difficulty: the loss and simplification of grammatical features as a result of language take-over is a common phenomenon. A tendency has been observed for class or gender systems to disappear or simplify in a language in strong contact with another language which lacks these features, especially if the latter is socially, regionally or otherwise dominant (Wurm 1978).

The lexical relationship between the dialects making up the Wilson River and Bulloo River languages respectively is very close, certainly close enough to justify their classification as dialects. Charles Philips' 'Gaḷali', i.e. Waṅkumara (Gaḷali), stands lexically somewhat apart from the other dialects of the Wilson River language, and is closer to Bulloo River Gaḷali than they are, because, as has been pointed out above, it shares a greater proportion of its vocabulary with the latter language than with the other dialects of the Wilson River language. Nevertheless, the close resemblance between modern Waṅkumara and Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) is evident from the existing materials. The lexical relationship between the Wilson River and the Bulloo River languages is close enough for their inclusion into the same subgroup: it lies around the 55-60% mark.

A sizeable amount of data on Bundamara, recorded by S.A. Wurm, is yet to be studied. Fieldwork on Waṅkumara has been done by J. Breen and L. Hercus, and a rather detailed description of that language is expected to become available in the future from them. A paper on Waṅkumara by J. Breen, frequently cited here, is included in Dixon ed. 1976.

The Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) data presented in this paper are from fieldnotes and tapes recorded by S.A. Wurm in Canberra, April 1963. The material, analysed by M. McDonald, C.C.A.E., consists of 70 pages of fieldnotes and corresponding tape recordings, edited of all extraneous material but maintaining the original order of elicitation. Word-for-word glosses were provided for nouns and verbs, and in many cases an acceptable English translation was provided. Often, however, the translation was more in the spirit than the letter of the utterance. Reasonable English translations are provided in the text, but where the reading is in some doubt, alternatives are included in square brackets.

Dr Harold Koch of the A.N.U. provided a number of valuable comments and insights during the preparation of this paper.

The data include 517 'sentences' and 342 vocabulary items. The 'sentences', referred to herein as the 'text', are included in section 5, and the vocabulary is given in section 6. The 'phrase' and 'sentence' units distinguished are based on the intonation patterns of the informant.

The informant, Charles Philips, was 74 years old, born at Backwood Station south of Hungerford in southwest Queensland. He spoke both Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) and modern Waṅkumara (and possibly a smattering of other languages of the area). Although he had not used the language conversationally for 40 years, his speech was fluent and confident.

It is the aim of this paper to provide an analysis of, and guide to, the text. No attempt has been made to include material on related languages or to cross-reference this material with earlier records. The analysis presented is based purely on the text material and tapes.

Certain problems must be accepted as intrinsic to the analysis of limited recorded material. In this case, phonetic information is extensive. It derives, however, from one speaker, whose speed and manner of articulation often obscured the consonants. Difficulties encountered in transcription from the informant are only occasionally resolved by the tapes. Thus, particularly in the case of interdental consonants, the record is faulty; some apparently homophonous words must in reality differ in unrecorded consonant features. Text material is adequate for most of the morphological analysis, although the exact shape of several of the case suffixes is uncertain. The informal style is the chief syntactic weakness, as very few complex structures were elicited. Nevertheless, syntactic analysis of the text may be presented with reasonable certainty. It should be reiterated that the speaker appeared to know his language very well and that there is remarkable consistency in the structures he provided.

1.2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LANGUAGE

Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) is entirely suffixing and morphologically fairly simple. It has the following word classes: nominal (noun and pronoun), verb, particle and interjection. Word order appears to be free.

The phonemes consist of three vowels and 26 consonants, all common in Australian languages. A voicing distinction in stops is, however, a relatively unusual feature.

There are seven noun cases. Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) is unusual among Australian languages in having distinctive marking for nominative, accusative and ergative case functions throughout the nominal system. Kin nouns appear to have had case suffixes slightly different in form from common nouns. Pronouns have a unique set of inflections, and are free form, except for (a) the occasional bound *-pi* (the second syllable of the first singular nominative pronoun *ŋapi*) and (b) bound third person nominative and accusative pronouns, discussed in section 3.2.2.1.

There is no conjugational contrast in Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) verbs. Transitivity is usually not indicated morphologically, and it is not always easy to determine in the text material. Variations in case marking of NPs pose interesting problems.

A passive transformation is identified in the data, but no anti-passive (Silverstein 1976) may be discerned. A straightforward

'conjoining' structure is apparent, along with certain 'adjoined' structures (as described by Hale 1976a:78-105). A purposive construction is amply attested, and sufficient data exists for identification of conditional and temporal clauses.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. STRESS

Primary stress occurs normally on the first syllable of a word, with secondary stress on third and fifth syllables - except that final syllables are unstressed in connected speech. The first syllable of a two-syllable suffix receives secondary stress. Where the suffix attaches to a two-syllable stem, the final syllable of the stem is often quite reduced and very occasionally some assimilation between it and the initial vowel of the suffix may take place. Where the vowels are identical, a long vowel is often produced. However, equally often no assimilation or reduction takes place, and there is a clear fall in pitch between the final vowel of the stem and the initial vowel of the suffix, as in [gúŋà-àŋa].
food ACC

Emphasis motivates a shift of stress. Thus the informant gives ŋíŋa 'him', and ɲíŋa 'him EMPH'. Many stems heard in citation form have pronounced stress on the final syllable as well as strong final aspiration (described by the informant as final 'h'). These features are absent in connected speech, except at the end of an intonation pattern. The final stress and aspiration appear to be suprasegmental features marking the end of an utterance, as well as emphasis.

2.2. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

There are no monosyllabic words; most nouns and verb stems (56%) are disyllabic. Many of the trisyllabic and four-syllable nouns exhibit recurrent final syllables which suggest that they are not monomorphemic. When only the most probable monomorphemes are considered, 10% of the corpus is trisyllabic, and only 6% comprise four syllables.

Syllable division is fairly easy to establish where (phonetic) gemination of consonants occurs (see section 2.4.1.); division falls between the two consonants. This is true whether the geminate consonants occur alone or with another consonant in a cluster. Where a voiced consonant occurs in a cluster, division falls between the two consonants. Thus the patterns are as follows:

[buk.ka] 'all'
 [ŋaŋɕ.ɕa] 'I.DAT'
 [ŋaŋ.də] 'want' (or [ŋa:n.də])

Where three-element consonant clusters [ldr] and [ndr] occur, the sonorants [l] and [n] appear slightly lengthened and the syllable division is apparently as follows: [ŋaŋ.dra].

The word above illustrates syllable-initial [dr]. This sequence is often pronounced very rapidly, sometimes closely resembling the single segment [r]. [dr] and [lr] are the only syllable-initial clusters; in addition [dr] occurs word-initially, in three words.¹

On the basis of this syllable division, Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) free morphemes have two basic syllable types: CV and CVC. CVC syllables almost always occur word-initially. There are only two words in which a CVC syllable occurs in second position, resulting in a consonant cluster between second and third syllables.

There are several minor deviations from the basic syllable pattern. The initial clusters lr and dr have been discussed. In addition, the vowel [i] occurs initially in three words. There are no occurrences of [yu] in the text and only two if [yi]. Thus the initial vowel [i] may represent underlying /yi/ or /yu/. Note that the second person pronouns (singular) ini and iŋa also occur, where the general second person pronominal root is probably yu-.

Bound morphemes have wider possibilities of syllable structure in that they may occur with initial vowels.

2.3. PHONEME INVENTORY

Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) has three vowels and 26 consonants as segmental phonemes. The vowels are /i/, /a/ and /u/. The consonants are set out in Table 1 opposite.

¹Some of the [ndr] and [ldr] clusters may derive from a sequence [ndVr]. For example, the informant gave a word *ɕumpindra* 'tell (PURP)' and then offered the alternative *ɕumpindira*. The verb stem here is possibly *ɕumpa* 'show' plus suffixes *indi* ? and *ra* (purposive).

TABLE 1
Consonants

	apical		laminal		peripheral	
	alveolar	retroflex	inter- dental	palatal	bilabial	velar
voiceless stops	t	ʈ	ʈ̪	ç	p	k
voiced stops	d	ɖ	ɖ̪	ɟ	b	g
nasals	n	ɳ	ɳ̪	ɲ	m	ŋ
laterals	l	ɭ	ɭ̪	ɮ		
rhotics	r	ɽ				
semi-vowels				y	w	

2.4. ARTICULATION AND ALLOPHONY OF CONSONANTS

2.4.1. The Voicing Distinction

Unlike most Australian languages, Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) has a voicing distinction in the oral stops. The contrastive value of voicing is limited to certain environments. There is no distinction initially or before /r/, and it may be demonstrated intervocally only for laminals and peripherals. It can be shown for all the consonant series in homorganic clusters following nasals, but to only a limited extent following laterals and rhotics. Absence of a full set of distinctions after laterals and rhotics is probably a function of the limited material. It should be noted that voiced stops occur in only 20% of the vocabulary items.¹

Voiceless stops, which have fairly tense articulation in all positions, are particularly tense - and geminate - following a stressed vowel.²

Voiced stops are weakly articulated, with bilabials and velars in particular being realised as lenis fricatives. A stressed vowel preceding a voiced stop is often lengthened, whether the consonant is single or in a cluster. Thus a long vowel is usually associated with the voiced stops while a preceding short vowel characterises the voiceless series. The relevant contrast could then be identified either as

¹A voicing contrast was noted by J. Breen for Waŋkumara (1976b:339) and for Yandruwanda (1976a:597), where he said: "the Yandruwanda phoneme inventory appears to include a full set (6) of both voiced and voiceless stops (although the opposition may be significant only in certain environments.)"

²Gemination is an areal feature, occurring also in Maḷangada and Ba:gaṇḍi, languages which seem not to be closely related (P. Austin - personal communication).

vowel length or as consonant voicing. The weight of evidence favours a distinction residing in the consonants, however. Vowel length is not maintained as consistently as consonant voicing; the fieldnotes and tapes record numerous variations in vowel length for different occurrences of a single word. Moreover, where a voiced consonant occurs in a cluster, it is sometimes the sonorant that is lengthened. Thus we have the word *ɲaŋɖa* 'want' realised as [ɲaŋ:ɖa], [ɲaŋɖa] and [ɲa:ŋɖa].

There is no voicing contrast word-initially. Initial stops are represented here as voiced, the predominant mode of realisation. Where voiceless stops are heard initially, there is always a voiceless consonant in the word, possibly (though not consistently) conditioning initial voicelessness. The initial consonants of most suffixes are voiced, heard as lenis fricatives. One exception, -ka (gloss unknown) occurs.

2.4.2. Apical Consonants

2.4.2.1. Alveolar: t d n l r

The tongue tip makes contact with the front of the alveolar ridge, just behind the top teeth, a little more 'fronted' than alveolar articulation in English. The alveolar rhotic is usually a strong trill, but intervocalically it is sometimes a strongly fricative sound. There are no observed allophonic variants of the other alveolar consonants.

2.4.2.2. Retroflex: ʈ ɖ ɳ l ɽ

The tongue tip makes contact just behind the alveolar ridge. A preceding 'r-coloured' vowel is the chief perceptual correlate. Retroflexes are readily discernible in the speech of the informant.

The retroflex rhotic is a central approximant. There are no allophonic variants of interest.

2.4.3. Laminal Consonants

2.4.3.1. Interdental: t̪ d̪ n̪ l̪

The blade of the tongue makes contact with an area of the mouth extending from just behind the upper teeth to the lower teeth.

Interdental consonants were difficult to distinguish in the field. The interdental lateral is not recorded definitely in the data, but several 'suspicious' laterals were selected from the tapes and fieldnotes for instrumental investigation. The results confirm the presence of interdental laterals in several words. The spectrographic parameters

for determining interdental articulation of laterals are those discussed in 'A Study of the Phonetics and Phonology of Yaraldi and Associated Dialects' (McDonald 1977). No attempt has been made to carry the investigation further to see how common the interdental lateral is.

There is an allophone [ð] of /d/ in the environment following /l/.

2.4.3.2. *Palatal*: t̟ d̟ n̟ l̟ ɟ

The lamino-palatal is articulated with the blade of the tongue in contact with the palate. An allophone [ʒ] of /d/ is occasionally heard intervocally and after /l/.

2.4.4. *Peripheral Consonants*

2.4.4.1. *Bilabial*: p b m w

The articulators are the two lips. A lenis fricative allophone [β] of /b/ frequently occurs intervocally and after /l/. Occasionally an allophone [w] of /b/ is heard, where /b/ is the initial consonant of a suffix.

2.4.4.2. *Velar*: k g ŋ

The dorsal part of the tongue makes contact with the velar area. The voiced velar stop is frequently a lenis fricative [ɣ] intervocally.

2.5. *VOWEL ALLOPHONY*

The vowels display a limited range of allophonic variants. /a/ is predominantly a low central vowel, approximately [ɐ]. A more 'fronted' allophone [a] is heard in the environment before /w/.

/i/ is a tense high front vowel [i] when long, and before /y/. /i/ is approximately [ɪ] in other environments.

/u/ is a fairly tense high back rounded vowel when long. It is slightly laxer, but still quite tense before /l/ and /w/, but is predominantly the less rounded, laxer allophone [ʊ] in other environments.

Vowels are long in stressed syllables before voiced stops and /r/.

2.6. *PHONEMIC CONTRASTS*

2.6.1. *Consonants - Restrictions on Distribution*

The following general restrictions are part of the distributional pattern of consonants:

(1) The retroflex series, laterals and rhotics do not occur in word-initial position.

(2) The voicing distinction is restricted as indicated in section 2.4.1.

(3) There are very few apico-alveolars in initial position. Those that are recorded may well be recorded in error.

(4) The palatal stop occurs only three times initially, in each case before the vowel /i/. Since it contrasts with /d/ in this environment and position, a very limited laminal contrast must be recognised initially.

(5) /dr/, which sometimes sounds like a single segment, can be shown to be distinct from /r/ intervocalically and from /d/ after nasals. In its marginal occurrence initially, /dr/ cannot be shown to be distinct from /d/. It appears that the three dr- initial words are related - draṇa 'tooth', draṭiṭa 'bite' and draba 'sting'. These probably reflect a common Australian word for 'tooth' - dira. If so, the /dr/ cluster might well be represented as underlying /dVr/, and the cluster removed from phonemic representation (see further discussion in section 2.6.1.6.).

The phonemic system proposed, limited in its distribution as noted, is substantiated by the following sets of minimal or near-minimal contrasts.

2.6.1.1. Oral Stops

Initial Position:

buli	'fall'
ḡulka	'heart'
dunda	'grow'
guḷu	'knee'
ḡila	'blow'
ḡilpa	'dew'
ḡini	'foot'
ḡini waṛa	'thunder'

Intervocalic:

voiceless:

ḡapa	'lick'
gaṭa	'cockatoo'
maṭa	'long ago'
mata	'trunk or bark of tree'
gaṭi	'belt'
baka	'hide, send'

voiced:

draba	'sting'
gaḡi	'lie'
ḡaḡa	'see'
waga	'lie down, sleep'

After Nasals:

voiceless:

bampuli	'wild orange'
yaṅṅa	'go'
maṅṅa	'crawl, move'
wanta	'short'
yaṅkuṛi	'move'
nunpa	'push'
waṅki	'find'

voiced:

yamba	'fight'
yaṅḍa	'talk'
ṅaṅḍa	'want, need, like'
nandu	'horse'
baṅḍi	'cross'
gaṅga	'hunt, carry'
winbi	'throw'
buṅga	'gum tree'

After Laterals:

walpa	'rise'
baḷṅi	'fall, come down'
ḅaḷṅa	'spit'
bultaraṅi	'lung'
buḷtura	'down, feather'
galka	'hit, fight'

walbira 'shadow'

waḷḍa	'leg'
galga	'evening'

After Rhotics:

marpa	'cook'
murta	'hurt'
burkaṅa	'bandicoot'
miṛkiṛipi	'moon'

murgada	'younger brother'
miṛgala	'bank'

2.6.1.2. Nasals

Initial Position:

maḷa	'late'
ṅaṅala	'locative determiner'
paḷka	'hit'
narki	'lean'
ṅalka	'think'

Intervocalic:

nama	'give'
bikaṅa	'nail'
wana	'boomerang'
yaṅa	'rain'
gaṅuri	'cry'

In Clusters:

Homorganic clusters have been illustrated. Only apical nasals may be illustrated in non-homorganic clusters.

gankura 'hair'
waŋki 'find'

2.6.1.3. Laterals**Intervocalic:**

-gaɭa 'present tense'
gaɭa 'wing'
gala 'hey!'
giɭa-giɭa 'galah'

In Clusters:

naɭba 'knife'
ŋalka 'think'
waɭka 'put'

2.6.1.4. Rhotics**Intervocalic:**

mura 'finished'
muɾa 'day'
guru 'ankle'
guɾu 'windbreak'

In Clusters:

narki 'lean'
miɾkiɾipi 'moon'

2.6.1.5. Semi-vowels**Initial Position:**

yaŋa 'rain'
wana 'boomerang'
yaŋta 'go'
wanta 'short'

Intervocalic:

draya 'tooth'
yawara 'language'

2.7. PHONOTACTICS

2.7.1. Distribution of Consonants

Restrictions on environments of contrast have been described in section 2.6.1.

The most common consonant clusters result from the co-occurrence of CVC and CV syllables. C1 of the consonant cluster may be any sonorant other than /w/. C2 is predominantly an oral stop. The major exceptions in C2 position are (1) nasals - which may follow another nasal (/nm/ and /ŋŋ/ clusters are attested) - and (2) sonorants (/w/, /n/, /m/ and /r/ are attested) - which may follow /ɣ/.¹

The clusters, then, are probably as indicated below. Those not attested, but strongly suggested by the distributional pattern, are bracketed.

- (1) Homorganic nasal + stop: mp, (mb), nɬ, nɖ, nt, nd, nʈ, nɗ, ŋk, ŋg.
- (2) Homorganic lateral + stop: lɬ, lɖ, ɮʈ, (ɮɖ), lt, ld, !ʈ, !ɖ.
- (3) Lateral + peripheral stop: (ɭp), (ɭb), (ɭk), (ɭg), (ɮp), ɮb, (ɮk), (ɮg), lp, lb, lk, lg, (!p), (!b), !k, !g.
- (4) Rhotic + peripheral stop: rp, (rb), rk, rg, (ɾp), (ɾb), ɾk, ɾg.
- (5) Apical nasal + peripheral consonant: nk, ng, (nŋ), np, nb, nm, ŋk, ŋg, ŋŋ, (ŋp), (ŋb).
- (6) y + r, m, w, n.
- (7) lr, rt.

2.7.2. Distribution of Vowels

The vowel /a/ is the most common. 52% of the words in the corpus have the vowel /a/ in the first syllable. The vowels /i/ and /u/ occur almost equally in initial syllables. In final position, the vowel /a/ is even more predominant - 64% of the stems end in the vowel /a/. The vowel /i/ is the scarcest, occurring in only 17% of the words.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. PARTS OF SPEECH

The following parts of speech can be distinguished:

¹Analysis of the sequence [ai] as vowel plus consonant augments the class of type 1 consonant clusters. There is no sequence [ao].

noun	}	nominals
pronoun		
verb		
particle		
interjection		

The most important criterion for assignment to word classes is potentiality of occurrence with particular derivational or inflectional suffixes. In addition, a unique pattern of occurrence is considered evidence of probable word class membership.

The only grounds for distinguishing a class of adjectives would be semantic, based on the semantic criterion suggested by Dixon (1977:122, 123). No formal grounds appear in the text, nor does any distributional pattern suggest separate status of an 'adjective' class. There is a derivational (verbalising) process involving the modifying noun *gali* 'good'; while no such derivation involving a non-modifying noun is attested, the discrepancy is very likely fortuitous.

Nouns form an open class; 257 noun stems are included in the vocabulary. There is very little evidence of synchronic processes deriving nouns. The noun stem commonly occurs with one of the case inflections, although it may also appear uninflected.

There are several hints (in the form of the ergative case suffix, for instance) that kin nouns might have been inflected slightly differently from other nouns.

Pronouns form a closed class; separate forms are distinguished for six cases. Where case-markers are discernible, they are similar to - but not identical to - the nominal inflections.

Many locational words occur only once in the corpus; their potential for inflection and their range of meaning cannot be accurately determined. These words are placed in either nominal or particle categories on the basis of fairly slight evidence.

Verbs form an open class with a characteristic set of derivational and inflectional suffixes. There are 93 verb stems in the corpus. Where an English translation suggests adverbial status, corresponding Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) terms never receive verbal inflection. They are tentatively classed as nominals.

Particles are uninflected, occurring freely within a sentence. Several particles of a modal nature occur sentence initially but without the pause characteristic of interjections. Interjections occur sentence initially, followed by a pause. The interjections *ga* 'yes' and *waḷa* 'no' constitute complete utterances.

3.2. MORPHOLOGY OF NOMINALS

3.2.1. Case Systems in Australian Languages

In the following discussion, the terms 'agent function', 'subject function', and 'object function' are used in the sense described by Dixon (1979:53):

The only obligatory NP in an intransitive clause is S, the NP in a transitive clause which can be agent is A, and the other obligatory NP in a transitive clause is O. These functions do appear to be valid for all natural languages and to be the basis for all grammatical operations.

A, O and S-functions are 'core categories' which exist in underlying structure by virtue of a universal dichotomy of transitive and intransitive verbs. During the course of a derivation, NPs may be assigned from one core function to another - or may be given peripheral status. NPs are then in derived grammatical functions. Case marking proceeds at a late stage, encoding the derived relationships of NPs to the verb. The sole criterion for case marking of NPO and NPS is their grammatical function in the clause; a semantic criterion - agent - is used to distinguish NPA.

The terms A, O and S-function have been particularly useful in the description of Australian languages, many of which exhibit a case marking system known as ergative-absolutive. That is, the NP in subject function to an intransitive verb is treated in a similar way to the NP in object function to a transitive verb, both receiving absolutive (often zero) case inflection; the NP in A function is distinct - inflected in the ergative. This system may be distinguished from the nominative-accusative system, which overtly marks the object of transitive verbs (accusative) and treats the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs similarly, often with (nominative) zero inflection. Australian languages often exhibit what is known as a split case system, in which some or all pronouns (and often some nominals) inflect for case according to a nominative-accusative pattern, and other nominals inflect according to the ergative-absolutive system. (For a discussion of the split case system and hierarchies existing in nominals, see Silverstein 1976, Heath 1976.)

It is not unusual for Australian languages to have different forms of at least some pronouns for all three functions, S, A, and O. This three-way system is sometimes extended to all pronouns - and occasionally, to a small category of nouns (such as kin or proper nouns). Diyari extends S, A, and O marking more fully - to non-singular nouns and some proper nouns (Austin 1978). Further, a practice of either

optional or limited accusative marking of object NPs with *-pa* or some reflex of that morpheme occurs in a number of languages. Use of this suffix in itself provides a three-way distinction of S, O, and A function. However, Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) goes further than any of these: it marks nominals for all three functions by the use of overt inflections. The systematic use of accusative (for O-function) and nominative (for S-function) case-markers in this language is of interest both for its own sake and for its relevance to linguistic theory.

3.2.2. The Nominative and Accusative Cases: *-ani* (NOM) and *-aṅa* (ACC)

Since the case system of Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) appears at first glance to involve redundancies, it is of interest to examine both the extent of its use and any available hint to its origin.

In fact, Charles Philips very seldom omitted the nominative and accusative case-markers. Nominative marking is the one most frequently omitted, mainly on kin and abstract nouns in verbal sentences. Accusative case omission occurs occasionally, correlating well in the text with lack of reference to a particular NP - or to contexts where such a lack might make sense to the informant. This is discussed further later in this section.

With regard to origin, the form of the case markers is of interest. The morphemes *-ani* (NOM) and *-aṅa* (ACC) are identical to the third person singular pronouns *ṅani* and *ṅaṅa*, without the initial nasal. In fact, in our analysis, bound *-ani* occurring in the predicate of non-verbal sentences is considered a pronoun, identical in form to the case-markers. Thus the exact status of the case-markers is open to question.

As a preliminary, it should be noted that we refer to *ṅani* and *ṅaṅa* as 'third person pronouns' with certain reservations. Clearly a more neutral label, signifying a wider range of function, would be more adequate. While occurring in distributional patterns in conformity with those of the first and second person pronouns, the third person pronouns have a wider distribution and function, and some of the properties of determiners, demonstratives, person markers and number markers. They are used adnominally much of the time, while retaining pronominal use. To illustrate these statements, we list below the various characteristics of *ṅani* and *ṅaṅa*.

3.2.2.1. The Pronouns *ḡani* and *ḡaḡa*

3.2.2.1.1. Form and Distribution

The personal pronouns are set out in Table 3, section 3.2.6.1.

The pronouns *ḡani* and *ḡaḡa* appear to belong to the same form class as *bula* (third person dual) and to be similar in form and distribution to the other pronouns - as exemplified by *ḡana* (third person plural) and *yula* (second person dual).

(1) All the above forms occur suffixed by the orientational suffix *-guḡu* 'there', and then further marked for case. Nouns do not occur with the set of orientational suffixes which includes *guḡu*. (These are set out in Table 4.)

(2) *bula*, like *ḡani* and *ḡaḡa*, occurs as an enclitic to nouns, optionally marking an entire NP.

(3) Like *bula*, *ḡani* 'copies' into the predicate of a non-verbal sentence. This is shown below. The use of *-ani* (or *ḡani*) in non-verbal sentences is discussed in section 4.2.2.1.

(215) *ḡaḡa-bula gaḡgu-gaḡgu-bula*
man -2 weak weak -3.dl:NOM
'Two men are weak.'

(369) *makura-ni ḡani-yi gaḡgu-gaḡgu-ḡani*
stick -NOM 3.S:NOM-here rotten 3.S:NOM
'This stick is rotten.'

3.2.2.1.2. Function and Meaning

(1) *ḡani* and *ḡaḡa* function anaphorically, like the other pronouns, occurring as the sole constituent of an NP, both with and without orientational suffixes. They are usually glossed in English as demonstratives. In many Australian languages, demonstratives function as third person pronouns; however, there is no indication here that the root forms convey any orientational information.

(2) *ḡani* and *ḡaḡa*, like *bula* and *ḡana*, occur most commonly in adnominal use. Most NPs consist of head noun plus adjunct pronoun. Where there is separation of the two, the noun is usually marked for case; however, the noun is often unmarked when it occurs in close proximity to the pronoun. Thus the pronoun alone often serves to indicate the case of an NP.

(3) We have noted that *bula*, like *ḡani* and *ḡaḡa*, occurs as an enclitic to nouns, optionally marking an entire NP. This raises the question of the function of *ḡani*, *ḡaḡa* as number markers. The pattern is illustrated below.

- (80) *gaṇa-bula bula-guru yaṅda-dika-gala*
man -2 3.dl:NOM-there go back-PRES
'Two men are coming together.'
- (9) *diṭi-ani nani-guru gula-ṅa ṅaṅala bita-bura*
dog -NOM 3.S:NOM-there sit-PAST/P I.LOC ?
'That dog sat on top of me.'

Note that a discrepancy exists in the gloss, in that *-bula* is identified as a number-, not a case-, marker, while *-ani* is identified as a case-, not a number-, marker. The exact status of *-bula* with respect to case must remain unresolved: an adjunct pronoun almost always occurs, so that case-marking may be omitted on a noun. Moreover, nouns in S-function are sometimes unmarked; thus bound *-bula*, here, may or may not function to signify case. It appears that the primary function of *-bula* is to mark number. On the other hand, *-ani* appears to function primarily to mark case, signifying very little with respect to number. The free forms *ṅani* and *ṅaṅa* specify singularity when used pronominally in verbal sentences. But in adnominal use, there is some variation. Thus in the sentences below, *ḡana-guru* may be seen once registering plurality (486), whereas *ṅani-guru* appears in the other (456).

- (456) *diṭi-ani wandru-ani nani-guru buka yaṅta-dika-gala-ri*
dog -NOM many -NOM 3.S:NOM-there all go-back-PRES-IRR??
'All those dogs are coming up together.'
- (486) *mura ḡana-guru gaṇa-ani buka mari-mari-gala*
finished 3.pl:NOM-there man -NOM all dance-dance-PRES
maṅi-aṅani
corroboree-DAT
'O.K. the people all together are dancing a corroboree.'

The bound forms *-ani* and *-aṅa* are even less associated with number. *ḡana* does not occur enclitically; only the 'singular' bound forms occur - in singular and plural contexts. The form *-ani* is, however, in complementary distribution with *-bula* (we have no dual noun in O-function). It appears, then, that if number is specified by these enclitics, it is only dual and non-dual that are distinguished.

Furthermore, *-ani* and *-aṅa* (and *ṅani*, *ṅaṅa*), are used where number specification has little relevance. Their pattern of occurrence in the text does not coincide absolutely with either definiteness or specificity. A tendency may be discerned for the absence of *-aṅa* to coincide with an indefinite gloss or with (probable) first mention of an NP.

Thus, compare (31) with (33) below.

- (31) *ṅaṭu naḡa-gala ḡaldra*
I.ERG see-PRES kangaroo
'I see the kangaroo.'

- (33) yundru naḍa-gala ḍaldra-aṅa
 you.S:ERG see-PRES kangaroo-ACC
 'You see the kangaroo.'

Here, in spite of the translation, the NPO is first mentioned in (31), and might well be non-specific in the speaker's mind. But the presence of -aṅa (ṅaṅa) does not exclude an indefinite gloss - nor is -aṅa excluded from obviously 'first-mentioned' NPs.

Thus, we have (150) below:

- (150) ... guru ṅana ṅali-ṅu gulpa-ra
 windbreak 3.S:ACC we.2-ERG build-FUT
 '... we will build a windbreak.'

(4) Both ṅani (and -ani) and bula occur in the comment NP of non-verbal sentences (see section 4.2.2.1. for details). These are illustrated in sentences (215) and (369) previously cited. ḍana does not occur in this way. A 'plural' non-verbal sentence is illustrated below:

- (214) gaṅa-ani ḍana-guru gaḷgu-gaḷgu-ani buka
 man -NOM 3.pl:NOM-there weak weak-3.S:NOM all
 'The men are all weak.'

Here again, we may note that dual - non-dual is the only possible number specification. We speculate further, in section 4.2.2.1. that -ani in the comment NP of non-verbal sentences is linked with the notion 'stative', and its nature as a pronoun and its specification of number are relatively obscured by a pattern of occurrence in stative sentences.

We have adopted an asymmetrical gloss (with respect to bula) and a somewhat non-specific interpretation of the forms -ani and -aṅa when they occur enclitic to nouns in S and O-function, respectively. We label them only NOM and ACC, in line with their (perceived) primary function in indicating case. Other occurrences of these pronouns we label 3(rd person) S(ingular) although aware that singularity exists only in strictly pronominal use; in other functions - in adnominal use or in non-verbal sentences - the number specification, if it exists at all, is apparently only non-dual.

3.2.2.2. -ani and -aṅa as Case Clitics

We have noted that the pronoun is sometimes the only morpheme marked for the case of an NP. Commonly, however, all members of an NP are marked. The following further arguments may be advanced for considering the bound forms -ani and -aṅa to have the status of case clitics.

(1) Their pattern of occurrence differs in no way from the case-markers. Thus, their optional application to all members of an NP (or optional omission in the presence of a pronoun) parallels the pattern of the ergative and oblique cases.

(2) Their formation differs in no way from that of the ergative. In all three, the bound morpheme appears to be a reduced form of the third person singular pronoun. If we were to consider *-ani* and *-aṅa* to retain the functions of pronouns, rather than case-markers, then we must logically interpret the ergative the same way. Such treatment would relegate case-marking to a secondary function of a bound pronoun system, whose pattern of occurrence would be largely unexplained. Moreover, the ergative suffix occurs elsewhere in the area - it is an alternate ergative in Diyari, for instance (Austin 1978:266).

(3) The type of boundary that exists between noun and case-marker is the same for all cases except for the locative, where the initial consonant renders the nature of the juncture less discernible. Note also, however, that orientational suffixes intervene between pronoun and case clitic, with the notable exception of the locative.

(4) All personal pronouns form their accusative cases by the addition of *-ṅa*. It would, then, be absurd to maintain that this represents an enclitic pronoun. Given that a common accusative inflection *ṅa* (and variants) occurs in many Australian languages, we can presume that the pronominal ending derives from that source. The simplest view of the whole system would assume no functional distinction between *-(a)ṅa* occurring on nouns and *ṅa* occurring on pronouns. The same argument then prompts a uniform view of *-ani* (NOM).

(5) The case-markers are termed 'clitics' partly because of the weak juncture that exists between noun and bound morpheme. There is little phonological fusion or assimilation between the final vowel of the noun stem and the initial vowel of the bound form. Alternative forms of the clitics may sometimes be heard - where no initial vowel occurs and a tighter boundary may exist. But commonly there is a clear drop in pitch between the two vowels, not only for *-ani* and *-aṅa*, but for the ergative (instrumental) *-andru*, and the dative *-aṅa*, as well.

In summary, the simplest and most satisfactory analysis of *-ani* and *-aṅa* is one which identifies their primary role as case-markers, and their status as clitics. It is reasonable to postulate that at least *-ani*, and possibly *-aṅa*, evolved from third person pronouns that earlier occurred in a relatively fixed position, and which registered the case of an NP. There may even yet be some residual number specification

in these forms. A development very similar to this is mentioned by Strehlow (1942:73-4) in Aranda:

... the third personal pronoun (era) is very frequently put after a noun in the Aranda sentence, and then undergoes a change of meaning until its force is practically identical with that of the article in modern European languages. It is noteworthy of the close association in such cases of era with the preceding noun that era alone is declined in Aranda when the phrase is in need of flexion.

If the case clitics did evolve in this way, then we must envisage a language that originally had an ergative-absolutive system for most nouns, or which overtly marked only accusative and ergative cases. We have not identified the function of unmarked noun stems in the text as absolutive, but the question is open as to what extent a genuine option exists in the language for zero inflection, signifying absolutive case. (Note that unmarked NPs are most often probably peripheral in function.)

Before the extension of the system, the language must have had a three-way distinction for pronouns, as many languages of the area do. In this instance, then, the three-way system was extended to all nominals, using bound forms of the third person pronouns. It may be that an older inflectional system was displaced in the process - certainly the locative case appears to be significantly different, and there is a very marginal occurrence of -lu as an ergative case-marker. It may be that the relatively weak boundary characteristic of nouns and case-markers spread as a pattern from the enclitic 'pronoun' forms to the entire inflectional system.

3.2.3. Noun Case Forms

The noun stem normally occurs with one of a set of seven case clitics. If an NP contains an adjunct (third person) pronoun (which registers case), or an inflected modifying noun, the accompanying noun optionally occurs without case-marker. The case clitics are presented in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2
Noun Case Clitics

	Normal Inflections	Variants Recorded
1. Nominative	-ani (-ni)	
2. Ergative	-andru (-ndru)	-lu
3. Accusative	-aḡa (-ḡa)	
4. Dative	-aḡa(ni)	
5. Locative	-laḡa, -luḡa	
6. Instrumental	-andru (-ndru)	
7. Ablative	-andru (-ndru)	

3.2.3.1. Discussion of Case Forms

In their normal occurrence, the case forms are vowel-initial. The alternant forms without the vowel occur very seldom, generally on words of three syllables, which end in the vowel /a/. In fact, certain words appear with these vowel-less clitics consistently - words like ḡaniḡa 'father', makura 'stick', and several others, while others of equal length and structure never occur with the alternant form.

The clitic -ani is the only nominative case clitic attested in Waḡkumara (Gaḡali); Breen (1976b:336) records a 'masculine' alternate for Waḡkumara: -ia. This form is recognisable in Waḡkumara (Gaḡali) in one third person pronoun root, but is totally absent on nouns.

The ergative clitic is principally -(a)ndru. There are three examples of -lu in the text, one enclitic to a kin term, another to an interrogative pronoun waḡa 'who', and a third to a numeral barkulu 'two'. Breen mentions both -lu and -ulu as ergative suffixes in Waḡkumara, describing them as 'masculine'. There are plentiful examples of semantically masculine nouns in the ergative case in Waḡkumara (Gaḡali), always marked by -andru. Although the 'masculine' set of nouns in Waḡkumara is evidently quite heterogenous, there is no evidence in Waḡkumara (Gaḡali) of systematic use of -lu. The ergative clitic -(a)ndru is homophonous with both the ablative and the instrumental clitics.

The variant forms of the locative (laḡa, luḡa) are impossible to differentiate on the basis of phonological environment or semantics (see sentences (506, 507)). luḡa is used most frequently. Breen records -ḡala as an alternate locative suffix in Waḡkumara. This is the locative pronoun in Waḡkumara (Gaḡali).

There are no grounds in the text for differentiating an allative case from a dative. Both the long and short forms $-(a)\eta a$ and $-(a)\eta a ni$ occur, with no clear pattern of use distinguishing a separate allative case (see sentences (62, 63)). The short form $-a\eta a$ is by far the most common on nouns. Equally, there are no grounds for distinguishing a separate genitive form. The clitic heard most often indicating possession has no initial vowel ($-\eta a$, $-\eta a ni$). But it occurs most commonly on pronouns or on the noun $\eta a \eta i \eta a$ 'father', where omission of the initial vowel is normal. We presume absence of the initial vowel to be irrelevant, and identify the dative clitic $(a)\eta a(ni)$ as the case-marker indicating possession. A possible source of the final syllable of the long form of this suffix is discussed in section 4.5. The long form occurs uniformly on pronouns, while variation takes place on nouns.

There are no examples of a dative of possession further suffixed for case. A number of sentences - like (167) - occur in which the possessor might well have received further inflection.

There is a suffix $-wara$, which appears to mean 'belonging to'. It occurs with the dative form of the pronoun to signify 'mine, yours', etc.

3.2.4. Noun Cases - Function

The forms of the ergative, instrumental, and ablative case clitics are identical. Three different cases are identified with respect to the one form, in line with syntactically different patterns of occurrence. NPs marked by the instrumental clitic may occur with intransitive verbs and reflexives, while ergative NPs cannot. Ergative NPs occur in core function within the transitive clause, while ablative NPs occur in non-core function within the clause. In addition, separate forms exist in the pronouns for ergative and ablative case.

3.2.4.1. Ergative

The ergative case encodes the NP in agent function; where a clause occurs with an NP in ergative case, that clause is considered transitive.

Ergative inflection usually co-occurs in a clause with an NP in the accusative case, but it also occurs occasionally with another core NP that is unmarked (140).

The ergative is used with all types of nouns: kin (101), human animate (398), non-human animate (195, 97), and abstract (477).

3.2.4.2. *Nominative*

Nominative case normally marks an NP in subject function in an intransitive clause. Occasional omission of the nominative case clitic was mentioned in section 3.2.2. This clitic also commonly marks the topic NP of non-verbal sentences, although there, too, it is occasionally omitted. Thus sentence (6) may be compared with sentence (78).

(6) *ḡaṅṭa diṅi mipa*
 I.DAT *ḡog baḡ*
 'My dog is bad.'

(78) *ḡani-ḡari diṅi-ani ḡampa ḡali-ani*
 3.S:NOM-*there (far) ḡog far good-3.S:NOM*
 'That dog (far away) is good.'

Note that it could be argued that the bound form *-ani* on the comment NP is another instance of nominative case-marking. While this might be true for these non-verbal sentences, it is harder to argue for interrogative non-verbal sentences, where the bound *-ani* probably represents a pronominal copy of the topic NP. We presume all occurrences in comment NP, then, to be instances of pronominal copying of the topic NP.

Association of *-ani* with equational sentences, and more generally with a stative reading, comes out clearly in the text. It is possible that the use of *-ani* in the comment NP of the sentences above reflects the speaker's focus on permanency - that is, whether he is predicating a state of affairs rather than asserting a (possibly temporary) fact. A further discussion of the use of *-ani* in non-verbal sentences is in 4.2.1.

3.2.4.3. *Accusative*

The accusative case marks the NP in object function in a transitive clause. It also encodes both direct and indirect object NP in ditransitive clauses. With ditransitive verbs a nominal direct object may appear uninflected. Sentence (72) appears with full marking of both object NPs in accusative case, while (74) and (478) exhibit partial marking.

Since the accusative case marks the NP in O-function, it normally occurs in a clause containing an ergative NP. It is also attested in clauses with nominative NP, however. This is discussed in section 4.2.2.

A clitic homophonous with the accusative is used to mark time in sentence (504). Only one such occurrence is recorded.

3.2.4.4. *Dative*

The dative generally encodes the NP in indirect object function in transitive clauses, but not in ditransitives.

- (128) ... *naṭu durka-aṅa walta-gala naṅṅa gawuḷida-aṅa nura-aṅa*
I.ERG leg-ACC take-PRES I.DAT uncle-DAT camp-DAT
 '... I am taking this leg to my uncle's camp.'

The dative appears to indicate goal, passive recipient or addressee of the action of the verb. It appears in the complement of certain intransitive verbs, as in (112) below.

- (112) ... *ṅani waṅki-ṅa naṅṅa makura-ṅani*
I.NOM find-PAST/P I.DAT stick-DAT
 '... I didn't find my stick.'

The dative has both local and non-local uses (as discussed by Lyons (1968:295, 298-301)). In sentences (7) and (175), in local use, it designates the actual goal of action:

- (7) *dika-gala naṅṅa nura-aṅa ...*
back-PRES I.DAT camp-DAT
 'I'm now going back to my camp ...'
- (175) ... *ṅali baṅḍi-ra gakala-waṭu-aṅani*
we.2:NOM move/go-FUT side-one-DAT
 '... we (2) will cross to the other side.'

And in sentences like (61) or (130) - shown below - the dative may be seen in non-local use, indicating logical goal or purpose:

- (130) *ṅuṅi-aṅa bula-guru yaṅṅa-gala*
meat-DAT 3.dl:NOM-there go-PRES
 'The two are going for meat.'

3.2.4.5. *Locative*

The locative case specifies the locale of a predication. It is attested in the text with the following functions:

- (1) It marks location at rest at, on, or in a place.

- (189) ... *muṅa-ani yandra-luṅa*
snake-NOM stone-LOC
 '... the snake is on the stone.'

- (2) It indicates action in, on, or into a specified (possibly contained) space.

- (113) *naṭu ... winbi-ṅa naṭu wiyi-luṅa*
I.ERG throw-PAST/P I.ERG fire-LOC
 'I ... threw it on the fire.'

In (408) below, the locative expresses action within a specified location.

- (408) yandra nani-guru buli-wari-ra mirgala-luṅa ṅaka-ṅa
 stone 3.S:NOM-there fall-vertical-FUT bank-LOC water-DAT
'This stone will fall down along the steep bank into the water.'

(3) In (462) the locative phrase is glossed *'against a tree'*. In this use it might perhaps be described as marking an inert object participating in the action, but not used as instrument.

(4) Locative indicates a specific point of time in sentence (455) below:

- (455) ... ṅawu-laṅa
 night-LOC
'... at night.'

(5) It is used to mean *'in company with'* in sentence (117) below.

- (117) nuṅala-guru birki-birki-wa dali-luṅa diṅi-luṅa
 3.S:LOC-there play play-EMPH? good-LOC dog-LOC
'That one down there is playing with the good dog.'

3.2.4.6. Instrumental

The instrumental case marks an inanimate instrument or tool (or body part) controlled by a human being to perform an action. A typical example may be seen below:

- (412) gaḍra ṅaṅa-guru guḷbara-ṅa yangu-andru
 spear-IMP 3.S:ACC-there emu-ACC spear-INST
'Spear this emu with a spear.'

3.2.4.7. Ablative

The ablative is attested in local use specifying motion from a place. This is exemplified in sentences (64), (133) and others.

A non-local use of the ablative occurs only once, in sentence (292), in the use of an ablative pronoun. It appears here to indicate the reason for, or cause of, an event - that is, the logical point of initiation of the action of the verb.

- (292) galka-iyi-ṅa ṅani nuṅura-guru diṅa-ṅa ...
 hit-REF-PAST/P I.NOM 3.S:ABL-there foot-ACC
'I knocked my foot (because of) on it ...'

3.2.5. Derivational Suffixes

3.2.5.1. Singular and Dual Stems

Specification of number in an NP may be achieved through the use of the third person pronouns, used adnominally. Alternatively, *-waṭu* 'one' may be added to the noun root. The form *-waṭu* is usually glossed as indefinite in English, as in sentence (85). It is sometimes translated 'other' as in sentence (175). Most occurrences of *-waṭu* appear to be bound morphemes, but it is possible that it also occurs as a free form. Although *-bula* appears to parallel *-waṭu* in distribution, it is not obvious that *-bula* is a derivational suffix. It never occurs further suffixed. Plural may be indicated by (a) the free form *buka* 'all, together' or (b) the noun *wandru* 'many, a lot'.

3.2.5.2. Comitative and Privative Stems

Most Australian languages have a comitative derivational affix which marks qualities, afflictions or characteristics of a noun, as well as human company. A privative suffix marking the lack of certain characteristics or possessions may also occur. *Waṅkumara* (Gaḷali) has the privative suffix *-muṅḍu* amply attested (see (508)). It is difficult to identify a comitative with certainty. The morpheme *-ḍiṅga* in sentence (224) may be an example.

3.2.6. Pronouns - Personal and Interrogative

3.2.6.1. Personal Pronouns

The pronouns are marked by six morphologically distinct cases. The forms of the pronouns are presented in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3
Personal Pronoun Paradigm

REFERENT	NUMBER	NOM	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL
1st person	sg.	ɔapi	ɔaʃu	ɔaʃa	ɔaʃa	ɔanala	ɔanuʃa
	dl.	ɔali	ɔali-ɔu	ɔala-ɔa	ɔala-ɔani	ɔalaɔala	ɔalaɔuʃa
	pl.	ɔandra	ɔandra-ɔu	ɔandra-ɔa	ɔandra-ɔani	ɔandraɔala	ɔandraɔuʃa
2nd person	sg.	ini	yundru	iɔa	iɔka	iɔala	iɔuʃa
	dl.	yula	yula-ɔu	yula-ɔa	yula-ɔani	yulaɔala	yulaɔuʃa
	pl.	yura	yura-ɔu	yura-ɔa	yura-ɔani	yuraɔala	yuraɔuʃa
3rd person	sg. masc?	ɔia	ɔulu	ɔiɔa	ɔuɔka	ɔuɔala	ɔuɔuʃa
	sg.	ɔani	ɔandru	ɔaɔa	ɔaɔka	ɔaɔala	-
	dl. pl.	bula ɔana	ɔana-ɔu	bula-ɔa ɔana-ɔa	bula-ɔani ɔana-ɔani	- -	- -
Form added to root			-ɔu ~ ndrɔ	-ɔa	-ɔani	-ɔala	-ɔuʃa

3.2.6.1.1. Notes on Pronouns - Form and Function

Note that morpheme boundaries are indicated between pronoun root and ending where orientational suffixes are attested intervening between root and ending. Where one such instance is attested, the pattern is extended by analogy to all forms similarly structured. That is, if we have *yula-guṛu-ṅa* in the text, by extension, the first person *ṅala-ṅa* is also indicated with morpheme boundary. Conversely, as *ṅṅala-guṛu* appears in the text, all locative first and second pronouns appear without morpheme boundaries. This system is obviously faulty, but there is no way of ascertaining the correct form.

The pronoun morphology is open to a certain amount of analysis.

A base *ṅa-* may be suggested for the first person. Note that Dixon (1977:172) has identified **ṅay-* as the protoform for this root. Traces of this latter form are apparent in the table. For example, the first person singular nominative root may represent *ṅay + -ni*, that is, base form plus nominative case-marker, with assimilation.

A postulated final laminal consonant in the base form **ṅay* may account for the laminal articulation in *ṅaṭu*. (A common Australian ergative suffix is */Cu/*, where */C/* represents a stop homorganic with the final consonant of a stem.) Note that the medial nasals of the locative and ablative may also be interdental, with the feature unrecorded.

A base form *yu-* may be suggested for the second person. Dixon (1977:172) suggests *ṅun* as the protoform. In the second person singular, the base form appears to be the vowel */i/*. This may reflect development from an earlier nominative form **yuni*.

Base forms *ṅa* or *ṅu* may be identified in the third person singular. These are similar to Breen's third person pronouns (Breen 1976b:336), which he identifies as 'feminine' and 'masculine'. Equally, *ṅia* (NOM), *ṅiṅa* (ACC) and *ṅulu* (ERG) occur in the 'masculine' paradigm in Waṅkumara. In Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) there is no consistent use of 'masculine' forms. The variants in locative appear to occur randomly, while *ṅuṅka* is the most common dative form. The other masculine forms cited by Breen are present in the text in reference to male relatives - but *ṅulu* occurs only three times, *ṅiṅa* only four times, and *ṅia* only twice. The 'non-masculine' forms also refer to male relatives, as well as to all other categories of noun. If a gender distinction exists in Waṅkumara (Gaḷali) it is very marginal - the non-masculine forms appear to have generalised to normal use.

The different cases of all dual and plural pronouns are formed from the nominative root.

The ergative second and third persons singular are suppletive; the bases are *yu-* and *-ŋa*, postulated for the rest of the paradigms, but the form added is *-ndru*, which is identical to the case-marker of the nominal paradigm.

The forms added to the pronoun roots differ somewhat from those of the noun system. Locative *-ŋala* differs from *-luŋa* (the latter form is mentioned by Breen as a variant of the pronominal locative in Waŋkumara). Ablative *-ŋura* is not apparently related to the form on nouns: *-andru*. (An ablative *-ŋura* occurs in *Yandruwaŋga* and *Yawara-warga*, to the west.) Pronominal *-ŋu* (ERG) is quite different from the noun form *-andru*. (A case suffix *-ndru* occurs in nearby *Diyari*. P. Austin (1978:294) has called it 'source' case, distinct from ergative and instrumental.) Although there are traces of a possible earlier *-ni* in the nominative, no form can now be said to be added to the pronoun base in the nominative. The added pronominal case forms that most resemble their noun counterparts differ in consistently lacking the initial vowel; thus there is not the same drop in pitch between pronoun root and case marker.

The nominative, accusative, ergative and ablative case roles of the pronouns are identical to those of nouns. The locative pronoun is attested in all the roles of the noun, with the addition of 'goal' of the verb *yaŋga*.

yanda-ra ŋanala
talk-IMP I.LOC
'Speak to me.'

Pronouns are used in the dative case as nouns are, and in addition appear as indirect pronoun objects in transitive clauses (263, 340) and as the human beneficiaries of the action of a verb.

3.2.6.1.2. Orientational Suffixes

A set of orientational suffixes occurs exclusively on pronouns. The set is presented in Table 4 below. Glosses may not be provided with certainty.

TABLE 4
Orientational Suffixes

(1) -gari	This suffix is used fairly consistently with an English gloss 'far'. It may be heard as [gay].
(2) -guṛu	Breen (1976b:336) glosses this very common suffix as 'there'. It is treated completely inconsistently in the English translations of the text, but appears to be a directional suffix. It is glossed as 'there' in the text, following Breen.
(3) -buḷu	This is glossed both as 'down there' and 'over there'.

3.2.6.2. Interrogative Pronouns

The gloss in the text reveals only the interrogative meaning of the pronouns in Table 5 below. A discussion of the usual indeterminate sense of these forms is presented in Dixon 1977:183.

TABLE 5
Interrogative Pronouns

Form	Reference	Gloss	Inflections Attested	Gloss of inflected forms
(1) waṛa-	human	'who'	Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Ergative. The ergative is irregular	waṛa-lu 'who' (ERG) waṛa-ṇa 'whose' (DAT) waṛa-ṇa 'who' (ACC) waṛa-ni 'who' (NOM)
(2) miṇa	non-human	'what'	Dative	miṇa-ṇa
(3) ṇala-	place		Nominative, Ablative, Dative	ṇala-ani 'where' ṇala-aṇa 'where to' ṇala-andru 'where from'

3.2.6.2.1. Notes on Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogatives of time and quantity are formed by the nominals wandru ('much' - quantity) and waṅḍu ('much' - time) plus suffixed forms -wara and -guṛu, respectively. -wara appears to be the genitive form 'belonging to'.

The locative root -ṇala probably represents a re-interpretation of a form inflected with this suffix.

A different form wani occurs in sentence (332), apparently a non-human interrogative pronoun.

3.2.7. Location and Time

Time and location are indicated both by bound morphemes and by location and time words which are difficult to classify. Some are nominals; some occur in ways that suggest they are constituents of the predicate; and some are always uninflected, apparently qualifying the sentence as particles. The last two types are included in section 3.3.5.1.

3.2.7.1. Locational Suffixes

(1) -yi : occurs on all nominals with both spatial and temporal meaning. It is glossed 'here' and 'now':

- (489) mīṅa yaripani nani-yi maṅi-ani
 what name-3.S:NOM 3.S:NOM-here dance-NOM
 '*What name is this dance?*'

(2) -ya : 'there' (visible).

(3) -ḷa : glossed 'there'. Fieldwork suggests either an indefinite meaning like 'focus away from speaker' or perhaps 'in the proximity of' (a place away from speaker).

3.2.7.2. Location and Time Nominals

The forms *wina* and *gampa* occur with meanings 'close' and 'far away', respectively. *wina* occurs inflected and is thus identified as a noun. *gampa* does not occur inflected but is treated consistently with *wina*. Several forms are obviously based on a form *yala* - presumably a demonstrative. One of the set occurs with the accusative inflection, suggesting that the whole set may be provisionally identified as nominals. Examples may be seen in the sentences below:

- (372) *yala-guba* '*somewhere*'
 (387) *yala-guba-nu* '*over that way*'
 (394) *yala-iri* '*over there*'

The form *yala* may be seen in sentence (233) functioning as a discourse deictic:

- (233) *yala-aṅa* *nani-guru* *iṅka* *maḷu* *waḷpa-gala*
 DEM-DAT 3.S:NOM-*there* you.S:DAT anger rise/lift-PRES
 '*That's why he is angry with you.*'

3.2.8. Nominalisations

The purposive suffix *-ra* appears to have figured at least diachronically in the derivation of nouns. Very little can be seen of synchronic derivational processes.

3.3. MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS

3.3.1. Structure of the Verb

The minimal form of the verb is root plus inflection (with the inflection of the singular imperative identified as zero). There are a number of derivational stem-forming suffixes which intervene between root and inflection. One set of such suffixes is adverbial in nature, specifying the direction of the action of the verb with respect to some point of reference - proto-typically the speaker. This set does not alter the transitivity of the verb. Reciprocal and reflexive suffixes form another set which alters transitivity.

Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) differs from many Australian languages in having no conjugational contrast; but note that this is an areal feature of western N.S.W., Queensland and eastern South Australia.

3.3.2. Transitivity

No phonological correlation can be established between verb stems and transitivity. In most Australian languages, transitivity is inherent to a particular stem, and derivational processes, often involving morphological marking alter transitivity.

There are several suffixes in Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) which alter transitivity, and there are also different verb stems for transitive and intransitive senses of certain verbs (for example '*burn*'). However, other verb stems appear unaltered in both transitive and intransitive clauses. (The criteria for determining transitivity and the problems of case-marking are discussed in section 4.2.2.). The meanings of the identical verbs sometimes alter significantly, depending on transitivity. For example: *baka* '*hide* (intr)', *baka* '*send* (tr)'; *wa|pa* '*rise* (intr)', *wa|pa* '*lift* (tr)'. In such cases - where there is significant change of meaning - we accept the analysis that different, homophonous, verb stems exist.

3.3.3. Inflections

The '*tense*' inflections appear to be mostly '*portmanteau*' morphemes, specifying both tense and aspect. Irrealis and factive aspect

inflections are in paradigmatic contrast to these tense suffixes, except in several sentences, where irrealis appears to follow tense (see sentences (455), (237), and (238)).

3.3.3.1. Tense Inflections

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|--------|
| (1) Present tense, continuous aspect | -gala | PRES |
| (2) Past tense, perfect aspect | -ḡa | PAST/P |
| (3) Past tense - ? | -gali | PAST |
| (4) Future tense | -ra | FUT |

The present suffix -gala is translated by the English present or present continuous, even where the action is semantically future, as in (35) below:

- (35) ḡaṇṭa ḡaṇiḡa ḡika-gala wikaḡa
 I.DAT father back-PRES tomorrow
 'My father is coming tomorrow.'

It is also used to denote habitual action in the past (67, 68).

The past and perfect -ḡa is translated in English by the past perfect, the simple past, or a present tense in stative sentences. The last is illustrated in (23) below:

- (23) ḡandru ḡaymari-ḡa ...
 we.pl:NOM thirsty-PAST/P
 'We are thirsty ...'

The past suffix -gali cannot be described even as well as -ḡa. It is never translated with the past perfect or the present tense in English, but otherwise it overlaps with -ḡa. The text illustrates a full range of use in the past tense, both punctual and durational (see sentences (36, 86, 204, 309)). (Note that its form suggests a progressive sense.) In the pair (311) and (313), -gali and -ḡa appear with a very similar gloss.

The future tense -ra is translated by the English future. It is homophonous with the Waḡkumara (Gaḡali) purposive and with one form of the imperative. These might all be grouped under one label; there appears to be a common semantic element of the type 'anticipatory' in all these uses of -ra.

3.3.3.2. Aspect Inflections: Irrealis, Factive

The irrealis -ri occurs mainly on the compound verb formative ḡika, although it is attested with other verbs occasionally (sentence 281).

In sentences (321) and (322) *-ra* (purposive) and *-ri* (irrealis) alternate apparently indifferently with regard to translation.

The irrealis is generally associated with requests for action or with probable future action; the gloss in (237) and (238) indicates only futurity; (237) may well mean *'two men may be coming'* rather than *'two men are coming'*. Notice that the irrealis is used in sentence (199), in an apparent conditional clause.

The factive inflection, *-la* appears to indicate certainty or immediacy of action. It may usually be translated by *'now'*. This inflection has the same form as, and a similarity of function with, Austin's 'New information' *-la* suffix in Diyari (1978:469).

(257) ... guḷa-la ḡaḡi
run-FACT I.NOM
'... I run.'

(265) ... walta-la ḡaḡu ḡaḡa-yi galḡa-ḡa dalḡra-aḡa
take-FACT I.ERG 3.S:ACC-here dead-ACC kangaroo-ACC
'... I take away this dead kangaroo.'

A further use of *-la*, as a clause-marker in temporal clauses, is discussed in section 4.6.2.

3.3.3.3. Possibility: *-laḡu*

-laḡu is a modal suffix used to indicate the possibility of a future event or action, or the speaker's ability to perform some future action. It is often glossed *'might'* or *'could'*; it differs from the particle *baḡiḡi* in that it may apply to an event. Use with an event is exemplified by (97):

(97) draḡa-laḡa ḡandru-guru waliwa-ḡa
bite-POSS 3.S:ERG-there child-ACC
'It could bite that kid.'

In sentence (382) below, it expresses the speaker's ability to perform an action. Note that the use of *walḡa* plus a verb suffixed with *-laḡu* overlaps with *baḡiḡi* plus verb. This is exemplified in (171) below.

(171) baḡiḡi ḡaḡu walpa-ba-laḡu ḡaḡa yandra-aḡa
unable I.ERG rise-away-POSS 3.S:ACC stone-ACC
'I am not able to lift up this stone.'

(382) walḡa ḡaḡu ḡaḡa-guru ganga-laḡu ...
NEG I.ERG 3.S:ACC-there carry-POS
'I cannot carry this ...'

The two senses of English 'can' are encompassed by these two forms, but a clear application of one form to one sense is not clear: -laŋu appears to handle both; baŋiŋi seems to reflect mainly 'inability'.

In sentences (322) and (325) -laŋu occurs following the irrealis inflection; but the utterances might reflect a change of mind on the part of the speaker.

3.3.3.4. *Purposive and Imperative -ra*

The purposive inflection is -ra, identical to the future. In simple sentences, like (373), it expresses desire or intention. The purposive construction is discussed in section 4.6.3. We distinguish two inflections, the future and the purposive, because of inadequate information on permissible variations in the gloss of the verbs in some adjoined sentences.

The imperative verb occurs in two forms: bare stem or stem suffixed by -ra. Although a pattern is not consistent in the text, field information suggests that the bare stem was not normally used to a plural addressee; the -ra form is both more polite and more applicable in plural contexts.¹

3.3.4. Derivational Suffixes

3.3.4.1. *Derivational Suffixes not Affecting Transitivity*

Derivational suffixes not affecting transitivity are of two types. One well-defined group, set 1 below, is adverbial in nature, specifying direction of the action of a verb with respect, usually, to the speaker. Another two suffixes appear to be modal in nature, and are tentatively glossed as 'factual' and 'circumstantially possible'. These and several others are included in set 2.

SET 1:

(1) (-)ḡika- This morpheme occurs also as a free form, meaning 'to go back' or 'return'. It should probably be classified as a compound verb formative rather than a stem-forming suffix, but it is the one exception in the set of bound morphemes. (-)ḡika- indicates movement back to a point of reference that is proto-typically the camp but occasionally simply the speaker. It always co-occurs with movement verbs, unlike some of the others. Reduplicated (imparting a continuous

¹In fact, in the text the second person pronoun is usually present with the -ra form (it is deleted with the bare stem). The form of the second person pronoun is the singular. Identification of the differing imperative forms as singular and plural is based solely on information from fieldwork.

sense), it is often translated as 'around'. It is glossed in the text simply as 'back'.¹

(2) -ba- indicates that the action of the verb is directed away from the speaker.

(3) -wari- indicates that the action of the verb is either up or down (vertical) with respect to the speaker.

(4) -ḡara- in sentence (389) and (491) seems to mean 'through' or 'beside'.

(5) -li- occurs in sentences (277, 278, 280), where it forms a stem meaning 'break' from the root 'go'. Action may thus be movement 'apart' of two items or parts of one item.

(6) -walpi- in sentence (356) derives a stem translated 'turn around' from the root gali 'put'.

(7) -baru- in sentence (409) is translated 'far down'.

(8) -bara- in (196) is translated 'out'. May be the same as (7).

SET 2:

(1) -na- occurs once in sentence (390) and is identified (from field-notes) as a factual suffix.

(2) -ḡali- is attested in (298), is labelled 'circumstantial ability' from fieldwork. It is identical in form to the nominal 'good'.

(3) -ḡari- occurs in sentence (303), and may be an adverbial suffix: it is not glossed in the text.

(4) -ḡira- emphatic (119).

(5) -indi- meaning not clear.

3.3.4.2. Suffixes Affecting Transitivity

(1) -iyi- reflexive. The form of this suffix is set up as -iyi although it manifests itself phonetically as follows: the stem-final vowel of the verb is either deleted or assimilated to the initial vowel of the suffix. Only a long vowel [i:] is heard stem-finally. Thus murta-iyi-gala is [murti:gala]. Analysis of the underlying form rests

¹This form ḡika occurs in ḡamini as the second element of a main verb sequence, and in Diyari and Yandruwanda (Austin 1978:229). In Yandruwanda (Breen 1976a:752), as in Waḡkumara (Gaḡali), a general system of suffixation performs the adverbial functions performed in other languages of the area by main verb sequences. The one example of a compound verb formative in both languages is ḡika.

partly on the similarity of its effect on the verb stem to that of the suffix *-indi*, where elision of the final vowel of the verb stem occurs. Further, the word for 'fire' is usually [wi:], but occasionally clearly [wiyi], suggesting an analogous realisation.

The reflexive suffix derives an intransitive stem from the transitive root; it is glossed in the text as REflexive, although it also marks the passive construction. For a full discussion of the use of *-iyi*, see section 4.4.

(2) *-pala* - reciprocal. This derives an intransitive verb from a transitive root.

3.3.4.3. Verbalising Suffixes

(1) *-munka* - causative. Serves to derive a transitive verb 'heal' from the nominal *ḡali* 'good' in sentence (469). This suffix is identical in form with the verb 'make/do'.

(2) *-mingda* - inchoative. In sentence (470) this suffix derives an intransitive verb 'heal' from the nominal *ḡali* 'good'.

3.3.4.4. Other Suffixes

A post-inflectional suffix *-ba-* occurs several times. It is tentatively identified as 'emphatic'.

3.3.5. Particles

3.3.5.1. Location and Time

The following words occur uninflected in the text, and are provisionally considered location and time particles.

Duration of time or space

- (1) *gaḷi* (388) : 'far away'
 (2) *maṣa* (391) : 'already' (some time ago)
 (3) *waḡa* : 'long ago'
 (4) *ḡalṣa* : 'late'
 (5) *maḷa* : 'late'
 (6) *gaḡa* (355) : 'yet' translated 'yet' with a negative; possibly
 (362) 'still' in the positive.
 (7) *ḡuna* : may simply signify 'time'. It occurs in the following combinations:
- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>ḡuna-wiṛa</i> (390) | : 'wait a while' |
| <i>wait</i> | |
| <i>ḡuna-tiri</i> (318, 320) | : 'soon' |
| ? | |
| <i>ḡuna-gula</i> | : 'by and by' |
| <i>sit</i> | |

Point of time or space

wikaḷa : 'tomorrow'
 nilaga : 'yesterday'
 bala : 'today'

3.3.5.2. *Predicate Qualifiers*

Several particles appear to be constituents of the predicate, qualifying the verb:

- (1) guri *'like this'*
 (2) gagalari *'this way'*

3.3.5.3. *Modal Particles: waḷa (NEG), baṅiri ('unable'), baṅi ('think'), mura ('finished')*

(1) The particle waḷa, when it functions as a sentence negator, stands initially, even in imperative sentences. It also occurs occasionally in pre-verbal position within a sentence, perhaps with lessened scope. It is used to negate a noun in waḷa gampa '*not far away*'.

(2) baṅiri occurs sentence initially; it serves as a sentence negator, glossed '*unable*', but it is not always clear how it differs from the suffix -laṅu with waḷa NEG. For instance, compare sentences (382) and (171).

As mentioned previously, the suffix -laṅu applies to events, while baṅiri does not. baṅiri denotes inability through physical ineptness, inadequacy, or something similar. In sentence (298) baṅiri also co-occurs with a suffix -gali, which indicates circumstantial ability.

baṅiri always occurs in clauses in which the verbs are inflected in the past tense (or perfect aspect). The translation is always present tense. Both -ṅa (PAST/P) and -gali (PAST) appear. For example:

- (235) baṅiri ṅani waga-ṅa ...
 unable I.NOM lie-PAST/P
 '*I cannot sleep ...*'

Note that the negative particle waḷa frequently occurs with baṅiri - perhaps redundantly. In sentence (177), where a combination of baṅiri and -laṅu may be seen, the reading is also negative.

Two other particles indicate a speaker's commitment with respect to the factual status of what he is saying.

(3) baṅi is inserted at any point in a sentence to indicate uncertainty about an assertion. It is glossed '*think*'.

(4) *mura* is translated 'O.K.', 'finished', or 'already'. It occurs sentence initially, indicating that a statement is true or acceptable in the sense either of completed action or confidence in the truth of the assertion. It is glossed 'finished'.

3.3.5.4. Other Particles

(1) *guntu* 'so'. This may be a discourse particle of the type 'thus, then', a conjunction like 'so that', or simply a time particle 'soon'.

(2) *yuru* 'only'?

3.3.6. Interjections

(1) *ga* 'yes'. This can constitute an entire utterance, it occurs initially in a sentence with an intonational pause.¹

(2) *wala-* use parallels that of *ga* when used as an interjection.

(3) *gala* 'hey'.

(4) *gari* 'stop'.

(5) *gawa* 'come, come on'.

4. SYNTAX

4.1. NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENCY

A noun phrase can consist of a pronoun, or one or more nouns appropriately marked for case.

A sequence of one or more nouns plus adjunct pronoun is also possible. Where a sequence occurs, case marking frequently appears on all items. However, omission of case inflection on the head noun is fairly common in the presence of pronouns.

4.2. SIMPLE SENTENCES

4.2.1. Non-verbal Sentences

Like many Australian languages, Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) has no copula verb. The simplest form of a sentence has a two-part structure consisting of a topic NP and an NP commenting on it. Non-verbal sentences are equational, attributive, and locational.

¹Both *ga* and *ga:* occur as 'yes' in other Australian languages. For instance, *ga* is found in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:124), and *ga:* in Niyamba: (Donaldson 1977:288).

The topic NP is normally marked by a nominative case clitic, although several sentences occur with unmarked topic NPs.

In section 3.2.2.1.1., we noted the occurrence of *gani* in the comment NP of a non-verbal sentence (369). The bound form *-ani* is customarily present in a comment NP, rather than the full form. A typical example of an attributive non-verbal sentence may be sentence (506) below.

- (506) *miti-ani* *iŋka* *maṛa-ani* ...
dirty-3.S:NOM *you.S:DAT* *hand-NOM*
'Your hand is dirty ...'

Sentences (189) and (190) shown below illustrate the use of *-ani* in locational sentences. The locative comment NP does not occur with the nominative pronoun:

- (189) ... *muṇa-ani* *yandra-luṇa*
snake-NOM *stone-LOC*
'... snake on the stone.'

But the interrogative pronoun applying to locative NP receives *-ani* in (190):

- (190) *ḡala-ani* *muṇa-ani* ...
where-3.S:NOM *snake-NOM*
'Where is the snake? ...'

In fact, in every non-verbal sentence in which the comment NP is questioned, a clitic occurs on the interrogative pronoun. The clitic appears best identified as a pronoun, granting once again the functional diversity of these forms. In (105), for instance, we may see the dative of possession with enclitic pronoun. Note that the dative never occurs further marked by case clitics, unless *-ani* alone is considered an exception.

- (105) *waṛa-ḡa-ani*
who-DAT-3.S:NOM
'Whose is that?' (a previously mentioned spear)

It is reasonable, then, to analyse *gani* in the comment NP of (369), and *-ani* in (506) as pronominal copies of topic NPs. The systematic occurrence of pronoun copies in the comment NPs of non-verbal sentences may well have extended to become mandatory where no noun is present in the comment, as in interrogative sentences.

In 'conjoined' clauses (discussed in section 4.6.1.), a non-verbal sentence may consist of a comment NP with enclitic pronoun. This may be seen in (278):

- (278) ... *giŋi-ani*
 strong-3.S:NOM
 '*... it is strong.*'

Here the pronominal topic NP may have deleted as a function of the relationship of the clauses.

This occurrence of *-ani* on nouns in apparent bi-clausal constructions prompts a re-interpretation of some of the translations given in the text. The alteration involves postulating a bi-clausal structure where the English translation is a simple sentence. One of the postulated clauses is a non-verbal. This may be seen in (165) below.

- (165) ... *ŋaŋu iŋa ŋuŋa-dika-ra iŋka ŋuŋi-ani*
 I.ERG you.S:ACC give-back-FUT you.S:DAT meat-3.S:NOM
 '*... I will give you back your meat.*'

The case marking of NPs with the ditransitive verb '*give*' is either accusative on both ONPs, or accusative on the indirect object, with no marking on the direct (noun) object. The reading here must be: '*I will give (it) back - it is your meat*'. That is, the speaker is asserting a state of affairs with respect to ownership of the meat, not referring to a possessed NP. The structure, then, is complex, with one of the underlying clauses an equational one. This appears to be the case also in (29) and others like it:

- (29) *waywa buŋgu-ani waŋa ŋaŋu naŋa-gala*
 small gum tree-3.S:NOM NEG I.ERG see-PRES
 '*I don't see the small gum tree.*'

The appropriate gloss must indicate assertion by the speaker of the smallness of the gum tree - that is, something like: '*it is a small gum tree, I don't see it*'. Note that omission of object determiners is common practice, and that deletion of an identical determiner in bi-clausal constructions in the same intonation group is normal in the language.

Through its characteristic occurrence in equational sentences, *-ani* appears in the text to have a close association with the notion 'stative'. There are several instances in which *-ani* occurs enclitic to an inflected verb. In one case (336) the reading provided by the informant is stative:

- (336) *bakarani-ani nani-yi gaŋi-gali-ani*
 boomerang-NOM 3.S:NOM-here break-PAST-3.S:NOM
 '*This boomerang is broken.*'

Perhaps, in view of the pronominal copying into comment NPs of stative (non-verbal) sentences, there is also a tendency to have pronominal copying when an active agentless verb is functionally a passive.

The translation of (366) is less helpful, but it too may be intended in a stative sense:

- (366) makura nani-guṛu buli-gali-ani ... wiḷiḷi-ra ...
stick 3.S:NOM-*there* *fall*-PAST-3.S:NOM ... *drag*-FUT
 ḡali-ḡu
 we.2-ERG
 'A *stick* fell We 2 will drag it away ...'
 [*has fallen?*]

Sentences (62) and (63), too, occur with a mysterious -ani enclitic to the inflected verb. Once again, we may postulate a stative reading in the second clause.

- (62) buli-ḡa nani yawanga-ni daka-aḡa waṭa
fall-PAST/P 3.S:NOM *boy*-NOM *dirt*-DAT *leg*
 gaṭi-ḡa-ni nani
break-PAST-3.S:NOM 3.S:NOM
 'The boy fell down into the dirt (and) he broke his leg.'
 [*his leg is broken?*]

4.2.2. Verbal Sentences

It is assumed here that verb stems are intrinsically either transitive or intransitive and that unusual patterns of case marking have their origin in the derivational history of the clause. Criteria for the determination of transitivity are as follows:

- (1) Transitive verbs occur in clauses with an NP in A-function (usually marked by ergative case, but in two sentences (with unmarked noun stems) determined by semantic criteria (see section 3.2.1.)).
- (2) Intransitive verb stems occur in clauses with an NP in S-function. Clauses in which an S NP co-occurs with an accusative-marked NP present problems, which are discussed later.

It is unfortunate that the nature of the Waḡkumara (Gaḷali) material precludes identification of sets of verbs with common semantic features. For example, Chafe (1970) discusses such labels as 'process', 'action process', 'action', etc. If the nature of the verbs could clarify the relationships of the NPs in the clauses to be discussed here, then case marking might well be predicted and the interplay of case marking, verb transitivity, and syntactic processes in the language be better understood.¹

¹In his work on Diyari, Austin (1978) describes five mutually exclusive sets of transitive verbs, distinguished on the basis of the syntactic and semantic effects of the addition of the "de-transitivizer" - tāri. Different combinations of case-marking are attested in Diyari with each group of verbs. His description of the Diyari verbs will be referred to here, where it relates to variations in case-marking in the text.

In intransitive clauses the S NP is usually marked by the nominative case. However, unmarked S NPs occasionally occur, with no semantic consequence (see section 3.2.2.).

In clauses with two (probable) underlying core NP, the case-marking usually designates an ergative NP and an accusative NP. However, there are two examples of NPs in A-function that are unmarked ((60) and (195) - where the NPs and verbs are identical). In addition, the following combinations of case-marking are attested:

Ergative NP } + unmarked NP
 Nominative NP }
 Ergative NP } + accusative NP
 Nominative NP }

The following suggestions are offered to account, at least partially, for the unusual combinations of case marking.

(1) The pattern 'ergative NP + unmarked NP' is attested in (31) as compared to (33) and others. There is a pattern here suggesting lack of specificity in the unmarked NP (first mention, indefinite gloss) but a careful study of the correlation of case omission and lack of specificity does not reveal a systematic correlation - rather, a tendency. The nature of the NP appears to play no part in the case-marking.

(2) Nominative NP and unmarked NP occur slightly more frequently. The verbs of interest are those that are basically transitive.

For all the verbs that occur with unmarked NPs (266), (306), (334), the translation is somewhat different from that applying to a normal transitive clause. For example, (203) may be contrasted with (217) below:

(203) ḡandra ḡuḡa ḡalṭa-ra
 we.pl.NOM food eat-FUT
 'We all are hungry.'

(217) yula-guru-ḡu ḡalṭa-ra ḡuḡa-aḡa
 you.2-there-ERG eat-IMP food-ACC
 'You 2 eat this food.'

We might consider (203) and others as examples of object incorporation, or alternatively as derived intransitive constructions in which the NP functions have altered as follows:

NP_A V_{tr} NP_O + NP_S V_{intr} NP_{Peripheral}
 || || ||
 NP_S V_{intr} NP_{Peripheral}

That is, it is the same change observed in the NP functions of 'anti-passive' clauses often noted in Australian languages, and which

sometimes impart a tense intermediate between active and passive (see Keen 1972 for this process in Yukulta).

(3) Nominative and accusative NPs co-occur in many reflexive clauses (these are discussed and exemplified in section 4.4.1.). In several other cases ((242) and (307)) analogy may be made with Austin's Diyari (1978:264): "ḡa (ACCusative) is used in the complements of certain intransitive verbs. These NPs are so-called cognate objects" Austin specifically mentions verbs '*speak (a language)*' and '*dance (a corroboree)*'. These are the clauses represented in (242) and (307), with unusual case-marking.

Sentences (14) and (297) below illustrate other instances of nominative and accusative case-marking:¹

(14) ... ḡali wiyi-ḡa galka-ra / ḡali marpa-ra
 we.2:NOM fire-ACC hit-FUT we.2:NOM cook-FUT
 '*... we (2) will light the fire. We will cook.*'

(297) ... ḡandra ḡandra ḡaldra-ḡa ini
 watch-IMP kangaroo-ACC you.S:NOM
 '*... watch the kangaroos.*'

If the verb is intransitive, (297) may be equated with (242) and (307) as a verb with 'cognate' object in accusative case. As for (14), Austin (1978:168) describes a class of verbs in Diyari (including a verb '*cook*') whose clauses undergo a syntactic change - in the presence of the "de-transitivizer" taḡi - that he describes as follows:

A → S O → O

This change registers a semantic shift from focus on the agent to focus on the activity being carried out. We cite this syntactic change because of similarity of the case markings with that of Waḡkumara (Gaḷali). However, there is no morphological indication on the verb of the syntactic (and semantic) change in Waḡkumara (Gaḷali).

One other sentence appears similar. We may contrast (5) with (4) below. The exact semantic effect of (5) can only be guessed at.

(4) ... buḷa-guḡu-ḡu muḡuba-ḡa ḡuḡa-ḡa
 3.dl-there-ERG finish-PAST/P food-ACC
 '*... they (2) have finished the food.*'

¹Note that marpa is a transitive stem, and that ḡandra is questionable. It appears in (364) with a dative NP and a slightly different interpretation. Note also that we don't know that the (deleted) pronoun in clause two of (14) is in O-function.

- (5) yura muṛuba-ṇa
 you.pl:NOM finish-PAST/P
 'You all are finished.'

Note that an alteration in meaning is observable systematically where a transitive verb occurs alternatively with ergative NP, then with nominative NP. It seems unlikely that the variations in case-marking are a result of simple optionality in the use of pronouns. Further, we might expect many more examples in the case of optionality.

4.3. ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS

4.3.1. Declarative Sentences

Word order is very free. An English SVO pattern is exemplified quite frequently, undoubtedly prompted by elicitation. There are indications of a process of topicalisation, which involves shift of a noun phrase to sentence-initial position. The determiner is then often considerably separated from the rest of the noun phrase, presumably marking a more normal position of the NP. Glosses of such sentences read contrastively in English, but presumably warp the semantic effect of topicalisation.

4.3.2. Questions

4.3.2.1. Polar Questions

There are only four polar questions in the text. All exhibit verb-initial construction, which is very rare in declarative sentences:

- (245) gaṇḍugaṇa-gala yundru ḍana-guṛu-aṇa yawara-ṇa
 understand-PRES you.S:ERG 3.S.-there-ACC language-ACC
 ḍana-ṇani
 3.S.-DAT
 'Do you understand them/their language?'

An intonation rising to the end of the clause also marks the question.

4.3.2.2. Information Questions

A set of interrogative pronouns (set out in section 3.2.6.2.), is used in forming information questions. The pronouns occur sentence-initially:

- (133) ṇala-andru ini
 where-ABL you.S:NOM
 'Where are you from?'

4.3.3. Imperatives

In the plural imperative the second person pronoun is normally present, following the verb. In the singular, the pronoun sometimes appears (either ergative or nominative) but is more often omitted. The imperative sentence is verb-initial, except in the negative, where the verb is preceded by the negative particle *waɫa*. In sentence (357) a locative determiner precedes the imperative verb; this is presumably an instance of topicalisation.

4.4. THE USE OF -iyi (REFLEXIVE)

4.4.1. The Reflexive

A true reflexive, in which the underlying agent and the underlying patient NP are co-referential, is exemplified in (86):

- (86) *galka-iyi-gali nani-guru daɾana-andru*
hit-REF-PAST 3.S:NOM-there axe-INST
'He hit himself with a stone axe.'

The characteristic features of the reflexive are:

- (1) addition of morpheme *-iyi* to the verb root;
- (2) absence of an NP in object function (but see discussion below);
- (3) nominative inflection on the NP in subject function.

A reflexive construction is sometimes used where the activity of the verb affects a body part of the agent. In such cases the body part may be inflected in accusative case. This may be seen in (155), (329), (497), and is illustrated in (292) below:

- (292) *galka-iyi-na nani ... dina-ana ...*
hit-REF-PAST/P I.NOM ... foot-ACC
'I knocked my foot ...'

This construction must be considered in the light of the overall treatment of body part possession (see section 4.5. for details). Body part possession is usually indicated by juxtaposition of NPs, both in the same grammatical function. In (292), then, body part and possessor NP would at one stage both be in object function. Reflexivisation appears to require only that the O NP include a noun co-referential to the A NP. Thus the configuration triggers the reflexive construction, and the appropriate morphological and syntactic response results. The body part remains, presumably in O-function.¹

¹There are some cases in which the body part is an unmarked stem - in which case the status of the NP is questionable. It may be in peripheral function or be an unmarked object.

The syntactic change is:

NP _A	[NP ₁	NP ₂]	NP _O	V _{tr}
NP _S	∅	NP _O		V _{intr}

Note that we have other examples of nominative and accusative NPs in the same clause. The reflexive is particularly interesting, as in every other case it might be argued that: (a) the accusative marking is an accident; (b) the accusative marking is a strange convention for marking a peripheral NP. Reflexives occur in sufficient number to eliminate doubt; the verbs necessarily involve underlying transitive verbs with agent NPs; the NPs marked accusative can be considered to be in O-function.

The Waŋkumara (Galali) examples cited (reflexives and others) in which S and O NPs co-occur in the same clause - and Austin's verb set which exhibits the syntactic change A → S, O → O (in the presence of -taŋi) - all constitute derived intransitive clauses that retain two core NPs.

These clauses are of interest to linguistic theory, presenting problems for some theories of case-marking (including the one used here) that leave case-marking until a late stage in a derivation. The descriptive framework we use here, where an O NP is defined as 'the other obligatory NP in a transitive clause', must be modified to account for the data.

4.4.2. The Passive

There are a number of examples of a construction that may be described as a passive. Several of these are shown below.

(496) *miŋa munkV-iyi-gali ini maŋa-ani*
what make/do-REF-PAST you.NOM hand-NOM
'What happened/was done to your hand?'

(450) ... *nani-yi nuŋi-ani marpa-iyi-ŋa*
3.S:NOM-here meat-NOM cook-REF-PAST
'... this meat is/was cooked.'

We must envisage a change here as follows::

NP _A	NP _O	V _{tr}
NP _{Peripheral}	NP _S	V _{intr}
∅ (optional)		

In sentence (496), the unmarked NP *miḡa* appears to question the underlying agent. We presume peripheral function for the NP *miḡa*.

The shift of the object NP into subject function in these sentences may be motivated by the occurrence of an unspecified underlying agent.

Other sentences which may be considered passive are presented below. Note that (46) and (477) are included for contrast with (44) and (142), respectively.

- (44) *murta-iyi-gala*
hurt-REF-PRES
'He feels sick.'
- (46) *wala murta-gala ḡani*
 NEG *hurt-PRES* I.NOM
'I am not sick.'
- (41) *munkV-iyi-gala ḡani*
feel-sick-REF-PRES I.NOM
'I feel sick.'
- (142) *yawura balṭi-iyi-gala ḡani*
hot feel-REF-PRES I.NOM
'I feel hot.'
- (477) *yawura-ndru ḡaḡa galka-gala*
heat-ERG I.ACC *hit-PRES*
'Heat is hitting me.'
- (441) *munka-iyi-gala ḡani guka-ani ...*
make-REF-PRES I.NOM *head-NOM*
'I am having pains in the head'
- (148) *dilaba draṭa-iyi-gala ḡani*
cold bite-REF-PRES I.NOM
'I feel cold.'

In (41), (44) and (441), the agent is unspecified and the NP is in S-function. Note that although the final vowel is not obtainable, it appears to be the verb *munka* 'make, do' with the translation 'feel sick' (when suffixed by *-iyi*). The underlying sentence may resemble 'something affects me', with the pragmatic interpretation of illness.

The alternation between the interpretation 'to feel sick' (*munka* with *-iyi*) and 'to be sick' (without *-iyi*) is clearly evident in the text.

In sentences (142) and (148), the underlying A NP is present - uninflected and presumably peripheral - in the clause. The underlying agents are forces which instigate the action of the verb rather than

controlling agents. (But note that sentence (477) indicates that such agent NPs may also appear in A-function in surface structure.)¹

One further sentence, (176) below, may be mentioned in connection with the passives. In (176) the changes of basic functions of S A and O is similar to the passives. An apparent intransitive verb stem (as evidenced by sentence (175)) is shown in combination with a probable underlying peripheral (dative) NP in derived S-function. The underlying S NP has presumably been deleted after grammatical 'demotion'. We suggest something like '*one cannot cross this water*' as the underlying intransitive clause.

(176) *waḷa baḅḅi-laḅu ḅaka-ni ḅani-guḅu ...*
 NEG *move/go-POSS water-NOM 3.S:NOM-there* ...
 '*Cannot cross the water, ...*'
 [*This water is not crossable.*]

Here the change is:

NP _S	NP _{Peripheral}	V _{intr}
NP _{Peripheral}	NP _S	V _{intr}
∅		

The characteristic features and structural changes in these *-iyi* constructions are very similar - particularly in the reflexive and passive. If we were to presume, in the case of the reflexive, that the O NP went into subject function, and that the A NP became peripheral and deletable, then the reflexive would be only a special case of the passive.²

4.4.3. Other Uses of *-iyi*

There is one other type of sentence in which *-iyi* appears:

¹Austin (1978:183) notes a passive in *Diyari*, which is attested for only one group of transitive verbs, producing a passive 'process' meaning. The patient undergoing the process occurs as the S-NP in construction with the derived stem and the underlying agent is marked by LOC or INST (and is often deleted).

²It might be suggested that such constructions as the passive in (496) and (450), and the one just illustrated reveal a position of prominence in the clause in *Waḅkumara* (*Galali*) - which may be identified as subject position. The most semantically prominent NP in the clause - Agent in transitive clauses - the sole core NP in the underlying intransitive clause - normally occupy derived subject position, but may be 'demoted' in preference for a more concrete, referentially more prominent, NP.

- (482) *nani-guru* *ḍalta-iyi-gala*
 3.S:NOM-*there* *eat-REF-PRES*
 'He has eaten.'

Here the construction seems (intuitively) to record a state of affairs as opposed to an activity or event. (Note that it can be contrasted with (504), a normally case-marked transitive clause and (203), a clause in which there are NPs in S-function and unmarked O-function. We have noted several interpretations possible of (203), including object incorporation.)

The uses of the :ḍi suffix in Yidiḥ is in some ways similar to that of -iyi. Dixon (1977:276) suggests that the :ḍi suffix marks an infringement in the case marking of a transitive clause. The normal situation is one in which the underlying agent is marked in surface structure in the ergative case. Where the underlying agent is not marked ergative in surface structure, or where ergative marking occurs but agenthood (control) is not intended by the speaker, then the :ḍi morpheme signals this deviation. Thus the -iyi suffix in (482) may register the speaker's focus on a situation where the subject NP is not seen as an instigator of an activity but as the experiencer of a state. This change of focus, of course, characterises passive sentences relative to active ones.

In reflexives, the underlying agent is also clearly an 'experiencer' - affected by the action of the verb. It may be that some such specification should be made in clauses marked by -iyi. If we interpret the -iyi suffix as a marker of the diminished 'agenthood' of underlying agent NPs, at least with some verbs, we are reasonably in accord with descriptions of the :ḍi suffix in Yidiḥ (Dixon 1977), the -tafi suffix in Diyari (Austin 1978) and the -yi suffix in Dja:bugay (Hale 1976b:325).

4.5. POSSESSION

Alienable possession is expressed by dative case clitic on the possessor NP and no additional marking on the possessed NP. Inalienable possession usually involves NPs placed in apposition, as in sentence (197). However, there are a number of exceptions, as in (437) below:

- (437) *guka nanta munkV-iyi-gala*
head I.DAT make-REF-PRES
 'My head is hurting.'

There are a number of sentences with possessor of possessor constructions, where both NPs are marked by the dative inflection (see (168) below). One is always a pronoun. The dative of possession is never attested with further case-marking.

- (168) makura nani nanta naniḡa-ḡa nani
 stick 3.S:NOM I.DAT father-DAT 3.S:NOM
 'This is my father's stick.'

In the light of (168), the 'long' form of the dative case clitic -(a)nani should be looked at again. If the bound form -ani had appeared in (168) rather than the sentence-final nani, then an apparent dative clitic -(a)nani would have been identified - when in fact the form consisted of the dative-marked noun plus enclitic nominative pronoun.

We have mentioned that a bi-clausal construction may often be postulated to explain -ani-marked nouns in the text. The glosses involved are often simple English sentences, and one of the clauses of the postulated complex construction is a stative non-verbal clause, in which a bound nominative pronoun reflects the topic NP (for example see (101)). The possessive construction, too, represents this sort of relationship between clauses. Thus the 'long' form of the dative may derive from a normal morphological pattern in the language. Sentence (95), below, may then be analysed as shown.

- (95) naniḡa-ḡa nanta nani-guru diḡi-ani guḡi-dika-dika-gala
 father-DAT I.DAT 3.S:NOM-there dog-NOM run-back-back-PRES
 'My father's dog is running about.'

[(nanta) naniḡa-ḡa(-ani) diḡi-ani] [diḡi-ani guḡi-dika-dika-gala]
 S I.DAT father-DAT-3.S:NOM dog-NOM S S dog-NOM run-back-back-PRES S

The complex sentence relationship deletes one occurrence of the common NP diḡi.

This is not to suggest that the long form of the clitic is always synchronically analysable as dative plus pronoun. It appears that the long form has been adopted as an alternative form of the dative clitic.

As mentioned earlier, the inalienable relationship is often expressed by juxtaposition of two NPs, possessed and possessor, with no dative case-marking. This is exemplified below.

- (461) maḡa-ani nani duka-gala
 hand-NOM I.NOM swell-PRES
 'My hand is swelling up.'

In (485) however, it is difficult to be certain of the grammatical status of the possessed body part, as it is unmarked. Most unmarked NPs appear to be in peripheral function. However, some unmarked NPs may reflect a (postulated) marginal option in the language for S and O NPs to appear in absolutive (unmarked) case.

4.6. COMPLEX SENTENCES

4.6.1. Conjoined Clauses

Clauses which stand in a close semantic relationship and which are often translated by English sentence embedding or conjoining are simply juxtaposed simple sentences in the Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) text. The Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) clauses always share one or more common NP and have the intonational contour of a single sentence. One of the common NPs is occasionally, but not usually, deleted. This method of indicating the relationship between sentences is common in Australian languages. A similar situation was discussed by Smythe (1948:75) for Gumbaynggir. He referred to the relationship as 'conjoining' and said:

In Gumbaingar complex sentences containing dependent clauses are not used with the same frequency as they are in English. Gumbaingar on the whole prefers a series of principal clauses joined by conjunctions, or merely related by tone of voice The means of building up complex sentences are there, but the average speaker does not bother with them, and prefers to resolve complex sentences into a series of principal clauses.

Thus the absence of any relative clauses in the Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) text indicates nothing of the resources available to the language for the creation of complex sentences. We will treat as complex those sentences which appear to be closely related in the text through intonational contour or through the deletion of one of a set of common NP, as well as those sentences for which the relationship is indicated morphologically. Sentences in which there is no morphological indication of dependence will be termed 'conjoined', following Smythe.

Conjunction of two transitive verbs is illustrated in (113).

- (113) *ŋaṭu marda-ŋa winbi-ŋa ŋaṭu wiŋi-luŋa*
I.ERG hoḷā-PAST/P throw-PAST/P I.ERG fire-LOC
'I picked it up and threw it on the fire.'

There are 21 examples of 'conjoined' sentences in the text, including those analysed as bi-clausal, but translated as simple sentences. Conjoined sentences always have common noun phrases, and the relationships of the NPs observed are, with one exception, either A = A, or between any combination of S and O. Sentence (398) appears to represent O = A. The predominant ergative-absolutive pattern glimpsed here may possibly be accidental.

4.6.2. Temporal Clauses

A temporal clause is a dependent clause which shares identical time reference with the main clause, and which serves either to specify the

time of the event depicted in the main clause or to introduce additional information relevant at the time specified by the main clause. Temporal clauses in Waŋkumara (Gaḷali) correspond in meaning and structure to the adjoined clause of the T-relative type described by Hale (1976a:78-85) in Walbiri. That is, they are morphologically marked as subordinate in surface structure and are marginally related to the main clause, rather than embedded. When the temporal clause is initial, a pause may be heard before the main clause.

The temporal clause is attested in sentences (159), (178), (199), (302), (394) and (417).

In the first four of these, the temporal clause is marked by the factive inflection *la*. We have identified *la* in simple sentences as a morpheme indicating immediate anticipation or intention. (It is usually glossed 'now'.) Thus the exact time relationship holding between clauses marked by *la* and main clauses is of interest. There is a uniform pattern: in all cases it is used where two clauses express a simultaneous action/situation in the future or where the action of the main clause is relatively later (in the future) than the action of the subordinate clause. This type of relationship is exemplified in (199) below.

- (199) *nuṭa-la naṭu iṇa bakarapi / yundru ṇaṇa*
give-FACT I.ERG you.S:ACC boomerang you.S:ERG I.ACC
nuṭa-dika-ri nuṭi
give-back-IRR meat
'When/if I give you back the boomerang, you will give me back the meat.'

The other temporal clauses are marked by *guḷa*, a form homophonous with the verb 'sit'. Note that the temporal relationship expressed in (417) below differs in no obvious way from that of (199).

- (417) *naḍa-ra guḷa naṭu iṇka ṇaṇiḍa-ṇa / nuṭa-ra naṭu*
see-FUT sit I.ERG you.S:DAT father-ACC give-FUT I.ERG
ṇiṇa nuṭi-ṇa
3.S.masc:ACC meat-ACC
'When I see your father I will give him meat.'

Here future time is indicated by *-ra*, with the subordinate relationship registered by *guḷa*. In both (199) and (417), the main clause and subordinate clause contain co-referential NPs. The readings are similar, with no indication of how the different implications. In (199) there is a greater sense of immediacy than in (417), perhaps; but this cannot be observed in other examples in which *la* appears. This sort of distinction cannot be discerned in the text.

However, there is one further difference worth mentioning. In (199) (with $\underline{\text{la}}$) the co-referential NPs are $O = A$, whereas in (417) (with $\text{gu}\underline{\text{la}}$), they are $A = A$. In other words, the NP in subject function (S or A) in the main clause is co-referential with the NP in subject function in the subordinate clause in sentence (417) but not in (199). Moreover, in every temporal sentence containing $\underline{\text{la}}$, such NPs are not co-referential. There is not enough evidence in the text for any real consideration of $\underline{\text{la}}$ as a marker of a switch in reference between subject NPs - but the possibility is suggested by the presence of a switch-reference pattern in Diyari and other Australian languages (Austin 1979). Note that if $\underline{\text{la}}$ is controlled by switch reference, then the text reveals the phenomenon only in future temporal clauses. $\text{gu}\underline{\text{la}}$ occurs in one sentence with non co-referential NPs in the past:¹

- (394) ... $\text{na}\underline{\text{da}}$ -gali $\text{gu}\underline{\text{la}}$ yundru yala-iri $\text{ga}\underline{\text{na}}$ -ani
 see-PAST sit you.S:ERG DEM-? man-NOM
 $\text{ya}\underline{\text{nta}}$ -dika-gali
 go-back-PAST
 '... when you were looking over there did a man go past?'

In clauses marked by $-\underline{\text{la}}$ and $\text{gu}\underline{\text{la}}$, the reading is ambiguous between conditional and temporal. In fact, in sentence (199) the English translation given is conditional. This ambiguity is mentioned for Walbiri T-relative clauses by Hale (1976a), who notes that a conditional interpretation predominates when the dependent clause is in the irrealis mode, as it is in sentence (199). Note, however, that another more specifically conditional construction is described in section 4.6.4.

4.6.3. Purposive Clauses

In a number of complex sentences, the action of the verb of the subordinate clause is implicated in the action of the verb of the main clause. The implicated verb is marked by the suffix $-\text{ra}$. The implication exists in time: the action of the main clause necessarily precedes that of the subordinate clause. It also exists semantically: the action of the subordinate verb hinges on that of the main verb, while expressing intention or anticipation. The normal English

¹The use of the verb $\text{gu}\underline{\text{la}}$ 'sit' as a relative clause marker is not altogether surprising in view of its use in a number of Australian languages to indicate continuous activity. For instance, I am informed by F. Morphy that a Yu:lqu construction involving the verb 'sit' may receive an English translation resembling a time clause. For example:

$\text{ni}\underline{\text{na}}$ na :-ma 'you are/were seeing'
 sit see-PAST/PRES

This may be interpreted 'while you were seeing'.

translation would be 'in order to'. A typical example may be seen in (12) and (72) below.

- (12) *ɲali* *yaŋta-ra* *daldra-ŋa* *galka-ra*
we.2.NOM *go-FUT* *kangaroo-ACC* *hit-PURP*
'We (2) go to kill kangaroos.'

- (72) *ɲaɬu* *ɲuɬi-ana* *yura-ŋa* *ɲuɬa-gala / yura-ŋu* *daɬta-ra*
I.ERG *meat-ACC* *you.pl-ACC* *give-PRES* *you.pl-ERG* *eat-PURP*
'I give meat to you to eat.'

The relationships between NPs cover most possibilities: S = A, A = A, S = O, S = S. Deletion, when it takes place, occurs between clauses without constraint by the grammatical function of the NPs. There is no reason to presume the structural relationship of the two clauses to be any closer in purposive than in temporal clauses.

4.6.4. Other Clauses

(1) A complex sentence that is clearly conditional may be seen in (416) below. The construction is marked by the occurrence of the modal suffix *-laŋu* in both clauses:

- (416) *guɖu* *ɲaɬu* *ɲana* *nunpa-laŋu* *draɬa-laŋu* *ɲana*
if *I.ERG* *3.S:ACC* *push-POSS* *bite-POSS* *I.ACC*
'If/when I kick it, (it) may bite me.'

(2) The English translation of sentence (261), and intonation, suggest an implied resultative relationship between two clauses. There is only one such translated construction, but (369) seems likely to express the same sort of relationship.

- (261) *mura* *ɲani* *garki-ŋa* *ɲana-guru* / *ɲuŋtu*
finished *I.NOM* *call-PAST/P* *3.S:ACC-there* *so*
ɲia-guru *dika-ra*
3.S.masc:NOM-there *back-FUT*
'O.K. I called that man so he will come back.'

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TEXT

- (1) *dana-guru-ŋu muraba-ŋa guŋa-aŋa*
 3.S.-there-ERG finish-PAST/P food-ACC
'All of them have finished this food.'
- (2) *daŋta-ra yundru guŋa-aŋa*
 eat-IMP you.S:ERG food-ACC
'Eat food here.'
- (3) *yula-guru-ŋu daŋta-ra guŋa-aŋa*
 you.2-there-ERG eat-IMP food-ACC
'You (2) eat the food.'
- (4) *mura bula-guru-ŋu muŋuba-ŋa guŋa-aŋa*
 finished 3.dl-there-ERG finish-PAST/P food-ACC
'O.K., they (2) have finished the food.'
- (5) *yura muŋuba-ŋa*
 you.pl:NOM finish-PAST/P
'You all are finished.'
- (6) *ŋaŋta diŋi mipa*
 I.DAT dog bad
'My dog is bad.'
- (7) *dika-gala ŋaŋta ŋura-aŋa ŋani-gari waŋa gampa*
 back-PRES I.DAT camp-DAT 3.S:NOM-there (far) NEG far
ŋani-gari ŋuku-laŋa
 3.S:NOM-there (far) water-LOC
*'I'm now going back to my camp / (it is) over there not far
 away / (it is) near the water.'*
- (8) *bunŋi-ŋa ŋali-ŋala ŋani-guru gaŋa-ani*
 come-PAST/P we.2-LOC 3.S:NOM-there man-NOM
'That man came to us (2).'

- (9) *diṭi-ani nani-guru gula-ṅa ṅanala bita-bura*
dog-NOM 3.S:NOM-there sit-PAST/P I.LOC ?
'That dog sat on top of me.'
- (10) *ṅala-ani iṅka ṅura*
where-3.S:NOM you.S:DAT camp
'Where is your camp?'
- (11) *ṅaka nani-gari waḷa wina*
water 3.S:NOM-there NEG close
'Water is over there far away.'
- (12) *ṅali yaṅta-ra daḷdra-ṅa gaḷka-ra*
we.2:NOM go-FUT kangaroo-ACC hit-PURP
'We (2) go to kill kangaroos.'
- (13) *ṅuṭi-ṅa ṅandra-ṅu daḷta-ra*
meat-ACC we.pl-ERG eat-FUT
'All of us will eat the meat.'
- (14) *mura ṅali wiyi-ṅa gaḷka-ra / ṅali marpa-ra*
finished we.2:NOM fire-ACC hit-FUT we.2 cook-
'O.K., we (2) will light the fire. We will cook.'
- (15) *waḷa yaṅda wiyi-ṅa maṅda-ra yundru / waḷa*
NEG go-IMP firewood-ACC get-PURP you.S:ERG NEG
wiyi-mundu
fire-PRIV
'Go get wood, (there's) no fire.'
- (16) *wini-wini wiyi-ani / nani waḷa gari-gala*
bad-bad fire-NOM 3.S:NOM NEG burn-PRES
'This firewood is bad. It is not burning.'
- (17) *winbi-dika nana-guru / mipa-ani*
throw-back-IMP 3.S:ACC-there bad-3.S:NOM
'Throw it away. It is bad.'
- (18) *ṅani-guru waḷa gari-gala*
3.S:NOM-there NEG burn-PRES
'This one is not burning.'
- (19) *maṅda-ra wiyi-ṅa daḷi-ṅa*
hold/grasp-IMP firewood-ACC good-ACC
'Go and get good wood.'
- (20) *ṅuṅa daḷta-ra*
food eat-PURP
'(I) am hungry.'

- (21) *ŋaʈu nana-guru*
 I.ERG 3.S:ACC-*there*
 'I (will eat) it.'
- (22) *ŋala-ani ŋaka dapa-ra ŋaʈu*
where-3.S:NOM water drink-PURP I.ERG
 'Where is water to drink?'
- (23) *ŋandra ŋaymari-ŋa ŋani*
we.pl:NOM thirsty-PAST/P I.NOM
 'We are thirsty. I too.'
- (24) *ini ŋaymari-ŋa ŋaka-aŋa*
you.NOM thirsty-PAST/P water-DAT
 'You are thirsty for water.'
- (25) *ŋaka ŋuɖa-ra iŋa*
water give-FUT you.ACC
 '(I'll) give you water.'
- (26) *waɭa ŋaka-muŋɖu*
 NEG *water-PRIV*
 'No water here.'
- (27) *ŋala-ani ŋaka-ani*
where-3.S:NOM water-NOM
 'Where is water?'
- (28) *ŋani-guru ŋaka-ani gurpu-laŋa buŋga wina*
*3.S:NOM-*there* water-NOM hole-LOC gum tree near*
 'The water is over there in the hole near the gum tree.'
- (29) *waywa buŋgu-ani waɭa ŋaʈu naɖa-gala*
small gum tree-3.S:NOM NEG I.ERG see-PRES
 'I don't see the small gum tree.'
 [I don't see (the) gum tree. It is small.] or
 [I don't see (it). The gum tree is small.]
- (30) *ŋani-guru guka-dina-gala*
*3.S:NOM-*there* head-foot-PRES*
 'There it sticks out.'
- (31) *ŋaʈu naɖa-gala ɖaldra*
I.ERG see-PRES kangaroo
 'I see the kangaroo.'
 [a?]
- (32) *ŋaymari-ŋa ŋandra*
thirsty-PAST/P we.pl:NOM
 'We are thirsty.'

- (33) yundru naḍa-gala ḍaldra-aṅa
 you.S:ERG see-PRES kangaroo-ACC
 'You see the kangaroo.'
- (34) yaṅa baḷṭi-gala
 rain fall-PRES
 'Rain is coming.'
- (35) ṅaṅṭa ṅaṅiḍa ḍika-gala wikaḷa
 I.DAT father back-PRES tomorrow
 'My father is coming tomorrow.'
- (36) ṅaṅṭa ṅaṅiḍa buṅṭi-gali nilaḍa
 I.DAT father come-PAST yesterday
 'My father came yesterday.'
- (37) naḍa-gala ṅaṭu ṅaṅṭa ṅaṅiḍa buṅṭi-gala
 see-PRES I.ERG I.DAT father come-PRES
 'Look there, my father is coming.'
- (38) galka-ra ḍiṭi-aṅa ṅandru makara-ndru
 hit-IMP dog-ACC 3.S:INST stick-INST
 'Hit the dog with this stick.'
- (39) galka-ṅara-gala bula-guṛu gaṅa-bula
 hit-RECIP-PRES 3.dl:NOM-there man-2
 'They hit each other, the two men.'
- (40) ṅandru-guṛu galka-ṅa ṅaṅa-guṛu gaṅa-aṅa
 3.S:ERG-there hit-PAST/P 3.S:ACC-there man-ACC
 'He hit that man.'
- (41) munkV-iyi-gala ṅaṅi
 feel-sick-REF-PRES I.NOM
 'I feel sick.'
- (42) murta-gala ini
 hurt-PRES you.S:NOM
 'Are you sick?'
- (43) murta-iyi-gala ṅali
 hurt-REF-PRES we.2:NOM
 'We (2) feel sick.'
- (44) murta-iyi-gala
 hurt-REF-PRES
 'He feels sick.'

- (45) *munkV-iyi-gala*
feel sick?-REF-PRES
'They feel sick.'
- (46) *wala murta-gala nani*
 NEG hurt-PRES I.NOM
'I am not sick.'
- (47) *galka-ra mara-ndru*
hit-IMP hand-INST
'Hit with hand.'
- (48) *natu ina galka-ra makara-ndru*
 I.ERG you.S:ACC hit-PURP stick-INST
'I hit you with the stick.'
- (49) *yundru galka-ra nana makara-ndru*
 you.S:ERG hit-IMP I.ACC stick-INST
'You hit me with a stick.'
- (50) *yundru galka-ra nana mara-ndru*
 you.S:ERG hit-IMP I.ACC hand-INST
'You hit me with your hand.'
- (51) *yundru galka-ra nali-na mara-ndru*
 you.S:ERG hit-IMP us.2-ACC hand-INST
'You hit us (2) with your hand.'
- (52) *yundru galka-ra nandra-na mara-ndru*
 you.S:ERG hit-IMP us.pl-ACC hand-INST
'You hit us all with your hand.'
- (53) *galka-na natu nana nilada*
 hit-PAST/P I.ERG 3.S:ACC yesterday
'I hit him yesterday.'
- (54) *nandra-nu galka-ra nana*
 we.pl-ERG hit-FUT 3.S:ACC
'We will hit him.'
- (55) *natu galka-ra ina nanta makura-ndru*
 I.ERG hit-PURP you.ACC I.DAT stick-INST
'I hit you with my big stick.'
- (56) *gawa nali yanta-ra nanta nura-anani*
 come we.2:NOM go-FUT I.DAT camp-DAT
'Come on, we (2)'ll go to my camp.'

- (57) *qala-ani inka naŋiqa-ni*
where-3.S:NOM you.S:DAT father-NOM
'Where is your father?'
- (58) *nani-gari nuŋka qura-luŋa gula-gala*
3.S:NOM-there 3.S:DAT camp-LOC sit-PRES
'There in his camp he sits.'
- (59) *nuŋka qura-andru naŋta naŋiqa-ni dika-gala*
3.S:DAT camp-ABL I.DAT father-NOM back-PRES
'My father comes back from his camp.'
- (60) *inka diŋi draŋa-ŋa ŋaŋa*
you.S:DAT dog bite-PAST/P I.ACC
'Your dog bit me.'
- (61) *yawanga dawil-gala nani buŋgu-luŋa gapina-ŋani*
boy climb-PRES 3.S:NOM gum tree-LOC eggs-ALL
'The boy is climbing up the gum tree for eggs.'
- (62) *buli-ŋa nani yawanga-ni daka-ŋa / waŋa*
fall-PAST/P 3.S:NOM boy-NOM dirt-DAT leg
gaŋi-ŋa-ni nani
break-PAST/P-3.S:NOM 3.S:NOM
'The boy fell down into the dirt (and) he broke his leg.'
[his leg is broken?]
- (63) *buli-ŋa nani yawanga-ni buŋgu-luŋa daka-ŋani*
fall-PAST/P 3.S:NOM boy-NOM gum tree-LOC dirt-DAT
waŋa gaŋi-ŋa-ni
leg break-PAST/P-3.S:NOM
'The boy in the gum tree fell down into the dirt and broke
his leg.' [his leg is broken?]
- (64) *buli-ŋa buŋgu-andru nani*
fall-PAST/P gum tree-ABL 3.S:NOM
'That one fell down from that gum tree.'
- (65) *galka-ŋa ŋaŋu gulbara-ŋa wikala waŋu*
hit-PAST/P I.ERG emu-ACC yesterday one
'I killed an emu day before yesterday.'
- (66) *galka-ŋa ŋaŋu waŋu gulbara-ŋa*
hit-PAST/P I.ERG time? emu-ACC
'I killed an emu long ago.'
- (67) *waŋdu ŋaŋu galka-gala gulbara-ŋa*
often I.ERG hit-PRES emu-ACC
'Often I used to kill emus.'

- (68) wala wandu natu dalta-gala nuṭi-ana
 NEG often I.ERG eat-PRES meat-ACC
 'I not often used to eat meat.'
- (69) yundru wandru wandu dalta-gala nuṭi-ana
 you.S:ERG much often eat-PRES meat-ACC
 'You often eat (habitually) (much) meat.'
- (70) nana nuṭi-ana yundru dalta
 3.S:ACC meat-ACC you.S:ERG eat-IMP
 'Eat that meat.'
- (71) natu yula-na nuṭa-gala
 I.ERG you.2-ACC give-PRES
 'I give it to you (2).'
- (72) natu nuṭi-ana yura-na nuṭa-gala / yura-ṅu dalta-ra
 I.ERG meat-ACC you.pl-ACC give-PRES you.pl.-ERG eat-PURP
 'I give meat to you to eat.'
- (73) mura natu mulpa-na
 finished I.ERG finish-PAST/P
 'O.K., I am finished.'
- (74) yula-ṅu nuṭi nuga nana nuṭa-ra
 you.2-ERG meat big I.ACC give-FUT
 'You (2) will give me much meat.'
- (75) nuṭi-mundu nani
 meat-PRIV I.NOM
 'I am without meat.'
- (76) nani diti-ani dali
 3.S:NOM dog-NOM good
 'This dog is good.'
- (77) diti nani-guru dali
 dog 3.S:NOM-there good
 'This dog is good.'
- (78) nani-gari diti-ani gampa dali-ani
 3.S:NOM-there (far) dog-NOM far good-3.S:NOM
 'That dog (far away) is good.'
- (79) barkulu diti-bula
 two dog-2
 'Two dogs.'

- (80) g^{an}a-bula bula-gu^{ru} ya^{ng}a-di^{ka}-gala
 man-2 3.d1:NOM-there go-back-PRES
 'Two men are coming together.'
- (81) bula-ba guri
 3.d1:NOM-EMPH? this way?
 'They (2) (are coming) this way.'
- (82) wandru ya^{ng}a-di^{ka}-gala
 lot go-back-PRES
 'A mob is coming.'
- (83) wandru da^{na}-gu^{ru} ga^lka-na^{la}-gala
 lot 3.pl:NOM-there hit-RECIP-PRES
 'Many people are hitting each other.'
- (84) mi^{na}-a^{na}-aⁿⁱ
 what-DAT-3.S:NOM
 'What for?'
- (85) gaⁿa-wa^{tu}-an^{dr}u ma^{ma}-ga^{li} nu^{ba}(-)^{la}ni na^{na}-gu^{ru}
 man-one-ERG steal-PAST wife-? 3.S:ACC-there
 'A fellow there stole another man's wife.'
- (86) ga^lka-i^{yi}-ga^{li} naⁿⁱ-gu^{ru} da^{ra}na-an^{dr}u
 hit-REF-PAST 3.S:NOM-there axe-INST
 'He hit himself with a stone axe.'
- (87) ga^lka-i^{yi}-ga^{li} naⁿⁱ
 hit-REF-PAST I.NOM
 'I hit myself.'
- (88) na^{da}-na^{na} na^{tu} ma^{ra}da^{ra}-a^{na} nu^{na}la-ga^{ri}
 see-PAST I.ERG possum-ACC 3.S:LOC-there (far)
 'I saw a possum up there.'
- (89) na^{tu} na^{da}-ga^{la} i^{na}
 I.ERG see-PRES you.ACC
 'I see you.'
- (90) na^{tu} na^{da}-ga^{la} ni^{na}
 I.ERG see-PRES 3.S.masc:ACC
 'I see him.'
- (91) wa^{la} na^{tu} i^{na} na^{da}-ga^{la} / yu^{ru} wa^lbiri-a^{na}
 NEG I.ERG you.S:ACC see-PRES only shade-ACC
 'I don't see you - only your shadow.'

- (92) gawa nali gula-ra walbiri-luna
 come we.2:NOM sit-FUT shade-LOC
 'Come on, we (2) sit in the shade.'
- (93) miḷa gandra-gala
 sun shine-PRES
 'The sun is shining hot.'
- (94) wara-ṅa nani diṭi-ani guṭi-dika-dika-gala
 who-DAT 3.S:NOM dog-NOM run-back-back-PRES
 'Whose is this dog running around?'
- (95) ṅaniḍa-ṅa ṅaṅṭa nani-guru diṭi-ani guṭi-dika-dika-gala
 father-DAT I.DAT 3.S:NOM-there dog-NOM run-back-back-PRES
 'My father's dog is running about.'
- (96) yamba-dika nana-guru diṭi-ṅa
 chase-back-IMP 3.S:ACC-there dog-ACC
 'Chase that dog away.'
- (97) draṭa-laṅa nandru-guru waḷiwa-ṅa
 bite-POSS 3.S:ERG-there child-ACC
 'It could bite that kid.'
- (98) maṅḍa-wari yandra-ṅa nana-guru / baṅḍi-dika-ra
 hold-vertical-IMP stone-ACC 3.S:ACC-there move-back-PURP
 nana-guru diṭi-ṅa
 3.S:ACC-there dog-ACC
 'Pick up a stone, hit him away that dog.'
- (99) gawaḷa-lu maṅṅa-gala bakarani
 uncle-ERG make-PRES boomerang
 'Uncle is making a boomerang.'
- (100) gawaḷa-lu ṅaṅṭa maṅṅa-gala bakarani
 uncle-ERG I.DAT make-PRES boomerang
 'My uncle is making a boomerang.'
- (101) gawaḷa-lu maṅṅa-gala ṅaṅṭa bakarani-ani
 uncle-ERG make-PRES I.DAT boomerang-3.S:NOM
 'Uncle is making it for me.'
 [Uncle is making the boomerang. It is for me.] or
 [Uncle is making (it). The boomerang is for me.]
- (102) waḷa nani-guru iṅka bakarani-ani
 NEG 3.S:NOM-there you.S:DAT boomerang-3.S:NOM
 'This is not your boomerang.'

- (103) *ŋanta ŋaŋida-ŋa ŋani-guru bakarapi-ani*
 I.DAT father-DAT 3.S:NOM-there boomerang-NOM
 'That boomerang is my father's.'
- (104) *waŋa-ŋa ŋani-guru yangu-ani gula-laŋa waga-gala*
 who-DAT 3.S:NOM-there spear-NOM grass-LOC lie-PRES
 'Whose is that spear lying in the grass there?'
- (105) *waŋa-ŋa-ani*
 who-DAT-3.S:NOM
 'Whose is that?'
- (106) *maŋda-wari ŋana-guru yangu-ana / gaŋi-li-ba-laŋu*
 hold-vertical-IMP 3.S:ACC-there spear-ACC break-apart?-POSS
 'Pick up that (spear). (It) might break.'
- (107) *ŋana-guru dina-ba-ra*
 3.S:ACC-there foot-away-IMP
 'Lean it standing up.'
- (108) *ga maŋda-la ŋatu ŋana*
 yes hold-FACT I.ERG 3.S:ACC
 'Yes (I) pick that one up.'
- (109) *walka-ra ŋuŋala walbiŋi-luŋa*
 put-IMP 3.S:LOC shade-LOC
 'Put it up there in the shade.'
- (110) *ŋuŋka ŋaŋida yaŋda-la*
 his father go-FACT
 'His father is going away.'
- (111) *waŋa-lu ŋaŋta maŋda-ŋa ŋaŋala makura-ŋa*
 who-ERG I.DAT get-PAST/P 3.S:LOC stick-ACC
 'Who picked up my stick here?'
- (112) *baŋipi ŋani waŋki-ŋa ŋaŋta makura-ŋani*
 (NEG)able I.NOM find-PAST/P I.DAT stick-DAT
 'I couldn't/did not find my stick.'
- (113) *ŋatu maŋda-ŋa winbi-ŋa ŋatu wiyi-luŋa*
 I.ERG hold-PAST/P throw-PAST/P I.ERG fire-LOC
 'I picked it up and threw it on the fire.'
- (114) *mura mari-ŋa ŋaŋala-buŋu wiyi-luŋa*
 finished burn-PAST/P 3.S:LOC-down there? fire-LOC
 'Finished, burnt that one down there in the fire.'

- (115) *manda-ra* *ŋaʔu* *iŋka* *makura-waʔu-aŋa*
hold-FUT I.ERG you.DAT stick-one-ACC
'I'll pick up a stick, that one/for you.'
- (116) *gawa* *diʔi-andru* *iŋa* *draʔa-laŋu*
come dog-ERG you.S:ACC bite-POSS
'Come away the dog could bite you.'
- (117) *nuŋala-guru* *birki-birki-wa* *dali-luŋa* *diʔi-luŋa*
3.S:LOC-there play-play-EMPH? good-LOC dog-LOC
'That one down there is playing with the good dog.'
- (118) *diʔi-andru* *galka-gala* *nana-guru* *daldra-ŋa*
dog-ERG hit-PRES 3.S:ACC-there kangaroo-ACC
'The dog is fighting that kangaroo.'
- (119) *waʔa* *wina* *yaŋʔa-diʔa* / *galka-laŋu* *iŋa* *nandru-guru*
NEG close go-EMPH hit-POSS you.S:ACC 3.S:ERG-there
daldra-andru
kangaroo-ERG
'Don't go too close, the kangaroo could kill you.'
- (120) *guʔa-diʔa-wa* *galka-ra* *ŋali-ŋu* *yaŋgu-andru*
sit-back-EMPH hit-FUT we.2:ERG spear-INST
'Stay back, we (2) will kill (it) with a spear.'
- (121) *diʔa-diʔa-wa*
foot-back-EMPH
'Stand back.'
- (122) *waʔa* *ŋalka-ŋa* *ŋaʔu* *nana*
NEG hit-PAST/P I.ERG 3.S:ACC
'I didn't hit it.'
- (123) *makura* *ŋana*
stick I.ACC
'(Give) me a stick.'
- (124) *mura* *ŋaʔu* *galka-ŋa* *nana*
finished I.ERG hit-PAST/P 3.S:ACC
'Finished, I killed it.'
- (125) *garki* *iŋka* *diʔi-aŋa*
call-IMP you.S:DAT dog-ACC
'Call your dog off.'
- (126) *nandru-guru* *iŋda-iŋda-gala* *nana-guru* *ŋuʔi-aŋa*
3.S:ERG-there tear-tear-PRES 3.S:ACC-there meat-ACC
'That one is tearing up the meat.'

- (127) *nalba ɲana ɲuta gaka-gaka-ra ɲuɲi-ana ɲana*
knife I.ACC give-IMP cut-cut-PURP meat-ACC 3.S:ACC
'Give me a knife to cut up the meat there.'
- (128) *ɲana ɲatu durka-ana walta-gala ɲaɲta gawuliɲa-ana*
3.S:ACC I.ERG leg-ACC take-PRES I.DAT uncle-DAT
ɲura-ana ɲuta-ra ɲatu ɲana ɲuɲi-ana
camp-DAT give-PURP I.ERG 3.S:ACC meat-ACC
'I am taking this leg to my uncle's camp to give him the meat.'
- (129) *ɲala-ana bula-guru gaɲa-bula yaɲta-gala*
where-DAT 3.dl:NOM-there man-2 go-PRES
'Where are the two men going?'
- (130) *ɲuɲi-ana bula-guru yaɲta-gala*
meat-DAT 3.dl:NOM-there go-PRES
'The two are going for meat.'
- (131) *ɲala-ana ini yaɲta-gala*
where-DAT you.S:NOM go-PRES
'Where are you going?'
- (132) *ɲaka-ana yaɲta-gala maɲda-ka-ra ɲatu*
water-DAT go-PRES hold-?-PURP I.ERG
'I'm going to get water.'
- (133) *ɲala-andru ini*
where-ABL you.S:NOM
'Where are you from?'
- (134) *ɲaka-nuga-andru*
water-big-ABL
'(I'm) from the big water.'
- (135) *miɲi badu-ani ini / bakarapi maɲa-ra yundru*
? ability-NOM you.S:NOM boomerang make-PURP? you.S:ERG
'You have the ability to make a boomerang.'
- (136) *wala miɲi-muɲda-ani*
NEG make?-PRIV-3.S:NOM
'No, (I) can't make it.'
[It (is) make-less]
- (137) *gunka-ra yundru ɲaɲta gakuɲa-ɲa*
ask-IMP you.S:ERG I.DAT brother-ACC
'You ask my brother.'
- (138) *mura ɲaɲta gakuɲa maɲa-ra iɲka bakarapi*
finished I.DAT uncle make-PURP you.S:DAT boomerang
'O.K., my uncle will make you a boomerang.'

- (139) waḷa baṇini munka-gali ṇaṭu bakarṇi
 NEG unable make-PAST I.ERG boomerang
 'I am not able to make a boomerang.'
- (140) waḷu waḷu galka-gala nandru diḡi-andru
 ? ? hit-PRES 3.S:ERG dog-ERG
 'That dog is continuously barking.'
- (141) ṇaka-luṇa dana-guṛu waliwa-ni winta-gala
 water-LOC 3.pl:NOM-there child-NOM swim-PRES
 'The kids are all swimming in the water.'
- (142) yawura baḷṭi-iyi-gala ṇaṇi
 hot feel-REF-PRES I.NOM
 'I feel hot.'
- (143) waga-la baṛi ṇaṇi ṇaṇala-yi walbiri-luṇa
 lie-FACT think I.NOM 3.S:LOC-here shade-LOC
 'I think I'll lie down here in the shade.'
- (144) ṇuṇala-gari
 3.S:LOC-there (far)
 'Over there.'
- (145) ṇuṇala
 3.S:LOC
 'Here.'
- (146) gaṇa-waṭu ṇani-guṛu waga-gala walbiri-luṇa
 man-one 3.S:NOM-there lie-PRES shade-LOC
 'A man (that one) is lying in the shade.'
- (147) duna-guḷa ṇaṇi waga-ra baṛi
 time-sit I.NOM lie-FUT think
 '(It's?) late, I will lie down, I think.'
- (148) diḷaba draṭa-iyi-gala ṇaṇi
 cold bite-REF-PRES I.NOM
 'I feel cold.'
- (149) wina ṇali bandi-ra wina-wara ṇali guḷa-ra
 close we.2:NOM cross-FUT close-belonging we.2:NOM sit-PURP
 wiya-la
 fire-there
 'We will sit down close to the fire.'
 [We will move close to sit close to the fire.]

- (150) dila-gala nani-guru dila bari / guru nana
 blow-PRES 3.S:NOM-there blow ? windbreak 3.S:ACC
 nali-ŋu gulpa-ra
 we.2-ERG build-FUT
 'This cold wind is blowing, we will build a windbreak.'
- (151) wiyi-ŋa bari nali-ŋu gulpa-ra
 fire-ACC think we.2-ERG light-FUT
 'I think we will light a fire.'
- (152) gaŋuri-gala nani-guru waliwa-ni
 cry-PRES 3.S:NOM-there child-NOM
 'That child is crying.'
- (153) mina-ŋa nani-guru waliwa-ni gaŋuri-gala
 what-DAT 3.S:NOM-there child-NOM cry-PRES
 'Why is that child crying?'
- (154) guŋi-ŋa nani-guru waliwa-ni
 run-PAST/P 3.S:NOM-there child-NOM
 'That child ran.'
- (155) buŋi-ŋa nani-guru / waŋa-na nani-guru
 fall-PAST/P 3.S:NOM-there leg-ACC 3.S:NOM-there
 murta-iyi-wa-ŋa
 hurt-REF-EMPH-PAST/P
 'He fell down and hurt his leg.'
- (156) miŋa-ani malŋa galguri-gala / nali-ŋu nura gali-ra
 sun-NOM late set-PRES we.2-ERG camp make-FUT
 nuŋala
 3.S:LOC
 'The sun is going down - late. We (2) make camp over there.'
- (157) nuŋala-guru bari nali-ŋu nura gali-ra buŋga-luŋa
 3.S:LOC-there think we.2-ERG camp build-FUT gum tree-LOC
 'I think we (2) will make camp over there at the gum tree.'
- (158) nali bari waga-ra nuŋala
 we.2:NOM think lie-FUT 3.S:LOC
 'We (2) I think will sleep here.'
- (159) wikaŋa miŋa walpa-ŋa nali yaŋŋa-ba-ra nali
 tomorrow sun rise-FACE we.2:NOM go-away-FUT we.2:NOM
 yaŋŋa-ba-ra
 go-away-FUT
 'Tomorrow when the sun comes up we (2) will go on.'

- (160) wikaḷa ḡali gampa yaḡta-ba-ra
 tomorrow we.2:NOM far go-away-FUT
 'Tomorrow we (2) will go a long way.'
- (161) guḷa-ra ini ḡaḡta ḡura-laḡa
 sit-IMP you.S:NOM I.DAT camp-LOC
 'Sit down in my camp.'
- (162) wikaḷa-waṡu guḷa ini yaḡta-ba-ra
 tomorrow-one sit-IMP you.S:NOM go-away-FUT
 'The day after tomorrow stay - (then?) you will go away.'
- (163) gala ḡaḡta ḡani-guru ḡuṡi-ani
 hey I.DAT 3.S:NOM-there meat-NOM
 'Hey, this is my meat here.'
- (164) waḷa iḡka ḡani-guru ḡuṡi-ani / ḡuṡa-dika-ri ḡaḡa
 NEG you.S:DAT 3.S:NOM-there meat-NOM give-back-IRR me.ACC
 'This is not your meat, give it back to me.'
- (165) mura ḡaṡu iḡa ḡuṡa-dika-ra / iḡka
 finished I.ERG you.S:ACC give-back-FUT you.S:DAT
 ḡuṡi-ani
 meat-3.S:NOM
 'O.K., I will give you back your meat.'
 [Finished I will give it back to you. It is your meat.]
- (166) ḡaḡta-wara ḡaṡu ḡalka-ḡa ḡaḡa ḡuṡi-aḡa
 I.DAT-belonging I.ERG think-PAST/P 3.S:ACC meat-ACC
 'I thought this meat here was mine.'
- (167) waḷa ḡaḡa-guru makura maḡda ḡaḡa-waṡu-ḡa
 NEG 3.S:ACC-there stick hold-IMP man-one-DAT
 'Don't pick up this man's stick. (It is) this man's.'
- (168) makura ḡani ḡaḡta ḡaḡiḡa-ḡa ḡani
 stick 3.S:NOM I.DAT father-DAT 3.S:NOM
 'This is my father's stick.'
- (169) yandra-aḡa ḡaḡa-yi waḷpa-ba-ra ḡaṡu
 stone-ACC 3.S:ACC-here lift-away-FUT I.ERG
 '(I) lift this stone.'
- (170) waḷa ḡiḡi-ani ḡani
 NEG heavy-NOM 3.S:NOM
 'This is not heavy.'
- (171) baḡiḡi ḡaṡu waḷpa-ba-laḡu ḡaḡa yandra-aḡa
 unable I.ERG rise-away-POSS 3.S:ACC stone-ACC
 'I am not able to lift up this stone.'

- (172) *ŋaʔu waʔpa-ba-gala ɲana*
 I.ERG rise-away-PRES 3.S:ACC
 'I am lifting this one.'
- (173) *gala yundru waʔpa-ba-ra ɲana biʔka-aŋa*
 hey you.S:ERG rise-away-FUT 3.S:ACC log-ACC
 'Will you lift this log?'
- (174) *ga ŋaʔu ɲana-guru waʔpa-ba-ra biʔka-aŋa iŋka*
 yes I.ERG 3.S:ACC-there rise-away-FUT log-ACC you.S:DAT
 'Yes, I will lift this log for you.'
- (175) *gawa ɲali baŋdi-ra gakala-waʔu-aŋani*
 come we.2:NOM move/go-FUT side-one-DAT
 'Come we (2) will cross to the other side.'
- (176) *waʔa baŋdi-laŋu ɲaka-ni ɲani-guru / giʔabaruni*
 NEG move/go-POSS water-NOM 3.S:NOM-there deep-3.S:NOM
 'Cannot cross the water, deep.'
 [This water is not crossable. It is deep.]
- (177) *ɲuŋka ɲaniɟa buŋti-gala*
 3.S:DAT father come-PRES
 'His father is coming.'
- (178) *ɟuna-baʔi ɲali wira-ra buli-la ɲani-guru*
 ? ? we.2:NOM wait-FUT fall-FACT 3.S:NOM-there
 ɲaka-ani
 water-NOM
 'We will wait, the water will fall.'
 [We will wait until the water falls.]
- (179) *ɲaŋʔa ɟiʔi ɟali-ani*
 I.DAT dog good-3.S:NOM
 'My dog is good.'
- (180) *ɲapi yaŋta-ba-ra*
 I.NOM go-away-FUT
 'I'm going away.'
- (181) *ɲala-aŋa ini yaŋta-gala*
 where-DAT you.S:NOM go-PRES
 'Where are you going?'
- (182) *gampa ɲapi yaŋta-gala*
 far I.NOM go-PRES
 'I'm going far away.'

- (183) wāḍu-gutu ini dika-ra
 muĉh-? you.S:NOM back-FUT
 'When will you return?'
- (184) wikaḷa-waṭu ḡapi dika-ra
 tomorrow-one I.NOM back-FUT
 'I will return the day after tomorrow.'
- (185) wāḍu-gutu yula dika-ra
 muĉh-? you.2:NOM back-FUT
 'When will you (2) return?'
- (186) wikaḷa-waṭu ḡali dika-ra
 tomorrow-one we.2:NOM back-FUT
 'We (2) will return the day after tomorrow.'
- (187) wikaḷa-waṭu dika-ra
 tomorrow-one back-FUT
 'Day after tomorrow (he) will return.'
- (188) gawa ḡali yaṅṅa-ra
 come we.2:NOM go-FUT
 'Come, we (2) will go.'
- (189) ḡaḍa ḡaṅa-guru / muṅa-ani yandra-luṅa
 look-IMP 3.S:ACC-there snake-NOM stone-LOC
 'Look at the snake on the stone.'
 [Look at it/the snake is on the stone.]
- (190) ḡala-ani muṅa-ani / waḷa ḡaṭu ḡaḍa-gala
 where-3.S:NOM snake-NOM NEG I.ERG see-PRES
 'Where is the snake? I don't see (it).'
- (191) ḡani-guru yandra-luṅa buṅgu wina
 3.S:NOM-there stone-LOC gum tree close
 'That one on the stone by the gum tree.'
- (192) ga mura ḡaṭu ḡaḍa-gala ḡaṅa-guru muṅa-aṅa
 yes O.K. I.ERG see-PRES 3.S:ACC-there snake-ACC
 'Yes I see the snake.'
- (193) ḡaṭu ḡaṅa galka-ra muṅa-aṅa
 I.ERG 3.S:ACC hit-FUT snake-ACC
 'I will kill the snake.'
- (194) ḡaḍa-wari draṅa-laṅu iṅa muṅa-ndru
 see-vertical bite-POSS you.S:ACC snake-ERG
 'Look out the snake may bite you.'

- (195) *in̄ka* *dīti* *walā* *drāta-ŋa* *ŋana*
you.S:DAT dog NEG bite-PAST/P 3.S:ACC
'Your dog did not bite me.'
- (196) *mura* *walga-ani* *buka* *yānta-ba-ra* *giga-ana* *mānda-ra*
O.K. woman-NOM all go-away-EMP rushes-ACC get-PURP
'Now all of you women go out to fetch bullrushes.'
- (197) *dīti* *dīpa*
dog tail
'Tail of a dog.'
- (198) *ŋatu* *ina* *ŋuta-dika-ra* *in̄ka* *ŋuti*
I.ERG you.S:ACC give-back-FUT you.S:DAT meat
'I give back your meat to you.'
- (199) *ŋuta-la* *ŋatu* *ina* *bakarani / yundru* *ŋana*
give-FACT I.ERG you.S:ACC boomerang you.S:ERG I.ACC
ŋuta-dika-ri *ŋuti*
give-back-IRR meat
'When/if I give you back the boomerang, you will give me back the meat.'
- (200) *ŋuta-dika-ri* *yangu-ana*
give-back-IRR spear-ACC
'Give back the spear.'
- (201) *dīti-ani* *balu-gali*
dog-NOM die-PAST
'The dog died.'
- (202) *dīti-ani* *gurīda* *balu-ra* *bāri* *ŋani-guru*
dog-NOM sick die-FUT think 3.S:NOM-there
'This dog is sick (and) it will die, I think.'
- (203) *ŋandra* *gūna* *dālta-ra*
we.pl:NOM food eat-FUT
'We all are hungry.'
- (204) *ŋanta* *dīti-ani* *balu-gali* *nīlada*
I.DAT dog-NOM die-PAST yesterday
'My dog died yesterday.'
- (205) *dīti-ani* *nani-guru* *balu-ra* *bāri*
dog-NOM 3.S:NOM-there die-FUT think
'This dog will die, I think.'
- (206) *ŋanta* *ŋanīda* *balu-gali* *māta*
I.DAT father die-PAST long ago
'My father died long ago.'

- (207) *gulu murta-gala nani-guru*
knee hurt-PRES 3.S:NOM-there
'This knee hurts.'
- (208) *gaṇa-bula bula-guru daparū yaṅta-gala*
man-two 3.dl:NOM-there slow go-PRES
'Two men are walking slowly.'
- (209) *ṅara-mundu nana-guru gaṇa-ani*
noise?-PRIV 3.S:NOM-there man-NOM
'This man is deaf.'
- (210) *ṅara-mundu-bula bula-guru gaṇa-bula*
noise?-PRIV-two 3.dl:NOM-there man-two
'These two men are deaf.'
- (211) *giṇi-bula bula-gula gaṇa-bula*
strong-two 3.dl:NOM-? man-two
'The two men are strong.'
- (212) *mipa-ani nani-guru diṭi-ani*
bad-3.S:NOM 3.S:NOM-there dog-NOM
'This dog is bad.'
- (213) *wandru-ani dana gaṇa-ani giṇi-ani buka*
lot-NOM 3.pl:NOM man-NOM strong-3.S:NOM all
'The mob of men (together) are strong.'
- (214) *gaṇa-ani dana-guru gaḷgu-gaḷgu-ani buka*
man-NOM 3.pl:NOM-there weak-weak-3.S:NOM all
'The men are all weak.'
- (215) *gaṇa-bula gaḷgu-gaḷgu-bula*
man-two weak-weak-3.dl:NOM
'Two men are weak.'
- (216) *gaṇa-ani nani-guru gaḷgu-gaḷgu-ani*
man-NOM 3.S:NOM-there weak-weak-3.S:NOM
'That man is weak.'
- (217) *yula-guru-ṅu dala-ra ṅuṇa-ṅa*
you.2-there-ERG eat-IMP good-ACC
'You (2) eat this food.'
- (218) *nani-guru ṅaka-ani gamara / ini yaṅta-ra*
3.S:NOM-there water-NOM left you.S:NOM go-FUT
'To the water left, you will go.'
[The water is to the left, you will go.]

- (219) nani-guru naka-ani duṭigali / ini yanṭa-ra
 3.S:NOM-there water-NOM right you.S:NOM go-FUT
 'To the water right, you will go.'
 [The water is to the right, you will go.]
- (220) mura ṅaṭu ina bura-ṅa
 O.K. I.ERG you.S:ACC tell-PAST/P
 'O.K., I told you.'
- (221) mura ṅaṭu ina bura-gali yulu
 O.K. I.ERG you.S:ACC tell-PAST straight
 'O.K., I told you correctly (straight).'
- (222) duna-wari ṅaṭu ina bura-gala yulu
 time-wait I.ERG you.S:ACC tell-PRES straight
 'Wait, I will tell you straight.'
- (223) waḷa yundru ṅaṅa dumpa-indri-gali maṅḍara
 NEG you.S:ERG I.ACC show?-PAST wrong
 'You didn't tell me wrong.'
- (224) maṅi nuga nani-guru walga-ani
 fat big 3.S:NOM-there woman-NOM
 'This woman is very fat.'
- (225) muku-dinga nani-guru walga-ani
 bony-COM? 3.S:NOM-there woman-NOM
 'This woman is bony.'
- (226) ṅuṅa ṅaṅḍa-gala nani-guru ṅaṅa-ani
 food want-PRES 3.S:NOM-there man-NOM
 'This man is hungry.'
- (227) mina-ṅa nani-guru ṅuṅa ṅaṅḍa-gala
 what-DAT 3.S:NOM-there food want-PRES
 'Why is this one hungry?'
- (228) waḷa nulu daḷṭa-gali ṅuṅa-ṅa bala
 NEG 3.S.masc:ERG eat-PAST food-ACC today
 'He didn't eat food today.'
- (229) waḷa nulu daḷṭa-gali nilaḍa
 NEG 3.S.masc:ERG eat-PAST yesterday
 'He didn't eat yesterday.'
- (230) maḷu waḷpa-gala nani-yi ṅaṅa-ani ṅaṅṭa
 anger rise/lift-PRES 3.S:NOM-here man-NOM I.DAT
 'This man is angry with me.'

- (231) mīna-aṅa ṅani-guru ṅaṅṅa maḷu waḷpa-gala
what-DAT 3.S:NOM-there I.DAT anger rise-PRES
'Why is that man angry with me?'
- (232) yundru mama-gali ṅuṅka ṅuṅi-aṅa
you.S:ERG took-PAST 3.S:DAT meat-ACC
'You took away his meat.'
- (233) yala-aṅa ṅani-guru iṅka maḷu waḷpa-gala
DEM-DAT 3.S:NOM-there you.S:DAT anger rise/lift-PRES
'That's why he is angry with you.'
- (234) mura-wali ṅani waga-ra / galguṛi-gala ṅani muga-aṅa
finished-? I.NOM lie-FUT ? -PAST I.NOM sleep-DAT
'All right I will lie down, I am tired [for sleep].'
- (235) baṅiṅi ṅani waga-ṅa / ḍilaba draṅa-iyi-gala
unable I.NOM lie-PAST/P cold bite-REF-PRES
'I cannot sleep, (I) feel cold.'
- (236) draṅa-iyi-ṅa ḍilaba
bite-REF-PAST/P cold
'(I) felt cold.'
- (237) gaṅa-bula bula-guru nuga-bula yaṅṅa-ḍika-gala-ri
man-two 3.dl:NOM-there big-two go-back-PRES-IRR?
'Two big men are coming this way [returning?].'
- (238) gaṅa-bula bula-guru waywa-bula yaṅṅa-ḍika-gala-ri
man-two 3.dl:NOM-there small-two go-back-PRES-IRR?
'Two small men are coming this way.'
- (239) dapa-ra ṅaṅu ṅaka-aṅa
drink-FUT I.ERG water-ACC
'I will drink this water.'
- (240) ṅani ḍina-ba-ra
I.NOM foot-away-FUT
'I stand up.'
- (241) yula ḍina-ba-ra
you.2:NOM foot-away-FUT
'(You 2) stand up.'
- (242) yaṅḍa-gala ini gaḷala-ṅa
speak-PRES you.S:NOM Gaḷali-ACC
'Do you speak Gaḷali?'

- (243) ga waywa ḡani yaṅḡa-gala
yes small I.NOM speak-PRES
'Yes, I speak a little.'
- (244) ḡali ḡani yaṅḡa-gala
good I.NOM speak-PRES
'I speak well.'
- (245) ḡaṅḡuḡaḡa-gala yundru ḡana-ḡuru-aṅa / yawara-ṅa
understand-PRES you.S:ERG 3.S-there-ACC language-ACC
 ḡana-ḡani
 3.S-DAT
'Do you understand them/their language?'
- (246) ga mura ḡaṅḡuḡaḡa-gala ḡana-ṅa
yes finished I.ERG understand-PRES 3.S-ACC
'Yes well, completely I understand them.'
 [O.K., I understand them.]
- (247) yaṅḡa-ra ḡanala
speak-IMP I.LOC
'Speak to me.'
- (248) yaṅḡa-ra ḡali
talk-FUT we.2:NOM
'We'll talk.'
- (249) yaṅḡa ḡalaḡala
talk we.2:LOC
'Speak to us (2).'
- (250) mura ḡani-ilpi iḡala yaṅḡa-dara-ra-ba
finished I.NOM-? you.S:LOC talk-?-FUT-EMPH
'Good, I will speak to you.'
- (251) mura ḡali-ilpi iḡala
finished we.2-? you.S:LOC
'O.K., we (2) will speak to you.'
- (252) mura ḡandra-ilpi yuraḡala
finished we.pl-? you.pl:LOC
'Good, we all will speak to you.'
- (253) gawa ḡandra yaṅḡa-ra ṅuḡala-buḡu
come we.pl:NOM talk-FUT 3.S:LOC-over there
'Come on, we will talk to that one over there.'
- (254) ṅani-ḡuru ḡaṅa-ani ḡali ṅani
3.S:NOM-there man-NOM fat/good 3.S:NOM
'That man is fat.'

- (255) garki-ba nana-guru gaṇa-aṇa
call-away-IMP 3.S:ACC-there man-ACC
 'Call that man.'
- (256) guṭi-ba
run-away-IMP
 'Run (away).'
- (257) mura guṭi-la ṇapi
finished run-FACT I.NOM
 'O.K., I run.'
- (258) gaṇa-bula bula-guru guṭi-gala
man-two 3.dl:NOM-there run-PRES
 'The two men run away.'
- (259) gaṇa-bula bula-guru guṭi-ṇa
man-two 3.dl:NOM-there run-PAST/P
 'The two men ran away.'
- (260) gaṇa-bula bula-guru guṭi-ra
man-two 3.dl:NOM-there run-FUT
 'The two men will run away.'
- (261) mura ṇapi garki-ṇa nana-guru / guntu
finished I.NOM call-PAST/P 3.S:ACC-there soon
 ṇia-guru dika-ra
3.S.masc:NOM-there back-FUT
 'O.K., I called that man so he will come back.'
- (262) maṇḍa-dika-ra nana-guru bakarapi
hold-back-IMP 3.S:ACC-there boomerang
 'Bring here that boomerang.'
- (263) mura walta-dika-ra ṇatu iṅka
finished take-back-FUT I.ERG you.S:DAT
 'O.K., I'll bring (it) to you.'
- (264) walta-ba nana-guru dalḍra-ṇa galgura-aṇa
take-away 3.S:ACC-there kangaroo-ACC dead-ACC
 'Take away this kangaroo, the dead one.'
- (265) ga walta-la ṇatu nana-yi galgura-ṇa dalḍra-aṇa
yes take-FACT I.ERG 3.S:ACC-here dead-ACC kangaroo-ACC
 'Yes, I take away this dead kangaroo.'
- (266) duṅga wupi-gala nani-guru
excrement smell-PRES 3.S:NOM-there
 'This one stinks.'

- (267) *dunġa wupi-gala nani-guru galgura daldra*
excrement smell-PRES 3.S:NOM-there dead kangaroo
'The dead kangaroo stinks.'
- (268) *walta-ba nana-guru nuga-ana daldra-ana*
take-away-IMP 3.S:ACC-there big-ACC kangaroo-ACC
'Take away this big kangaroo.'
- (269) *walta-ba nana-guru nuga-ana galgura-ana daldra-ana*
take-away-IMP 3.S:ACC-there big-ACC dead-ACC kangaroo-ACC
'Take away this big dead kangaroo.'
- (270) *manġa*
hold-IMP
'Take it.'
- (271) *manġa bakarani-ana*
hold-IMP boomerang-ACC
'Take the boomerang.'
- (272) *guta gana*
give-IMP 3.S:ATC
'Give me (it).'
- (273) *guta-ba nana*
give-away-IMP 3.S:ACC
'Give him (it).'
- (274) *ga natu guta-ra ina*
yes I.ERG give-FUT you.S:ACC
'Yes I'll give you (it).'
- (275) *galġa gana-ana*
hit-IMP man-ACC
'Hit the man.'
- (276) *yula-ġu nana-guru gana-ana galġa-ra*
you.2-ERG 3.S:ACC-there man-ACC hit-FUT
'You (2) hit/will hit this man.'
- (277) *gaġi-li-ba nana-guru makura-na*
break-apart-IMP-EMPH 3.S:ACC-there stick-ACC
'Break this stick.'
- (278) *walġa baġipi natu gaġi-li-wi-ġa nana-yi /*
NEG unable I.ERG break-apart-?-PAST/P 3.S:ACC-here
giġi-ani
strong-3.S:NOM
'I can't break this one, it is strong.'

- (279) *nana-guru nuṭa-ba gaṇa-aṇa*
 3.S:ACC-there give-away man-ACC
 'Give that to the man.'
- (280) *giṇi-aṇa nandru-guru gaṭi-li-ra*
 strong-ACC 3.S:ERG-there break-apart-FUT
 'He will break the strong (one).'
- (281) *nuṭa-ra ṇali-ṇa*
 give-IMP we.2-ACC
 'Give to us (2).'
- (282) *yundru nuṭa-ri ṇali-ṇa*
 you.S:ERG give-IRR we.2-ACC
 'You (might) give to us (2).'
- (283) *nuṭa-dika-ri nandra-ṇa*
 give-back-IRR we.pl-ACC
 '(You might) give back to us all.'
- (284) *nuṭa-dika nana*
 give-back-IMP I.ACC
 'Give back to me.'
- (285) *nuṭa-la-ra-ba bula-ṇa*
 give?-IMP-EMPH 3.dl-ACC
 'Give to them two.'
- (286) *nuṭa-la-ra-ba dana-ṇa*
 give?-IMP-EMPH 3.pl-ACC
 'Give to them all.'
- (287) *nuṭa-ba nana*
 give-away-IMP 3.S:ACC
 'Give him.'
- (288) *galka-ba nana*
 hit-away-IMP 3.S:ACC
 'Hit him.'
- (289) *galka-ba bula-buḷu-ṇa*
 hit-away-IMP 3.dl-over there?-ACC
 'Hit them two.'
- (290) *galka-ba dana-ṇa*
 hit-away 3.S-ACC
 'Hit them all.'

- (291) galka-iyi-ŋa ŋani yandra-andru dina-aŋa buli-ŋa ŋani
 hit-REF-PAST/P I.NOM stone-ABL foot-ACC fall-PAST/P I.NOM
 'I knocked my foot (because of?) on the stone and fell down.'
- (292) galka-iyi-ŋa ŋani nuŋura-guru dina-aŋa buli-ŋa ŋani
 hit-REF-PAST/P I.NOM 3.S:ABL-there foot-ACC fall-PAST I.NOM
 'I knocked my foot (because of?) on it and fell down.'
- (293) mura gali naɗa-ŋala-gali nilaɗa
 finished we.2:NOM see-RECIP-PAST yesterday
 'O.K., we (2) were looking at each other yesterday.'
- (294) naɗa-wari waɗa buli
 see-vertical-IMP NEG fall-IMP
 'Look out, don't fall down.'
- (295) naɗa-wari dana-guru-ŋa
 see-vertical-IMP 3.S-there-ACC
 'Look at them.'
- (296) ga mura ŋaɗu naɗa-ra dana-ŋa
 yes finished I.ERG see-FUT 3.S-ACC
 'Yes, O.K. I will look at them.'
- (297) gula-ra ini dandra dandra daldra-ŋa ini
 sit-IMP you.S:NOM watch-IMP kangaroo-ACC you.S:NOM
 'Sit down and watch the kangaroos.'
- (298) baŋipi ŋani wira-dali-ŋa nuŋka
 unable I.NOM wait-CIRC ABILITY-PAST/P 3.S:DAT
 'I can't wait for it.'
- (299) baŋipi ŋani wira-dali-ŋa
 unable I.NOM wait-CIRC ABILITY-PAST/P
 'I can't wait.'
- (300) baŋipi ŋaɗu naɗa-dali-ŋa
 unable I.ERG see-CIRC ABILITY-PAST/P
 'I could not see (it).'
- (301) mura gampa ŋaɗu naɗa-gala daldra-aŋa
 finished far I.ERG see.PRES kangaroo-ACC
 'O.K., over there far I see the kangaroo.'
- (302) duna-baŋi gali wira-ra / guŋtu ŋaŋka-yi dika-la
 ?-think we.2:NOM wait-FUT soon 3.S:DAT-here back-FACT
 ŋaka-aŋa / mura ŋali-ŋu galka-ra ŋana
 water-DAT finished we.2-ERG hit-FUT 3.S:ACC
 'Wait a while. We (2) will wait. Soon it comes to the water.
 We (2) will kill it.' [We will wait until it comes back to the
 water. Then we will kill it.]

- (303) *naʁa-gala yundru gugu-dari-aʁa*
 hear-PRES you.S:ERG wind-?-ACC
 'Do you hear the wind?'
- (304) *waʁa ʁaʁu naʁa-gala*
 NEG I.ERG hear-PRES
 'I can't hear (it).'
- (305) *baʁi yandru yaŋda-gala / waʁa ʁaʁu ina naʁa-gala*
 bad you.S:ERG talk-PRES NEG I.ERG you.S:ACC hear-PRES
 'You talk bad. I don't hear you.'
- (306) *ʁaŋda-gala ʁaʁi maʁi*
 like/want-PRES I.NOM corrobororee
 'I like corrobororee.'
- (307) *ʁaʁu naʁa-ra wikaʁa / dana biʁki-ra maʁi-aʁa*
 I.ERG see-FUT tomorrow 3.pl:NOM dance-FUT corrobororee-ACC
 'Tomorrow I will see (them) dance a corrobororee.'
- (308) *ʁaŋda-gala ʁaʁi yaŋʁa-ra ʁuku-aʁa*
 want/like-PRES I.NOM go-PURP river-DAT
 'I want to go to the river.'
- (309) *nandru-gari gaʁa-andru mamu-gali ʁaŋʁa ʁuti-aʁa*
 3.S:ERG-there (far) man-ERG steal-PAST I.DAT meat-ACC
 'That man there stole my meat.'
- (310) *gunka-gala ʁaʁu ina*
 ask-PRES I.ERG you.S:ACC
 'I ask you.'
- (311) *gunka-gali ʁaʁu nina nilaʁa*
 ask-PAST I.ERG 3.S.masc:ACC yesterday
 'I asked him yesterday.'
- (312) *duna-guʁa ʁaʁu nina gunka-ra*
 ?-sit I.ERG 3.S.masc:ACC ask-FUT
 'I will ask him by and by.'
- (313) *gunka-ʁa ʁaʁu nina / waʁa ʁaʁa nulu*
 ask-PAST I.ERG 3.S.masc:ACC NEG I.ACC 3.S.masc:ERG
gala-ba-ʁa
 answer-away-PAST/P
 'I asked him. He didn't answer me.'
- (314) *gala-ba ʁaʁa*
 answer-away I.ACC
 'Answer me.'

- (315) buba nana-guru wiyi-ana
blow-IMP 3.S:ACC-there fire-ACC
'Blow that fire.'
- (316) miła mura nani wałpa-gala
sun finished 3.S:NOM rise-PRES
'The sun is coming up now.'
- (317) mura miła-ani wałpa-ŋa
finished sun-NOM rise-PAST/P
'Already - the sun came up.'
- (318) guŋtu-ŋiri miła-ani wałpa-ba-ra
soon-? sun-NOM rise-away-FUT
'Soon the sun will come up.'
- (319) wałpa-gala miŋkiŋini-ani
rise-PRES moon-NOM
'The moon is coming up.'
- (320) guŋtu-ŋiri miŋkiŋini-ani wałpa-ba-ra
soon-? moon-NOM rise-away-FUT
'Soon the moon will come up.'
- (321) ŋaŋandi-ra yundru biłka-ana
jump-FUT you.S:ERG log-ACC
'You will jump over the log.'
- (322) wała ŋatu nana-guru ŋaŋandi-ri / laŋu
NEG I.ERG 3.S:ACC-there jump-IRR POSS
'I won't/can't jump it.'
- (323) biŋta-buŋa-ani nani-guru
high-?-3.S:NOM 3.S:NOM-there
'That one is high.'
- (324) mura ŋatu nana-guru ŋaŋandi-ra
finished I.ERG 3.S:ACC-there jump-FUT
'O.K., I will jump this.'
- (325) mura ŋatu ŋaŋandi-ra / laŋu nana-guru
finished I.ERG jump-FUT POSS 3.S:ACC-there
'O.K., I will/can jump that one.'
- (326) diŋi-gala nani-guru gaŋa-ani
laugh-PRES 3.S:NOM-there man-NOM
'That man is laughing.'

- (327) *mina-aṅa nina diṭi-gala*
what-DAT 3.S.masc:NOM laugh-PRES
'Why (is he) laughing?'
- (328) *wanḍu ṅani-guru gaṅa-ani diṭi-gala*
often 3.S:NOM-there man-NOM laugh-PRES
'That man is always laughing.'
- (329) *mirV-iyi-gala ṅani-guru gaṅa-ani nanṭina-ṅa*
scratch-REF-PRES 3.S:NOM-there man-NOM shin-ACC
'That man scratches his shin.'
- (330) *waḷa mirV-iyi*
NEG scratch-REF-IMP
'Don't scratch.'
- (331) *mura waḷa ṅani mirV-iyi-ra*
O.K. NEG I.NOM scratch-REF-FUT
'O.K., I won't scratch.'
- (332) *wani iṅka yaripa-ani*
what your name-3.S:NOM
'What's your name?'
- (333) *ṅanṭa yaripa-ni dabili-ṅa*
I.DAT name-NOM Dabili-ACC
'My name is Dabili.'
- (334) *mukari-gali ṅani nuṅka yaripa*
forget-PAST I.NOM 3.S:DAT name
'I forgot his name.'
- (335) *waṅa-ṅa nia-guru gaṅi-ya*
who-3.S:ACC 3.S.masc:NOM-there man-there?
'Who is that man?'
[What is that man called? (Note accusative 333)]
- (336) *bakarani-ani ṅani-yi gaṭi-gali-ani*
boomerang-NOM 3.S:NOM-here break-PAST-3.S:NOM
'This boomerang is broken.'
- (337) *winbi-ba ṅana-guru*
throw-away 3.S:ACC-there
'Throw away this one.'
- (338) *mura ṅaṭu winbi-ra ṅana yara-maka*
O.K. I.ERG throw-FUT 3.S:ACC message-stick
'O.K., I throw away this message stick.'

- (339) yanda-ra dana yalu-ana
 talk-FUT 3.pl:NOM meeting-ACC
 '(They) will talk, have a meeting.'
- (340) yagama-gala dana-guru-gu nandra-nani yara-maka-ana
 send-PRES 3.pl-there-ERG 3.pl-DAT message-stick-ACC
 'They are sending us a message stick.'
- (341) wanki-ra bari nandra bakarapi-ana
 look for-FUT think we.pl:NOM boomerang-DAT
 'I think we will look for your boomerang.'
- (342) nani wanki-ra nunka bakarapi-ana
 I.NOM look for-FUT 3.S:DAT boomerang-DAT
 'I will look for his boomerang.'
- (343) wanki-na banipi nani wanki-na nunka
 look for-PAST/P unable I.NOM look for-PAST/P 3.S:DAT
 bakarapi-ana
 boomerang-DAT
 'I look, I cannot find his boomerang.'
- (344) yamba-para-gala walga-ni buka dana-guru
 fight-RECIP-PRES woman-NOM all 3.pl:NOM-there
 'That lot of women are having a row.'
- (345) nilada-watu dana-guru yamba-para-gali walga-ni buka
 yesterday-one 3.pl:NOM-there fight-RECIP-PAST woman-NOM all
 'Day before yesterday the women all fought.'
- (346) yamba-para-ra dana wikala walga-ani buka
 fight-RECIP-FUT 3.pl:NOM tomorrow woman-NOM all
 'Tomorrow the women all will fight (together).'
- (347) wiyi-ani nani-guru mari-gala / dupu-ana natu wupi-gala
 fire-NOM 3.S:NOM-there burn-PRES smoke-ACC I.ERG smell-PRES
 'This fire is burning, I smell smoke.'
- (348) walga-andru yamba-gala nana waliwa-ana
 woman-ERG fight-PRES 3.S:ACC child-ACC
 'The woman is scolding this child.'
- (349) nampa nana-guru daldra-ana dupla-andru
 cover-IMP 3.S:ACC-there kangaroo-ACC ashes-INST
 'Cover up this kangaroo with ashes.'
- (350) mura natu nana nampa-ra nuti-ana
 finished I.ERG 3.S:ACC cover-FUT meat-ACC
 'O.K., I will cover this meat.'

- (351) bunma nana-guru nuti-ana
 uncover-IMP 3.S:ACC-there meat-ACC
 'Uncover that meat.'
- (352) mura natu nana bunma-ra
 finished I.ERG 3.S:ACC uncover-FUT
 'O.K., I will uncover it.'
- (353) gadi-gala nani gana-ani
 lie-PRES 3.S:NOM man-NOM
 'This man is telling a lie.'
- (354) mura yundru mulpa-na nana-guru bakarani
 finished you.S:ERG make-PAST 3.S:ACC-there boomerang
 'You made that boomerang.'
- (355) wala gada natu mulpa-na
 NEG yet I.ERG make-PAST/P
 'I haven't made it yet.'
- (356) wala nani gali-walpi-ra
 NEG I.NOM make/put-?-FUT
 'I won't turn around.'
- (357) naqala-guru gali daka-lana
 3.S:LOC-there make/put-IMP ground-LOC
 'Put (it) on the ground over there.'
- (358) mura natu naqala-guru gali-na daka-lana
 finished I.ERG 3.S:LOC-there make/put-PAST/P ground-LOC
 'O.K., I put (it) over there on the ground.'
- (359) madri nana makura-na
 hold-IMP 3.S:ACC stick-ACC
 'Hold this stick.'
- (360) mura natu madri-ra inka
 finished I.ERG hold-FUT you.S:DAT
 'O.K., I will hold (it) for you.'
- (361) dumpa nana nana-guru bakarani-na / natu napa-ra
 show-IMP I.ACC 3.S:ACC-there boomerang-ACC I.ERG see-PURP
 'Show me that boomerang, I want to see it.'
- (362) wala natu ina dumpa-ra / wala gada natu mulpa-gala
 NEG I.ERG you.S.ACC show-FUT NEG yet I.ERG finish-PRES
 'I will not show you, I haven't finished (it) yet.'

- (363) baka-ra bari ḡala ḡaḡala
hide-FUT think we.2:NOM 3.S:LOC
'I think we (2) will hide over there.'
- (364) bulru ḡandra-ra ḡaldra-aḡa
quick watch-IMP kangaroo-DAT
'Here look out quick for kangaroos.'
- (365) baka ḡaḡala-guru
hide-IMP 3.S:LOC-there
'Hide there.'
- (366) makura ḡani-guru buli-gali-ani gurga-laḡa wiḡidi-ra
stick 3.S:NOM-there fall-PAST-3.S:NOM road-LOC drag-FUT
bari ḡali-ḡu
think we.2-ERG
'A stick fell on the road. We (2) will drag it away I think.'
[A stick has fallen on the road ...]
- (367) naḡa-wari ḡani-guru buli-laḡu iḡala
see-vertical 3.S:NOM-there fall-POSS you.S:LOC
'Look out one might fall on you.'
- (368) makura ḡanala buli-ḡa
stick 3.S:LOC fall-PAST/P
'The tree fell on me.'
- (369) makura-ni ḡani-yi ḡaḡu-ḡaḡu-ḡani / ḡuḡtu-tiri ḡani
stick-NOM 3.S:NOM-here rotten-3.S:NOM soon-? 3.S:NOM
bari buli-ra
think fall-FUT
'This stick is rotten. Soon I think it will fall.'
[This stick is rotten so I think it will fall.]
- (370) ḡani-guru muḡa-ani yaḡkuri-gala
3.S:NOM-there snake-NOM move-PRES
'This snake is moving.'
- (371) naḡa-wari draḡa-laḡu nandru iḡa
see-vertical bite-POSS 3.S:ERG you.S:ACC
'Look out, it might bite you.'
- (372) waḡa bari yaḡḡa-ba-ḡa yaḡa-guba
NEG think go-away-PAST/P somewhere
'(It)? hasn't gone away, I think.'
- (373) ḡari waḡa yaḡḡa / naḡa-ra ḡatu iḡa
hey NEG go-IMP see-PURP I.ERG you.S:ACC
'Hey don't go away, I want to see you.'

- (374) *gari bura nana-guru nada-ra natu nana*
hey tell-IMP 3.S:ACC-there see-PURP I.ERG 3.S:ACC
'Hey, tell that one I will see him.'
[Tell that one I want to see him.]
- (375) *gala yula*
hey you.2:NOM
'Hey you (2).'
- (376) *gala yura*
hey you.pl:NOM
'Hey you all.'
- (377) *gala bula bura nada-ra natu nana*
hey 3.d1:NOM tell-IMP see-PURP I.ERG 3.S:ACC
'Hey you (2), tell (him) I want to see him.'
- (378) *mura natu bura-na nana / gula-ra nani /*
finished I.ERG tell-PAST/P 3.S:ACC sit-FUT 3.S:NOM
yundru nada-ra nana
you.S:ERG see-FUT 3.S:ACC
'O.K., I told him, he will wait, you will see him.'
- (379) *gapa nana*
follow-IMP I.ACC
'Follow me.'
- (380) *yundru gapa-ra nana*
you.S:ERG follow-FUT I.ACC
'You will follow me.'
- (380a) *yundru gapa-ra nana*
you.S:ERG follow-IMP I.ACC
'You will follow me.'
- (381) *ganga nana daldra-ana*
carry-IMP 3.S:ACC kangaroo-ACC
'Hunt that kangaroo.'
- (382) *wala natu nana-guru ganga-lanu / gumi-ani*
NEG I.ERG 3.S:ACC-there carry-POSS big-3.S:NOM
nani-guru
3.S:NOM-there
'I cannot carry this. It is big.'
- (383) *ga natu ina waliba-ra / nali-nu barkulu-lu*
yes I.ERG you.S:ACC help-FUT we.2-ERG two-ERG?
ganga-ra nana-guru
carry-FUT 3.S:ACC-there
'Yes I will help you. We (2) will carry this one.'

- (384) mura qatu muna-manda-qa iŋka qaŋiða-qa
finished I.ERG ?-hold-PAST/P you.S:DAT father-ACC
'O.K. I met your father.'
- (385) mura dika-dika-qa qani / dumpa-indri-ra iŋa
finished back-back-PAST/P I.NOM show-?-PURP you.S:ACC
'O.K., I came back to tell you.'
- (386) wala yaŋta-gali qanta qaŋiða-ni
NEG go-PAST I.DAT father-NOM
'My father didn't go away.'
- (387) yala-guba-nu ini yaŋta
DEM-?-? you.S:NOM go-IMP
'Over that way you go.'
- (388) yundru muna-maŋda-ra niŋa naŋala gali
you.S:ERG ?-hold-FUT 3.S.masc:ACC 3.S:LOC far
'You will meet him over there far away.'
- (389) mura bula-guru gaŋa-bula buŋti-ɖara-qa-ba
finished 3.dl:NOM-there man-two come-?-PAST/P-EMPH
'O.K. two men arrived.'
- (390) ɖuna-wiɖa guŋtu-nu dana-guru buŋti-na-ra
?-wait soon-? 3.pl:NOM-there come-?-FUT
'Wait a while, soon they all will come past.'
- (391) maɖa dika-maŋta-qa-ba gaŋa-bula
long ago back-move-PAST/P-EMPH man-two
'Long ago two people went past.'
- (392) mura bula-guru buŋti-qa
finished 3.dl:NOM-there come-PAST/P
'O.K. they (2) came here.'
- (393) niɖaɖa giɖa-ni buka waga-bala-gali naŋala
yesterday cattle-NOM all lie-?-PAST 3.S:LOC
'Yesterday many cattle camped here.'
- (394) gaɖi naɖa-gali guɖa yundru yala-iri gaŋa-ani
hey see-PAST sit you.S:ERG DEM-? man-NOM
 yaŋta-dika-gali
go-back-PAST
'Hey when you were looking over there did a man go past?'
- (395) mura waliwa nani-guru maŋta-gala
finished child 3.S:NOM-there move-PRES
'O.K. this baby is crawling.'

- (396) *wal̥a n̥aŋala manta*
 NEG 3.S:LOC move-IMP
'Don't crawl here.'
- (397) *gawa ŋaŋu iŋa duma-ra / n̥ani-guru n̥uŋka*
 come I.ERG you.S:ACC show-FUT 3.S:NOM-there 3.S:DAT
bagala-ni
 track-NOM
'Come, I will show you his track.'
[Come, I will show you/this is his track.]
- (398) *nada n̥ana-guru / gaŋa-andru wiŋidi-gala baŋka-andru*
 see-IMP 3.S:ACC-there man-ERG lead-PRES string-INST
n̥ana nandu-aŋa
 3.S:ACC horse-ACC
'Look at that man leading that horse with a string.'
- (399) *yundru ŋanŋa wiŋidi nandu-aŋa*
 you.S:ERG I.DAT lead-IMP horse-ACC
'You lead my horse.'
- (400) *nunpa n̥ana-guru yandra-aŋa*
 push/move-IMP 3.S:ACC-there stone-ACC
'Push this stone.'
- (401) *n̥ani-yi nuga-ani / wal̥a baŋpi ŋaŋu nunpa-laŋu*
 3.S:NOM-here big-3.S:NOM NEG unable I.ERG push-POSS
'It's (too) big. I can't push (it).'
- (402) *wiŋidi n̥ana-guru nandu-aŋa*
 lead-IMP 3.S:ACC-there horse-ACC
'Lead this horse.'
- (403) *wal̥a ŋaŋu n̥ana gankura-ŋa wiŋiwil̥idi-ra*
 NEG I.ERG 3.S:ACC hair-ACC lead/pull-FUT
'I will not pull that hair.'
- (404) *wal̥a n̥ana-guru gankura wiŋiwil̥idi*
 NEG 3.S:ACC-there hair pull-IMP
'Don't pull that hair.'
- (405) *nunpa-dika-dika n̥ana-guru yandra-aŋa*
 push/move-back-IMP 3.S:ACC-there stone-ACC
'Roll that stone.'
- (406) *ga ŋaŋu nunpa-dika-dika-ra n̥ana-guru*
 yes I.ERG push/move-back-FUT 3.S:ACC-there
'Yes I will roll that one.'

- (407) yandra nani-guru buli-ra naka-lana
 stone 3.S:NOM-there fall-FUT water-LOC
 'This stone will fall in the water.'
- (408) yandra nani-guru buli-wari-ra mirgala-lana naka-ana
 stone 3.S:NOM-there fall-vertical-FUT bank-LOC water-DAT
 'This stone will fall down along the steep bank into the water.'
- (409) mirgala-ni nani-guru giṭa-baru-ani
 bank-NOM 3.S:NOM-there ?-?-3.S:NOM
 'This bank is steep.'
- (410) yandra nani-guru nunpa-dika-dika-ra naka-lana
 stone 3.S:NOM-there push-back-back-FUT water-LOC
 'This stone will roll into the water.'
- (411) maṅda-ra nali-ṅu nana-guru durugaṅa-ana
 get-FUT we.2-ERG 3.S:ACC-there goanna-ACC
 'We (2) will catch this goanna.'
- (412) gaḍra nana-guru gulbara-na yangu-andru
 spear-IMP 3.S:ACC-there emu-ACC spear-INST
 'Spear this emu with a spear.'
- (413) ga mura natu nana gaḍra-la
 yes finished I.ERG 3.S:ACC spear-FACT
 'Yes, already I am spearing it.'
- (414) ga mura natu nana gaḍra-ṅa
 yes finished I.ERG 3.S:ACC spear-PAST/P
 'Yes, already I have speared it.'
- (415) nunpa nana-guru diṭi-ana
 push-IMP 3.S:ACC-there dog-ACC
 'Kick this dog.'
- (416) gudu natu nana nunpa-lanu draṭa-lanu nana
 if I.ERG 3.S:ACC push-POSS bite-POSS I.ACC
 'If/when I kick it, (it) may bite me.'
- (417) naḍa-ra gula natu iṅka naniḍa-ṅa / ṅuṭa-ra natu
 see-FUT sit I.ERG you.S:DAT father-ACC give-FUT I.ERG
 nina nuṭi-ana
 3.S.masc:ACC meat-ACC
 'When I see your father I will give him meat.'
- (418) ini wiḷbi
 you.S:NOM whistle-IMP
 'You whistle.'

- (419) mura ɲapi wiɓi-ra
finished I.NOM whistle-FUT
'O.K. I will whistle.'
- (420) mura ɲatu wiɓi-ra
finished I.ERG throw-FUT
'O.K. I will throw it away.'
- (421) waɭa yaŋda naŋala
 NEG talk 3.S:LOC
'Don't talk here.'
- (422) waɭa ɲani-guru mula-gala
 NEG 3.S:NOM-there spit/vomit-PRES
'He doesn't spit here.'
- (423) waliwa ɲani-guru mula-gala
 child 3.S:NOM-there spit/vomit-PRES
'This child is vomiting.'
- (424) waɭa mula
 NEG vomit
'Don't vomit.'
- (425) mura ɲani-guru makura-ni dunda-gala malpara
finished 3.S:NOM-there tree-NOM grow-PRES quick
'Already this tree is growing quickly.'
- (426) gunka-gunka-mipi-iyi-ga ɲani-guru
ask-ask?-REF-?-? 3.S:NOM-there
'This one has a cough.'
- (427) waɭa gunka-gunka-mipi-iyi
 NEG ask-ask?-REF-IMP
'Don't cough.'
- (428) waɭa ɲapi gunka-gunka-mipi-ra
 NEG I.NOM ask-ask?-FUT
'I won't cough.'
- (429) dilaba munkV-iyi-gala-ɲi
cold make?-REF-PRES-I.NOM
'I feel cold, shivering.'
- (430) mina-aŋa ini dilaba munkV-iyi-gala ini
what-DAT you.S:NOM cold make-REF-PRES you.S:NOM
'Why are you shivering, cold?'

- (431) baka-wari
send-vertical-IMP
'Send down.'
- (432) mura ḡani baka-wari-ra
finished I.NOM send-vertical-FUT
'O.K. I will send down.'
- (433) dati nana wiyi-aḡa
chop-IMP 3.S:ACC firewood-ACC
'Chop this firewood.'
- (434) dati nana biḡka-aḡa
chop-IMP 3.S:ACC log-ACC
'Chop this log.'
- (435) walḡa nana-guru daruna-ḡa
take-IMP 3.S:ACC-there axe-ACC
'Take this axe.'
- (436) wiyi-aḡa yundru dati-ra
firewood-ACC you.S:ERG chop-FUT
'You will chop firewood.'
- (437) guka ḡanḡa munkV-iyi-gala
head I.DAT make-REF-PRES
'My head is hurting.'
- (438) nilaḡa ḡani munkV-iyi-gali
yesterday I.NOM make-REF-PAST
'Yesterday I had pains.'
- (439) yanḡa-ra baḡi ḡani gubi-aḡa
go-FUT think I.NOM doctor-DAT
'I will go to the doctor, I think.'
- (440) yanḡa-ra baḡi ini gubi-aḡa
go-FUT think you.S:NOM doctor-DAT
'You will go to the doctor, I think.'
- (441) munkV-iyi-gala ḡani guka-ani / naḡa-ra baḡi yundru
make-REF-PRES I.NOM head-NOM see-FUT think you.S:ERG
nana
I.ACC
'I am having pains in the head. I think you will see me.'
- (442) ilri baḡti-gala ḡani
tears fall-PRES I.NOM
'My tears are running.'

- (443) wikaḷa munda-iyi-ra baḷi ḡaḡi
 tomorrow make-REF-FUT think I.NOM
 'Tomorrow I think I'll have pains.'
- (444) wikaḷa guka ḡaḡṭa murta-ra
 tomorrow head I.DAT hurt-FUT
 'Tomorrow my head will hurt.'
- (445) mutuda ini
 alone^e you.S:NOM
 'Are you alone?'
- (446) ga mutuda ḡaḡi
 yes alone I.NOM
 'Yes I am alone.'
- (447) miḷi-ani ḡani-guḷu ḡaḡa-ani
 cheeky-3.S:NOM 3.S:NOM-there man-NOM
 'This man is cheeky.'
- (448) durabila ḡani-yi buḡgu-ani
 tall 3.S:NOM-here gum tree-NOM
 'This gum tree is tall.'
- (449) ḡuḷi-ani ḡani-guḷu ḡinda-ani
 meat-NOM 3.S:NOM-there raw-3.S:NOM
 'This meat is raw.'
- (450) mura ḡani-yi ḡuḷi-ani marpa-iyi-ḡa
 finished 3.S:NOM-here meat-NOM cook-REF-PAST
 'O.K., this meat is/was cooked.'
- (451) gawa ḡanala
 come 3.S:LOC
 'Come to me.'
- (452) ga ḡaḡi yaḡṭa-ra iḡala
 yes I.NOM go-FUT you.S:LOC
 'Yes I will go to you.'
- (453) yaḡṭa-ba ḡanura
 go-away-IMP 3.S:ABL
 'Go away from me.'
- (454) ga yaḡṭa-la-ba iḡura
 yes go-FACT-EMPH you.S:ABL
 'Yes I will go from you.'

- (455) nilaḡa nani-guru buka ḡiḡi-ani ḡawu-laḡa ḡandraḡala
yesterday 3.S:NOM-there all *dog*-NOM *night*-LOC *we.pl*:LOC
 yaḡḡa-ḡika-gali
go-back-PAST
 'Yesterday those dogs came up to us at night.'
- (456) ḡiḡi-ani wandru-ani nani-guru buka yaḡḡa-ḡika-gala-ri
dog-NOM many-NOM 3.S:NOM-there all *go-back*-PRES-IRR?
 'All those dogs are coming up together.'
- (457) ḡilaba draḡa-iyi-gala / wiyi-aḡa ḡalga-ra malpara
cold bite-REF-PRES *fire*-ACC *light*-IMP *quick*
 '(I) feel cold. Light the fire quick.'
- (458) ḡula-bari ini naḡala
siḡ-? you.S:NOM 3.S:LOC
 'Stop here.'
- (459) ḡa ḡula-la ḡapi naḡala / ini yaḡḡa-ba
yes siḡ-FACT I.NOM 3.S:LOC you.S:NOM *go-away*-IMP
 'Yes, I stop here, you go on.'
- (460) naḡba-ḡa ḡapi ḡanda-gala ḡaka-ra naḡa ḡaḡu maḡura-ḡa
knife-DAT I.NOM *want*-PRES *cut*-PURP 3.S:ACC I.ERG *stick*-ACC
 'I want/need a knife to cut this stick.'
- (461) maḡa-ani ḡapi ḡuka-gala
hand-NOM I.NOM *swell*-PRES
 'My hand is swelling up.'
- (462) narki-ḡika-ba naḡala-guru maḡura-luḡa
lean-back-EMPH-IMP 3.S:LOC-there *tree*-LOC
 'Lean against that tree.'
- (463) ḡa / ḡapi narki-ḡika-ra-ba maḡura-luḡa
yes I.NOM *lean-back*-FUT-EMPH *tree*-LOC
 'Yes, I will lean on that tree.'
- (464) narki-ḡika-ba ḡapi ḡuḡala-guru maḡura-luḡa mura
lean-back-EMPH I.NOM 3.S:LOC-there *tree*-LOC *finished*
 ḡani-yi maḡura-ni buli-ḡa
 3.S:NOM-here *tree*-NOM *fall*-PAST/P
 'I leaned on that tree there, O.K. That tree fell over.'
- (465) balu-gali ḡaḡḡa ḡaḡiḡa-ni
die-PAST I.DAT *father*-NOM
 'My father died.'

- (466) nanpa-ra ḡandra-ḡu nina
bury-FUT we.pl-ERG 3.S.masc:ACC
'We will bury him.'
- (467) ḡaḡa nandru-ḡuru ḡaḡra-ḡa badi-aḡa
I.ACC 3.S:ERG-there pierce-PAST/P cut-DAT
'He stabbed me a cut.'
- (468) mura nani-ḡuru nuga-ani badi-ani / ḡubi-aḡa
finished 3.S:NOM-there big-3.S:NOM cut-NOM doctor-DAT
baḡi ini yaḡḡa-ra
think you.S:NOM go-FUT
'O.K. this cut is big. I think you should go to the doctor.'
- (469) ḡubi-andru ḡaḡa-ḡuru ḡali-munka-ra
doctor-ERG 3.S:ACC-there good-CAUS-FUT
'This doctor will heal it.'
- (470) mura nani-yi ḡali-miḡḡa-ḡali badi-ani
finished 3.S:NOM-here good-INCH-PAST cut-NOM
'O.K., this cut is completely healed up.'
- (471) mura nani-ḡuru ḡali-miḡḡa-ra badi-ani malpara
finished 3.S:NOM-there good-INCH-FUT cut-NOM quick
'O.K., this cut will heal quickly.'
- (472) walpa-ra malpara
rise-IMP quick
'Get up quick.'
- (473) malpara walpa ini
quick rise-IMP you.S:NOM
'Get up quick (you).'
- (474) walḡa maḡḡa naḡḡa nalba-aḡa ḡaḡa-ḡuru
NEG hold-IMP I.DAT knife-ACC 3.S:ACC-there
'Don't touch my knife.'
- (475) ḡaḡi-ḡaḡiḡi-ḡala ḡaḡi
sweat-sweat-PRES I.NOM
'I am sweating.'
- (476) miḡa-aḡa ḡaḡi-ḡaḡiḡi-ḡala ini
what-DAT sweat-sweat-PRES you.S:NOM
'Why are you sweating?'
- (477) yawura-ndru ḡaḡa ḡalka-ḡala
heat-ERG I.ACC hit-PRES
'Heat is hitting me.'

- (478) guṇa ṇuṭa ṇaṇa-guṛu nandu-ana
food give-IMP 3.S:ACC-there horse-ACC
'Give that horse food.'
- (479) ṇunawali-andru ṇaṇa draba-ṇa miranda-ṇi
mosquito-ERG I.ACC bite-PAST/P itch-I.NOM
'A mosquito bit me - I (have an) itch.'
- (480) maṛa-ani ṇaṇi biṭi-biṭiri-gala
hand-NOM I.NOM itch-PRES
'My hand is itching.'
- (481) waḷa ṇaṇa-guṛu yandra-aṇa ṇuṅka
NEG 3.S:ACC-there stone-ACC swallow-IMP
'Don't swallow that stone.'
- (482) ṇaṇi-guṛu daḷṭa-iyi-gala
3.S:NOM-there eat-REF-PRES
'He has eaten.'
- (483) buṅkula gula-wari
knee sit-vertical-IMP
'Kneel.'
- (484) mura ṇaṇi buṅkula gula-wari-ra
finished I.NOM knee sit-vertical-FUT
'O.K. I will kneel.'
- (485) maṛa dapa-gala ṇaṇa diṭi-andru
hand lick-PRES I.ACC dog-ERG
'The dog is licking my hand.'
- (486) mura dana-guṛu gaṇa-ani buka mari-mari-gala
finished 3.pl:NOM-there man-NOM all dance-dance-PRES
 maṇi-aṇani
corroboree-DAT
'O.K. the people all together are dancing a corroboree.'
- (487) mura dana-guṛu buka birki-bala-gala
finished 3.pl:NOM-there all dance-?-PRES
'O.K. they all are dancing a corroboree.'
- (488) naḍa-ba dana-guṛu-ṇa
look-away 3.pl-there-ACC
'Look at them.'
- (489) miṇa yaripani ṇaṇi-yi maṇi-ani
what name-3.S:NOM 3.S:NOM-here dance-NOM
'What name is this dance?'

- (490) maṇi galka-galka-ra nani-yi gaṇa-ani
 dance hit-FUT 3.S:NOM-here man-NOM
 'This man will sing a corroboree.'
- (491) ga mura ṇaṭu nana gayma-gala
 yes finished I.ERG 3.S:ACC throw-PRES
 'Yes, already I am throwing this out.'
- (492) mura ṇaṭu gayma-ṇa
 finished I.ERG throw-PAST/P
 'Already I threw (it) out.'
- (493) mura ṇaṭu bulraga-ra nana maraṇa-ṇa
 finished I.ERG pluck-FUT 3.S:ACC duck-ACC
 'O.K. I will pluck this duck.'
- (494) yundru nana-guru bulraga-ṇa
 you.S:ERG 3.S:ACC-there pluck-PAST/P
 'You plucked this.'
- (495) waḷa ṇaṭu bulraṇa-laṇu nana / maṛa baḍi-batu ṇaṇi
 NEG I.ERG pluck-PAST-POSS 3.S:ACC hand ?-? I.NOM
 'No, I can't pluck (it). My hand hurts.'
- (496) miṇa munkV-iyi-gali ini maṛa-ani
 what make/do-REF-PAST you.S:NOM hand-NOM
 'What happened/was done to your hand?'
- (497) buli-gali ṇaṇi / maṛa galka-iyi-gali ṇaṇi ṇuṇala-guru
 fall-PAST I.NOM hand hit-REF-PAST I.NOM 3.S:LOC-there
 makura-luṇa
 stick-LOC
 'I fell and hit my hand on this stick.'
- (498) baḷka nana-guru gaṭu
 string 3.S:ACC-there tie-IMP
 'Tie up this string.'
- (499) mura ṇaṭu nana gaṭu-ra
 finished I.ERG 3.S:ACC tie-FUT
 'O.K. I will tie this.'
- (500) mura yundru waṇu ṇuṭa-ra
 finished you.pl:ERG share give-FUT
 'O.K. you will give a share.'
- (501) mura ṇaṭu waṇu ṇuṭa-ra dana-ṇa
 finished I.ERG share give-FUT 3.pl-ACC
 'O.K. I will give them a share.'

- (502) mura dana-guru gaṇa-ani buka mula /
finished 3.pl:NOM-*there* man-NOM all bad
 dukandri-pala-gala
fight-RECIP-PRES
 'Already those people are all bad. (They) fight each other.'
- (503) galka-pala-ra dana-guru buka
hit-RECIP-FUT 3.pl:NOM-*there* all
 'They all will fight each other.'
- (504) mura ḡaṭu ḡuṭi-aṇa dalaṭa-gala muṇa-aṇa
finished I.ERG meat-ACC eat-PRES day-ACC
 'I eat meat all day.'
- (505) mura ḡaṭu dalaṭa-gala wikaḷa-waṭu wikaḷa-waṭu
finished I.ERG eat-PRES tomorrow-one tomorrow-one
 'I eat day after day.'
- (506) miti-ani iṅka maṇa-ani / yuṅV-iyi-ba nuṅala-guru
dirty-3.S:NOM you.S:DAT hand-NOM wash-REF-EMPH 3.S:LOC-*there*
 ḡaka-luṅa
water-LOC
 'Your hand is dirty. Wash in that water.'
- (507) ga yuṅV-iyi-la-ni nuṅala ḡaka-luṅa
yes wash-REF-FACT-I.NOM 3.S:LOC water-LOC
 'Yes, I wash in that water.'
- (508) mura maṇa-ni ḡaṇṭa daka-muṅdu / mura ḡani
finished hand-NOM I.DAT dirt-PRIV finished I.NOM
 yuṅV-iyi-ḡa
wash-REF-PAST/P
 'Already my hand is clean. O.K. I washed.'
- (509) yula naḡa-paṇa-ra
you.2:NOM see-RECIP-IMP
 'You (2) look at each other.'
- (510) ḡali naḡa-paṇa-ra
we.2:NOM see-RECIP-FUT
 'We (2) will look at each other.'
- (511) mura ḡala naḡa-paṇa-gali niḷada
finished we.2:NOM see-RECIP-PAST yesterday
 'O.K., we (2) were looking at each other yesterday.'
- (512) nuku nuga-luṅa
tree big-LOC
 'At the big tree.'

- (513) wāṅda-wara daḷdra-ani
muĉh-belonging kangaroo-NOM
'How many kangaroos are there?'
- (514) mura bunma-ra mura
finished take-IMP finished
'Take (it) out, O.K.'

VOCABULARY

babaḡa	'husband'	biḡa	'dark'
baḡi	'cut (on skin)'	biḡubiḡu	'kitty hawk'
bagala	'road, track'	biḡa	'light'
baka	'hide'	biḡa-biḡa	'lightning'
bakaḡani	'boomerang'	buba	'blow'
bala	'today'	buka	'all'
balpara	'kitty hawk'	buli	'fall'
balu	'die'	bulraḡa	'pluck'
baḡgara	'root'	bulru	'eye'
baḡka	'string'	bultaraḡi	'lungs'
baḡḡi	'fall, come down'	bulḡura	'down feather'
bampuli	'wild orange (other type)'	būḡura	'mud'
baḡabuḡa	'hawk'	bundi	'baton'
baḡḡi	'cross'	bunkula	'knee'
barkulu	'two'	bunma	'uncover'
baḡaḡa	'dish'	buḡgu	'gum tree'
baḡi	'think'	buḡḡi	'come'
baḡiguru	'elbow'	buḡḡu	'fur, skin hair'
bikaḡa	'nail'	bura	'feather'
bilibili	'butterfly'	burgu	'shield'
bilti	'yellow'	burkaya	'bandicoot'
biḡka	'log'	buḡa	'tell'
bindriḡa	'grasshopper'	buḡi	'flower'
bingu	'fin'	daka	'earth'
bintalaḡi	'bat'	dalaḡa	'cloud'
biḡḡagaḡka	'changing, swapping'	diḡira	'centipede'
biḡḡaḡa	'one pound (bark)'	diḡi	'star'
birtabuḡa	'top, high'	draba	'sting'

draṭiṭa 'bite'
 draya 'teeth'
 dunda 'grow'
 durka 'leg'
 duṭigali 'right (hand)'
 ḡakara 'claypan'
 ḡalana 'tongue'
 ḡaldra 'kangaroo'
 ḡali 'good'
 ḡalpa 'cut'
 ḡalṭa 'eat'
 ḡandra 'watch'
 ḡantila 'porcupine'
 ḡapa 'lick'
 ḡapana 'thigh'
 ḡarka 'stone dish for grinding'
 ḡaruṇa 'stone axe'
 ḡati 'chop'
 ḡaya 'mouth'
 ḡawi 'climb'
 ḡawu 'yam'
 ḡila 'blow'
 ḡina 'foot'
 ḡina-miti 'track of animal'
 ḡinmari 'black kangaroo'
 ḡiṅga 'grasshopper'
 ḡipa 'tail'
 ḡipiṛa 'sand'
 ḡiridara 'black cockatoo'
 ḡiṛa 'small lizard'
 ḡiṭi 'laugh'
 ḡiṭi 'dog'
 ḡuku 'swell'
 ḡuḷku 'heart'
 ḡump-indi-ri ? 'show'
 ḡuna 'time'
 ḡupu 'smoke'
 ḡurabila 'tall'
 ḡurpuna 'magpie'
 ḡurugara 'goanna'

ḡilpa 'dew'
 ḡiniwara 'thunder'
 ḡipu 'wood duck'
 ḡa 'yes'
 ḡabaṅaru 'pelican'
 ḡadra 'spear, pierce'
 ḡaḡi 'lie (fib)'
 ḡaḡu 'black ant'
 ḡagaṛaṛa 'white cockatoo'
 ḡaka 'cut up'
 ḡakala 'side'
 ḡala 'hey'
 ḡalaba 'answer'
 ḡalaḡura 'brush turkey'
 ḡalga 'evening'
 ḡalgari 'this way'
 ḡalguri 'set (go down)'
 ḡali 'make (a camp)'
 ḡalka 'kill, hit'
 ḡaḷgu-ḡaḷgu 'weak'
 ḡaḷṭa 'wing'
 ḡamara 'left (hand)'
 ḡamura 'river wattle'
 ḡandra 'shine'
 ḡankura 'hair'
 ḡaṅa 'man'
 ḡaṅi 'carney lizard'
 ḡaṅḡu 'understand'
 ḡaṅi 'sweat'
 ḡaṅiḡa 'elder sister'
 ḡaṅga 'hunt, carry'
 ḡaṅuri 'cry'
 ḡapa 'follow'
 ḡapiṇa 'egg'
 ḡara 'spider'
 ḡaraṅaḡa 'child of someone'
 ḡara-wara 'eagle'
 ḡari 'stop'
 ḡari 'burn'
 ḡarka 'buttocks'

garki 'call'	gurkagurkara 'green'
garugaru 'old man'	guru 'ankle'
gaṭi 'bitter, sour'	guruṅkuru 'owl'
gaṭigaṭi 'belt'	guruwalu 'kidney'
gaṭa 'blue-eyed cockatoo'	gurgana 'road'
gaṭi 'break'	guriṃara 'carpet snake'
gaṭu 'tie'	guru 'windbreak'
gawa/kawa 'come on'	guṭi 'large bush rat'
gawaḷa 'mother's brother'	guṭuru 'swan'
gayma 'throw out'	guṭi 'run'
giḍa 'cattle'	guwa 'fish'
giga 'bullrushes'	ilri 'tear'
giḷa giḷa 'galah'	iṇḍa 'tear up'
ginda 'ashes, raw'	madri 'hold'
giṇi 'strong, heavy, hard'	makura 'stick'
gira 'coolibah'	malpara 'quick'
giṛiki 'dark hawk'	malumani 'liver'
giṭa 'deep'	maḷa 'late'
gubi 'clever man'	maḷu 'anger'
gudigaṛa 'rainbow'	maḷu-naga 'savage'
guḍa 'honey'	mama 'steal'
gugu-dari 'wind'	maṇḍajara 'mulga'
guka 'head'	maṇi 'fat'
gula 'grass'	maṇṇa 'make'
gulbara 'emu'	maṇḍara 'wrong'
gulpa 'build'	maṇṭa 'crawl, move'
gulpi 'boy'	maṇḍa 'get'
guḷu 'knee'	marana 'cluck'
guḷa 'sit'	mari 'prepare, cook/dance'
gumaya 'blood'	markala 'leaf'
gunamani 'wild orange'	marpa 'cook'
gunka 'ask'	marpamarpala 'red'
gunmu 'fog'	maṛa 'hand'
gunpa 'white anthill'	maṛaḍara 'possum'
guṇṭu 'soon'	maṛa-guruku 'grinding stone'
guṇṭara 'brolge'	maṛa-muku 'fist'
guṇṭu 'so'	maṛira 'small bush rat'
guṇa 'food'	maṭa 'trunk of tree'
gupa 'white'	maṭa 'long ago'
guri 'this way'	miga 'big'

miḷa	'sun'	nandu	'none'
mimi	'beak'	naṅṅiṅa	'skin'
mindra	'navel'	naṅkuru	'beard'
miṅkali	'black wattle'	narki	'lean'
miṅV	'cough'	niḷaḷa	'yesterday'
mipa	'bad'	nuba-lapi	'married woman, wife, spouse'
mirkaṅipi	'moon'	nunpa	'kick, roll'
mirV	'scratch'	nuwa	'old'
miṅgala	'bank'	ṅaḷa	'see'
miṅi	'cheeky'	ṅundri	'yam'
miti	'dirty'	ṅalka	'hit'
miṅi	'ability'	ṅaka	'water'
mugunḷa	'fly'	ṅalka	'think'
mukara	'charcoal'	ṅalpa	'low, short'
mukari	'forget'	ṅaḷṅa	'spit'
muku	'bone'	ṅama	'breasts'
mula	'nose' (also 'bad')	ṅamaḷa	'mother'
mula	'vomit'	ṅaṅiḷa	'father'
mulata	'small lizard'	ṅaṅṅuna	'chin'
muli	'muli apple'	ṅaṅḷa	'need/want'
mulpa	'finish'	ṅaṅka	'swallow'
muḷu	'spring'	ṅaṅa	'sound'
munkV	'make, do'	ṅatandi	'jump'
muṅa	'snake'	ṅayamala	'belly'
muṅa	'chest'	ṅayamari	'thirsty'
muṅdari	'skirt, tassel'	ṅayra	'sky'
mura	'already'	ṅuḷa	'give'
murgada	'younger brother'	ṅuku	'river'
murpa	'soft'	ṅula	'forehead'
murta	'hurt'	ṅuliwiri	'plant'
murū	'mulla mulla'	ṅulka	'cheek'
murumuru	'black'	ṅumu	'cave'
muṅa	'clay'	ṅunawali	'mosquito'
muṅuba	'finish'	ṅura	'camp'
mutuḷa	'alone'	ṅurunta	'stomach'
muṅu	'child'	ṅuṅi	'meat'
naḷba	'knife'	wadiṅa	'white woman'
nama	'give'	waga	'lie down'
nampa	'cover, bury'	wakuṅa	'nest'
nandruwi	'married'	walbira	'shadow'

walga	'woman'	winta	'swim'
wali	'help'	wiŋka	'shoulder'
walɖa	'leg'	wiɖa	'wait'
waliwa	'child'	wiɖa-muku	'back'
walɤa	'put'	wiɖiɖa	'woman'
walpa	'rise, lift'	wiyi	'fire'
walu	'noise'	wupi	'smell'
walɖa	'take (away)'	yagama	'send'
walɤa	negative	yaluwana	'meeting'
walɤi-wala	'white person'	yamba	'fight, row'
walɤi-yuru	'brown snake'	yandra	'stone axe'
wamaɖa	'spear thrower'	yaŋa	'rain'
wana	'boomerang'	yaŋɖa	'speak'
wandru	'many'	yaŋɖa	'go'
wanta	'short'	yaŋgu	'spear'
wanu	'dilly bag'	yaŋkuɖi	'move'
wanɤi	'find, search for'	yaramaka	'letter, message stick'
wanɖu	'often'	yarawapi	'ice'
watɖa	'calf of leg'	yaɖiɖa	'name'
waɖu	'one'	yawangga	'youth'
waya	'lie'	yawara	'language'
waywa	'small'	yawura	'pot'
wikaɤa	'tomorrow'	yiliyapiɖa	'brain'
wikaɤa waɖu	'day after tomorrow'	yiwi-buɖɖu	'eyebrow'
wiɤbi	'whistle'	yulu	'straight, correct'
wiɤɖi	'drag, lead'	yunɖ	'wash'
winbi	'throw'	yuru	'only'

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