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Merlan

A Grammar of Wardaman

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A Grammar of Wardaman

A Language of the Northern Territory of Australia

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Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	INT	Interjection
ABS	Absolutive	IRR	Irrealis
ADV	Adverbial	ITER	Iterative
ALL	Allative	KR	Kriol
ART	Article suffix	LOC	Locative
AUX	Auxiliary	NAR	Narrative suffixes <i>-ya, -yawu</i>
CAUS	Causative	NEG	Negative, negator
CF	Confirmatory <i>(bago)</i>	NOM	Nominalizing or nominal suffix
CMP	Completive	NSG	Non-singular
DAT	Dative	ORIG	Originative
DF	Defocusser	PL	Plural
DISS	Dissociative	PNEG	Particle negator
DU	Dual	POT	Potential
DY	Dyadic	PRES	Present
EMPH	Emphatic	PRO	Pronoun
EMPHQ	Emphatic question suffix <i>-gula</i>	PS	Particle suffix
ERG	Ergative case	PST	Past
EX	Exclusive	Q	Question suffix <i>-gan</i>
FP	Focal member of pair	QQ	Emphatic question suffix <i>-warda</i>
FUT	Future	rdp	Reduplicative form
GEN	Genitive	RR	Reflexive-reciprocal
HAB	Habitual	SG	Singular
HT	Hortative	SOU	Source
IMP	Imperative	SSPEC	Spatial specifier
IN	Inclusive	ss	Subsection, 'skin'
INCH	Inchoative	TAGQ	Tag question
INST	instrumental		

Symbols used in grammar and texts: the usual kin abbreviations, e.g. M = mother, F = father, Z = sister, B = brother, C = child, e = elder, y = younger etc.

! obligatory degemination

~ optional (degemination), alternative form

\$ syllable boundary

word boundary

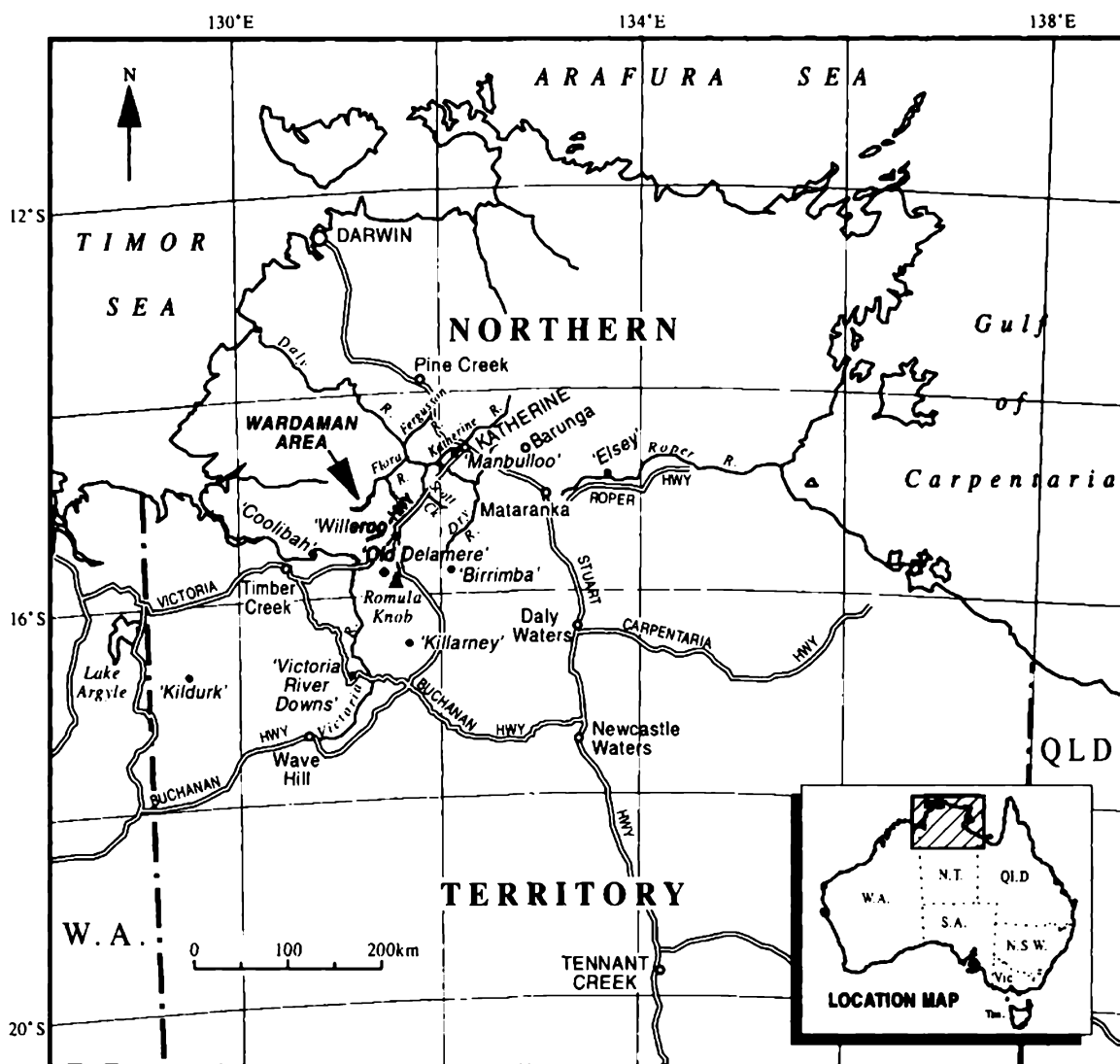
:(:::) in texts = vowel length

[.....] in grammar = clarification by author

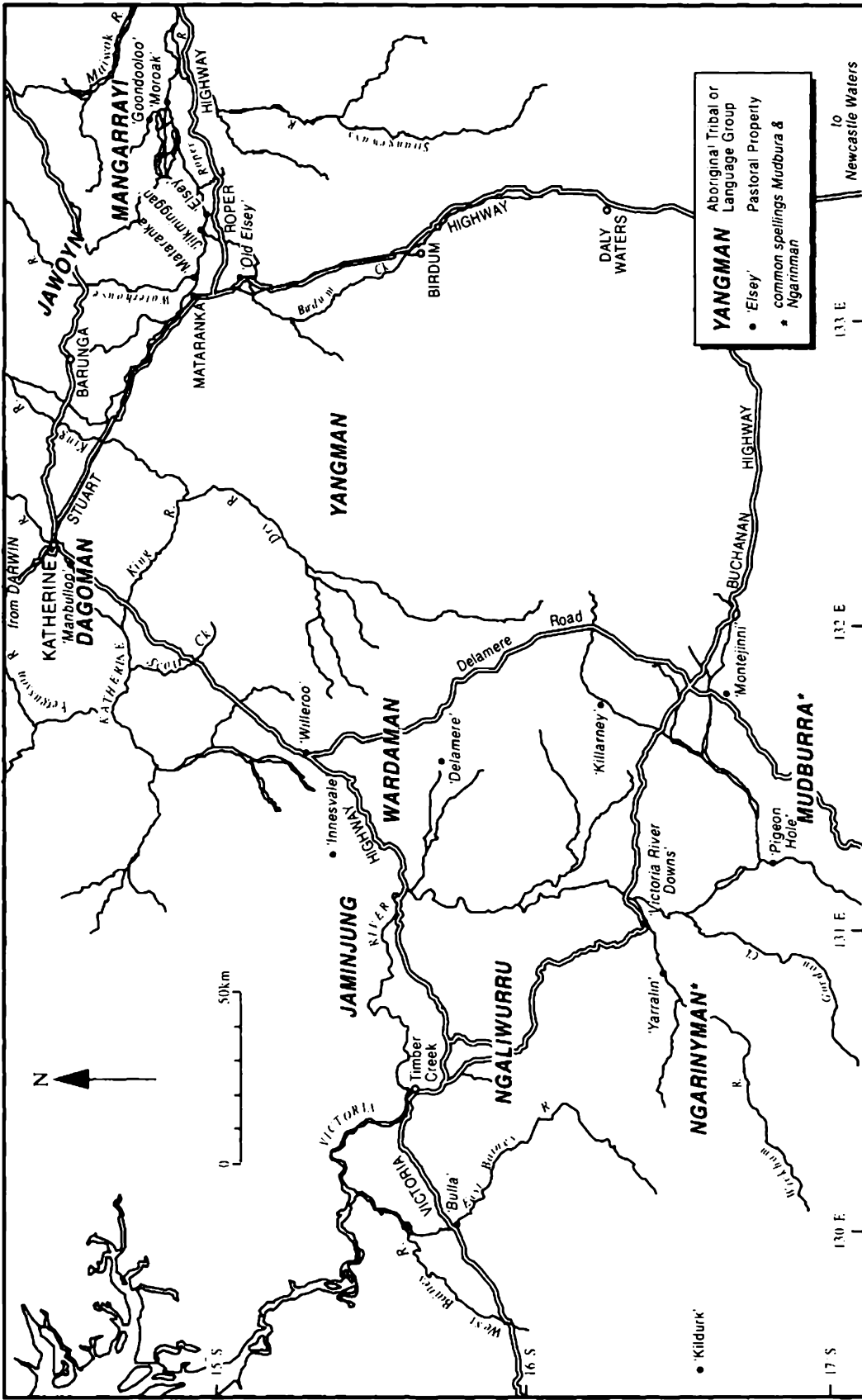
[.....] in texts = later addition by speaker

(.....) in grammatical examples = optional

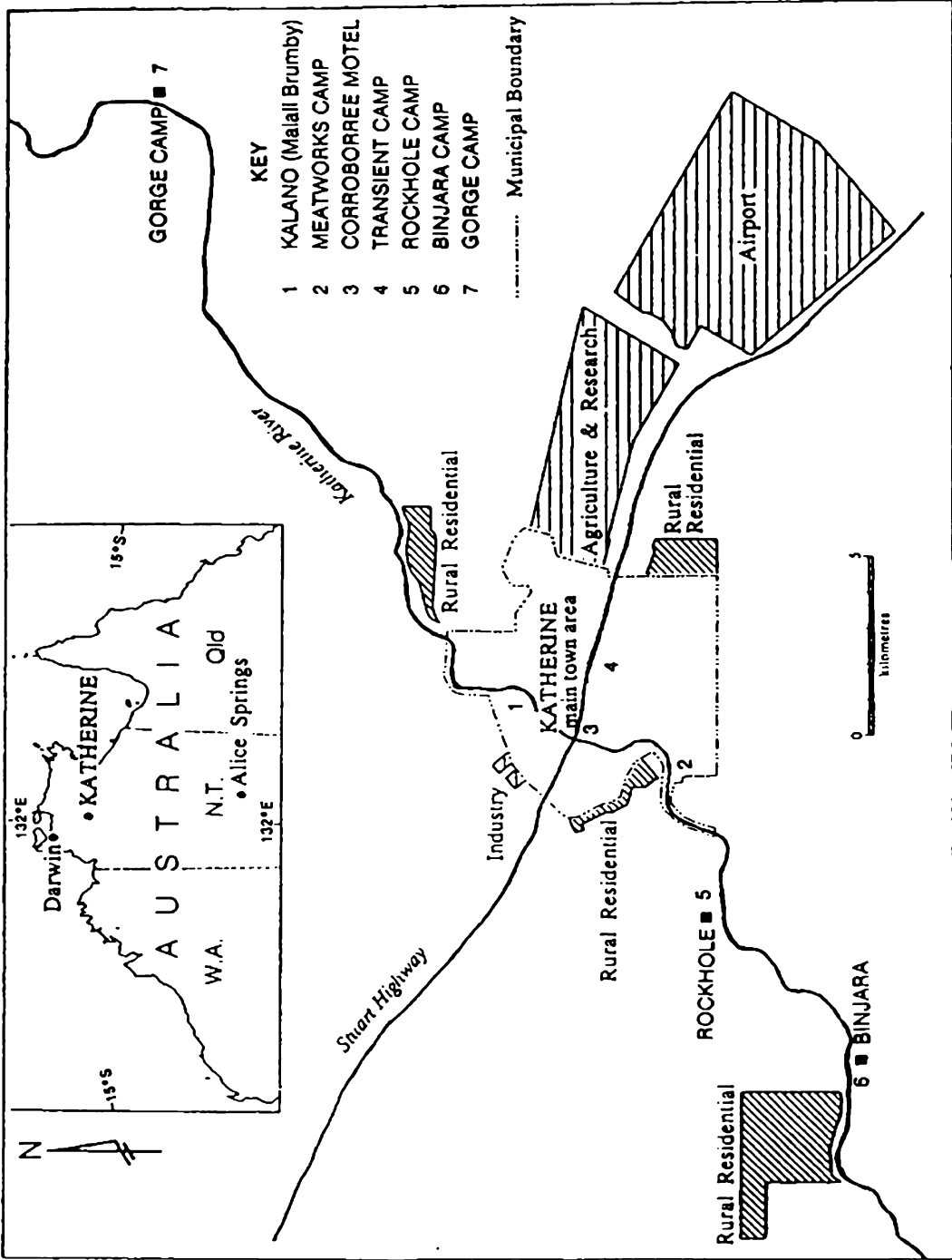
INTERJECTION = break in text narration on tape



Map 1. Approximate Wardaman area in relation to "Top End" of the Northern Territory



Map 2. Tribal or language group territories



Map 3. Katherine town camps

WARDAMAN GRAMMAR

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Wardaman today: The language and its speakers

Wardaman is a non-Pama Nyungan language of the upper, inland Northern Territory of Australia. It is now one of the most widely spoken Aboriginal languages of Katherine, a rapidly-growing¹ town of about 8000 people located on the Stuart Highway in the upper third of the Northern Territory (Map 1). Though Wardaman is more widely known than some of the other languages of the general Katherine area, the number of active speakers is relatively small. I estimate there are 30 people aged 40 and above who live in and around Katherine, and regularly speak Wardaman in some of their interactions with each other. They do not speak only Wardaman to each other and to other Aboriginal people with whom they live, but also use north Australian Kriol (see Sandefur 1979) and other Aboriginal languages.

Additionally, there is a much larger number of people – possibly numbering as many as two hundred – with and around whom those active speakers live, and in many cases, have lived for a long period of time, who understand Wardaman and consider hearing it spoken around them a regular feature of their lives. Many of these additional people are close family of the “core” speakers, children, grandchildren, and others. Some others, however, tend to be more distantly related “countrymen” of the Wardaman – people who identify with tribal groupings of Victoria and Daly Rivers and the larger region west and south of Katherine, contiguous with what the Wardaman regard as their traditional territory. These countrymen include people who are identified as Jaminjung, Yangman and Mudbura, among other tribal groupings. Many of these people have been in the Katherine area for a long time, and some are married to Wardaman. Additional countrymen from the Victoria River hinterland, who identify with tribal groupings including Ngarinyman, Nungali and Ngaliwurru, often visit the Katherine camps and houses where Wardaman people live when they come in to town. (See Map 2 showing approximate territorial association of the tribal groupings mentioned). Some of the older countrymen not only understand Wardaman, but can speak it, even if they do not do so as often as the Wardaman core speakers.

Younger Wardaman people – in my observation, including at least everyone born after the Second World War – do not speak the language actively, but use at most the occasional word and phrase. Varying with family, however, some of these younger people have a good understanding of the language. Due to the particular circumstances

1. The town had continued to grow steadily but slowly until 1986, when the recommissioning of a RAAF base east of the town, Tindal, was the impetus for the rapid near-doubling of the town's population. Under these conditions, and despite considerable Aboriginal movement into the town in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, there has been diminution of the proportion of the town's people who are Aborigines.

under which many Wardaman have lived for the last few decades (see 1.4.), many younger people of certain families have had a great deal of influential exposure to Wardaman, and have a rather full, passive knowledge of the language which apparently might, under some conditions, be convertible into active speakership.

Thus active use of Wardaman is more closely associated with age among Victoria River and allied “countrymen” than it is simply with social identification as Wardaman. Tendency to use the language, however, seems to be strongly correlated both with age and with recognition of Wardaman as one’s “own” language (see Sutton 1978).

Wardaman people now mainly live around and in Katherine town, although some people who either identify themselves as Wardaman, or consider that identity a major component of their family background, live on stations and in other places in the Victoria River region (including Killarney, Kildurk, and Bulla Stations, Wave Hill, and Yarralin).

Wardaman are concentrated at two camps outside of Katherine, to the south and west, towards their traditional country. These are Binjara (*Bunjarri*), a community on Manbulloo Station about 12 kms. from Katherine on the Victoria Highway; and The Rockhole, about 10 kms outside of town on the Florina Road (see Map 3). Increasingly, some Wardaman people occupy houses in the town, and some people move back and forth between the camps outside of town, and relatives’ houses in town, with one or the other locale being the normal residence and the other a place where they may spend shorter periods, a day or perhaps a few days at a time. Wardaman is spoken at Binjara, Rockhole, and in the town at Wardaman-occupied houses and in the course of activity (e.g., shopping) in town. Given the close proximity of the two major camps, one or (usually) more vehicles will commute between them and the town, once or (often) more times per day. Visiting among Wardaman in and around town is very frequent, and a major daily activity for many.

1.2. Close linguistic relationships

Wardaman is a close congener of Yangman and Dagoman (see 1.3., also Map 2). From available information, the three may apparently be considered dialects of a single language. They were of such a degree of structural and lexical similarity as to be mutually intelligible.

Dagoman is no longer spoken in the Katherine region. There were formerly speakers at Manbulloo Station and in Katherine town camps, and a few others at Pine Creek. The writer did a small amount of work on Dagoman in the late 1970s with a reputed “last” speaker at Pine Creek, Mrs. Martha Hart, who, after long infirmity, passed away in 1982. The amount of information I succeeded in collecting is small. There is a short word list, and paradigmatic information (with gaps) on the system of nominal case and derivational suffixation, tense-aspect in the verb, independent pronouns, and demonstratives. In the data are also intransitive and some transitive pronominal combinations which are prefixed to the verb, but the speaker was unable to recall all of them. The data are sufficient to establish beyond doubt that Dagoman was a close congener of both Wardaman and Yangman.

Yangman is no longer actively used. Yangman had been most widely spoken at Elsey Station and the neighbouring town of Mataranka, but the numbers of active speakers among these people and their descendants have dwindled. Among those with the best knowledge of the language are now a number of Mangarrayi people at the excision community, Jilkmिंगgan [*Jilgmirn.gan*], on Elsey Station, and a small number of people at Barunga, a settlement to the north of the Roper River. The Mangarrayi have lived and intermarried with the Yangman at least since the building of Elsey Station on the Roper River in the early years of this century (see Merlan 1978).

Though I have collected Yangman material from Mangarrayi people; I consider my most significant data to have come from Mr. Jimmy Daniels, who was widely regarded around Mataranka in the early 1980s as a (if not the) senior Yangman person, and the only remaining person for whom Yangman was not only his “own” and “proper” language, but also his first language. He passed away in 1986 after prolonged and chronic illness. Though Mr. Daniels consented to work with me on different occasions, his personal preference was not to use or even think about Yangman much, as he told me. Having spent quite a number of years as a highly regarded grounds worker on a station in the region, he seemed to find the illness-ridden, less structured existence of his “retirement” years somewhat dissipating and frustrating.

I am grateful for the information he provided, which includes about 500 lexical items, fuller paradigmatic information than I could gather for Dagoman, and a couple of short stories. From these data it is possible to be certain of the close genetic relation of Yangman to Wardaman. Work with him also provided some measure of the extent to which first-language Mangarrayi speakers with whom I did work on Yangman, were interpolating Mangarrayi vocabulary. Most showed a tendency to use some words which Mr Daniels rejected as not Yangman. I can only assume they are probably more prone to do this now than the same people would have been twenty or thirty years ago, when there were some Yangman people around who, because of their identity and use of the language, kept it more current in the local communities among second-language speakers.

Finally, though Wardaman and its congeners appear to share considerable vocabulary and many typological features with Wakiman to the north (see Cook 1987), it cannot presently be stated with certainty what the nature of the relationship is, although my own view is that Wakiman is closely related to Wardaman–Yangman, and has diverged from them partly due to influence from neighbouring Arnhem-area languages.

In certain basic ways, such as phonemic inventory, Wakiman differs significantly from its presumed close congeners, Wardaman and Yangman: it has two stop series intervocalically (e.g., a contrast between bilabials *b* and *p*, apicals *d* and *t*, etc.); there is no phonemic distinction between alveolar and retroflex apical stops, which is fundamental in all the other languages; it has glottal stop, which is not even phonetically of any significant occurrence in Wardaman, Yangman, or Dagoman, and so on. However, when one considers the possible diffusional influences of neighbouring Arnhem-area languages on Wakiman in some of these matters, it still seems quite possible that its closest congeners may be the Wardaman–Yangman–Dagoman grouping. Typologically, in certain very significant ways, such as the syntactic deployment of what I call verbal

“particles” (see Chapter 9) and Cook calls “participles”, Wakiman is very like Wardaman and Yangman, and all of them taken together differ dramatically not only from regional Arnhem languages like Jawoyn which do not rely on such verbal particles to any significant extent, but also from languages like Mangarrayi which do. In Mangarrayi (see Merlan 1982) the syntactic deployment of verb particles is very different from the possibilities in Wakiman and Wardaman etc., and rather limited in comparison with the latter grouping of languages.

1.3. Linguistic type

Wardaman is both prefixing and suffixing. It has relatively complex nominal and verbal morphology. There are three overt nominal class markers (*yi-*, *ma-* and *wu-*), at least the first two of which are used to designate fairly unified sets of denotata. Most noun stems occur only with prefix of one particular class (e.g., *yi-biyan* ‘man, person, Aborigine’); but some may occur with more than one, producing lexical difference (*yi-mum* ‘eye’, *wu-mum* ‘nipple’). As well, there are many nouns which occur without prefix (i.e., with 0- prefix), but with which modifiers (adjectival nouns) may exhibit overt concord.

Number and case are marked by suffixes, and the syntactic case system tends to be fairly strongly Ergative-Absolutive. However, there is wide use of a clause type with actor subject (not generally Ergatively-marked if represented by an independent nominal), and objective complement marked by Dative case. As well, there are various one-place (fully intransitive) clause types. Overt suffix categories include Ergative/Instrumental, Dative/ Genitive, local cases Allative, Locative and Ablative, and the semantically most restricted local category, Originative. In addition, there are two morphologically composite case categories, historically built on the Dative. The first, an historical composite of Dative plus Locative, is termed Dissociative, and usually expresses the meaning “from” or “away from” of an animate participant, or “on account of” of a wider range of participant types. The second, historical composite of Dative and Ablative, expresses a range of notions including source and cause, and is labelled Source.

Participants are obligatorily marked by pronominal prefixes in the verb, and secondarily by independent pronouns. A maximum of two participants are indicated in the verb by transitive prefix forms that tend to be portmanteaux, i.e., not neatly segmentable into parts representing each person/number that enters into the combination.

In the expression of verbal meanings, there is a basic distinction between inflecting verbs and what I have called free verb “particles”. It is common in linguistic descriptions for the word “particle” to be used to designate non-inflecting parts of speech. In Wardaman what I call “particles” can take some inflections. The term “particle” in this sense, however, has had currency in Australianist studies for some time (see Dixon ed. 1976), and I retain it, but place emphasis on describing the possibilities of inflection, and the important syntactic functions of these elements. “Verb particles” are semantically full, and occur in combination with a small number of high-frequency inflecting roots (including a number of significant ones of shape CV). Where such particle and verb combinations are highly regular in a specific verbal meaning, the construction is generally labelled that of Particle plus AUXiliary in this description. However, it is

significant that here, seemingly more than in some other regional languages which have this general construction type (e.g., Mangarrayi), the “AUX” often transparently has some clear semantic commonality with the particle, and thus cannot be regarded simply as a formal mechanism or bearer of inflections. For example, with the particle *gayardung* ‘run’, most common are the motion verbs *ya-* ‘go’ and *nyanga-* ‘come’. These of course partly function as grammatical “auxiliaries”, in that they bear person and verbal categorial inflections; but transparently, they are semantically integral with the particle. The clear kind of semantic integration in this case contrasts with that, say, between the particle *wululu* and its usual “AUX” *we-*, which may occur by itself in the meaning ‘fall, be born’. However, together, the combination *wululu we-* means ‘enter, go inside’ (not “fall in” or the like). That is, there is no clear semantic “transparency” of the AUX in the latter case, and thus a greater idiomaticity to the combination than to those with *gayardung*. Thus, the label Particle plus AUX is applied to combinations which may differ considerably in their internal semantic relations. The diverse nature of combinations within this construction type is clearly of comparative interest, and this labelling should not by any means disguise the fact that, as noted above, “AUX” is a semantically and functionally flexible, diverse and problematic category.

Particles have a wide syntactic range. They may be inflected for nominal categories (case), and occur in non-predicative construction types as nominals, and as modifiers. Paradigms of inflecting verbs tend to be highly regular: there is a very limited amount of suffixal allomorphy for tense/aspect/mood categories. The one thoroughly irregular paradigm is that of the verb “to go”.

Suffixal categories of the verb include Present, Past, Future, and Potential, that is, express tense and in some instances, tense/mood meanings. An Admonitive (“lest”) construction is generally built on a zero-stem form, or is built on the Future stem in the few verbs where this is a formally distinct (and obviously historically moribund) category. Further tense/aspect meanings (e.g., iterative) are expressed by additional suffixation to verb forms inflected for tense/aspect, and in some instances (Habitual) by special prefix forms.

A basic mood distinction between Realis and Irrealis categories is expressed by verbal prefixation, in combination (in some instances) with differences in the bound pronominal forms which express person/number as between the two mood categories.

Weak subordination of one predication to another is a common means of constructing discourse linkage in Wardaman. There are two sets of subordinators, one expressing non-past, the other past, temporal reference. Another important mechanism of textual cohesion is “de-focusing” of overtly occurring NPs, i.e., marking of them as recoverable and thus cohesive with surrounding linguistic context.

Three deictic “degrees” are distinguished in the demonstrative system, with some irregularity in the paradigms. The spatially intermediate category (not “this” and not “yonder”, but proximate “that”) also serves to indicate textual recoverability, and is thus most closely comparable to the English definite article.

There are five main points of articulation of parallel stop-nasal series: labial, apico-alveolar, apico-domal or retroflex, lamino-palatal, and velar. There are laterals at three of these points of articulation, apico-alveolar, apico-domal, and lamino-palatal. The

lamino-palatal lateral has a very limited distribution. There are retroflex glide and tap alveolar rhotics. While there are five vowels *i, e, u, o* and *a*, the mid-vowels do not occur in any of the inflectional morphology, except as the result of low-level assimilatory processes. The mid-vowels do, however, occur in a small number of important derivational morphemes, and they occur freely in the wider lexicon.

There are no vowel clusters in Wardaman, and no vowel-initial morphemes besides the tag-question particle *ale* ‘isn’t that so?’.

There appears to be little intra-language variation, but minor differences in a few lexical items were noted among speakers.

Like Warlmanpa to the south (see Nash 1990), Wardaman speak of different territorial sub-groupings, to which recruitment is normatively in the male line, as having different *madin* ‘languages’, or ‘words’. Each such identifiable grouping is said to have minimally one, sometimes more, special words that are “their” language. Typically, these are said to be either the sound made by, or the language spoken by, principal mythological figures saliently associated with given Wardaman sub-territories. For example, an important mythological association with the sub-country just west of Willeroo Station homestead running westerly to Garnawala (Mount Hogarth) is *gulirrida* ‘peewees’, which are abundantly represented in some of the spectacular rock paintings in this area. The “language” or “word” of the peewees, and therefore of the grouping of people patrilineally affiliated to this area, is said to be *mamundajgani*, a form for which no etymology can be given. A few of the “words” for particular sub-groupings may have etymologies in other languages of the Victoria River area. At least one is clearly onomatopoeic (e.g., standardization of a bird cry). Knowledge of this kind of relation among people, territory and salient “word” or “words” is limited to older people. The *madin* ‘words’ about which there appeared to be wide agreement were: *mamundajgani*, cited above; *ngagandoroj*, the “word” of *menngen* ‘white cockatoo’, a major dreaming around the Innesvale Station homestead area; *yidabu* and *wamanga*, words associated with *warrija* ‘crocodile’ dreaming, localized at Mt. Gregory; and *nenene*, a “word” (imitative of a bird cry) of *bulyan* ‘eagle’, associated with Jalad, or Price’s Creek, area. The words associated with “crocodile” are interesting, and either have etymologies in other Victoria River languages, or apparently in any case connote the meanings “beef, meat” and “hit, strike” (Wardaman *deb* ‘hit, belt’ was used to gloss *wamanga*), both principal elements of the myth associated with Mt. Gregory, the principal characters of which, Warrura and Barnangga, fought over a catch of crocodile. In addition, a *dilygun* ‘possum’ dreaming associated with the high country along Mathison Creek is characterized by a particular style of speaking, with stopped nasal segments similar to the speech of a person trying to talk with a blocked nose. Thus, possum says *dadadi* instead of *danani* ‘this one’. Asked about these “languages” or “words”, people will emphasize that they are all “one”, the “same Wardaman”, that is, are socio-territorial distinctions made by people who share a common language in the linguist’s usual sense.

Among other systems of social relationship, Wardaman people recognize several (equatable) sets of subsection (or “eight-class”) terms, but identify only one of these as “proper” Wardaman. That set is given in 5.13. They also recognize matrilineally transmitted recruitment to groupings commonly called *ngurlu* across the Victoria River

region. These groupings are not localized. Among my Wardaman informants, most belonged to one or other of the *ngurlu*: *goyin* ‘sugarbag’, *ganben* ‘flying fox’, *warrag* ‘catfish’, *yiburu* ‘black rain’, and *yiwaganga* ‘rain’. While some of these are specifically Wardaman words (e.g., *goyin*), certain of the names (e.g., *yiburu*) have wider currency across the region, and cannot be considered only Wardaman.

1.4. Territory and neighbours

Wardaman people whom I have consulted (see Merlan 1989b, c) identify the larger Wardaman territory as a rough trapezoid with Scott Creek (Aboriginal name, Wugimadgun) as an approximate northern boundary, the junction of Scott Creek and the Katherine River (Mululeyn) as the north-western extent,² Romula Knob as an approximate south-easterly extent, the road crossing of the Victoria River (Langgay) a south-westerly one, and the rough country rising to the Dry River plateau an approximate eastern side (see Map 1). Within this larger area they identify a number of Wardaman territorial “estates”. Eleven of these appear to be recognized as within the larger Wardaman country. Yangman country lies to the east and north, on the Dry River and running back north along major waterways to present Mataranka. The area north of the junction of Scott Creek and the Katherine River, east to the King River, and north towards the Ferguson River and Pine Creek, is identified by Katherine Aborigines as Dagoman tribal territory. The northerly extent of Dagoman country is now difficult to establish, such has been the disruption of European pastoral and later settlement (see e.g., Powell 1988: 98 on the early founding of Springvale Station 1876–1879 on the Katherine River near the present town site, also Maff n.d.), and the accompanying diminution of numbers and the salience of “Dagoman” as a socio-territorial identity. Though older Wardaman, at least, clearly recognize that Manbulloo Station (just outside Katherine to the south-west) is in Dagoman country, such has been their length of association with the area and with other Aborigines living there, that they have a strong sense of attachment to it.

Despite the linguistic closeness of Wardaman and Yangman, it would seem that in the post-contact period, most Yangman had more to do with the Mangarrayi in the vicinity of Elsey Station, than with the Wardaman. The Wardaman apparently associated more than the Yangman in post-European times with Victoria River peoples, who came north and worked on Delamere, Willeroo and Manbulloo Stations. Except for a small number of Wardaman who worked at Victoria River Downs and southern stations, these three properties have had a crucial role in the particular contact history of the Wardaman.

Willeroo had been taken up early as a pastoral property, but the homestead was temporarily abandoned when the first manager, Scott, was killed by Aborigines (Maff n.d., p. 20). Soon after the lease was bought by Tom Pearce (see Spencer 1914), formerly a publican in Katherine, and the station was developed as a cattle property. This was in

2. According to Ngamunugarri and Elsie Raymond, there is a second site of the same name on Mathison Creek, i.e. two sites are similarly named as what they regard as approximate western and eastern extents of Wardaman country.

a period of considerable development of stations to the south and west: Wave Hill and Victoria River Downs. Delamere had been taken up early (1893) by a developer, Browne, who also owned the Springvale lease near Katherine (the latter was passed in after failure to successfully establish stock and particularly sheep there, in 1896). With the growth of a cattle station at Manbulloo, and its purchase together with Willeroo and Delamere by Vesteys Northern Properties, the stage was set for these three properties to be a constellation among which Wardaman were shifted around by management, depending on season and the work to be done. So it happens that many Wardaman today have great familiarity with Willeroo and Manbulloo. Many people, especially older ones, also spent periods of time at Delamere. Most Wardaman men until recently grew up learning to work cattle, and most women grew up doing domestic work for the station and living in the Aboriginal camps associated with all of these properties.

The early period of initial “contact” with Europeans, here as in the Victoria River District generally, had been one of considerable violence. An atmosphere had been created, and persisted, in which the Aborigines could not be at all confident of the benevolence of Europeans. For their part, the European station personnel seem to have been mainly concerned with the Aborigines as workers (and to some extent, with the women as sexual partners). They made little attempt to create comfortable conditions in the Aboriginal camps — indeed, living conditions in the camp at Willeroo were very poor through the 1970s, the last period during which Aborigines lived there in numbers and for extended periods. While there, Aborigines were dependent on European transport to town.

Overall, the Wardaman at Willeroo, and possibly also at Delamere, seem to have been living to a great extent on their own social resources, though they were dependent upon the stations for subsistence. There appears to have been close and intense camp life at the station, and considerable walk-about over the station during periods of stand-down from work. Both forms of life were characterized by persistent use of the Wardaman language. Those who came in to work, and/or married in, from elsewhere, tended to be from Victoria River or other neighbouring peoples (such as Mudbura), and either spoke, or learned to speak, Wardaman.

These seem to have been the conditions which at least partly account for the persistence of active speakership by older people, and the rather full knowledge on the part of some younger people, of Wardaman today. Though the effects of the town context in which most now live are not entirely clear, it seems very likely that, overall, life between the camps and town does not offer the same sustained intensity and kinds of interaction with a manageable number of well-known others, which seems to have been significant in language retention throughout the station period.

Most Wardaman now live in and around Katherine. A few men continue to do seasonal stockwork, mostly in the Victoria River District, but also in the Roper River region. Some families continue to attend religious ceremony, again mainly in the Victoria River area; but there has also been some effort on the part of town-dwelling Wardaman to conduct young men’s initiations near Katherine town, and thus to establish it as a ceremonial destination for the countrymen of the Victoria River region, and other parts of the Katherine hinterland.

1.5. Research on the language, fieldwork and informants

There is only a small amount of published linguistic material on Wardaman. There are also some earlier, unpublished sources.

Gerhard Laves (MS) worked with Wardaman speakers in Darwin, and the resulting material is now lodged in a larger file of his field notes at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra (now the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies)³.

Capell (1962) published a paradigm of the Wardaman transitive prefix combinations as part of his work on “pronominalization” in Australian languages. A very large number of the prefix forms given by Capell are inaccurate. Though it is pointless to run through a catalogue of discrepancies here, an important thing to note is that in some of Capell’s forms, what I shall call the “accusative” marker *-n-* is inaccurately reported. For example, he cites the transitive combination 2SG/3SG as *yin-*. It should actually be *yi-*, with quite different implications for the structure of the system than if the first form were correct.

Before I began field work in 1976, Kenneth Hale made available to me some pages of field notes he recorded in 1959 in the Alice Springs area, where he worked with an informant who had some knowledge of Wardaman. This preliminary information was very useful, and I am grateful for his generosity in making it available to me.

I initially did fieldwork on Wardaman in 1976, from March to November, and for periods in 1978. Fieldwork was conducted mainly in Katherine town around the fringe camps, for though there were still some Wardaman people living at Willeroo in 1976, station management was hostile to my living there or even visiting at the station camp. I worked with some Wardaman people living in what were then called the “New Homes”, the first housing within the town itself to be explicitly made available to Aboriginal families (from 1970). In particular, I came regularly to the New Homes to work with Elsie Raymond (Nonomarran), who overall has been a principal informant for my research, and some of her relatives, including her own mother Maggie Sing (Birriwalngali, who has since passed away), Maggie’s husband Tarpot Ngamunugarri, Elsie’s close “second” mother Ruby Allison (Gomnyang) who passed away in 1991, and the latter’s husband, also deceased. Other main informants during this early period were two old men, both of whom have since passed away, who variously lived at Manbulloo Station and at the “High Level” town camp on the northern fringe of Katherine. These were Jabiru (Luwungmirr), and Old Gregory (Darlunggag). Neither man considered himself “full” Wardaman, but both were fluent speakers of the language. Especially the latter was considered by Wardaman people to have rich knowledge of matters relating to country, mythology, and contact history. He was probably born around 1906, and spent a large part of his working life at Manbulloo Station, apparently carrying over from Dagoman people there information concerning their early contact history in the immediate Katherine area which is no longer widely known. In this initial period I also did research on other Aboriginal languages of the Katherine area.

3. I am grateful to David Nash for having brought the Laves material to my attention and supplied photocopies of the Wardaman sheets.

During 1977 I mainly worked around Mataranka and at the Aboriginal community on Elsey Station, which was then called Djembere (now Jilkminggan, /jilgmirn.gan/), collecting material on both Yangman and Mangarrayi (Merlan 1982). By early 1977 I had written a preliminary draft of a Wardaman grammar, with appended 57 pages of text. This remained unpublished, however, lodged in the library at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra.

It was not until 1988 and 1989 that I did some further intensive work on Wardaman, in short periods each year. One of the principal results of this work was the addition of a considerable amount of text material, concentrating on the mythology of sites on Willeroo Station (that we were then able to visit owing to a change in station management), on people's accounts of their lives and experiences, and oral history of the early pastoral period. I was also able to do systematic checking of compiled grammatical and lexical material.

From 1988 I have also done more work with certain Wardaman people I knew from the earlier period, but with whom I had not previously worked, or with whom I had only worked occasionally. In the latter category are Lily Gin.gina and her mother Daisy Gimiyin, on whom I relied increasingly for text material and some lexical checking. In the former category is Claude Manbulloo (Yirdirdiman), who previously was absent from Katherine for long periods on station work. In the last couple of years he has supplied interesting material, textual and other, particularly on the area of Wardaman country to which he is patrifilated, around Willeroo homestead. Over the years I got assistance in language elicitation and in much else from his aunt, Nayda (Waramburr), who passed away in 1991.

I owe a particular debt to Elsie Raymond. Among the Wardaman, she has always been the most prolific story-teller and recounter of history, genealogy, mythology, and all sorts of information relating to past and present, that I have worked with. From her I have gathered my most extensive textual material, and from her also I have constantly gotten new lexical information as she has thought about our language work and made mental notes of new things to tell me. She has also always encouraged her other relatives to help with certain aspects of the work: in particular, she always enlisted both her mothers and her father to help me with 'stories' and information of all sorts. Though her personality and mentality are quicksilver, and therefore I think at times she has found it trying to persist through elicitation and checking of grammatical forms, she has done so, sometimes for hours on end, and sat with me to encourage others to do so. Over the last couple of years I have gotten much help from her eldest son Oliver Raymond in text transcription, and increasingly also, I was assisted in transcription by her second mother Ruby Allison, and also Philomena (Ngelgerrej), Ruby's mother's brother's daughter and Elsie's uncle's mother's brother's daughter.

At various times in the early 1980s, Bill Harney (Yidumduma) made time and special effort to help me locate sites on Manbulloo Station. He has been helpful in many ways in the recent periods of my work as well.

This description is written in gratitude for the help I have gotten from all these people, and is for them and their families.

Chapter 2

Segmental phonology

2.1. Phonemes and their realization

A practical orthography is used throughout this description. So far as I know, Wardaman has not been written and no other practical spelling system has ever been devised for it.

The phonemes of Wardaman are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Phonemes of Wardaman

	Bilabial	Apico-Alveolar	Apico-Domal	Lamino-Palatal	Velar
Stops	b	d	rd	j	g
Nasals	m	n	rn	ny	ng
Laterals		l	rl	ly	
Rhotics		rr	r		
Semivowels	w			y	
Vowels	i	u			
	e	o			
		a			

For each stop, there is a corresponding nasal. There are five stop-nasal series (as in neighbouring Mangarrayi, Merlan 1982; and Wardaman's congeners Yangman and Dagoman, but unlike Wakiman to the north which, as noted in Chapter 1, has only four points of articulation, and lacks the distinction between apico-alveolar and apico-domal series, Cook 1987: 24).

The orthography is convenient in that it requires no special diacritics. However, the digraph *ng* representing the velar nasal needs to be distinguished from the sequence apical nasal plus velar stop, as in the word /dongo/ 'in a line'. In order to eliminate this ambiguity, that combination is written with full stop separating the two segments: *don.go*. This is not done at morpheme boundary, however, where the presence of hyphen is sufficient to indicate that two distinct segments of different morphemes are involved, e.g., *yibiwan-gu* 'man, person' (Dative).

Word-finally, the palatal digraphs are inverted (*ly* is written as *yl*, and *ny* as *yn*), because this seems to make it easier for those who already read English to approximate the correct pronunciation.

In Wardaman, the bilabial series involves true bilabial occlusion.

In the apico-alveolar series, the active articulator is the tip of the tongue making contact with the alveolar ridge. For the apico-domal or retroflex consonants, the active articulator is the apex making contact in the pre-palatal region. It can be difficult to distinguish phonetically between members of the two apical series, especially intervocalically. Here, even what turn out, upon close investigation, to be plain apical consonants, may occasionally have a hint of retroflex vocoid on-glide. Also, what turn out to be retroflex segments are often realized with relatively little phonetic retroflexion, and this appears to be true in any position. Thus the apical series, across their realizations, tend to be more similar to each other than in some other languages of the region. Despite the problems sometimes posed by identification of the difference between corresponding members of the two series, and even despite a certain tendency towards harmonic phonetic “spread” of retroflexion to other apical consonants in the word following a retroflex one (perhaps similar to a phenomenon identified in Wakiman by Cook 1987: 26–29, see 3.7.3.), there can be no doubt of the phonological status of the distinction in Wardaman.

For the production of lamino-palatals, the tongue is laterally spread, with the tip of the tongue touching the back of the lower teeth, the blade the alveo-palatal region. Lateral spread of the tongue is particularly noticeable in the (rather rare) realizations of the lamino-palatal lateral *ly* before peripheral stops and glides. All three laterals are voiced bilateral approximants.

The velar series is dorso-palatal.

Of the two rhotics, the apico-alveolar /r/ is a tap, never a trill. The glide /r/ is a post-alveolar approximant. There is no question of the phonemic distinctness or positional neutralization of the rhotic contrast in Wardaman, Yangman, and Dagoman. But here again a signal difference with Wakiman must be noted: there, the rhotic contrast minimally distinguishes few forms, and the tap rhotic in that language has a variant which is phonetically indistinguishable from the post-alveolar glide (Cook 1987: 29).

/w/ is a voiced bilabial frictionless continuant, with rounding noticeable before /u/ and /o/. However, before /u/ in the noun class prefix /wu/, there may be very little to no noticeable lip-rounding or protrusion, such that the realization of this sequence is [u]. Likewise, the voiced vocoid /y/, normally produced with considerable lateral tongue spread and approximation of blade and mid-tongue to palate, may exhibit a minimal degree of these articulatory features word-initially before the high front /i/. This is frequently the case in the realization of the higher animate noun class prefix /yi/, as [i], but much less so of pre-/i/ realizations elsewhere (e.g., in such words as *yilgbayi* ‘all right, enough’). The correct generalization seems to be that where the conditions are met for higher and tenser realization of /i/, there may be minimal realization of the semivowel. Where, however, (as in *yilgbayi*, with its closed first syllable), there is [I] realization of the vowel, there tends to be fuller realization of the semivowel. And it is precisely in its morpho-phonological occurrences as noun class prefix that the former conditions (for

higher and tenser realization of the vowel, see below on vowel allophony) are most often met. Since there is no other compelling evidence for a contrast between /yi/ and /i/ morpheme-initially, nor, indeed, any independent evidence for vowel-initial morphemes (save one *a*-initial one) in the language, this can apparently be treated as a specialization in the noun class morphemes.

The vowel /i/ is realized as a high, front, maximally tense [i] in open syllables, and particularly before the palatal segments /j/, /ny/, /ly/, both semivowels, and also the rhotic /rr/, as in the following examples (in some, more than one condition is met):

['warrija]	'alligator'
['lidi]	'long-horned grasshopper'
[li'warrga]	'ground sugar bag'
['girrgilang]	'galah'
['ginyang]	catfish species
['ginydan]	'stone spear point'

In the last form above, the high and tense vowel quality is the main auditory cue signalling the palatal articulation of the following nasal, which before the stop normally evidences no palatal off-glide.

The /i/ vowel is realized as slightly lower and less tense in closed syllables:

['munIn]	'rock cod'
['mardIrd]	'whistling kite'
[yllg'bayi]	'OK, enough'

There are morphemes with phonetic long [i:], sometimes also realized as a diphthong [iI]. This appears to be best regarded as the sequence /iyi/, which can be shown to contrast with /i/ in an otherwise very similar environment. The following two forms illustrate this contrast between such a long vowel, and a fairly high, tense but short /i/:

[ji:la]	'well'	/jjiyla/
[jila]	originative suffix	/jila/

There are other examples for which no minimally or sub-minimally distinct form can be cited, e.g., [bi:marla], /biyimarla/ 'inflate'.

There is a parallel to the above in the length of the vowel, and syllable reduction, in the verb particle [du:], also realized as [duU] 'to raise' (with auxiliary *bu*-), in the noun [lu:n] 'cave', in the noun [ngu:n] 'faeces', in the particle [buUdba] 'cook under ashes', the noun stem [muUdban] 'wet soil'. In all cases we must recognize the combination of /uwu/ in accounting for the phonetic length of the vowel: /duwu/, /luwun/, /nguwun/, /buwud-ba/, /mu-wudban/ (the latter apparently with nominal class marker showing fixed assimilation to the first stem vowel).

In contrast with the above V₁ + homorganic glide + V₁ sequences, combinations with vowel and heterorganic glide, [iwi] and [uyu], tend to remain clearly syllabified, or may be only slightly reduced ([yi-ngawuyu] 'wife', [miwinin] 'camp, sleep').

/e/ is realized as a mid front unrounded, and fairly lax vowel [ɛ] in closed syllables, except before palatal segments, where it tends to be at its highest and tensest. It may be slightly higher and tenser in open syllables, including word-finally, but not cardinal [e]:

['bɛdbɔg]	'honey eater'
['mɛnjen]	'cheeky'
[gej]	'ask' (particle)
['mɛnyjɛ]	'to feel, hold, grasp'
[mɛ'gerrman]	<i>Dioscorea</i> sp.
[yingɛ'we]	'I might fall'
[jembe]	'death adder'

In almost all environments /o/ is realized as a mid to slightly lower rounded vowel [ɔ]. It is slightly higher than mid in the environment of /w/, but is nowhere cardinal [o].

[mɔ'gɔrlgɔrl]	<i>Ampelocissus</i> sp.
['nyɔbɔ]	'marsupial mouse'
['ngɔrrɔgɔrrɔ]	'afternoon'
['nɔnɔ'narran]	personal name
['nɔnggɔ]	'too, also' (cf. [nungguru] 'hand')

The distinction between realizations of /o/ and /u/ can be difficult to identify, but clearly bears a considerable functional load in lexical stems.

The usual realization of /u/ is [U], in closed syllables. It is slightly higher and tenser in open syllables, including word-finally, and before palatal segments:

[wi'liwuga]	'stone curlew'
['bUlyan]	'eagle'
[murr'u'jUnman]	'sand frog'
['naribu]	'freshwater mussel'

Under primary stress in open syllables, /a/ is realized as maximally open, [a.]; in other open syllables it is regularly realized as slightly more centered [â], and this is approximately its 'elsewhere' realization, except before apicals, where it is slightly fronted, somewhere between [a] and [æ]:

[gu'liirridâ]	'peewee'
['ga.lâwârrâ]	'plumed pigeon'
[li'rra.wIn]	'black cockatoo'
[jâ'marɔbâ]	'rainbow fish'

2.2. Distributional restrictions: Vowels

Vowels do not occur morpheme-initially in Wardaman, except in the tag-question particle *ale* (this is one of the few Wardaman words often produced with an audible, final glottal constriction, indicative of the intensity of the tag question syntagm ‘is that so?’). It was noted above that the noun class prefixes /wu/ and /yi/, i.e., with homorganic semivowel and vowel, are commonly realized as [u] and [i]. In other such word-initial combinations, the glide tends to remain unreduced, or somewhat less so; and the semivowel is not reduced in initial combination with non-homorganic vowel:

['wurrɛn]	‘child’
['wUjbn]	‘greedy’
[yu'gUrmi]	‘more, again’

However, there is some variation, and there are some words, like /wujə/ ‘fire, wood’, which appear to be commonly realized in both ways. In that word, it is likely the /wu/ is etymologically the noun class prefix, synchronically however to be analyzed as part of the root. Leaving aside the matter of the noun class prefixes, and other instances of word-initial /wu/ and /yi/ which may vary somewhat in degree of realization of the semivowel, there is, as noted in 2.1., no cause to recognize vowel-initial morphemes in Wardaman. The difference between morpheme-initial glide plus homorganic vowel, and vowel alone, is environmentally limited (i.e., most common in the nominal class markers), and never minimally distinctive. The absence or infrequency of vowel-initial morphemes is also characteristic of a number of neighbouring languages, including Mangarrayi, Yangman, and Jawoyn. Slightly further east, we find a very limited range of *a*-initial morphemes in Alawa (Sharpe 1972) and Ngalakan (Merlan 1983: 11). In Wardaman, there are a few inflectional morphemes that have the shape C (e.g., present tense suffix *-n*, but none consists only of V, or has initial V.

As noted in 1.3., the mid-vowels do not occur in any of the inflectional morphology, which exhibits a three-vowel system, *a*, *i*, and *u*. There is, however, no lack of surface mid-vowels in inflectional morphs, due to phonetic processes of assimilation (3.7.3.). Among derivational morphemes and lexical suffixes, too, the mid-vowels are rare, but there are instances, such as adverbial /beng/, expressing location or place where. The mid-vowels are widely distributed over lexemes, and there is no particular evidence of “defective” distribution with respect to any word class. Though /a/, /i/ and /u/ are more common finally than the mid-vowels, there are nonetheless quite a number of examples of /e/ and /o/ finally, e.g.,: *borle* ‘across’; *ngajamberle*, proper name; *lowe*, toponym; *bogo* ‘lend’, *jewe* ‘close, near’, *wume* ‘sky’, *modborrongo*, proper name; and inflectional forms of quite a number of verbs.

Examples of minimal and sub-minimal vowel contrasts are:

<i>jin</i> (<i>ma</i>)	‘blame’
<i>jen</i> (<i>ma</i>)	‘cut into pieces’
<i>juny</i> (<i>ma</i>)	‘set’ (of sun, celestial body)
<i>jongma-</i>	‘to kiss’
<i>jangma-</i>	‘to defecate’

There are no vowel clusters.

See 3.7.3. for further remarks on distribution of the mid-vowels.

2.3. Distributional restrictions: Consonants

Word-initially there is no distinctive contrast between consonants of the two apical series. Where no vowel immediately precedes, in ordinary speech the word-initial realization of initial apicals tends to be alveolar rather than retroflex. However, when a vowel (of another word, or of a vowel-final inflectional prefix) immediately precedes, the stem-initial norm tends to be quite strongly retroflex (but in terms of auditory impression, not quite so much so as in some languages of the region, for example, Ngalakan). For example:

['na.rri]	'he saw it'
[yi'rna.rri]	'you [SG] saw it'
['dimana]	'horse'
[yi'rdirdiman]	proper name, YI- class marker

Though there is no reason to recognize a word-initial contrast between the two stop-nasal series, the question remains how to represent the morpheme-initial norm, as plain alveolar, or as retroflex, or perhaps some other way which shows that there is no clear auditory contrast except post-vocally, and following non-nasal sonorants.

This situation, or something similar, presents itself in a number of the local languages that have two apical series (see e.g., Merlan 1983: 9–10); that is, there is no, or in some languages scarcely any, direct contrast between morpheme-initial alveolar and retroflex apicals. Though the situation might be descriptively treated in a number of ways, my preference is to regard morphemes as retroflex initial. Phonetically, the retroflex series is relatively marked, the plain alveolar unmarked. In light of this, it is theoretically more satisfactory to explain the lack of phonetic contrast word-initially by a neutralization in favour of realization by the less marked series, than to treat the situation as one in which retroflexion adds a feature to some kind of archiphonemic segment in the post-vocalic environment (following a vowel-final prefix).

However, a practical cost is associated with the decision to treat morphemes as retroflex initial. Usage in most of this description, as is otherwise common, is to represent retroflex segments in practical orthography by a digraph consisting of *r* plus a letter designating the rest of the segment (e.g., *rd* for the apical stop, etc.). It is daunting to write the *r* morpheme initially, a procedure which results in forms like *rdagbarla* 'keep it', and *rnarri* 'he/she saw it'. Therefore in practical transcription, lexeme-initial apicals will be represented without initial *r*. This practice is extended to phonetic environments in which retroflexion is quite pronounced, as after vowel-final prefixes (e.g., *nga-narri* 'I saw it'). This makes it necessary for anyone reading this transcription to keep in mind that, following vowel-final prefixes and elsewhere post-vocally, the pronunciation of initial apical consonants of lexical stems is with a significant degree of retroflexion.

The contrast between apical series is amply illustrated elsewhere, morpheme- and word-medially and finally. In word-final position note the contrasts between members of each series:

/gulid/	'green plum'	vs.	/mardird/	'whistling kite'
/menjen/	'dangerous'	vs.	/mejern/	'belly'
		vs.	/yingelembem/	'collarbone'
/jurrul/	'saltwater turtle'	vs.	/nyurl/	'be/get angry'

There are additionally numerous examples of minimal and sub-minimal contrasts medially between the two series: e.g., *wu-walu* 'ring finger' vs. *wu-warli* 'arm, creek, tributary'; *yirrgulun* 'river' vs. *yigurliyn* 'first rain'; *ngone* 'hooked spear' vs. *wurne* 'bone'; *yi-welen* 'jealous person' vs. *yi-werlen* 'lazy person'; *bidij* 'twist' vs. *birdij* 'find' (particles); *gelelen* 'cold' vs. *gerle-* 'to taste'; *guda* 'where' vs. *bigurda*, a kind of plat potato; *gadi* 'lily' vs. *gardirrg* 'gnash teeth' (particle), and so on.

The above generalization does not apply to the rhotics, since /r/ has not been found initially in lexical stems, and only two instances of /r/ have been noted to date: the bird term *rewrew* 'dollar bird', and a toponym (referring to a creek near Willeroo Station homestead in the Wardaman heartland, and seemingly not a foreign form), *Relwuyugun*. Besides the fact that the bird term is onomatopoeic, it should also be noted that very similar terms for this bird occur in neighbouring languages. It is likely that there are complex diffusional relations among them. However, in Jawoyn the form of the word is *dewdew*, and beyond the surmise that the diffusional source is not from Jawoyn, it is not clear why Wardaman should have a form with an initial segment that does not otherwise occur in that position in the language.

/rr/ does occur initially in inflectional morphemes which can never be word-initial, e.g., in the past tense allomorph *-rri*. /r/ is (so far) not attested in stem-final position, indicating at the least that it is quite uncommon there, if indeed it may occur at all. The apical /rr/ however is common finally, e.g., /barnarr/ *Owenia vernicosa*, 'marble tree', /geremerr/ 'headband', and so on.

Medially, the contrast between the two rhotics distinguishes a considerable number of forms, and there is no reason to regard the contrast as marginal (cf. Cook 1987: 29 on Wakiman). Exemplifying by comparing the sequences *-ara-* and *-arra-*, we may list the contrasting forms, among others: *waray* 'ask', *baraj* 'far', *garab* 'spider', *wumara* 'heavy stone', *janaram* 'lid, door', *garnamara* 'walking stick', *jabara* 'putrid, stinking', *barangan* 'rift, gap', *darab* 'bog', and *-garang* ~ *-warang* 'having'; vs. *barlarra* 'hide', *barragarl* 'spear', *buwarraja* 'dreaming', *lawarra* 'riflefish', *warrala* 'lie, be spread-legged', *warrama* 'sugar glider', *-barra* ~ *-warra* adverbial suffix, among others.

Some consideration needs to be given to the statement of the distributions of the two palatal sonorants *ly* and *ny*. We will consider the lamino-palatal lateral first, since its distribution, however analyzed, is especially restricted. Then we will return to questions of the statement of distribution that apply to both lateral and nasal palatal segments.

The lamino-palatal lateral (unlike the nasal) never occurs in stem- or word-initial position, and its occurrence medially (excluding, for the moment, intervocally) and

finally is quite restricted, both lexically and positionally. The following includes all instances of medial (save intervocalic) and final *ly* found in a list of approximately 2000 (mostly lexical) roots (excluding names of all sorts, personal, toponymic and other):

<i>bedelybedeyl</i>	‘hit all over, flog’
<i>bilyb(a)</i>	‘switch, swish long object over’ (esp. in curing)
<i>bilybanbilyban</i>	‘devil dog’ (etym. related to above)
<i>dilygba</i>	‘wait’
<i>dilygun</i>	‘possum’
<i>dilyma</i>	‘light, burn’
<i>ganyjayl</i>	‘annoy, bother, disturb’
<i>gilywaj</i>	‘trample’
<i>jalybug</i>	‘pound, crush up, mince’
<i>jilyma</i>	‘wring out, squeeze (juices) out of’
<i>milygbilygba</i>	‘beat, thump, “heart-crack” [Kr.], be shocked’
<i>wilyma</i>	‘stretch’
<i>wilyma</i>	‘whistle’ (different AUX from above)
<i>yarrbayl</i>	‘bother, annoy’

This list demonstrates that about half the instances of the lamino-palatal lateral are final in verb particles (which often have the additional morph *-ma*, see 11.1.2.). Otherwise, the lateral occurs only before peripheral segments (mainly stops *b* and *g*, but note one instance before *w*). Overall, the lateral shows a nearly-complete lexical restriction to verb particles (with the exception of *dilygun* ‘possum’, and the derivate *bilybanbilyban*).

There are comparable distributional restrictions on the lamino-palatal lateral in Yangman, as far as the more limited data indicate. Also, there is in Mangarrayi a small handful of *ly*-final verb particles (four have been found). And though all of these appear to also occur in Yangman, and evidently represent an historical diffusion from that language, inquiry indicates they are now regarded by speakers as Mangarrayi words, and not as recognizable borrowings. The restricted distribution of this lateral can, on the basis of the evidence, be seen as an areal phenomenon in which Mangarrayi participates marginally.

In Wardaman, there seems to be little plausibility to the suggestion that these instances may be viewed (historically) as combinations of *l* plus a high vowel */i/* phonetically realized as palatalization. There are enough cases of stem-final *li* (e.g., *mangali* ‘girl, female’) to make it clear that such palatalization is not, in any event, a synchronic process. And there are attestations of word-final *lyi*, as in */malyi/*, toponym. In contrast with the lateral, the palatal nasal is much more common stem-finally, and is distributed over different parts of speech (e.g., *juyn* ‘to set’ (of sun, particle), *jirrangaliyn* ‘mud swallow’). It, too, contrasts directly with final *nyi* (as in *mobonyi* ‘night time’).

There is, however, some question about analysis of both palatal sonorants intervocalically, simply because in that position there is no clear or convincing basis for a contrast between *ly* versus a combination *l+ y*, or between *ny* versus *n+ y*, as there

is finally. This is true, for example, of a word for a catfish species, which could alternatively be /gin^yang/ or /ginyang/, or the word for ‘echidna’ which might alternatively be represented phonemically as /gawal^yan or /gawalyan/.

The question of a two-segment versus single-segment analysis may simply be said to be irrelevant in those medial environments. There is no phonetic difference that can be established between the two possibilities. We can show this by observing inter-morphemic combinations of *n + y* and *l + y*, where the *y* is the initial segment of an inflectional suffix (e.g., *YI-buruwun-yi* ‘killer’, ERG). In the text transcriptions in practical orthography, morphemic combination is always distinguished from intra-morphemic *ny* and *ly* by a hyphen at morpheme boundary.

In summary concerning word- and morpheme-final position, we note that all stops and nasals, all the laterals, the glides /y/ and /w/, and apical /rɾ/ are attested, while /r/ is not. A few examples attest to final contrast between each glide, and the combination of glide and homorganic vowel, for example:

<i>dawu</i>	‘that way’	vs.	<i>daw</i>	‘sound sleep’,
			also <i>maw</i>	‘take off’
<i>waray</i>	‘ask’	vs.	<i>gunduyi-ma</i>	‘give hiding, belt’

The set of final nasal contrasts is illustrated by:

<i>yi-mum</i>	‘eye’
<i>gunbilin</i>	‘(native) doctor’
<i>mejern</i>	‘stomach’
<i>garnbayn</i>	‘type of cabbage palm’
<i>gayardung</i>	‘run’

The contrast among laterals finally is exemplified by:

<i>jil-ma</i>	‘company, keep company’ (particle)
<i>jily-ma</i>	‘wring, squeeze’ (particle)
<i>mirlirl-ma</i>	‘rise’ (of sun)

The final contrast among stops is illustrated by:

<i>bardab</i>	‘look around’
<i>dulwad</i>	‘count, enumerate’
<i>mardird</i>	‘kite’
<i>garnbij</i>	‘clapstick’
<i>gandawag</i>	‘moon’

2.4. Phonotactics: Consonant clusters

There are no morpheme-initial consonant clusters except for the very rare combination *gl*, so far attested in only two forms: *-gle* ‘putrid, rotten’, and medially in the (obligatorily reduplicative) particle *lowaglowa* ‘play’. *gl-* has never been found to occur

word-initially, but rather is always preceded by one of the noun class prefixes (*yi-gle*, *wu-gle*). There is also a place name *wugleni* ‘Johnstone Hole’, which might be related etymologically to the root *-gle*. There is at least one instance, in a bird name, of a particularly minimal and indistinct, if indeed organic, vocalic segment between *b* and *rl*. This occurs in the word [jujurijbllrlan] ‘friar bird’. However, there are no other instances suggesting the possibility of a cluster *bl*.

Within morphemes, combinations of apical nasal plus apical stop contrast as between the two apical series: *nd* vs. *rnd*. As in neighbouring languages, there are no such combinations in which the nasal and stop differ in place. The same is true for the (rare) combinations of lateral plus apical stop (e.g., *ld*, which only occur at reduplicative boundaries). The transcriptional practice adopted for the retroflex combinations is to write the indicator of retroflexion only once, thus: *rnd*, *rld*.

Table 2. Word-internal intervocalic biconsonantal clusters

	b	d	rd	j	g	m	n	m	ny	ng	l	rl	l ^y	rr	r	w	y
b	B	R		R		B			bny		R						R
d	db			dj	dg	R										dw	
rd	rdb			B/R	rdg												
j	jb				jg	B											
g	gb	gd		gj	B	gm				gng	gl					R	B
m	mb	R		mj	mg		mn		mny	B							my
n	nb	nd		nj	ng	nm				R	B						
m	mb		urd	mj	mg	mm				mng						mw	my
ny	nyb	nyd		nyj	nyg	nym				nyng						B	
ng	ngb	ngd		ngj	ngg	ngm	ngn		B		B					ngw	ngy
l	lb	ld		lj	lg	lm				lng						lw	ly
rl	rlb		urd	rlj	rlg	rlm				rlng						rlw	rly
l ^y	l ^y b				l ^y g												l ^y w
rr	rrb			rrj	rrg	rrm				rrng						rrw	rry
r					rg	B?										rw	
w						B											
y				yj	yg	B											

The set of possible clusters of two segments is indicated in Table 2. A difference is noted between two sorts. There are those which may occur morpheme-internally (e.g., word-medially, or finally), and those found at morpheme boundaries. Some clusters may occur in both kinds of environments; but some occur only across morpheme boundaries (as, for instance, where a consonant-initial suffix follows a consonant-final stem). A sub-case of morpheme boundary is reduplicative boundary (either fixed or “live”), where a

set of cluster combinations occur that are not found elsewhere. Where a cluster is attested only across a grammatical boundary, that combination is marked B on the Table. Where a combination is attested only across a reduplicative boundary, it is marked R. These are: *md*, *by*, *gw*, *dm*, *nng*, *bd*, *bj*, *bl*. Otherwise, finally-occurring clusters are a sub-set of medially-occurring ones, and attested clusters are shown on the Table.

The following examples illustrate the possible word-final combinations by type.

Non-nasal sonorant plus stop

<i>lg</i>	<i>birilg</i>	'to be flat' (particle)
<i>rrg</i>	<i>berrg</i>	'pass' (particle)
<i>rlg</i>	<i>ngarlg</i>	'pick up' (particle)
<i>rrb</i>	<i>yurrb</i>	'stand up' (particle)
<i>rlb</i>	<i>warlb</i>	'toilet, excrement'
<i>ld</i>	<i>daldal</i>	'pound' (R)
<i>rld</i>	<i>derlderlma</i>	'burn severely' (R)
<i>lyb</i>	<i>bilyb</i>	'switch'
<i>lyg</i>	<i>dilygun</i>	'possum'

Lateral or rhotic plus nasal

<i>rlng</i>	<i>warlng-ma</i>	'open' (particle)
<i>rrng</i>	<i>gerrng(-ma)</i>	'cry' (particle)

The following illustrate the much larger set of possible clusters medially. Examples are also given to illustrate the combinations labelled "B" in Table 2.

Stop plus stop

<i>b-b</i>	<i>jub-ba</i>	'shut' + PS
<i>bd</i>	<i>dibdiba</i>	toponym, Monday Yard
<i>bj</i>	<i>jibjiba</i>	'itch'
<i>db</i>	<i>yi-jimidba</i>	'young goanna'
<i>rdb</i>	<i>jamardba</i>	'rainbow fish'
<i>dj</i>	<i>gilidji</i>	'grindstone'
<i>jb</i>	<i>mijbijin</i>	'small black ant'
<i>gb</i>	<i>jegban</i>	'bustard'
<i>gd</i>	<i>dagdagin</i>	<i>Brachychiton diversifolium</i>
<i>gj</i>	<i>jarrgjarrgin</i>	<i>Crinum</i> sp., 'wild onion'
<i>jg</i>	<i>malbardajgu</i>	'male river goanna'
<i>rdg</i>	<i>yingurdguda</i>	'brisket'
<i>dg</i>	<i>modgo</i>	'half-dead'
<i>rdj</i>	<i>jordjordin</i>	'mad, crazy'

Stop plus sonorant

<i>bm</i>	<i>bardabmarla</i>	‘look around’
<i>dm</i>	<i>madmad</i>	‘shut, block, make close’
<i>dw</i>	<i>wirridwirrid</i>	‘rainbow bird’
<i>jm</i>	<i>wu-mirrijmirrijban</i>	‘curly’
<i>bny</i>	<i>nyabnyab</i>	‘be sticky’ (particle) (R)
<i>bl</i>	<i>lublub</i>	‘grab’ (particle) (R)
<i>by</i>	<i>yubyub</i>	‘scuttle’ (particle)
<i>gl</i>	<i>lowaglowa</i>	‘play’
<i>gw</i>	<i>wagwag</i>	‘crow’
<i>bng</i>	<i>ngabngab</i>	‘wobble about’
<i>rdn</i>	<i>nordnord</i>	‘heap up’
<i>gm</i>	<i>nugmug</i>	‘owl’
<i>gng</i>	<i>ngegngeg</i>	‘extinguish’
<i>gy</i>	<i>yirrbagyirrbag-(g)ujban</i>	‘one who keeps coming back’

Note that almost all of the above are reduplicative. Some of the particles may be considered productive reduplications (e.g., *nord* or *nordnord*), but e.g., the form for “rainbow bird” always occurs in reduplicative form.

Nasal plus nasal

<i>nng</i>	<i>menngen</i>	‘white cockatoo’
<i>rnng</i>	<i>barngamarla</i>	‘beetle’
<i>nyng</i>	<i>nuninynga</i>	<i>Piliostigma malabaricum</i>
<i>rnm</i>	<i>garumarnmalin</i>	toxic yam species
<i>nym</i>	<i>manymayn</i>	‘diarrhoea’
<i>nni</i>	<i>nunnuma</i>	‘beat, tap’
<i>nny</i>	<i>yininmyo</i>	‘last child, cadet’
<i>ngm</i>	<i>bengmarla</i>	‘snap, break’
<i>nym</i>	<i>juny-na</i>	‘set’ (of sun)
<i>ngm</i>	<i>jang-na</i>	‘defecate’
<i>nng</i>	<i>yibam-nganjan</i>	‘milk gut’
<i>ngn</i>	<i>nangnang-na</i>	‘beat, clap’
<i>ngny</i>	<i>garlbang-nyi</i>	‘stone axe’ INST

Nasal plus stop

<i>mb</i>	<i>jembe</i>	‘death adder’
<i>md</i>	<i>damdam</i>	‘to have sores’
<i>nj</i>	<i>ninji</i>	toponym
<i>nb</i>	<i>yarrimanbu</i>	‘King Brown’
<i>rnb</i>	<i>jarnbaljarnbal</i>	‘whimbrel’ (identification uncertain)

<i>nyb</i>	<i>winybarr</i>	toponym
<i>ngb</i>	<i>bangbun</i>	'woman'
<i>mg</i>	<i>bamgun</i>	'woman' (variant, poss. a borrowing)
<i>nd</i>	<i>bowondol</i>	'secretive snake'
<i>rnd</i>	<i>marndarradji</i>	'two-lined dragon'
<i>nyd</i>	<i>ginydan</i>	'stone spear point'
<i>nyg</i>	<i>mamarranygu</i>	<i>Pandanus spiralis</i>
<i>n.g</i>	<i>bin.gan</i>	'bream'
<i>ngg</i>	<i>marninggani</i>	'sun'
<i>nyj</i>	<i>ngenyje</i>	'choke'
<i>nj</i>	<i>walanja</i>	<i>Varanus gouldii</i> , 'goanna' (lizard)
<i>ngd</i>	<i>ma-dengdeng</i>	fig species

Non-nasal sonorant plus stop

<i>lb</i>	<i>wu-diwulba</i>	'index finger'
<i>rlb</i>	<i>jorlborrman</i>	'kookaburra'
<i>rrb</i>	<i>gurrbijnman</i>	'desert snake'
<i>lyg</i>	<i>dilygun</i>	'possum'
<i>lg</i>	<i>dalgan</i>	'forenoon', 'daytime'
<i>rrg</i>	<i>wurrguru</i>	'devil'
<i>lj</i>	<i>jaljurra</i>	'giant perchlet'
<i>rlj</i>	<i>warljub</i>	'inside'
<i>rrj</i>	<i>barrjarra</i>	'needlefoot'

Lateral/rhotic plus nasal

<i>lng</i>	<i>yalnga</i>	'bluetongue'
<i>rlng</i>	<i>marlnga</i>	'cloud'
<i>rrng</i>	<i>girrngonggirrngong</i>	'pig'
<i>rrm</i>	<i>wurrmug</i>	'pull down' (particle)
<i>lm</i>	<i>lilmulilmu</i>	'firefly'
<i>rlm</i>	<i>wirlmurr</i>	'wire spear'

Nasal plus lateral

<i>ngl</i>	<i>yyiang-lan</i>	'to the east'
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Sonorant plus semivowel

<i>ly</i>	<i>gawalyan</i>	'echidna'
<i>rry</i>	<i>gurryu</i>	'jump' (particle)
<i>ngy</i>	<i>yingyi</i>	'name'
<i>rrw</i>	<i>barrwunin</i>	'white'
<i>rrw</i>	<i>gardarr-wi</i>	'all night'
<i>rlw</i>	<i>berlwani</i>	<i>Eugenia armstrongii</i>

<i>lw</i>	<i>yididilwan</i>	‘double bar finch’
<i>nyw</i>	<i>widinywidinyma</i>	‘wag tail’
<i>ngw</i>	<i>yiwangwal</i>	‘lung’
<i>lyw</i>	<i>gilywaj</i>	‘trample’
<i>rly</i>	<i>barragarl-yi</i>	‘bamboo spear’ INST

Semivowel plus nasal/stop

<i>wm</i>	<i>new-ma</i>	‘grab’
<i>yg</i>	<i>gayg-ba</i>	‘sing out’

With one possible exception, triple clusters only occur across morpheme boundaries. The possible exception is *yilgbayi*, where it may be that *-ba-* is to be identified with the particle final *-ma ~ -ba* (see 11.1.2.). Synchronically, however, it is certainly inseparable. The other triple cluster types found across morpheme boundaries are illustrated by: *rrg-b*, *gilbirrg-ba* ‘squeeze’ (particle); *rlg-b gurlg-ba* ‘swell up, tumor’; *rlb-g warlb-gu* ‘toilet’ DAT; *-yg-b gayg-barla-* ‘shout out to’; *rrb-l lerrblerrb-a* ‘tap, beat’; *rrng-m jorrerrngman* ‘kingfisher’; *rrng-b burrngburrng-ma* ‘boil’ (particle). These combinations may be summarized as: non-nasal sonorant plus stop plus stop; non-nasal sonorant plus stop plus non-nasal sonorant; non-nasal sonorant plus nasal plus nasal; and non-nasal sonorant plus nasal plus stop.

Some of the above combinations occur across lexical derivational boundaries, e.g., note the recurrent nominal formative suffix *-man* in *jorrerrngman* ‘kingfisher’, *jormman* ‘freckled duck’, etc. These are not productive derivations, however.

2.5. Syllable and word shape

Syllable shapes CV and CVC(C) are the most common, the full form of the latter found, for example, in words such as those illustrated above with a triple cluster across morpheme boundary, where the syllable boundary occurs between CVCC and following C, *gayg\$barla*. The syllable shape V is found only in the sole vowel-initial word, tag-question particle *ale*, and phonetically, where the initial glide of nominal class markers is reduced (see 2.1.). The syllable shape CCV is found in *gle* (occurring forms syllabified e.g., *yi\$gle* ‘putrid flesh’), and *lo\$wa\$glo\$wa* ‘play’ (often with some reduction of the glides).

A phonological word in Wardaman may consist of one syllable, closed or open (CVC or CV), though so far no nominal stems of the latter shape have been found. Verb roots of shape CV are common, and some paradigmatic forms of such roots (imperative) have this shape. Disyllabic words, aside from the single particle *ale*, may be described by the options CV(C)CV(C). Lexical stems of five syllables, based on the repetition of syllable types as given, are common. There are some over five syllables, but in such, a lexical derivational element of some kind (whether productive or not) can be recognized.

Chapter 3

Process phonology

3.1. Introduction

Among the major phonological processes are: a pervasive but variable final syllable reduction in nominal stems before non-zero affixes; alternations among stops, glides and nasals in a number of affixes, mainly suffixes marking case, number, and a few other derivational and inflectional categories; alternations which apply within pronominal prefixes to the verb, and at the boundary between those prefixes and the initial segment of the following verb root. Some low-level assimilatory processes apply to consonants and vowels. Many of the latter are regressive and progressive effects of mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ on /a/ occurring in verbal pronominal prefixes, tense/mood suffixes, and a small number of other suffixes. Some automatic aspects of segmental surface realizations, such as the regular loss of initial retroflexion in some environments (see 2.2.), need to be briefly discussed.

Rather less predictably, some nasal segments are found in verbal morphology where they cannot be accounted for by any regular phonological process. One instance involves forms of the highly irregular verb “to go”. All of these occurrences of nasals can only be described as morpho-phonological irregularities (3.10.).

Finally, there are some interesting and quite general reduplicative processes.

This chapter includes brief discussion of word-level stress patterns.

3.2. De-retroflexion and loss of retroflex consonants

In 2.3. it was observed that there is no distinctive contrast between consonants of the two apical series word- or morpheme-initially. For reasons given there, the morpheme-initial norm was recognized as retroflex. A consequence of this is that we need to specify that stems which are underlyingly retroflex-initial are realized as plain alveolar in some environments. De-retroflexion occurs when the initial retroflex consonant is preceded by a non-vocalic segment of another word, or by silence, i.e., when there is no preceding segmental environment.

However, an initial retroflex segment is generally realized with considerable retroflexion when immediately preceded by a vowel as a result of the positioning of words syntagmatically, rather than as a feature of process on the morpho-phonological level. Under that condition, the preceding vowel serves as an environment in which retroflexion is maintained. In this sense, this environment is analogous to that in which the consonant is preceded by a prefix ending in a vowel within the verbal word. That is, the environment in normal speech constituted by e.g., *walanja na-rrri* ‘he saw the goanna’, is similar to that constituted by the presence of a vowel-final prefix before the consonant in an inflected verb form, e.g., *nga-narri* ‘I saw him/her/it’. Out of silence, however, that is

after pause, the initial apical consonant in the verb of our examples, “to see”, makes the auditory impression of being plain alveolar: # [narri].

Secondly, word-internally within a verb form, any initial retroflex consonant of a verb root is realized as plain alveolar when preceded by a nasal as the last segment of a prefix. Otherwise stated, the post-nasal environment is one in which the contrast between the apical series does not occur; it is an environment of neutralization. The matter may be put in this general way because there are no instances of nasal followed by apical stop which contrast with nasal followed by homorganic apical stop of the other series. This matter was partly covered in 2.4., where it was mentioned that there are no contrasting combinations of *nd* versus *rn-d* or *n-rd*; there are only the possibilities *nd* vs. *rnd*. No nasal segment which may occur within verb prefixes is retroflex. Thus, following any nasal which may occur in the prefix complex, the initial apical stop of the verb root is realized as non-retroflex. The post-nasal environment is one of neutralization of the apical contrast. Given this, we can say that the de-retroflexion of stem-initial apicals in verbs following nasal-final prefixes is not a specialized word-level phonological process, but part of a general phonotactic limitation.

Examples of the relevant environment within verbs are: *nga-wun-dagbarla-n* ‘I keep them’, *ngang-dagbarla-n* ‘I am keeping, looking after you (SG)’. In 3.4.1., some related processes are discussed.

A rule which covers cases of de-retroflexion of basically retroflex consonants as discussed so far may be stated as follows:

$$P-1 \quad [+ \text{Retro}] \longrightarrow [- \text{Retro}] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \text{ ______} \\ \text{______} \\ \# \text{ ______} \end{array} \right.$$

Here, as noted, # is to be understood not simply as word boundary, but as such a boundary following noticeable pause.

In 3.5.1., other processes are described which occur at the boundary between pronominal prefix complex and verb stem.

3.3. Degemination

Wherever geminate clusters of homorganic stops or nasals arise as the result of morpheme combination, the cluster is usually simplified to a single segment. However, degemination is facultative (though usual) in one morpho-phonologically “outer” environment, and obligatory only in more internal ones, as in some processes at the boundary between pronominal prefix and verb stem (see 3.5.1.).

It might be claimed that no underlying clusters of homorganic consonants occur in Wardaman; or, more conservatively, that there are no lexical stems with such underlying clusters. Below, this section, a small number of homorganic apical nasal plus nasal clusters are suggested to be underlying structurally in pronominal prefix combinations to the verb, a proposal in keeping with a way of envisioning basic patterning; hence the alternative statement of the claim.

Though there are no geminate clusters in lexical stems, common processes of morpheme combination result in geminate clusters across boundaries. One of those boundaries is that between verb particle, and the particle suffix of shape *-ma* or *-ba* (11.1.2.). Following stops, hardening accounts for the stop-initial shape *-ba*. Where this follows a particle ending in *-b*, the cluster *b-b* arises (*lub-ba* ‘grab’). Where the particle-suffix follows a particle ending in *m*, the cluster *m-m* arises (*lom-ma* ‘peel’). This boundary may be considered morpho-phonologically more external than certain others (see 3.5.1.), partly on the basis that degemination is facultative, though usual, here: instances where degemination does not occur are found throughout my data. Failure to occur was recognizable in one of two ways: as a distinction between two articulations, or (more commonly) not completely distinct articulations but slightly greater length in the holding of the articulatory position, e.g., [*jub:a*] ‘shut’, a particle which is alternatively realized as [*juba*] (or *jub*, without suffix).

The combination *g-g* across morpheme boundaries arises from certain frequent morpheme combinations: the suffixation to stem ending in *-g* (see 3.4.) of the post-stop dative allomorph *-gu*, dissociative allomorph *-gunya*, of “having” suffixal allomorph *-garang*, of allative allomorph *-garr*, and so on (e.g., allative-suffixed form of stem *goyog-* ‘bitter, salty’ is *goyog-garr*, normally simplified to *goyogarr*). This boundary must be considered different from that discussed above between particle and suffix, in that geminate clusters are not found here.

Degemination may be stated informally: that wherever a cluster of two identical stops or nasals occurs, it tends to be reduced, but is not necessarily reduced at the particle-suffix boundary. As mentioned, in 3.5.1., it will be seen that the cluster *dd* invariably reduces, at the boundary between pronominal prefix and verb root; and that clusters of *jj* which may arise at nominal stem and suffix boundary also reduce. Clusters of both kinds arise from other processes which remain to be discussed; relevant to the rise of *jj* clusters is the process of final syllable reduction in nominal stems (3.4.), which may leave *j* stem-final. So far, the evidence suggests that only two boundary types are needed to account for invariable versus facultative degemination. These will be represented, wherever it is useful to distinguish them, as \sim (where degemination is facultative) and $!$ (invariant degemination).

Now let us return to the question of underlying sequences of *nn* in the pronominal prefix forms to the verb.

In a small number of prefixes, it appears plausible and formally justifiable, by analogy with other forms, to posit an underlying prefix structure which contains instances of *n-n*, where the first is an accusative marker within the prefix paradigm, the second, the initial sonorant of a small number of *n-* initial pronominal prefixes which may occur following the accusative marker. In all these forms, only a single *n* is realized, and so we may assume a process of reduction. Examples of such forms are: 2SG \longrightarrow 1NSG (second person singular acting on first person nonsingular, see 6.6.2) /*yi-n-gu-n-ni-*/, to be analyzed as 1EXclusive marker, accusative, plural marker, accusative, 2SG; surface form *yin.gini-*; 2NSG \longrightarrow 1NSG /*yi-n-gu-n-nu-*/ (1EX, accusative, plural marker, accusative, 2 person), with actual form *yunggunu-*. This posited degemination is

restricted to the pronominal prefixes; for as we shall see (3.4.1.), where prefix-final *n* precedes verb stem initial *n*, a different set of phonological processes occurs.

3.4. Final syllable reduction in nominal stems

There is a pervasive process of final syllable reduction in nominal stems before non-zero suffix. However, one finds that to some of the same stems that are often reduced, on other occasions speakers will add case and other endings without reduction. That is, the process of reduction appears at least partly facultative. Elicitation concerning this matter reveals an extensive speaker willingness to accept either particular reduced forms as described below, or unreduced stem forms (with a few exceptions where speakers will only accept the unreduced form as inflecting stem, e.g., with *banggin* ‘back’). In general, then, we are not dealing with a matter of strict grammaticality. Despite the apparent speaker flexibility, one finds from both elicitation and text materials that a certain stem form, either reduced or unreduced, is the most common for a particular noun, when the speaker is asked to use the noun in some context, rather than to concentrate on the acceptability of one or another stem form. There are only a few nouns for which the reduction process seems to be truly optional in a statistical sense. Therefore, I will include some comments below about the most common forms for particular nouns.

Cook (1987: 80–83) describes a generally similar process in Wakiman, but the details differ considerably for each language. Wardaman and Yangman are much more similar to each other in respect of this process than either is to Wakiman.

In Wardaman, a significant number of nominals (nouns and adjectival nouns) end in final syllable *-CVn*. However, it seems for purposes of describing the reduction process we should distinguish between final *-Cin* syllables, for some of which (depending partly on the identity of C) there is often reduction up to and including the entire syllable; and final *-CVn*, by which here we understand V to be any vowel besides *i*. In the latter type, reduction is simply of the final *-n*, which may therefore be identified synchronically as an Absolutive suffix for large numbers of nominals, and historically as that, and/or as some sort of nominal derivational suffix. (It is also the latter synchronically, see 11.1.4.).

Taking the simplest case first, that of *-CVn* in the sense identified above, we may exemplify loss of final *-n* before non-zero ending with *luwun* ‘cave’, *borndoyorron* ‘pandanus’, *gangman* ‘kangaroo’ and *wurren* ‘child’. Usual case forms for such nouns are, e.g., Locative *luwu-ya* ‘in the cave’, Allative *luwu-warr* ‘into the cave’, and Ablative *luwu-wa* ‘from the cave’; Locative *borndoyorro-ya* ‘in the pandanus’, *borndoyorro-warr* ‘to the pandanus’, and *borndoyorro-wa* ‘from the pandanus’; Ergative *gangma-yi* ‘kangaroo’, Dative *gangma-wu*; Ergative *wurre-yi* ‘child’, Dative *wurre-wu*, Dual Absolutive *wurre-wuya*, Plural Absolutive *wurre-mulu*, and so on.

Adjectival nouns like the word Wardaman itself commonly undergo reduction. For example, from that stem may be created a form meaning explicitly ‘Wardaman language’, with class prefix *wu-*. Usually (but not invariably) reduced and inflected with an adverbial suffix, this expression is commonly used to mean ‘by means of the Wardaman language, in Wardaman’: *wu-wardama-warra* (one also finds simply

wardama-warra, and also *wardaman-barra* is acceptable though appears to be less common in actual usage when attention is not focused on the reduction process).

For all *-CVn* nominals with minimally bisyllabic root (i.e., excluding such nouns as *wu-bin* ‘thumb’, to which the process does not apply) reduction is far more common before non-zero affix than is retention of *-n*.

There is at least one high-frequency nominal to which *-n* is commonly added to create an inflecting (Ergative) stem-form, where the *-n* does not appear in the Absolutive. This is *lege* ‘one’, which has alternative (and approximately equally used) Ergative forms *lege-yi* and *lege-n-yi*. Other cases are built on the zero stem.

There is greater variability in patterning among nominals with final syllable *-Cin*, and it seems we ought to distinguish at least three sub-types here, though most of them exhibit some internal variability. These are: nominals with final syllable *-Nin*, where N is a nasal; of final syllable *-L/R/Y* where L is a lateral, R a rhotic, Y the semivowel; and of type *-Sin*, where S is a stop (and here, the most variable sub-set of this sort has final syllable *-gin*; variation is linked to the segment which precedes this final syllable).

Nominals with final *-Nin* are the least variable. The inflecting stem is formed by reduction of *-in*. Examples are: Absolutive *linin* ‘snake’, ERG *lin-yi*, DAT *lin-gu*; Absolutive *yumin* ‘tree, wood’, INST *yum-nyi* (see 3.5.4. for the assimilatory process here), LOC *yum-nya*, DAT *yum-gu*, Adverbial *yum-barra*; ABS *langganin* ‘billabong’, LOC *langgan-nya*, etc. However, there is some variation in longer stems of this description as to whether they reduce or not; e.g., Absolutive *marranyin* ‘sand, sugar’, has alternative inflected forms Ablative *marranyin-ba* or *marrany-ba*, ‘having’ forms *marranyin-garang* or *marrany-garang*, and so on. In my data the reduced forms are more common than unreduced for trisyllabic *-Nin* stems.

However, it is important to mention that some nouns with final nasal segment, where this was preceded by another consonant (i.e., there would have remained a cluster after syllable reduction), were found not to conform to the *-Nin* pattern described above, but rather reduced only *-n*, or not at all. An example of this kind is *warlŋin* ‘fly’, which had usual and acceptable case-inflected forms of the sort *warlŋi-yi* or *warlŋin-yi* (ERG). Below it becomes clear that the presence of stem-final clusters is a factor relevant to reduction where other segments types are involved.

The second sub-type is *-L/R Yin*, where the syllable margin is a non-nasal sonorant. Here the most common pattern seems to be for final syllable to lose *-in*, but loss of just *-n* is attested in some nouns, and (perhaps relevant) particularly commonly with certain kinds of suffixes. There are also in the class two high-frequency nouns *layin* ‘game, meat’, and *mayin* ‘vegetable food’, and besides conforming to the minority pattern in that both typically lose only *-n*, the former is idiosyncratic in its possible stem-forms.

The most general pattern for this sub-type, loss of *-in*, can be illustrated by the common nouns, Absolutive forms of which are *jerrin* ‘ground oven’, *warnarrin* ‘fat’, and *bulilin* ‘blood’: Locative *jerr-ya*, Ablative *jerr-wa*, DAT *jerr-wu*; DAT *warnarr-wu*, ‘having’ *warnarr-warang*; ‘having’ *bulil-warang* (‘menstruating’). However, non-reduced alternatives are accepted for most such nouns (e.g., LOC *jerrin-nya*), though they are not in fact as commonly used.

One problem with saying that reduction of *-in* is the most common pattern is that, for nouns of the *-L/R/In* sub-type, those that, because of the nature of their referents, most typically occur in Ergative case-form, have been found to show reduction of only *-n* in that form. Examples are: ABS *garlirlin* ‘mosquito’, ERG *garlirli-yi*; ABS *juwarin* ‘Long Tom’, ERG *juwari-yi*; ABS *geyirrin* ‘dew, frost’, ERG *geyirri-yi*; ABS *murrurin* ‘mud-dauber’, ERG *murruri-yi*. However, some of the same nouns have other common inflectional or derivational forms which show loss of *-in*, e.g., *geyirr-warang* ‘dewy, frosty’. While informants readily accept *geyirrin-garang*, they do not accept *geyirri-warang*. For any of the above nouns, informants will produce and readily accept unreduced forms, e.g., *geyirrin-yi* ‘dew’ (ERG), or *garlirlin-yi* ‘mosquito’ (ERG). This set of facts is evidence of some specialization of the reduction process by suffix type, seemingly not very far advanced, however, in the context of general variability in final syllable reduction.

The two common nouns of this sub-type mentioned above show different tendencies. *Mayin* ‘vegetable food’ tends to exhibit inflecting stem *mayi-*, i.e., with reduction of *-n* only: DAT *mayi-wu*, ‘having’ *mayi-warang*, etc. However, both accepted and used is the unreduced stem *mayin*, e.g., DAT *mayin-gu*. This seems to be of higher frequency with Dissociative and Source suffixes, *mayin-gunya*, *mayin-gunba*, seemingly an indication of the overall somewhat more clitic-like morpho-syntactic status of these case-endings compared to the elementary or non-composite cases (see Chapter 5). On the other hand, *layin* exhibits with about equal frequency the Dative forms *layi-wu* and *lany-gu*. In other cases the latter appears to be most common, e.g., ABL *lany-ba*. (There is no corresponding stem **many-* for *mayin*). Informants found the Ergative form **layi-yi* unusual/unacceptable, both *layin-yi* and *lany-nyi* common and acceptable. Instances of the latter noun in Ergative case are not infrequent, especially since *layin* clearly can have the general sense ‘game animal’. This appears to be linked to the fact that, in that sense (as distinct from the sense “game meat”), the word is often found in construction with a specific term designating a kind of animal, e.g., *layin gangman* ‘kangaroo (game)’ (see 10.5.). Thus, specific animal terms commonly exhibited Ergative marking, and so may *layin*, which as illustrated has at least in part a kind of classifier-like occurrence and identificational textual function: *ngamanda-yi lany-nyi yimbu-larri* ‘what kind of [*ngamanda*, ‘what’, ERG] animal bit you?’

There is, again, considerable variability among the nominals grouped under the sub-type *-Sin*, but some generalizations do emerge from the variability. For nominals ending in *-bin*, there were two common patterns: reduction of *-in*, or failure to reduce where reduction would leave a stem-final cluster (e.g., ABS *lalbin* ‘narrow place’, LOC *wu-lalbi-ya* ‘in the crack’; ABS ‘greedy (person)’ *wujbin*, ERG *wujbin-yi*, PL ABS *wujbin-mulu*. For nominals with apical stop (*d*, *rd*) as final syllable margin, the most common pattern (for all kinds of non-zero endings) was again reduction of *-in*. Examples are: ABS *madin* ‘language, word’, DAT *mad-gu*, ADV *mad-barra*; ABS *minyardin* ‘charcoal’, LOC *minyard-ja*; ABS *jordjordin* ‘crazy, mad’, PL ABS *yi-jordjord-mulu* ‘mad ones’; ABS *yordin* ‘ashes’, DAT *yord-gu*. It seems, however, that words with homorganic apical nasal-stop cluster across the syllable margin ought not be included in this subtype, because they appear to commonly lose only *-n*, or alternatively fail to

reduce. An example is ABS *barndin* ‘sore’, DAT *barndi-wu*, ‘having’ forms *barndi-warang*, *barndin-garang*. Consideration of nominals with final *-gin* shows that the presence of homorganic nasal-stop cluster is relevant to the form of reduction there too.

Nominals ending in *-jin* seem also to preferentially lose *-in*, thus clustering with nominals ending in *-b/d/rdin*. Examples are ABS *wu-jerrijin* ‘cold weather’, ADV *wujerrij-barra*; ABS *berngijin* ‘black soil’, LOC *berngij-a*, ABL *berngij-ba* etc. (‘Black soil’ and a few other nouns are sometimes treated as collectives, and have special number- marked stems, see 5.6.3.)

Nominals ending in *-gin* also preferentially lose *-in*, except where this would leave a stem-final cluster. Where the latter would occur, trisyllabic (or longer) stems with *ngg* across syllable margin may reduce the entire final syllable to zero, adding endings directly to the remaining *ng*. Examples of the first sort are ABS *nuragin* ‘shade’, LOC *nurag-ja*; *belgin* ‘mud’, LOC *belg-ja*; ABS *yi-goyogin* ‘salt water’, ALL *yi-goyog-arr*, LOC *yi-goyog-ja*; *marrgbarrgin* ‘cramp’, ERG *marrgbarrg-ji*; ABS *larrglarrgin* ‘light (not dense) shade’, LOC *wu-larrglarrg-ja*; ABS *dulgin* ‘urine’, DAT *dulg-u*; ABS *wu-nurlgin* ‘hot ashes, live coals’, LOC *wu-nurlg-ja*.

Despite the relative acceptability of forms such as *belg-ja* here, that there is some issue of remaining stem-final clusters is shown by the fact that, while both *belg-ja* and *belgin-nya* ‘in the mud’ were considered usual and acceptable (and the former is in fact more frequent), informants refused to accept *warlg-ja* ‘in bed, in the swag’, and instead allowed only *warlgin-nya*.

Four nominals in which zeroing of the entire final syllable seems to account for the usual inflecting stem-form are *luyunggin* ‘smoke’, *guyanggin* ‘woomera’, *warranggin* ‘corroboree’, and *balanggin* ‘new’. Most common case-forms for the former were, e.g., ABL *luyung-ba*, ALL *luyung-garr*; for ‘woomera’, LOC *guyang-nya*, ABL *guyang-ba*; for ‘corroboree’, DAT *warrang-gu*. Alternative forms for all these nominals were unreduced. As noted far above, the noun *banggin* ‘back’ was never found to reduce (thus, **bang-nya* LOC, was unacceptable). The factor relevant to failure to reduce is evidently presence of the homorganic nasal-stop cluster, in a bisyllabic stem where such reduction would remove the homorganic stop. Commonest patterns for different final-syllable types may be summarized:

-CVn (where V is not i)	reduce -n
-Cin	
-Nin	reduce -in
-L/R/Yin	reduce -in, also -n
-Sin (S =stop)	reduce -in
-gin	as above but may zero syllable where preceding segment is ng in trisyllabic stems

At least one word, *bornorron* ‘brolga’, which undergoes reduction *bornorro-yi* ERG, compares with *bornorong* (velar nasal – final) in some other languages of the region, e.g., Jawoyn, Ngalkbon.

3.5. Fortition and related processes

Wardaman exhibits surface alternations, some of which must be considered to result from fortition, or “hardening”, a process by which a basic sonorant is realized as a stop. There are several distinguishable, productive processes of this sort; that is, which are environmentally conditioned, live alternations. An expository problem is that certain of these, with which this section begins, are closely linked to other processes which operate at the same boundary — that between pronominal prefix and verb stem — but have different effects (degemination, deletion, etc.). There are other important fortition processes of quite different character, which operate elsewhere. My preference is to treat together the set of processes which operate at boundary between prefix and verb stem, rather than artificially attempting to group all fortition processes together.

3.5.1. Fortitions and linked processes at prefix-verb stem boundary

Where a final *rr*, *n* or other nasal of a pronominal prefixal element precedes certain initial segments (*n*, *ny*, *j*) of a following verb stem, slightly variable fortition processes occur, depending on the identity of the segments which come together.

Where *rr* occurs in this environment, it is the non-singular formative. Instances of *n* and *ng* before the verb stem are, respectively, the accusative marker in the pronominal prefix, and segments of other person/number-marking prefixes.

Where nonsingular marker *rr* occurs before the retroflex nasal, we find the following sorts of differences between attributable morphological segmentation (involving verb stems *na* ‘see’ and *ni* ‘bring’), and actual forms:

Phonological Form	Realization	Gloss
<i>nga-rr-na-n</i>	<i>ngadan</i>	‘we 1INPL see it’
<i>yi-rr-na-n</i>	<i>yidan</i>	‘we 1EXNSG see it’
<i>ya-wu-rr-na-n</i>	<i>yawudan</i>	‘they see it’
<i>nga-rr-ni-n</i>	<i>ngadin</i>	‘we 1INPL bring it’
<i>ya-wu-rr-ni-n</i>	<i>yawudin</i>	‘they bring it’

These examples show that what may be morphologically identified as two segments (*rr* + *n*) result not only in stopping (to *d*), but at the same time reduction of two segments to one. The hardening process applies in only one instance when *rr* precedes verb-stem initial *ny*, in the important and high-frequency *nyanga*- ‘come’. Interestingly, this process does not apply to other *ny*-initial stems, e.g., *nyogba*- ‘howl’ (suggesting perhaps a distinctive historical status of the palatal nasal in “come”). Though isolated, this example is important in that it provides evidence concerning how the fortition and related processes ought to be formulated.

Illustrative forms of the verb “come” are:

Phonological form	Realization	Gloss
<i>nga-rr-nyanga-n</i>	<i>ngadjangan</i>	‘we INPL come’
<i>yi-rr-nyanga-n</i>	<i>yidjangan</i>	‘we EXNSG come’
<i>ya-wu-rr-nyanga-n</i>	<i>yawudjangan</i>	‘they come’
<i>wu-rr-nyanga-ndi</i>	<i>wudjangandi</i>	‘they came’

These forms show that two processes are involved: stopping of the palatal nasal, and stopping of the rhotic. Before basic *j*-initial stems, such as /jingi/ ‘sit’, *rr*-stopping also occurs:

<i>ya-wu-rr-jingi-n</i>	<i>yawudjingin</i>	‘they sit’
<i>yi-rr-jingi-n</i>	<i>yidjingin</i>	‘we EXNSG sit’

The stopping of *rr* here sheds light on the formulation of process involving the sequence *rr* before *n*, discussed above. In addition to seeing the process as involving the stopping of *n*, it may also be supposed to involve the stopping of /r/ to *d*. The fact that we do not have e.g., [ngaddan] ‘we INPL see’ must be attributed to degemination, which inferentially is obligatory at this boundary.

However, processes affecting nonsingular *rr* cannot be viewed this way in all environments; in some, we clearly have *rr*-deletion.

Before *l*- or *d*-initial verb stems, the nonsingular formative *-rr-* is not realized: it is zeroed. It leaves a mark of its morpho-phonological presence in that it conditions de-retroflexion of the stem-initial *l* or *d*. In order to see the operation of these processes, we may compare a number of forms of the verb *lu* ‘to cry’. Where the pronominal prefix before the stem is vowel-final, the *l* is realized as retroflex. However, where the *rr* is present structurally, it is realized as alveolar:

Phonological Form	Realization	Gloss
<i>nga-lu-n</i>	<i>nga-rlun</i>	‘I cry’
<i>yi-lu-n</i>	<i>yi-rlun</i>	‘you (SG) cry’
<i>ya-0-lu-n</i>	<i>ya-rlun</i>	‘he/she cries’
<i>nga-rr-lu-n</i>	<i>nga-lun</i>	‘we INPL cry’
<i>ya-wu-rr-lu-n</i>	<i>yawu-lun</i>	‘they cry’

Thus, there remains a phonetic difference between such forms as “I cry” in the retroflexion of initial /l/ vs. ‘we INPL cry’, and so on. Table 2 shows that no rhotic plus lateral clusters are permissible, so we may think of the process involved here as zeroing in conformity with that constraint.

A similar situation obtains in stems with initial *d* (that is, morpheme initial /rd/, e.g., [nga-rdagbarlan] ‘I have it’, [nga-dagbarlan] ‘we INPL have it’, [yawu-dagbarlan] ‘they have it’. Here, however, we may envision the processes as stopping of /r/ to *d*, followed by reduction of the geminate cluster *dd*.

The above situations involving *rr* before stem-initial *l* /*rl*/ and *d* /*rd*/ yield impermissible cluster types (*rrrl*, *rrrd*), and in fact these are not realized as such. The loss of retroflexion that occurs here is apparently environmentally different from anything accounted for by P-1. We may describe this loss of retroflexion:

P-2 De-retroflexion at prefix-stem boundary

[+ retro] → [-retro] /*r* _____

In short, the presence of *rr* before any possible initial apical segment results in the reduction of differences among three underlying clusters (*rrm*, *rrrl*, *rrrd*) to two occurring segments, *d* and *l*.

Where nasal-final prefixes occur before *n*-initial verb stems, there is hardening of the stem-initial nasal to the homorganic stop, and the preceding nasal remains. Examples with *na* 'see' are:

Phonological Form	Realization	Gloss
<i>nga-n-na-n</i>	<i>ngandan</i>	'he/she sees me'
<i>nga-ng-na-n</i>	<i>ngangdan</i>	'I see you (SG)'
<i>nga-wu-n-na-n</i>	<i>ngawundan</i>	'I see them'

The above facts suggest that we may formulate a process of fortition or hardening which accounts both for situations with *rr* and *n* before verb stem-initial *n*, and the isolated instance of *nyanga*- 'come'; and then, that the other processes we have seen, of degemination on the one hand and *rr*-deletion on the other, apply to the output of this rule, which may be stated informally:

P-3 Fortition of verb-stem initial nasal segments

/*n*/ → *d* / {*r*, *N*} _____
 /*ny*/ → *j* / *r* _____

Although the rule is apparently stated as a general, phonological one, its environmental specificity has been indicated, particularly the limited application of the second part.

We may now state the environment for stopping of *rr* as follows:

P-4 *rr*-Stopping

/*r*/ → *d*/ _____ + [+ Stop, -labial, -velar]

Conditions: where + is the boundary between pronominal prefixes and verb stem. Some applications of P-4 arise from P-3.

Now we may account for those environments in which *d* arising from /*r*/ is deleted as follows. Where there are instances of verb stem-initial *d* which have been created by P-3, as well as those where /*d*/ is basic (as in *dagbarla*- 'have' (see examples above), combinations of *d* + *d* are simplified to *d*. We may additionally indicate that in terms of degemination, this is a boundary of the ! (obligatory application) sort.

Additionally, we must account for the deletion of *rr* before *l*-initial verb stems. First, however, it is relevant to note a related paradigmatic irregularity: before /*l*-initial stems,

the accusative marker *-n* does not appear, it is zeroed. The lateral is realized as alveolar rather than retroflex, so that minimal differentiation among certain forms is not maintained. Compare the morpho-phonological string to the actually occurring transitive combination 3SG → 1SG ‘he/she/it bit me’, and below, the string ‘we INPL bit it’ with its realization:

<i>ngan-la-rr</i>	<i>ngalarri</i>	‘he bit me’
3SG → 1SG-bite-PST		
<i>nga-rr-la-rr</i>	<i>ngalarri</i>	‘we bit him’
1INPL-bite-PST		

The above may be compared with the usual realization *ngan-* of the 3SG → 1SG combination, *ngan-darri* ‘he saw me’, *ngan-bundi* ‘he hit me’, *ngan-mendi* ‘he took me’, etc.

No clusters of *n* plus lateral occur, so we may put this together with loss of *rr* before stem-initial /l/ as instances of the zeroing of impermissible clusters.

P-5 *rr-* and *n-* deletion before /l/

/rr/, /n/ → 0/ _____ [+ apical, -stop, -nasal]

Condition: *rr* is the nonsingular formative, + the boundary before verb stem.

3.5.2. Fortition of /w/

Fortition applies to two important instances of basic /w/ which are stopped to *b* after nasals, as well as to one morphologically minor one. Elsewhere these instances are realized as *w*. The suffixes concerned are future tense /wa/, third person nonsingular pronominal prefix /wu/, and a nominal derivational suffix /widi/.

Because of stem structure and the details of tense formation, future tense suffix /wa/ may only occur in two morpho-phonological environments: following a vowel, or following the reflexive-reciprocal marker. Ordinarily, the shape of this marker is /yi/: *ya-wu-rr-bu-yi-n* ‘they are hitting each other, fighting with each other’. However, before the future tense suffix, all forms which have the reflexive or reciprocal marker are characterized by the presence of *-ng-* after it, i.e., the sequence *-yi-ng-*. Following this nasal, and because of assimilation of the suffix vowel to the previous /i/, the shape of the future tense marker is *-be*. Thus: *ya-wu-rr-bu-yi-ng-be* ‘they are going to hit each other, fight’. This illustrates fortition in the post-nasal environment.

An alternative way of describing the facts would be to simply list two allomorphs of the future suffix as post-vocalic *-wa* and as *-ngbe* in the environment of the reflexive-reciprocal marker, that is, treating the latter as a morphological irregularity rather than as a phonological process. There seems to be little to recommend one description over the other, except that the second affix, to be described, may be seen as similarly undergoing fortition following a nasal.

The second hardening of /w/ to *b* involves the prefixal element nonsingular third person /wu/. Because of its possible positioning within the prefix complex, /wu/ either occurs in a post-vocalic environment, occurs initially, or follows the accusative-marking

element *-n-*. In the former two environments it is realized as *wu*; in the latter, the initial semivowel is hardened in the realization *bu*. An example of this process is in the morphophonological form 3NSG → 1SG /*nga-n-wu-rrl*/ (1SG, accusative, 3NSG, plural), which is realized as *nganburr-*. The third instance is that of a rather rare suffix /*widi*/ (9.8.), which is found, for example, to create a nominal *yarrbaly-widi* from a particle *yarrbaly* ‘make a nuisance’. Following a nasal-final particle such as *jangan* ‘persist in saying to, asking’, we find *jangan-bidi* ‘persistent’.

The question may be raised whether it is reasonable to take the semivowel-initial forms of the morphemes under discussion as basic. Could the processes be alternatively viewed as lenition? This seems counterintuitive first, in the case of nonsingular /*wu*/ because it is realized in that shape word-initially, where there is no argument for treating this as a leniting environment; and in the case of future /*wa*/, because that is the “elsewhere” realization apart from the environment following unpredictable *-ng-* after the reflexive-reciprocal marker. Below (3.7.) are discussed two other processes which have realizations as *w*, but which must be described as differently conditioned from the instances we have just seen. For this reason the basic segment in the suffixes described here is treated as /*w*/, which undergoes stopping to *b* after nasals.

P-6 /w/-Fortition

/w/ → b / [+ Nasal] _____

Conditions: morphemes to which this applies are future suffix /*wa*/, 3NSG /*wu*/, and /*widi*/ . Conditioning nasals in the first two instances are *-ng-* following the reflexive-reciprocal, and *-n-* accusative marker.

3.5.3. Fortition of /m/

An alternation of basic /*m*/ with *b* is found in four different suffixes. One is the particle suffix (11.1.2.) which has the shape *ma* following all sonorants, *ba* following stops. Examples after sonorants are: *burrngburrng-ma* ‘boil’, *ngurluguy-ma* ‘mutter, hum’; *geleng-ma* ‘dislike’; *many-ma* ‘aim at’.

The second morpheme is the iterative, inchoative (and in fact functionally somewhat diversified) suffix /*marla*/ (see 8.13.). Here good evidence that the nasal-initial form is properly taken as basic comes from the existence of an independent adverb *marla-yi* ‘again, repeatedly’ (where *-yi* is an adverbial suffix, 5.2.1.).

The third morpheme is the plural noun suffix *-mulu*, where generally, the *m*-initial form occurs after all sonorants, *-bulu* after stops (e.g., *wurre-mulu* ‘children’, *yirrug-bulu* 1EXNSG pronoun). (Some cases are attested of *-mulu* after stops, see 5.6.3.)

The fourth is the noun-forming suffix with allomorphs *-man* and *-ban* (see 9.3.).

It is important to note that in all these suffixes, post-nasal realization is with *m*. In alternations where stops are regarded as basic and semivowel realizations as the result of lenition (3.7.), the stop-initial allomorph occurs following nasals. This difference indicates that we do indeed require two different sorts of processes, fortition and lenition, to describe alternations in the language.

P-7 /m/-Fortition

/m/ → b / [+ Stop] _____

Conditions: affects particle suffix /ma/, iterative /marla/, plural /mulu/, noun-forming /man/.

3.5.4. Assimilation in ergative and locative case suffixes

Assimilatory processes — fortition and nasal assimilation — affect the ergative/instrumental marker /yi/, and the locative case marker /ya/, in each instance hardening the semivowel to the corresponding stop *j* following a stem-final stop, and making it the corresponding nasal *ny* after stem-final nasal. Here we have morpho-phonological effects that are more assimilatory than fortition, which might be seen as (at least partly) dissimilatory.

As noted in 3.4., final syllable reduction applies to many nominal stems to expose a stem-final segment relevant to the processes under discussion here. Examples of relevant environments for the assimilations described, and occurring forms, are:

Absolute	Case-marked	Gloss
<i>minyardin</i>	<i>minyard-ja</i>	'coals' LOC
<i>minyardin</i>	<i>minyard-ji</i>	'coals' ERG
<i>yumin</i>	<i>yum-nya</i>	'tree' LOC
<i>yumin</i>	<i>yum-nyi</i>	'tree' ERG
<i>belgin</i>	<i>belg-ji</i>	'mud' ERG
<i>belgin</i>	<i>belg-ja</i>	'mud' LOC

For nouns with inflecting stem ending in *-n*, no difference can be detected between the semivowel-initial form of the suffix versus any secondarily nasalized one (e.g., there is no perceptible difference corresponding to the hypothetical one between *jerrin-ya* 'ground oven' LOC, and *jerrin-nya*, though the usual form here is in fact one which shows reduction, *jerr-ya*). As noted in 2.3., no distinction can be detected between medial palatal consonants versus a bi-segmental analysis of consonant + *y*. Regarding the process under discussion here, we may also note that no difference can be detected that would cause us to distinguish *ny-y* and *ny-ny* across morpheme boundaries.

P-8 Semivowel assimilation

/y/ → $\begin{cases} [j]/ & \text{[Stop] + _____} \\ \{ & \\ [ny]/ & \text{[Nasal] + _____} \end{cases}$

Condition: + is the boundary between noun stem and inflectional suffix.

3.6. Lenition processes

There are three processes of lenition, by which what are regarded as underlying stops become surface semivowels.

The first involves surface alternants *g* and *w*, considered to be relatable to an underlying segment /*g*/. The forms in which this alternation is found are: Genitive-Dative case /*gu*/ and historically related, composite case forms, Dissociative /*gunya*/ and Source /*gunba*/; focal member of pair suffix /*garra*/ (5.6.1.); dual suffix /*guya*/ (5.6.2.); causative suffix /*gurne*/; ‘having’ suffix /*garang*/ (5.2.); and verb particle negator /*gay*/. In all these morphemes, *g* occurs after stem-final stops and nasals, *w* elsewhere.

Examples of these alternations are: *mayi-wu* ‘vegetable food, DAT’ vs. *yibiyān-gu* ‘man, Aborigine, DAT’; *wurre-wunya* ‘child, DISS’ vs. *ngawun-gunya* ‘nothing, DISS’; *wurre-wuya* ‘child, DU’ vs. *yibiyān-guya* ‘man, DU’; *wu-melema-wurne* ‘black, CAUS’ vs. *yi-jordjordin-gurne* ‘crazy, CAUS’ (also, *yi-jordjordin-gurne*).

Evidence that /*g*/ rather than /*w*/ is basic in these morphemes is of two kinds. First, the *g*-initial allomorphs occur following both nasals and stops, whereas for morphemes in which /*w*/ is considered basic (3.5.4.), hardened allomorphs are more limited environmentally, occurring only after stops. In other words, the distribution of stop-initial allomorphs of “leniting” morphemes is wider compared to the distribution of other morphs which have partly overlapping realizations.

Secondly, the related forms of independent dative and dissociative pronouns all exhibit word-initial *g*, e.g., *gunya* ‘from him, her, DISS’; *gunga* ‘his, hers, DAT’. Also, we find the word for “two” is etymologically related to the dual suffix, and is stop-initial: *guyamin*. This also amounts to an argument for /*g*/ as synchronically basic on the basis of certain facts of distribution of the stop-initial variant compared to the semivowel-initial one.

The second lenition is one whereby what is regarded as basic /*b*/ has alternate as *w* after all non-nasal sonorants, and *b* after stops and nasals. This alternation is found in: ablative case suffix /*ba*/, article suffix /*bi*/ (5.7.), perfective passive adjectival suffix /*bari*/ (9.2.), pronominal and adverbial suffix /*baywa*/ (6.5.), adverbial suffix /*barra*/ (5.4.), and derivational adjectival suffixes /*barrin*/ ‘unable, not prone to (do) X’, and /*berreng*/ ‘inclined (unfortunately) to do X’.

Examples of alternate forms are: *lagla-wa* ‘camp, ABL’ vs. *yum-ba* ‘tree, ABL’; *wudu-wi* ‘little, ART’ vs. *yi-bam-bi* ‘head, ART’; *guyamin-barra nungguru-warra* ‘with two hands’, the phrase illustrating both forms; *gayardung-berreng* ‘one who might run (away)’, vs. *derrema-werreng* ‘one who might crawl’.

The third lenition has the same conditioning, but involves different segments. It applies to a (mainly) nominal suffix (5.11.) which means ‘actual, real, proper, full’, which has stop-initial form *junuyn* after stops and nasals, semivowel-initial form *yunuyn* elsewhere: *garnin-junuyn* ‘real spear’ vs. *yingyi-yunuyn* ‘real name’; and *gungan.gin-junuyn* ‘really his/hers’ vs. *wurruguru-yunuyn* ‘real devil dog’. (Note that this ending seems to have a somewhat more clitic-like status than, for example, case endings, as shown by the tendency for final syllable reduction not to occur, as with *garnin* ‘spear’.)

Since the three lenition processes are identically conditioned, they may be described in the same statement.

P-9 Lenition

<i>/g/</i> —————→ <i>w</i>	/	{	[+ son]	—————
<i>/b/</i> —————→ <i>w</i>			[- nas]	
<i>/j/</i> —————→ <i>y</i>				

It emerges from consideration of fortition and lenition processes that surface *w*s are attributable to four morpho-phonological sources: basic lexical */w/* which does not alternate, as in the verb stem */waja/* ‘leave’; basic suffixal */w/* which has most frequent realization *w* and post-nasally, *b*; suffixal */g/* which has alternate realizations *g* after stops and nasals and *w* elsewhere; suffixal basic */b/* which has alternate realizations *b* after stops and nasals and *w* elsewhere. The arguments for treating */g/* of the third set as basic synchronically seem to me compelling; but it is not obvious, despite the identical conditioning factors, that that has clear-cut implications for how the alternations of the last set (*b* and *w*) should be treated, given the rather different (and diverse) nature of the suffixes concerned in the last group. Nevertheless, the identity of conditioning environments of three different alternating pairs of segments for which stop is considered basic (*g/w*; *b/w*, and *j/y*), is suggestive.

3.7. Minor assimilations

Minor assimilatory processes affect the semivowels in certain environments. There are also pervasive, minor assimilations which affect the realizations of vowels.

3.7.1. Semivowels

Articulation of the semivowels tends to be less distinct, up to and including zeroing, in certain environments where each is followed by its homorganic vowel.

Both verb-stem initial */y/* and */w/* are often reduced or zeroed when each is preceded by */rr/* of the prefixal nonsingular element, and followed by its homorganic vowel. Such reduction may also affect */w/* of the third person nonsingular prefixal element */wu/*. This reduction may occur even where there is primary stress on the syllable of which the semivowel is the margin.

For example, certain future forms of the verb “go” exhibit stems *yi-ng-be* (presumed stem *yi* or *ying* plus future allomorph *be*; also a reduplicative variant *yijing-be*). Examples of the reduction of the semivowel are:

Phonological form	Realization	Gloss
<i>nga-rr-ying-be</i>	<i>nga'rringbe</i>	‘we INPL will go’
<i>yi-rr-ying-be</i>	<i>yi'rringbe</i>	‘we EXNSG will go’
<i>nga-rr-yijing-be</i>	<i>ngarri'jingbe</i>	‘we INPL will go’

Reduction of /w/ often applies in third nonsingular *wu* following *rr* nonsingular element, as in:

/nga-rr-wu-n-waja/ ngarrunwaja ‘we INPL leave them’

Verb stem-initial /w/ may likewise show some reduction following *rr*, e.g. /yi-rr-wudba/ ‘we EXPL throw it’ is generally realized as [yirrudba].

A morphological process of nominalizing verb particles involves the element *-yi-* following the particle and particle-final suffix. These elements may be followed by a complementizer, e.g., one of the case suffixes. (See 11.3. for discussion of the syntax of such constructions). Examples of these combinations are: /jornog-ba-yi-warr/ ‘to be full up’ (with Allative *-warr* as complementizer; /jabul-ma-yi-warr/ ‘smoking’. Such endings are usually realized as [biwarr] and [miwarr]. That is, the *a* of the particle-final suffix and the semivowel are zeroed.

3.7.2. Lateral to nasal assimilation

The directional suffix /lan/ (7.4.) is frequently preceded by stems which end in velar nasal. Although request for careful pronunciation always elicits lateral-initial *-lan* in this environment (thus producing the cluster *ngl* found only at boundary, as indicated in Table 2), nevertheless in ordinary speech this lateral is often assimilated to the nasal of the same place of articulation, yielding [gorrong-nan] ‘towards the south’ rather than *[gorrong-lan], [galung-nan] ‘upwards’ instead of careful [galung-lan], etc.

3.7.3. Vowel assimilation

The processes in question are low-level assimilations of certain prefixal and suffixal vowels to the quality of adjacent vowels in noun and verb stems. Assimilations affecting prefixes are regressive from the first stem-vowel “backwards” to the prefix, those affecting verb suffixes are progressive from the final stem-vowel “forwards” to the suffixal vowel.

Regressive assimilation from the verb stem applies to certain pronominal prefixes, all and only those in which the sole vowel is *a*: 1SG *nga-*, 1INPL *ngarr-*, and third singular nonpast conjugation marker (8.2.) *ya-*; transitive combination 1SG → 2SG *ngang-*, and 3SG → 1SG combination *ngan-*. Though it usually has the opportunity to apply to only one vowel leftwards of the conditioning stem vowel, in the case of the habitual mood prefix *ma-* followed by a person element in which the sole vowel is *a* (i.e., the 1SG element *nga-*, it applies to both elements in sequence, *ma-nga-* (see 6.6.4.). It applies (optionally, but usually) just where the adjacent stem vowel is a mid-vowel, *o* or *e*. The *a* of the prefix tends to assimilate to the quality of the mid-vowel. Thus, the relevant forms of the verb *wo* ‘give’ usually (but in careful pronunciation do not necessarily) become: from /nga-won/ ‘I give it’, *ngowon*; from /ngarr-won/ ‘we INPL give it’, *ngorrwon*; from /ya-won/ ‘he gives it’, *yowon*; from /ngang-wo-n/ ‘I give it to you SG.’, *ngongwon*; from /ngan-wo-n/ ‘he gives it to me’, *ngonwon*. Similarly, in a verb with

front mid stem-vowel, we find such forms as: from /nga-we-n/ 'I fall' *ngewen*; from /nga-rr-we-n/ 'we Incl fall' *ngerrwen*; from /ya-we-n/ 'he falls', *yewen*, and so on.

There is a third person irrealis prefix combination *yayi-* (see 6.6.3.) in which *a*, being minimally one vowel removed from the first stem-vowel (i.e., other person-number elements may follow before the stem), does not assimilate.

An example of a verb with more than one stem vowel is the following: /nga-gomarla-n/ 'I follow him', generally realized as *ngo-gomarlan*. Where the prefix is bi- or multi-syllabic, thus separating the *a* vowel from the stem, the assimilation does not occur: /nga-rr-wu-n-gomarla-n/ 'we INPL follow them', *ngarrun.gomarlan*.

The noun class prefix /*ma*/ also commonly shows the effects of regressive assimilation before a stem with "next-over" mid-vowel. Because nouns show much less paradigmatic variation than verbs — i.e., inflect with a lesser number of elements, and most noun stems tend to occur with only one class prefix — some nouns quite invariably show this kind of assimilation. The overall result has evidently been a tendency towards long-term change, through vowel assimilation and fusion of the erstwhile prefix with the stem, creating a lexical unit. Examples of this kind are: *mogorlgorl* Ampelocissus; *mordon* 'creeper', *megerrman* 'long yam'. In all these cases, initial *mV* must now be considered part of the stem, but historically, is transparently the class prefix /*ma*/ which has vegetable foods central among the nouns to which it is usually prefixed. The assimilatory process is also synchronically active, as in *me-dengdeng* 'fig' (species), or *me-dewoman yi-mum-gu* 'white of the eye, sclera', where /*ma*/ becomes *me-* before the mid-vowel. The stem 'white' may be prefixed with the other noun class markers, in which instances no assimilation occurs, e.g., *wu-dewoman* 'white', WU-class. Variation may be observed in realization of *ma-* before stems with mid-vowel, e.g., both *ma-jern* and *me-jern* 'stomach', occur.

My transcription practice (in the texts and examples) is to write the basic vowel of the pronominal prefixes, e.g., invariably 1SG *nga-* no matter what its realization. However, with the noun class prefix /*ma*/ the assimilation is indicated in the transcription, since this does not seem to impede intelligibility or easy identification, given that a single morpheme is involved. Where (as in *megerrman* 'long yam') the prefix has become fused to the stem and there is no alternation of prefix, no morpheme boundary is indicated.

Progressive assimilation affects the realization of the future tense suffix /*wa*/, the directional suffix /*rlan*/ (sometimes, also, potential *-yan*). These processes, however, are not identical, and will be discussed in turn.

Assimilation of the future suffixal vowel *a* occurs only to *e*, after a final stem-vowel *e* or *i*; no change occurs where the final stem-vowel is *o*. Thus the realization of /*nga-we-wa*/ 'I will fall' is *ngewewe*, where the stem mid-vowel determines assimilation to it of both 1SG prefix and future suffix; also /*nga-jingi-wa*/ 'I will sit', *ngajingiwe*; but *ngongwowa* 'I will give it to you', not *ngongwowo*.

Often, the relevant stem-final vowel conditioning progressive assimilation is *i* of the reflexive-reciprocal marker *-yi-*. As already noted in 3.4.2. above, and further discussed in 3.9. below, following this morpheme and before the future tense suffix is a nasal *-ng-*, but this does not block the assimilation. Thus, /*ya-wu-r-bu-yi-ng-wa*/ 'they will fight' is realized as *yawurrrbuyingbe*.

numerous cases in which nominal class prefix /ma/ has recurrently been assimilated to stem-vowel qualities, and become fused as part of the stem. We may conclude that a long-term effect has been to admit mid-vowels as part of re-analysed lexical stems, and not to radically alter the vocalic segmental inventory of inflectional (or derivational) affixes.

In keeping with this apparent long-term trend, it needs to be noted that assimilatory processes are commonly observed to be synchronically active, affecting *a* vowels across certain morpheme boundaries, and even within nominal, pronominal, and verbal roots themselves. To some extent, the conditions under which this may occur are similar to certain ones already described.

For example, there are instances of *a* in the second syllable of a stem being raised to a height approximating [ɛ] following an initial syllable containing the vowel *i*. Careful pronunciation of the 2SG independent pronoun reveals /yinyang/ as the basic form, but usual realization is [yinyɛŋ]. Arguably, such assimilation has historically determined the present form of the noun *yi-jeng* ‘foot’, and others similar to this. The word now used for ‘policeman’, *yinyigben*, must be etymologically analyzed as containing a derivational suffix which has the allomorphs *-ban* and *-man* (see 9.3.); yet it is probably best to regard the synchronic shape of the word as given above, with final mid-vowel which has undergone historical assimilation following *i*.

There are also instances of leftward moving spread of harmony over two vocalic nuclei, where a certain amount of synchronic variability in the realization of the one second-to-left suggests recent, even on-going, change; but where assimilation in left-most affixal *a* (where this is relevant) indicates that the basic second-to-left vowel quality should now probably be recognized as a mid-vowel. Examples will clarify the point.

The verb “to know”, has variable realizations of the following kinds (example is with 1SG pronominal *nga-*, an assimilating vowel): [ngayardɛn], [ngayɛrdɛn], [ngeyɛrdɛn]. The fact that there is this much variability shows the process is not entirely settled. But also, the fact that the *a* affixal vowel can, and generally does, show assimilation suggests that the representation of the root, if only one, should now be /yerde/.

Slightly differently, in the allative-marked directional ‘downriver’, we usually encounter [beyɛ-rlɛn], but also find something approaching [bayɛ-rlɛn], suggesting that while the final root vowel is certainly *e* (to account for the suffixal assimilation), the first may historically have been *a*, which has undergone and is still undergoing leftward-moving harmony. This form is given as /beye/ (e.g., in the dictionary).

However, some similar assimilations appear to have a certain synchronic lexical specificity, in that other, apparently structurally similar forms show no tendency towards variation in vowel qualities. In one particularly common instance, that of the word /marndɛn/ ‘ghost, white person’, stressed *a* is often raised to approximate mid-level before the following front mid-vowel, i.e., regressively. Thus this word is commonly realized in two ways, as [‘marndɛn], and as [‘mɛrmdɛn]. There is no tendency for this to occur where the following vowel is other than a mid-vowel, e.g., in /madɪn/ ‘word, language’, which is invariably realized as [‘madɪn]: the effect of /i/ on /a/ seems to be only progressive from stem- to suffixal vowel. Nor is there any tendency for change in quality to occur in other words apparently more similar to /marndɛn/, e.g., /ganben/

'flying fox'. There may be a vowel-raising effect conditioned by presence of the retroflex homorganic nasal-stop cluster. Given the more nearly equal frequency of occurrence of the alternative forms of "ghost, white person" (compared, say, to frequencies of the stem-forms for "downriver", of which *beye* is by far more common), it seems the variability here should not be regularized at this stage, and both forms deserve separate dictionary entry.

Though regressive assimilation cannot be seen as the historical source of all mid-vowels, nevertheless it is arguable that it has been historically important in yielding a considerable number of bi- and poly-syllabic words, the vowels of which in the contemporary language are all of the same quality, e.g.: /gorromogon/ 'morning', /jongon/ 'east', /ngorrogorro/ 'afternoon', /woyolong/ 'whipsnake', /borndoyorron/ *Pandanus spiralis*, /gomorrong/ 'long necked turtle', /menngen/ 'white cockatoo', /ngeleleg/ 'little corella', /lerrwewen/ *Ficus opposita*, /jembel/ 'death adder', /geremerr/ 'headband', and others. It must, however, also be noted that mid-vowels occur in words with another mid-vowel of a different quality (/bedbog/ 'honeyeater', though one must of course recognize that bird and some other animal names are commonly imitative, but also /belgogban/ 'dry ground'), and with the vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/, e.g., /ganben/ 'flying fox' already cited, in which there is no tendency towards modification of the first vowel. The point is simply that there is no indication one may identify in such assimilatory spread as has been described here the historical origin of mid-vowels in this and related languages. In fact, as we have seen, the process tends to spread mid-vowel qualities outwards from lexical roots to affixes. Aspects of the contemporary lexical distribution of mid-vowels, however, are clearly to be seen in the light of this spread. A few figures may help to indicate the possible extent of that influence.

Table 3. Word-level distribution of mid-vowels

all stems/forms containing <i>o</i>	177
one V only	33
two or more, only <i>o</i>	69
<i>o + a</i>	36
<i>o + e</i>	12
<i>o + i</i>	20
<i>o + u</i>	5
other	2
all stems/forms containing <i>e</i>	225
one V only	32
two or more, only <i>e</i>	73
<i>e + a</i>	29
<i>e + i</i>	33
<i>e + u</i>	35
other	11

Out of a listing of 1908 lexical stems and major inflectional affixes (the count was made this way so as to include bisyllabic affixes such as *-barrin*, *-berreng*, *-gurne* etc.), it was found that 402 contained at least one instance of *o* or *e*. Table 3⁴ shows other details of the count, and is to be understood as follows.

Overall, there were 177 instances of such forms with at least one *o*; 33 had only one, and 69 had two or more where *o* was the only stem-vowel quality. The rest of the tally for *o* was made up by combinations of (at least one) *o* and (at least one) other vowel. Secondly, there were 225 instances of forms with at least one *e*; 32 stems had only one, and 73 had two or more where *e* was the only stem-vowel quality. The rest of the tally for *e* was made up by combinations of (at least one) *e* and (at least one) other vowel.

In summary, the percentage of forms containing all *o* (two or more vowels) was 39% of the total of all forms containing *o*. The percentage of forms containing all *e* (two or more vowels) was 30.82% of the total of all forms containing *e*.

A final spreading phenomenon needs to be considered at least briefly. In Chapter 2 it was indicated that although there must be recognized for Wardaman a contrast between two apical series, alveolar and retroflex, there can be considerable problem in identifying particular instances of apical consonants as of one series or the other. There it was mentioned that this is partly due to a retroflexion-spreading phenomenon, which usually seems to be of this sort. Where there is a retroflex apical segment or cluster 'rightwards' in a word or stem, preceding apical(s) may anticipate that retroflexion to some degree. Thus, in a word like /walbarndan/ 'plain', one may encounter realizations [walbarndan] but also commonly [warlbarndan]. It seems more common for retroflexion to spread in this way, and perhaps particularly to laterals, the kind of segment for which the apical/retroflex contrast is often most difficult to distinguish phonetically.

There are other conditions under which retroflexion is simply difficult to identify as a feature of a particular segment in given realizations. Word-final position can be difficult for retroflex nasals (as, e.g., in /yi-ngelemben/ 'collar bone'), sometimes also intervocally (as in /ngawurnen/ 'many'), but retroflexion as a feature of laterals is generally easiest to identify confidently in the word-final environment, and before stops. Phonetic indeterminacies in the apical contrast seem to be characteristic of Wardaman and congeners as compared, for example, with Arnhem languages like Jawoyn or Ngalakan, in which the phonetic properties of each series are more distinctive, and realizations are more easily distinguishable.

4. For purposes of the count, the particle suffix was not considered to form part of any stem, but derivational, stem-forming affixes (such as noun-forming *-ban* ~ *-man*) were considered part of stems, and inseparable verbal auxiliaries were considered part of verb stems. Forms derived from a counted base form, whatever their structure, were not separately counted. The implications of the above are as follows: a verb particle such as *nyerreng-ma* 'make noise' was tallied as an all *e* stem. Derived forms such as *nyerreng-ma-wujban* 'noisy person' were not included in the count. Different bases for a count could validly be used, but the count as given at least affords some idea of relative vowel frequencies, and of the rather high incidence of forms which contain only one mid-vowel or the other.

3.8. Reduplication

There is a considerable amount of non-productive or frozen lexical reduplication in Wardaman, i.e., there are many words the basic form of which is reduplicative. These include, for example, such particles as *gijigijig* ‘tickle’, *mamajmamaj* ‘wave (to)’, *dangdangma* ‘click’, *wujugwujug* ‘shake’ (as tree, to dislodge animal or fruit), *jibjib(a)* ‘itch’, *bornborn* ‘bathe’, *gajigaji* ‘walk, travel on foot’, *burrngburrng-ma* ‘boil’, and so on. Numerous examples could be cited among nouns. We will not consider such forms here, but turn to productive processes of reduplication.

First, however, it may be mentioned here that word- and even phrase-level repetition is a common means for indicating repetitive, intensive, or distributive activity. Consider the following examples:

<i>jarrug</i>	<i>yirr-me-ndi</i>	<i>jamam</i>	<i>jamam</i>	<i>yi-bumbu-gari</i>
egg	1EXNSG-get-PST	full	full	YI-billy-other-ABS
<i>yi-bumbu-gari</i>				
YI-bill-other-ABS				

‘We gathered eggs, full, full, another billycan, another billycan ...’.

Here, in order to convey the impression of durative and repetitive activity and outcome, the speaker repeats both “full” and the phrase “another billy”.

Other examples of word-level repetition are:

<i>wurren</i>	<i>yi-jad</i>	<i>yi-jad,</i>	<i>yi-jarlu</i>	<i>wudu</i>	<i>wudu</i>
child-ABS	YI-big	YI-big-ABS	YI-some-ABS	small	small-ABS

‘some big big children, some little little ones ...’.

<i>lege-ya</i>	<i>yum-nya</i>	<i>0-jingi-ndi</i>	<i>walig</i>	<i>walig</i>
one-LOC	tree-LOC	3SG-sit-PST	around	around

‘It was (there) all around a single tree ...’.

Here to give the impression of multiplicity, the speaker repeats the locational ‘around’. Another common way of indicating iteration, duration, repetition as a feature of text is by over-long articulation of the final vowel of a verb form on a single pitch level: *wurr-wemi-ri-ri:: yilgbayi* ‘they kept on vomiting, (then they were) OK’. There also exists an iterative suffix (see 8.13.).

Here, we will not further consider word-level repetition or higher text-level construction of iteration and related meanings, except to note that it is not possible to make an entirely clear-cut distinction between word-level repetition, and what might otherwise be seen as complete reduplication within the word. The difficulty of distinguishing these two applies particularly to verb particles.

Several kinds of reduplication are found with verb particles. There are many particles for which complete reduplication is common. *warlbag* ‘to remove, take off, unsaddle’ etc. is commonly reduplicated as *warlbagwarlbag*; *dijong-ma* ‘play the didgeridoo’ as *dijongdijong-ma* (but also *dijorrong-ma*), *ngurluguy(-ma)* ‘mumble’ as *ngurluguy ngurluguy(-ma)*, *mambang* ‘chase’ as *mambangmambang*, *barlb* ‘put down, in’ as

barbarlb (with degemination), *duwu* ‘swell, grow’ as *duwuduwu*, and so on. It is possible to identify a complete reduplicative form as within the word, rather than word repetition, where the particle-final suffix is commonly used with the particle, and also appears in its reduplicative form (as with *dijongdijong-ma*, or *barbarlb-a* ‘put down, in’). However, certain particles (like *mambang*) tend not to occur with particle-final suffix, and their usual reduplicative forms do not either.

Partial reduplications are also common in verb particles as well as other parts of speech. There appears to be no canon of phonological shape on the basis of which one may strictly predict which words will reduplicate fully, and which partially, but there are indications of some possible conditioning factors.

Certain words reduplicate partially, i.e., the first two syllables or CVC(C)V-, where complete reduplication would result in otherwise rare consonant clusters (see 2.4.). Thus the reduplicative form of *labang* ‘put on one’s shoulders’ is *laba-rlabang*, never complete **labang-labang*. (Note the cluster *ng-l* occurs rarely, and only across morpheme boundary). And although reduplication of any type operates only upon words of two or more syllables, those of more than two syllables tend to exhibit partial rather than complete reduplication. Thus, the usual reduplication of the verb particle *gayardung* ‘run’ is *gaya-gayardung*; that of adjectival nominal *jaburrunggun* ‘antecedents, predecessors’, *jajaburrunggun*; that of *yiguwarlangana* ‘single’, *yiguguwarlangana* (also *yiguwarlangana-mulu*).

Several important minor and major reduplicative patterns need to be mentioned. There are two high-frequency noun stems which consist entirely of open syllables: *marluga* ‘old man’ and *mulurru* ‘old woman’. These have very high-frequency reduplicative forms *marlarluga* and *mululurru*. Only the first stem, which contains vowels of different quality, provides insight into the process:

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3 \longrightarrow C_1V_1C_2V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3$$

In other words, the reduplicative segment is *ma-RLA-rlu-ga*, a combination of C_2 and the preceding V_1 . So common is this pattern that only two instances have been found in a search of extensive text material of the alternatively possible *marluga-mulu* ‘old men’ with plural suffix: the reduplicated form is more common by far. And although a few instances of *mulurru-mulu* have been found, this is by far less common than *mululurru*, even when the noun is case-suffixed (as in *mululurru-yi*, ERG). Another example of this pattern is the reduplicative form of *wardirrg* ‘young girl’, *wardardirrg* ‘young girls’.

That not all reduplications follow the above pattern (with reduplicative segment composed of C_2 and V_1) is shown by the common reduplicative form of *jumba* ‘behind, in back’: *jumbamba*. Here, the reduplicative segment is *jum-bam-ba*, or a combination of C_3 and V_2C_2 . This may be associated with words with first, closed syllable. Another example of slightly variant kind is the reduplicative, functionally adverbial *yondondorr* ‘along, on the road’, derived from the noun *yondorrin* ‘road’. Here, the reduplicative segment is evidently *d* plus V_1C_2 . Another form of this kind is *walbarnda* ‘on/along a plain, flat place’ from *walbardan* ‘plain’. Also from *barrwa* ‘down’, reduplicative *barrwarrwa* should be considered of this kind.

Another minor pattern is attested in a few roots which have first two syllables of the shape SV_iR/LV_i , that is, with initial stop (often *b*) followed by a sequence of two identical vowels separated by rhotic or lateral. In such instances the reduplicative segment is of the shape wV_iR/LV_i , as in the examples:

Base	Reduplicated	Gloss
<i>yi-borrodin</i>	<i>yi-borroworrodin</i>	'pretty, colourful', YI-class
<i>ma-durrudban</i>	<i>ma-durruwurrudban</i>	'round', MA-class
<i>yi-balanggin</i>	<i>yi-balawalanggin</i>	'new', YI-class
<i>ma-belyangman</i>	<i>me-belyewelyangman</i>	'red', MA-class
<i>marranyin</i>	<i>marrawarrayn</i>	'sand'

The last reduplicative form, *marrawarrayn*, is used to describe plants and animals which "belong to", that is are indigenous to, sand country, such as various plum types, and so on.

A few other forms have been found to have a similar but not identical internal segment. For example, there was noted above a form related to the particle *dijong-ma* 'play didgeridoo', *dijorrong-ma*.

The most important of minor patterns is one in which the reduplicative segment (from which the copy is made) is bounded off from the reduplicated segment by *g*. This pattern was found to occur with stems of the major word classes: nominal, verbal, and particle. There are a number of unusual features and different possibilities in this process.

There are some difficulties stating the domain or conditions of application of this kind of reduplication; some different attested types must at least be distinguished. Where a lexical stem is only bisyllabic, it often constitutes the input to reduplication. One case is that of *jurndu* 'short' (commonly "short piece of cloth or material"), the *g*-form of which is *jurndug-jurndu*. The high-frequency *g*-form of the verb *burla-* 'to lie to, deceive' is *burlag-burla*; of *durla-* 'copulate with', *durlag-durla*; and so on. In a few common instances where a lexical stem is monosyllabic, the reduplicating unit may include a nominal class prefix as part of it. Reduplicating forms of the monosyllabic adjectival nominal *jad* 'big' consist only of nominal class marker plus stem, *ma-jad*, *yi-jad* etc. In this instance, the reduplicating unit is shown to be such bisyllabic combinations of class marker plus stem: *yijagyijad*, *majagmajad*, etc.

Note that where such a bisyllabic unit has a final consonant, that segment does not constitute part of the reduplicating unit but is zeroed. The zeroing of stem-final *d* in *g*-forms of "big", above, illustrates this. Another example is the *g*-form of the noun stem *yibarnang* 'aunt': *barnag-barnang*. The occurring form shows that the stem-final nasal is dropped.

Further evidence below will show that the reduplicative process does not always apply to bisyllables in the way described; there is an alternative pattern.

Where a stem is more than bisyllabic, examples show that either the final two syllables, or penultimate and antepenultimate syllables may occur as the reduplicating unit. In the first instance, the common *g*-form of the verb *dagbarla-* 'have' is *dagbarlag-barla-*. In

the second instance, the high-frequency *g*-form of the verb particle *barlarra* ‘hide’ is *barlag-barlarra*. If the verb “have” were to reduplicate according to the second pattern, it would yield *dagbag-barla-*. This sounded unusual to informants, and it never occurred in text, while the form *dagbarlag-barla-* was found several times. The closed first syllable of the root may be a factor in determining that the reduplicating segment is the final CVCV, while there is no such limiting factor in the case of *barlarra*.

There are both bisyllabic and trisyllabic stems in which the reduplicating segment consists only of one CV unit plus *g*. There is no obvious structural explanation why these reduplicate in this way, rather than as described above. For example, the bisyllable *warling* ‘initiate, charge’ has *g*-form *wagwarling*. The reduplicating unit is the CV syllable *-wa-* only, plus *g*. If this bisyllable (which shows no unusual stress pattern or other obvious feature) were to reduplicate as above, it would yield *warlig-warling*. Exemplifying the same pattern for a trisyllabic stem is *yuwarrin* ‘poor fellow’, with *g*-form *yuwagwarrin*. Here again, the penultimate CV syllable by itself constitutes the reduplicating segment. Another noteworthy case of this sort is the *g*-form of *wilyangun* ‘boy, lad’: *wilyagjangun*. Were this form to be entirely regular, this would be *wilyaglyangun*. However, the palatal lateral, post-stop, is substituted by the corresponding stop (see also some tabled forms below of e.g., *g*-form of *me-* ‘to get’, *na-* ‘see’).

Let us now turn to a number of common nominal stems which happen to designate personal statuses, and all have the shape CVCVCV(C), e.g., *yingurla* ‘lad, single boy’. In these, there appears a reduplicated CV syllable, that is of shape *gV*, to the right of the base form’s penultimate syllable: *yingugurla*. As the example shows, the V of the *gV* syllable is that of the base form’s penultimate syllable. Other examples of this kind are listed below. What seems unusual here is that the reduplicated segment apparently is to the right of the reduplicating unit, or segment, its source. In other examples we have seen above it seems to be to the left. However, for reasons that will become clearer when *g*-reduplication in certain high-frequency monosyllabic verb stems is considered, these cases should not be regarded as anomalous in this way. Rather, the reduplication should be seen as involving reduplication of the penultimate CV, plus *g*, yielding an hypothetical intermediate form: *yingugngurla*. The cluster *gng* is simplified by zeroing of the nasal: *yingugurla*. (The cluster *gng* is rare, and occurs only in reduplicative forms.) The analogy with certain *n*-initial monosyllabic verb stems will be shown below. From that discussion, it will become clear that the crucial feature of all the CVCVCV(C) examples is not their syllabic structure per se, but the presence of (medial) *ng*.

Wardaman’s high-frequency CV verb stems also have *g*-reduplicative forms (see listing below). The process is simple, involving here reduplication of the CV, plus *g*, the unit occurring leftwards of its source. To illustrate with an inflected verb form and its *g*-counterpart, we have: *yawurr-bun* ‘they hit it’, and *yawurr-bugbun*.

It is apparent that such reduplication must be seen as operating upon already inflected, or inflectionally specified, forms. This can be seen from the fact that basic *n*-initial stems have *g*-forms which show appropriate stopping of that nasal following nonsingular *rr* (3.5.1.). For example, for the verb *ni-* ‘to bring’, the 3NSG form ‘they bring it’ is *yawu-din*, the *g*-form *yawu-digdin*.

For the verb *na-* ‘to see’, the corresponding singular and plural, regular and *g*-forms, are as follows:

‘he sees it’	<i>ya-nan</i>	<i>g</i> -form	<i>ya-nagdan</i>
‘they see it’	<i>yawu-dan</i>	<i>g</i> -form	<i>yawu-dagdan</i>

We might expect the 3SG *g*-form *ya-nagdan* to be **ya-nagnan*. However, as we saw above, a similar kind of process was found in the stopping of palatal lateral after *g* in *wilyagjangan* ‘lads’. We may generalize that post-*g* appears to be a stopping environment for both apical nasals, and laterals. We also find the *g*-form of *me-* ‘get’, *megbe-*, rather than **megme-*. (It happens that there is a distinct bisyllabic root *megbe-* ‘break, snap’, with which the *g*-form of *me-* is thus homophonous.)

Finally, let us look at examples of CV verb stems which parallel the features of *g*-reduplication in CVCVCV(C) nominal stems discussed above. There are two high-frequency CV stems that being with *ng*, *ngu-* ‘to eat’, and *nge-* ‘to sing’. These have *g*-forms as follows (examples are 3NSG, but this is not significant here): *yawurr-ngugun*, and *yawurr-ngegen*. We expect, by analogy with the majority of other examples above, *yawurr-ngugngun* and *yawurr-ngegnen*. We see that such hypothetical forms parallel the intermediate level form suggested above for *yingugurla* (*yingugngurla*). We may regard all of these as more regular by positing that they all undergo simplification of the (boundary-only) cluster *ngng* to *g*.

The listing of examples in Table 4 breaks the examples into categories by sub-type as discussed above.

The usual elements of meaning contributed by this process include plurality (*yi-birrba* ‘old’, *yi-birrbagbirrba* ‘the old people, the ancestors’), and in the case of verbal stems, intensity and/or repetition:

<i>0-yanggi-ya</i>	<i>jarrambu</i>	<i>lurleg-lurle</i>	<i>lurleg-lurle</i>
3SG-go-PST-NAR	look	cry rdp	cry rdp
<i>jarrambu</i>	<i>birdij</i>	<i>0-gi-ndi-ya</i>	
look	find	3SG-AUX-PST-NAR	

‘[Bird] went around looking, crying and crying and looking, and found it’.

In *barnag-barnang*, based on the kin term *yi-barnang* ‘aunt’, there is some indication that the specific element of intensity is intimacy, closeness, affection. This example first turned up in a story by a woman telling of her childhood and her close relationship with several older women, including a grandmother and her aunt, who always took her on foraging expeditions and taught her about foods and country. A slightly expanded context is:

<i>mulurru-yi</i>	<i>ngan-ga-ndi-ya</i>	<i>barnag-barnang-nyi</i>			
old woman-ERG	3SG/1SG-take-PST	aunt rdp-ERG			
<i>ngabobu</i>	<i>nganinggin</i>	<i>duba</i>	<i>0-jingi-ndi</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga nana</i>
FM-ABS	mine-ABS	sit	3SG-AUX-PST	take	take that-ABS
<i>wurren</i>	<i>nu-jarrambu-wuya</i>	<i>magulu-wu</i>			
child-ABS	2NSG-look-DU	yam-DAT			

‘Old woman my auntie would take me, my grandmother would stay put, “take [her], take that child, you two look around for yams” ’.

Table 4. Types of *g* reduplication

Base	Reduplicative form	Gloss
Type 1. Reduplication of final and penultimate CVCV		
<i>yi-menjen</i>	<i>yi-menjeg-menjen</i>	'cheeky' (PL.)
<i>yi-birrba</i>	<i>yi-birrbag-birrba</i>	'old people'
<i>ma-jad</i>	<i>majag-majad</i>	'big' (MA-)
<i>lurle</i>	<i>lurleg-lurle</i>	'cry' (verb particle)
<i>julu</i>	<i>julug-julu-yi</i>	'hill, along the hills'
<i>yawu-loyi-n</i>	<i>yawu-loyig-loyin</i>	'they are dancing'
<i>yi-barnang</i>	<i>barnag-barnang</i>	'aunt, auntie'
<i>dagbarla-</i>	<i>dagbarlag-barla-</i>	'have'
<i>jurndu</i>	<i>jurndug-jurndu</i>	'short (cloth)'
<i>burla-</i>	<i>burlag-burla-</i>	'lie to, deceive'
<i>durla-</i>	<i>durlag-durla-</i>	'copulate with'
<i>dordoma-</i> 'shake'	<i>yi-dordog-dordon</i>	'clumsy person, shaker'
<i>dembu-</i>	<i>dembug-dembu-</i>	'peck about'
Type 2. Reduplication of penultimate and antepenultimate CVCV		
<i>barlarra</i>	<i>barlag-barlarra</i>	'hide' (verb particle)
<i>lorlorr-ma</i>	<i>lorlog-lorlorr-ma</i>	'drag'
Type 3. Reduplication of penultimate CV		
<i>warling</i>	<i>wagwarling</i>	'initiand'
<i>wilyangun</i>	<i>wilyagjangun</i>	'lad'
<i>yuwarrin</i>	<i>yuwagwarrin</i>	'poor thing'
<i>wu-juda</i>	<i>wu-jugjuda</i>	'short' (WU-)
Type 4. Reduplication of CV verb stems		
<i>bu-</i>	<i>bug-bu-</i>	'hit' etc.
<i>ga-</i>	<i>gag-(g)a-</i>	'take away' *
<i>ni-</i>	<i>nig-di-</i>	'bring'
<i>ngu-</i>	<i>ngugu-</i>	'eat'
<i>nge-</i>	<i>ngege-</i>	'sing'
<i>na-</i>	<i>nagda-</i>	'see'
<i>ba-</i>	<i>bagba-</i>	'burn, perish'
<i>me-</i>	<i>megbe-</i>	'take'
(*cluster always reduced)		
Type 4a. Stems with C₂ = <i>ng</i> (like <i>n</i>-initial CV stems)		
<i>mangali</i>	<i>mangagali</i>	'girl'
<i>yingurla</i>	<i>yingugurla</i>	'single boy'
<i>yingelen</i>	<i>yingegelen</i>	'married person'

Finally, a couple of minor verbal reduplications deserve mention. The verb ‘go’ has a common, reduplicative present tense which means “to go along slowly and/or continuously”. It is identical to the normal present tense (see 8.16.), but has an additional, final reduplicative segment *-ja*. Thus, ‘I go, am going’ is *nganja*, the reduplicative form, *nganjaja*; 1EXNSG *yirr-ya* and reduplicative *yirr-ya-ja*, and so on. The verb *yana-* ‘say, do’ has a reduplicative stem form *yana-jana-*, which means ‘do and do, keep on doing, saying’.

3.9. Vowel merger

A high-frequency form which merits mention is 3SG independent Genitive-Dative pronoun *gunga*. This is found grammatically in genitive function (as in *laglan gunga* ‘his, her country’), and as Dative indirect object (*gi-ndi gunga* ‘he put it for him’). In either function, in ordinary speech this pronoun is commonly reduced to [gɔ], with zeroing of the velar nasal and merger of the back high and low vowels to a mid-vowel.

3.10. Lexical alternation of *y* and *w*

There are two important noun stems which have alternative lexical forms, one with *y*, the other with *w*. The noun “man, person, Aborigine” is alternatively realized as *yibiyān*, or with perceptible rounding, *yibiwan*. Likewise, ‘father’ is alternatively *yibiyi* (sometimes [yɪbi:],) and *yibiwi*. It seems likely that the *y*-forms may represent a kind of agreement phenomenon with the *y* of (what is historically) the nominal class prefix, occurring after the two syllables with identical high vowel. Because the *w* forms cannot be accounted for in any such way, I consider them historically and synchronically basic. However, my transcriptional practice (in texts, for instance) has been to attempt to recognize the difference between the two forms for each noun, as this seems a significant aspect of contemporary language variation.

3.11. Historical processes

There are two past tense allomorphs, *-rri* and *-ndi*. The first has the greatest privilege of occurrence, and may be called the “elsewhere” allomorph. The second, however, occurs with certain very high-frequency CV verb stems (/bu/, /me/, /ga/ etc.), and also with /nyanga/ ‘come’. Historically, it may consist of a stem-marker *-n-* (the historical identity of which, however, is not clear) plus the ordinary past tense suffix *-rri*, *-n-rri*, with hardening of the rhotic to homorganic stop.⁵

5. Yangman has one past tense allomorph, *-di*, which occurs with some cognate verbs where Wardaman has *-ndi*, e.g., Yangman *ga-di* ‘he took it’, Wardaman *ga-ndi*. This allomorph is not found in Wardaman.

The highly irregular verb /ya/ 'go' (see 8.16.) has nasals in certain of its forms, variously *n* and *ng*, which cannot be accounted for by any regular process. The presence of these nasals is associated with various alternative stem-forms of the canonical stem /ya/. These other stem forms include *-nja*, *-nggi*, *-nyji*, *-nyjiji*, *-njig*, and *njin*, among others.

Besides the irregular nasals in the paradigm of "go", the cases Dissociative and Source show the historical composition of the two elements of which each is apparently built. Dissociative /gunya/ apparently contains Dative *gu* and Locative *ya*; Source /gunba/, Dative *gu* and Ablative *ba*. The historical source of the medial nasal is not presently clear. There are no alternations of *gu* with *gun* elsewhere in Wardaman (as there are in some Kunwiynkuan languages, see Heath 1987).

Following the reflexive-reciprocal morpheme *-yi-* and before the future tense and potential suffixes, an historically unaccountable nasal *-ng-* is present, e.g., *nga-bu-yi-ng-be* 'I will hit myself', *nga-bu-ying-gan* 'I may hit myself'. This is also found in the corresponding morphemes in Yangman and Dagoman.

3.12. Word-level stress

The most general word-level pattern in Wardaman is that a major stress, characterizable in terms of greater loudness and generally higher pitch, falls on the penultimate syllable of the inflected word. There is a tendency for this to be so regardless of the morphological composition of the word. For example, stress falls on the penultimate syllable of inflected verb forms such as [*ngarrunwa'jarri*] 'we INPL left them', [*wunggun-burr'bundi*] 'they hit them', [*wudja'ngandi*] 'they arrived'.

But it is clear that there are different stress patterns within particular word classes, which must be recognized as part of the phonological structure of roots. The following characterization is partial and preliminary.

For nouns, we must distinguish at least two different stress patterns. There are roots that bear penultimate primary stress, including all bisyllables. It seems that many three- and four-syllable words may be recognized as following this pattern, with major stress on the penult, and a significant pulse every second syllable leftwards. Among three-syllable and some longer words there is also a second pattern of ante-penultimate stress.

The following examples illustrate the difference between roots stressed on the penult, and on the ante-penult. Within each list are included some nouns that invariably occur with class prefix, and here an invariable generalization can be made. Although a major stress is applied to the class prefix which cooccur with monosyllabic roots (e.g., *'yi-bam* 'head', *'yi-jurn* 'nose, face'), with longer roots a major stress is not applied to the class prefix. Thus we do not have bisyllabic roots preceded by class prefix which fall into the ante-penultimate stress pattern. Here, instead, major stress always falls on the first syllable of the root, as the first two examples below illustrate. Throughout the examples, a considerable number of proper names are listed, as many of these are longer,

unanalyzable words in which factors concerning presence of class prefixes are not relevant.⁶

Penultimate stress	Gloss
<i>yi-'nyigben</i>	'policeman'
<i>yi-'biyan ~ yi-'biwan</i>	'man, Aborigine, person'
<i>gu'lagji</i>	[proper name]
<i>juny'mingay</i>	[proper name]
<i>go'ngodjang</i>	[proper name]
<i>ji'garrba</i>	'pimple'
<i>gu'yanggin</i>	'woomera'
<i>wi'lyangun</i>	'boy, lad, young, early'
<i>ja'warrga</i>	'liver'
<i>yi-'dumul</i>	'heart'
<i>yi-'wangayn</i>	'armpit'
<i>yi-'gulan</i>	'ear'
<i>wu-'walu</i>	'ring finger' etc.

As noted above, we may probably consider a variant of this pattern polysyllabic roots which have a major stress on the penult, and an approximately equivalent stress two syllables to the left, as in the following set of examples, drawn from unanalyzable personal names and a few other nouns:

<i>'jama'garra</i>	'Leichhardt tree'
<i>'werle'rlunga</i>	[proper name]
<i>'maya'rdanya</i>	[proper name]
<i>'nono'marran</i>	[proper name]
<i>'gunbi'rrinyin</i>	[proper name]
<i>'ngabi'jiji</i>	[proper name]
<i>'gala'warra</i>	'plumed pigeon'
<i>'barra'ngardba</i>	'throat'
<i>'gura'mana</i>	'gums'
<i>'wudi'wulba</i>	'index finger'
<i>yi-'jangarn'darra</i>	'chin'
<i>'ngarra'lulun</i>	'windbreak'
<i>'marra'bibi</i>	'headband'
<i>'wala'bana</i>	'uterus'
<i>yi-gu'warla'ngana</i>	'single girl' etc.

6. Many names and especially nick-names are analyzable and meaningful, but such names are not included here.

The following nouns provide evidence of the need to recognize a second major stress pattern in nominal roots, ante-penultimate stress.

Penultimate stress	Gloss
' <i>namanya</i>	'west' (directional)
' <i>marluga</i>	'old man' (cf. <i>nu'lurru</i> 'old woman')
' <i>wulurrin</i>	<i>Tristania grandiflora</i>
' <i>jamugu</i>	<i>Pandanus spiralis</i> nut
' <i>bardigi</i>	<i>Terninalia grandiflora</i>
' <i>jannarran</i>	'pelican'
<i>gu'lirrida</i>	'peewee'
' <i>bornorron</i>	'bolga'
' <i>maruwun</i>	'bottle tree'
<i>wi'liwuga</i>	'curlew'
' <i>lanyinga</i>	[proper name]
' <i>balanji</i>	[proper name]
' <i>darlunggag</i>	[proper name]
' <i>nanulyun</i>	[proper name]
<i>ga'rnayanda</i>	[proper name]
<i>ga'rnawuna</i>	'lancewood'
' <i>namulu</i>	'termite'
' <i>woyolong</i>	'whipsnake'
' <i>warrija</i>	'alligator' etc.
' <i>wayida</i>	<i>Vigna lanceolata</i> , 'wild potato'
' <i>nungguru</i>	'hand'
' <i>jilngida</i>	'sweat'
' <i>jannurrin</i>	'saliva'
' <i>nigarra</i>	'tears'
' <i>ngurruwun</i>	'hot season'
' <i>geyirrin</i>	'dew'
' <i>garlinda</i>	'widow, widower'
' <i>guduru</i>	'nullanulla'
<i>ja'gabirdi</i>	'hip'
<i>ga'gawuli</i>	'type of long yam'
' <i>dubuluj</i>	'dilly bag, hand bag, string bag'

In the inflected noun, the predominant tendency is for stresses to be assigned to the penult and every second syllable leftwards, but there are a few nouns that do not conform to this pattern, on bases that cannot presently be adequately stated. Compare the two paradigms below which illustrate this difference. To the left is the 'regular' paradigm of *yi-biyan* 'man, Aborigine', with stresses assigned over inflected forms in conformity with major penultimate stress. To the right is the paradigm of *yirrgulun* 'river', which with

zero case suffix has penultimate stress. However, this stress does not shift when there is a monosyllabic suffix and thus in those cases fails to conform with the general pattern of stress on the penult. Stress is however reassigned when the suffix is bisyllabic.

	<i>yi'biyan</i> 'man, person'	<i>yirr'gulun</i> 'river'
ERG	<i>yibi'yan-nyi</i>	<i>yirr'gulu-yi</i>
DAT	<i>yibi'yan-gu</i>	<i>yirr'gulu-wu</i>
LOC	<i>yibi'yan-nya</i>	<i>yirr'gulu-ya</i>
ABL	<i>yibi'yan-ba</i>	<i>yirr'gulu-wa</i>
DISS	<i>yi'biyan-'gunya</i>	<i>yirr'gulu-'wunya</i>
SOURCE	<i>yi'biyan-'gunba</i>	<i>yirr'gulu-'wunba</i>

The difference in stress patterning, the reassignment over the one paradigm with monosyllabic suffixes, and absence of reassignment over the other, cannot be simply explained in terms of retention of final *n* in 'man', and *n*-reduction in 'river'. For the present we must conclude that at least two patterns of stress assignment, a "moving" and a "fixed" one, are evident in nouns inflected with monosyllabic suffix.

There are also similar, and presently unaccountable differences even with bisyllabic inflectional endings. For example, while the plural suffix /mulu/ may bear a major stress (as in *mulurru-'mulu* 'old women, PL. '), it does not do so in *wu'rre-mulu* 'child PL. ' The dual suffix /guya/, however, even with the noun *wurren* 'child', is part of the phonological word for purposes of stress placement, e.g., *'wurre-'wuya* 'child DU. ', with stress on the penult and two syllables to the left.

In verb forms, tense/mood suffixes all count as final syllables for purposes of reckoning penultimate stress placement, and elements of the pronominal prefix may so count, as the following examples (with 1SG subject) illustrate:

PRES	<i>'nga-bu-n</i>	'I am hitting it'
FUT	<i>nga-'bu-wa</i>	'I will, must hit it'
POT	<i>nga-'bu-yan</i>	'I might hit it'
PST	<i>nga-'bu-ndi</i>	'I hit it'
EVIT	<i>yi-'nga-bu</i>	'lest I hit it, I might hit it'
PRES	<i>nga-'bu-yi-n</i>	'I am hitting myself'
FUT	<i>nga-bu-'ying-be</i>	'I will hit myself'
POT	<i>nga-bu-'ying-gan</i>	'I may hit myself'

When followed by the past tense suffix, it appears that stress may fall on the reflexive-reciprocal marker, but two patterns are attested, e.g., *wurr-'bu-yi- rri* and *wurr-bu-'yi-rri*. The "narrative" suffix *-ya* (8.14.), which occurs word-finally after past- tense marking, never constitutes a syllable for purposes of stress assignment, e.g., **nga-bu-'ndi-ya* is impossible, the realization is always *nga-'bu-ndi-ya*. Possibly the generalization is that a major stress may never fall on the tense/mood affix.

Chapter 4

Word classes

4.1. Introduction

Only a small number of parts of speech are recognized for Wardaman: Nominals, (finite) Verbs, Verb particles, Adverbs, Interjections, and a small set of “minor classes” which for one reason or another cannot be aptly included within any of the other categories, and require separate mention. The next few chapters are devoted to the formal, distributional, and functional particulars in Wardaman of each word class recognized. Here some introductory remarks are made about each class, and some of the indeterminacies in bounding certain of the classes are mentioned.

4.2. Nominals: Pronouns, nouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives

“Nominal” is the cover term used for a broad class of lexical items which can inflect for case and certain other categories. Within the class of nominals, several sub-classes will be identified. The syntactic patterning of all sub-classes tends to be Ergative-Absolutive where there is an object marked on the verb (even if 3SG zero), but occasional instances are found in text in which transitive agent nominals are not Ergative-marked.

Pronouns are those nominals which refer to speech-situation participants, and some which can index (emphatically, anaphorically) other nominals. There are many formal similarities between the independent pronominal stems, and the affixal pronominal forms obligatorily prefixed to the verb to indicate participant identities.

Demonstrative pronouns are a nominal sub-class which make reference in terms of graded distance or location categories calibrated primarily in relation to the speech situation (there are three such degrees marked by Wardaman demonstrative morphology, and a whole host of formally related terms, “this side”, “that side”, etc.). One term in the three-term spatial system, called Proximate, also serves to indicate textual recoverability. Its forms are thus far more frequent than are those of the other two demonstrative categories.

Interrogative pronouns are nominals with which different kinds of questions are formed: “what”, “where”, “who”. Secondly, they function in the construction of negative and indefinite arguments (“nobody”, “somebody”).

Number words belong to the class of nominals. There are three numbers, *lege* ‘one’, *guyamin* ‘two’, and *murrgun* ‘three’. Beyond that *ngawurnen* indicates ‘many, a large number’. Number words may function as modifiers, or as noun phrase heads in their own right.

Finally, there is a large class that will simply be called “nominals” in general, but which comprehends what would be called “nouns” and “adjectives” in conventional part-of-

speech terms. In dictionary entries and glosses, for the most part a distinction has been made between the former (“N”) and the latter (“NADJ”). This is not because the distinction can be satisfactorily sustained for all purposes (see below), but because it partly captures some distributional and functional differences within the class.

Some nominals, the notionally more adjectival ones like “empty”, “tough”, “raw” “crooked”, “long”, “good” and so on, are more likely to function predicatively than are what might be called argument nominals such as “goanna” (lizard), “woman”, and “dilly bag” (string bag). The more adjectival are regularly causativized and inchoativized, while the argument nominals are not regularly so treated. Here, however, the distinction is not absolute, for some of them which might be considered towards the attributive end of a nominal-feature spectrum, and also some which designate persons in terms of age-statuses, for example, are found to be so treated. For example, a noun which typically occurs as argument, meaning such things as “plain, flat place” (as opposed to “flat” in general), may be causativized. A noun such as “man” may, also. Finally, the more adjectival are commonly found in modifying function, while the others are not.

While a degree of distinctiveness thus can be identified between notionally adjectival and other nominals, in Wardaman as in many other Australian languages (and regional ones, including Wardaman’s putative congeners, see Cook 1987: 88), the former are not limited to predicative and modifying functions, but also regularly function as arguments. In Wardaman, their functioning as arguments is implemented with the help of the overt nominal class markers which are prefixed to nominals of the adjectival sort, and create forms the general kind of reference of which is indicated by the class marker, and the more specific denotation of which is understood in terms of the “property-like” designation of the adjectival stem. Such forms may function syntactically as modifiers, but equally, they may function as arguments in their own right. The difference between the two different notional types is fluid enough so that stems of the more adjectival kind, class-prefixed, may come to be regular designators of (kinds of) referents which have the particular property. For example, the adjectival stem *barnbarnin* means ‘naked, hairless’; with animate class prefix, the form *yi-barnbarnin* is used to mean ‘buffalo’. To give a second example, the adjectival stem *langman* means ‘clear, cleared’; with class prefix, the form *wu-langman* is taken to mean ‘clear space, clear area’, and case-inflected forms of it are commonly used without any (other) argument noun, e.g., *wu-langma-warr* ‘to a clearing, clear place’ (allative-marked).

Another general difference between notionally “argument” and adjectival nominals is that most of the former tend to regularly occur with only one class prefix (if any, for there are argument nouns like *bangbun* ‘woman’ which never take overt class prefix). For example, most body parts take the class prefix *yi-*, and tend to occur only with that prefix, not with any other. On the other hand, most of the notionally adjectival nominals may be freely prefixed with the range of class markers, something which changes their understood designation. There are some indeterminacies here too, however (see 5.1. for more detail), so relatively fixed versus variable class-marking of nominals can only be taken as a general guide. The point in distinguishing between N and NADJ at all is not to saddle the language with untenable distinctions, but rather to try to capture some of the privilege-of-occurrence tendencies which are evident in Wardaman.

4.3. Finite verbs

Verbs obligatorily are marked for either subject alone, or for subject and object. A maximum of two participant slots can be filled by pronominal prefixes. Other participant roles are marked on external nominals but nowhere on the verb. Categories of tense, mood and aspect are marked on the verb in the main by suffixation, but also (primarily in respect of a mood distinction between realis and irrealis) by prefixes. Weak subordination and other kinds of clause-level relations are expressed by suffixation to finite verb forms.

Wardaman has at least 130 fairly common finite verbs (unlike Wakiman, which appears to have only around forty, Cook 1987: 90). Among these are eight very high-frequency CV verbs, a number of which can also occur as inseparable auxiliaries of compound verb stems, e.g., *bu-* occurs as a verb in its own right meaning 'hit', but also as auxiliary in *banybu-* 'to fill receptacle', *dembu-* 'to peck', *werrenybu-* 'to ensorcell', *gardbu-* 'to wipe', and so on. Several classes of such "compound verbs" can be identified according to the verb root. There are also many finite verbs which have a simple, i.e., non-compound, stem, e.g., *bewe-* 'to tread on', *gorno-* 'to fill', *gerle-* 'to taste', and others. Most finite verbs can occur with one or more "verb particles" to yield particular meanings, while some finite verbs occur independently with full lexical meaning e.g., *waja-* means 'to leave', and is often used without particle; but may occur with particles to create other meanings, such as *narru waja-* 'to dodge (weapons)'.

4.4. Verb particles and adverbs

What are here called verb particles constitute Wardaman's most interesting and perhaps most complex class. They can be characterized formally partly by the fact that all can occur with particle suffix (of shapes *-ma* ~ *-ba*, see 3.5.3.). Contra some uses of the term "particle", in Wardaman this class can be suffixed with Dative, Allative, Dissociative and Source case endings to form adclausal complements. Particles functioning participially, and not immediately in construction with finite verb, can be negated by *gay*. For the most part, particles occur in construction with finite verbs to express particular lexical meanings.

The class of Adverbs cannot, satisfactorily, be entirely distinguished from the preceding particle class. Adverbs by definition occur in construction with verbs and modify them, and generally each may occur with a large number of verbs. Particles, on the other hand, tend to be more restricted in the number of verbs with which each commonly occurs. That is, there is a greater semantic specificity to many particles which determines the greater selectivity of their occurrence. In Wardaman, there is no set of formal properties by which adverbs can be distinguished from members of other word classes. In fact, they show partial formal overlap with particles in that some can occur with the suffix *-ma* ~ *-ba*. For example, the adverb *borle* meaning 'across' often occurs as *borle-ma*, and so may another adverb of similar meaning, *malang-ma* 'across'. On the other hand, two adverbs, *worroman* and *lurruja*, approximate synonyms which mean 'fast, quickly',

never occur with the particle suffix, but instead often occur with the article suffix *-bi* ~ *-wi* (*worroman-bi*, *lurruja-wi*). However, adverbs may be distinguished from finite verbs in that they cannot inflect for person or verbal categories, and from particles in that they do not function as nominals, and are not case-inflected to function as adclausal complements. Though the grounds for isolating the class thus seem to be largely negative ones — as “not verb, not particle” — there seems to be utility in having precisely such a residual class.

4.5. Interjections and other minor classes

Interjections are those words which appear in syntactic isolation as single-word utterances. The other minor classes are Mode Particles, each of which occurs to express a particular modal meaning, and Conjunctions.

Chapter 5

Nominal classes, inflection and derivation

5.1. Nominal classes

There are three overt nominal class prefixes, YI-, MA- and WU-. Especially the first two have quite systematic semantic associations, as follows:

- 1) YI- occurs with many nouns that are animate, human, meat or meat products, body parts, some “natural” phenomena capable of motion such as waters and winds, some items of apparel, and some phenomena which are conceived of as integrally part of the human, such as terms for shade or shadow, and for kinds of dreaming associations. Exemplary, overtly marked YI-class nouns are: *yi-biwan* ‘man, Aborigine’, *yi-barrun* ‘expert fisherman’, *yi-buruwun* ‘crack hunter’, *yi-bayin* ‘mother-in-law’, *yi-murlng* ‘stranger’, *yi-balang* ‘new floodwater’, *yi-darra* ‘kidney’, *yi-wangarr* ‘(animal) hair’, *yi-berr* ‘leg’, *yi-warlng* ‘clothes, dress’, *yi-wol* ‘shadow, photograph’, *yi-murna* and *yi-ningirra*, both terms for ‘paternal dreaming’.
- 2) MA- is the class of many nouns that designate flora, and especially vegetables and vegetable parts. Exemplary, overtly-marked MA-class nouns include: *ma-nandum* ‘seed’, *me-dengdeng* ‘kind of fig’, and many other vegetable terms for which the prefix must now be regarded as lexicalized (see further).
- 3) WU- is the most disparate class, but is that of many nouns that are associated with the ground and the seasons, many man-made and natural objects excluding the animate and vegetable, and many that can be construed as parts of such objects and phenomena. Exemplary, overtly-marked WU-class nouns include: *wu-munburra* ‘rock, stone, money’; *wu-jerrijin* ‘cold weather’; *wu-dirrgiban* ‘car’; *wu-jurdbawun* ‘index finger’ (*jurdba-* ‘show, indicate’); *wu-jamurlurrghan* ‘lid’, ‘cover’; *wu-jamaram* ‘lid, door’; *wu-den* ‘wing’; *wu-miri* ‘root’; *wu-dambu* ‘river junction, fork’; *wu-mara* ‘large stone’.

Large numbers of nouns, however, do not ever, or normally, occur with class prefix. This is true, for example, of the majority of higher and other animal nouns, of names for trees and other flora, and of many natural features and objects. Examples include: *gewurrin* ‘kneecap’, *marnal* ‘ankle’, *bangbun* ‘woman’, *mangali* ‘girl’, *jigjig* ‘bird’ (generic), *buwarraja* ‘dreaming’, *langganin* ‘billabong’, *jabalawarna* ‘large, flat rock’; *ngarndun* ‘rockhole’, *wiyan* ‘water’, and the very word *layin* ‘game, animal’. Though the formal system of classification is incomplete in this sense, there is a thorough-going semantic consistency to it such that when these and other zero-marked nouns are modified by adjectival nouns, and/or when adjectival nouns are used as arguments to make reference within the general domains of the noun class categories as outlined above, they will bear appropriate class marking. Thus, adjectival nouns which modify personal nouns, or are understood to designate persons, are YI-marked; those which modify vegetable food nouns, or are understood to designate vegetable foods, are MA-marked;

and those which modify WU-class nouns, or are understood to designate locality or placement, association with the ground, season, and mode or manner more generally, are WU-marked.

Compare for instance the common ways of expressing the idea “at such-and-such season”. For “wet season time”, the phrase *wiya-warra* ‘rain-having’ (see 5.4.) is common; as usual, the noun *wiyan* occurs without class prefix, even in this kind of formation. For ‘during the hot/sunny time’, people often use *wu-boba-warra* (WU-, *boban* adjectival nominal ‘hot’, adverbial suffix ‘having, with’). Or it may be said that something or someone is *wu-yerreba-warra* ‘shameful’ (WU-, *yerreba-* ‘to be ashamed’, adverbial suffix). Examples of nouns which, though zero-marked, invariably condition YI-class agreement are *layin* ‘game, animal’ and *wiyan* ‘water’; *dangindi* ‘paperbark’ normally conditions agreement as either MA- or WU-class; *minyardin* ‘charcoal’ has been found with both MA- and WU-agreement; adjectives modifying *barndan* ‘axe’, and *langganin* ‘billabong’ generally show WU-class concord.

Alternation of more than one class prefix with the same nominal root is a way of creating different lexical meanings. Although it is not of very high frequency or productivity, the following examples illustrate some well-established contrasting pairs:

<i>wu-warli</i>	‘branch, tributary of river’	<i>yi-warli</i>	‘arm’
<i>wu-bam</i>	‘hill, promontory’	<i>yi-bam</i>	‘head’
<i>wu-mum</i>	‘nipple’	<i>yi-mum</i>	‘eye’
<i>me-nyeyn</i>	‘vegetable flesh’	<i>yi-nyeyn</i>	‘body’
<i>ma-nim</i>	‘root part’ (of lily)	<i>yi-nim</i>	‘anus’
<i>wu-diwulg</i>	‘index finger’	<i>yi-diwulg</i>	‘second-born child’

In a smaller number of cases, what is usually a non-prefixed stem has been found capable of lexical derivation by addition of a prefix. Examples are:

<i>laglan</i>	‘place, camp, country’	<i>ma-laglan</i>	‘bird’s nest’
<i>luwun</i>	‘cave’	<i>ma-luwun</i>	kind of native ‘tobacco’ leaf that grows in caves or rock overhangs

A stem which shows notable variation is *munburra* ‘rock, stone, money’, which may occur with WU- or YI-class marker. The former is most common, but the latter is certainly common, particularly in the senses “small, detachable stones”, and “money”. In some cases, the *yi*-form has been found to distinguish “paper money” (also cheques) from “money” generically (see 10.5.). The capacity of money to circulate, and the particular forms it takes, may be the particular aspects of those referent types that determine the re-classification.

Worthy of mention is the fact that the interrogative form *ngamanda* ‘what’ (see 7.5.2.) may occur with *yi*- prefix in reference to humans. In the text called “Skins” we find the clause (shortened for present illustration) *yanggunburr-gi-n yi-manda-gan jangala yi-marnayn* (they-put-them YI-what-INDEF *jangala* [ss] YI-husband) ‘they call whom?’

jangala subsection husband'. Of note here is that, otherwise, there is no consistent evidence that *nga-* here is separable. The form *-manda* has not been found with WU- or MA-class prefixation.

There are many nouns for which the class prefix must now be regarded as fused, or lexicalized. This is easiest to determine when (1) the nominal never occurs without such recognizable class prefix, and (2) when the prefix invariably shows assimilation to (what was historically) the first stem vowel. In respect of (1), most of the kin terms, for example, may occur in constructions of certain kinds without class prefix. In such cases it is possible to be certain that the class prefix is still synchronically detachable; compare *yi-gamu* 'uncle', with the dyadic formation *gamu-rlang* 'uncle and niece/nephew'. In respect of (2), since assimilatory processes only affect the prefix MA- (see 3.7.3.), this criterion has clearcut application only to nouns with first syllable which may be historically related to it.

Some examples where lexicalization of the class prefix may be assumed with fair certainty are: *megerman* 'long yam'; *yibiyān* 'man, Aborigine, person'; *merderl* 'testicles'; *mordorl* 'tail'; *mogorlgorl* Ampelocissus; *mordon* 'creeper'; *yibumbu* 'billy can' (origin?); *wungarru* 'rifle'; *wuja* 'fire'.

There are two adjectival nominals, *wudu* 'little' and *yibi* 'alive', that presumably have first syllable historically derived from one or another nominal class marker. These, now, are completely lexicalized. That such fusion appears to have played a role in eliminating a number of monosyllabic roots from the language is suggested by some other instances which are now completely lexicalized: *wurne* 'bone', and *wuja* 'wood, fire'. Fusion has taken place in the quantifying nominal *yijarlu* 'some'. While this normally has human or animate reference, lexicalization of the class marker is shown by the fact that a derived form of non-specific, temporal reference meaning 'sometimes' is *yijarlu-warr* (with Allative suffix).

5.2. Nominal case suffixes

Wardaman case categories and suffixal forms are:

Ergative/instrumental	<i>-yi, -ji, -nyi</i>
Absolutive	<i>-in, -n, -0</i>
Dative/genitive/purposive	<i>-gu, -wu</i>
Locative	<i>-ya, -ja</i>
Allative	<i>-garr, -warr</i>
Ablative	<i>-ba, -wa</i>
Dissociative	<i>-gunya, -wunya</i>
Source	<i>-gunba, -wunba</i>
Originative	<i>-jila</i>

Alternations have been discussed in Chapter 3.

Before each case category is described and illustrated, the relation between nominal cases and marking of case relations in the two prefixal slots on the verb can be briefly summarized.

The Wardaman verb maximally bears two pronominal prefixes which relate to noun phrases in the clause. In keeping with this, there are two distinguishable prefixal form-order classes (subject and object). Subject of the intransitive verb is coded by subject pronominals in the verb and by Absolutive case in the noun; transitive subject by subject pronominals in the verb and by Ergative case in the noun, and direct object of the transitive verb by object pronominals in the verb and Absolutive case in the noun. In ditransitive clauses (“my father gave me to them”), the nominal agent (“father”) is Ergative-marked and coded by subject pronominal on the verb, while the semantic indirect object (“them”) is coded by object pronominals in the verb, the semantic direct object (“me”) cannot be coded on the verb, and both notional “indirect” and “direct” external (nominal or pronominal) objects are Absolutive case. (See further 8.17.)

The case system is the same for all types of nominal: pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative pronouns, nouns and adjectival nouns.

5.2.1. Ergative and instrumental cases

Case-marking of the transitive subject nominal is formally identical to marking of the instrumental one. However, the two case functions can be distinguished syntactically in that the instrumental noun is not marked in the verb. The following exemplify Ergative marking of the transitive subject:

- (1) *dang-nyi* *wunggun-bu-ndi* *yibiyani-yi*
that-ERG 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST man-ERG

‘That man hit them’.

(Note discontinuity of Ergative-marked “man” and demonstrative modifier “that”, a common phenomenon, see 10.7.)

- (2) *dang-mulu-yi* *yibiyani-mulu-yi* *wunggunburr-bu-ndi*
that-PL-ERG man-PL-ERG 3NSG/3NSG-hit-PST

‘Those men hit them’.

- (3) *nidba-yi* *o-bu-ndi* *darang-bi* *gumurlurlun*
cicada-ERG 3SG-hit-PST rump-ART [beetle]-ABS
gumurlurlu-yi *o-bu-ndi* *wurne-wuya* *banggin*
[beetle]-ERG 3SG-hit-PST bone-DU-ABS back-ABS

‘Cicada hit beetle on the rump; beetle hit his two legs, and back’.

- (4) *lege-n-yi* *yibiyan-yi* *0-wudba-rri* *gamin* *jiyila-warr*
 one-ABS-ERG man-ERG 3SG-throw-PST spear-ABS well-ALL
nan-garr-wunyin *yiworlwonyang-garr*
 that-ALL-SPEC [place]-ALL

‘One man threw spears in the direction of that well, towards Yiworlwonyang’.

- (5) *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *wiyan* *mululurru-yi*
 3NSG-get-PST-NAR water-ABS old women-ERG

‘The old women used to get water ...’.

- (6) *marlugbarr* *wurr-gi-ndi* *0-gi-ndi*
 didgeridoo-ABS 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-AUX-PST
dijongdijong-ma *lege-n-yi* *jabarda-yi*
 play didgeridoo rdp-PS one-ABS-ERG [ss]-ERG

‘They were playing didgeridoo, one (certain) jabarda was playing didgeridoo ...’.

- (7) *gorromogon* *mulurru-yi* *ngan-ga-ndi-ya*
 early old woman-ERG 3SG/1SG-take-PST-NAR
barnag-barnang-nyi ...
 aunt rdp-ERG

‘Early in the morning old woman my auntie used to take me ...’.

Ergative typically marks the nominal transitive subject even where there may be no expressed nominal object, but only object marking on the verb (zero for third person singular. See 10.10. for discussion of the ordering of lexically realized nominal functions).

There are a number of verbal meanings for which pairs of verbs are found, one member of the pair transitively used, the other intransitively. Examples are the pairs *burla-ma* ‘deceive, lie to’ and *burla-yi* ‘tell lies’; *geng-ma* ‘to fear’ and *gengmi-yi* ‘be afraid of’ (with Dative object). The “mediopassive” forms appear to be used more frequently to designate typical disposition, the others to designate particular events; thus, *ya-wurr-burla-yi-n* is often used to mean ‘they tell lies’ (typically). (See 8.12. for the ‘mediopassive’ category.)

By “ditransitive” constructions are meant those in which there are two notional (and sometimes, overtly expressed or non-zero) objects. One of these is typically animate, and generally, but not always, also human, the notional “indirect object”; the other is usually inanimate, the notional “direct object” of the action. Verbs or verb plus particle constructions which are typical predicates of such clauses, include: *wo-* ‘give to’; *jewu-* ‘show to, teach’; also *birrg gerne-* ‘to take from’, *mowo-* ‘to steal from’, *jomarna-* ‘finish’ (e.g., food). Examples with such predicates illustrate the case-marking of associated nominals:

- (8) *yarrimanbu-yi* *birrg* *0-gerne-rrri*
 taipan-ERG take 3SG-AUX-PST
yirlorloban *0-gerne-rrri* *birrg* *mawuya*
 King Brown-ABS 3SG-AUX-PST take poison-ABS

‘Taipan took it away, he took the poison away from King Brown’.

Here, the first prosodic line is equivalent to a clause, with Ergative-marked nominal “taipan”, but no overt nominal object. That object is made overt initially in the following line by Absolutive-marked “King Brown”, the notional indirect object. Notional direct object is expressed by Absolutive-marked “poison”.

- (9) *ngani-jomarna-rrri* *mayin* *gabbarri* *ngong-jomarna-rrri*
 2SG/1SG-finish-PST food-ABS and/in turn 1SG/2SG-finish-PST
- ‘You finished off my food and [in turn] I finished yours’.

- (10) *nganburr-wo-n* *wu-munburra* *wurre-mulu-yi*
 3NSG/1SG-give-PRES WU-money-ABS child-PL-ERG
- ‘The children give me money’.

Here the notional indirect object “me” is expressed by object pronominal only in the verb; notional direct object “money” outside the verb only by Absolutive noun; and transitive subject by Ergative-marked ‘children’.

- (11) *ngan-jewu-rrri* *madin*
 3SG/1SG-show-PST language-ABS
- ‘She taught me language’.

Here again, notional indirect object is expressed only on the verb, as is typical (although emphasis could be given by use of the Absolutive independent 1SG pronoun). There could be Ergative-marked nominal transitive subject. A ditransitive construction of this kind contrasts syntactically with one involving verb particle plus auxiliary of similar meaning, but in which the indirect object is expressed with the Dative (see 5.2.3.), and the notional direct object, once again with Absolutive-marked nominal:

- (12) *milid* *0-gi-ndi* *nganu* *madin*
 show 3SG-AUX-PST 1SG DAT language-ABS
- ‘She taught me language’.

- (13) *jurd* *0-bu-ndi* *nganu* *laglan*
 indicate 3SG-AUX-PST 1SG DAT place-ABS
- ‘She showed the place to me’.

The verb *yana-* ‘to say (to)’ usually occurs with Dative “person to whom” something is said. However, it has alternatively been found to occur with “person to whom” treated as direct object, as in the following example where it occurs with particle *jarnbab* ‘try

to, persist in (unsuccessfully)’ (Kriol ‘hard work (la)’). Compare the alternative case frames:

- (14) *jambab wurr-yana-rri yinggi wonggo yinimburr-wo-n*
 try 3NSG-say-PST you-SGDAT not 3NSG/2SG-give-PRES
 ‘They kept on telling you they won’t give you [any, anything]’.

- (15) *jambab yimburr-yana-rri wonggo yinimburr-wo-n*
 try 3NSG/2SG-say-PST not 3NSG/2SG-give-PRES
 ‘They kept telling you they won’t give you [any, anything]’.

As already noted, nominals functioning instrumentally can be distinguished from transitive subject nominals in that they are not in agreement with pronominal marker on the verb. For example, the verb *ba-* ‘burn, thirst, perish’ most typically enters into two kinds of constructions: one, with intransitive subject (usually marked only on the verb by prefix) and dative complement expressing that for which one is burning (*wiya-wu* ‘for water’); and one with intransitive subject, the experiencer, and instrumental complement expressing that which is causing one to thirst or burn:

- (16) *nga-ba-n marninggani-yi*
 1SG-burn-PRES sun-INST
 ‘I’m burning in the sun’.

Since “sun” can never show verbal agreement, it is regarded as Instrument rather than transitive subject. Instrument thus marks the nominal that expresses the means by which an action is accomplished, as distinct from the agent of the action, the transitive subject. Other examples of Instrumental nominals are:

- (17) *badbad-ngana-yi yirr(w)un-ga-n lurrbu lagla-warr*
 blanket-INST 1EXNSG/3NSG-take-PRES home camp-ALL
yirr(w)un-dagbarlag-barla-n lagla-ya
 1EXNSG/3NSG-have rdp-PRES camp-LOC
 ‘We take them back to camp with /in blankets and keep them in camp’.

- (18) *gijburr-ma nu-bu wiya-yi gila wiya-yi merleng*
 douse-PS 2NSG-AUX water-INST douse water-INST light-ABS
minyardin-biji ngana-yu
 charcoal-ABS-only 3SGHT-be
 ‘You [NSG] douse it with water, douse [SG] the light with water, let only charcoal be there’.

In this example, two approximate synonyms meaning “douse, extinguish” occur with Instrumental-marked “water”.

- (19) *jarrgarl* *wurr-gi-ndi* *yibumbu* *wiya-yi*
 fill up 3NSG-AUX-PST billy-ABS water-INST

‘They filled up the tin with water’.

In (19), the substance with which something is filled is treated as Instrument. The same occurs with verbs meaning to “smear, rub on, paint”, and so on.

- (20) *nunu-gun-ngu* *wiya-yi*
 2NSG IRR-drown water-INST

‘You might drown/get drowned’.

“Drown”, *gun-ngu-* (the inseparable AUX is that which, as free verb means “consume”), is prefixed with 2NSG (irrealis prefixal form, see 6.6.3.) as intransitive subject, and “water” marked as Instrument nominal. In construction with “drown”, “water” has been found to occur as transitive subject:

- (21) *yingan-gun-ngu* *wiya-yi*
 3SG/1SGIRR-drown water-ERG

‘I might drown’.

- (22) *wu-meme-yi* *wo* *yi-bayin* *yinggi*
 WU-right-INST give YI-mother-in-law-ABS yours

‘Give [SG] it to your mother-in-law with [your] right hand’.

- (23) *nan-yi* *yibiyani-yi* *bura-yi* *0-jala-rri* *darni*
 that-ERG man-ERG boomerang-INST 3SG-hit-PST that-ABS
yibiyani-gari *gabbarri* *yurrimi* *0-jala-rri*
 man-other-ABS and back 3SG-hit-PST

‘The man boomeranged yonder other man with a boomerang, and then he threw back at him’.

(23) illustrates the occurrence within the same clause of overt Ergative-marked transitive subject, and Instrumental noun.

There is some functional overlap between Instrumental and Adverbial *-barra* (see 5.4.).

5.2.2. Absolutive case

Some functions of Absolutive case have already been summarized: it is the case of the intransitive subject and the direct object, and of both notional “indirect” and “direct” object nominals in ditransitive clauses. It is also the usual case-form of the notional agent in clauses without identifiable, grammatical direct object, that is, in which any second participant is not marked in the verb, but is in Dative (or other, oblique) case-form. Absolutive is the usual “citation” form which informants use to mention the word for something.

A further illustration of Absolutive marking the intransitive subject function is:

- (24) *yibiyān* *0-yānggi* *durd* *0-me-ndi-ya* *garnin*
 man-ABS 3SG-go PST grab 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR spear-ABS
wiyan-wān *0-nyāngā-ndi*
 water-ABS-DF 3SG-come-PST

‘The man went and grabbed his spear as the water came ...’.

Here “man” and “water” function as intransitive subjects, “spear” as transitive object. Absolutive is also the nominal complement of the verb in certain predications:

- (25) *ngayal* *0-bu-ndi* *warlanin*
 flower-ABS 3SG-AUX-PST coolibah-ABS

‘The coolibah flowered’.

- (26) *yi-gulan* *nge-we-n* *gila*
 YI-ear-ABS 1SG-fall-PRES indeed

‘I’ve actually forgotten’.

One of the ways of saying “to forget” is with verb *we-* (which otherwise means ‘to fall’), and Absolutive-marked “ear”, the complement. Similar to this are many predications with nominal complement *mejern* ‘stomach’, e.g., *mejern lud-ba jingi-* (‘stomach’, particle *lud-ba*, and AUX *jingi-*) ‘to be happy, glad’ (with possible Dative complement “concerning which”).

Absolutive is the case of the nominal subject of verbless predications:

- (27) *jewed-ba* *yirrigu* *madin*
 share-PS 1EXNSG DAT language-ABS

‘We all have the same language, we are “company” for language’.

The predicative function seems to be filled by *jewedba*, and the 1EXNSG Dative pronoun expresses those with respect to whom language is shared. An alternative analysis might treat “our language” as constituents of a single phrase, with *jewedba* again in predicative function.

- (28) *yi-meleman* *bujun* *yinyang* *milygbilyg-ba* *yini-jingi-n*
 YI-black-ABS if 2SG ABS beat rdp-PS IRR2SG-AUX-PRES
gunga *wurre-wu*
 3SG-DAT child-DAT

‘If you [SG] were black your heart would beat/be apprehensive for the child’ [undergoing initiation].

Here, “black” and 2SG independent pronoun are Absolutive in case form, “black” the non-verbal predicator.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| (29) | <i>yilama</i> | <i>wurrugu</i> | <i>yi-man</i> | <i>yibiwan</i> |
| | maybe | 3NSG DAT | YI-good | man-ABS |

‘Supposedly he was a good fellow to them’.

The above is a verbless predication with Absolutive phrase “good man”.

Finally, the subject of the verb made reflexive or reciprocal is not Ergative-marked, but Absolutive-marked:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (30) | <i>dang-guya</i> | <i>yarrula-wuya</i> | <i>dirlyag-ba</i> | <i>yawu-da-yi-n</i> |
| | that-DU-ABS | young person-DU-ABS | sweetheart | 3NSG-AUX-RR-PRES |
| | <i>yi-mum</i> | <i>yawurr-marnbu-yi-n</i> | | |
| | YI-eye-ABS | 3NSG-make-RR-PRES | | |

‘That young couple are sweet on each other, they’re making eyes at each other’.

In (30), “two young people” is Absolutive-marked, in keeping with the fact that the predicate *dirlyag-ba na-yi-* is (reflexive)-reciprocal. (The figure of “making eyes at” appears to be indigenous to Wardaman; in fact, *yimum* ‘eye’ is used to mean “sweetheart”, so the last part of the example is to be understood something like, ‘they are making sweethearts of each other’.)

5.2.3. Dative case

The suffix *-gu* ~ *-wu* occurs in constructions both of genitive, and general oblique (dative or purposive) types. There is, as noted, no marking on the verb for nominals or noun phrases in either of these functions, unless (in the case of the genitive nominal or phrase) it also fills a major syntactic function within the clause.

The major formal means of placing an additional argument in construction with the verb in Wardaman is by means of a Dative complement, expressing relations of the kind “for, to, in respect to, concerning”. As illustrated above in (11 – 13), there are certain verbs which demand ditransitive clausal construction, in which both major object types are Absolutive-marked in the nominal, the notional indirect (human, animate) object the one marked in the object pronominal slot on the verb. But there are verbs of very similar meaning to these ditransitives, that determine clausal construction in which there is an agent, and a complement, “object of the action”, which goes into the Dative case. Examples were given in (12 – 13). An additional Dative argument is often placed in relation to both intransitive and transitive verbs. Examples are:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (31) | <i>ngarr-ya</i> | <i>jarrambu</i> | <i>wuja-wu</i> |
| | 1INPL-go | looking | wood-DAT |

‘Let’s go looking for wood’.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| (32) | <i>marranyin</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>nganu</i> |
| | sugar-ABS | get | 1 SG DAT |

‘Get sugar for me’ [*marranyin* = ‘sand’, ‘sugar’].

- (33) *bog-ba me* *wiyan* *wurre-wu* *ya-0-ba-n-ga*
 dip-PS AUX get water-ABS child-DAT 3-3SG-burn-PRES-SUB
marninggani-yi
 sun-INST

‘Dip some water for the child [who’s] hot in the sun’.

- (34) *nginngin* *ngan-da-rri* *mayi-wu*
 say no 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST food-DAT

‘He refused me food’ [said no to me about food].

The most literal meaning of the verb particle *nginngin* seems to be ‘to shake head no’, but “refusal” is also understood to be tantamount to being “jealous concerning”, and *nginngin* is often translated in this way in Kriol. The particle may enter into construction with verb *bu-*, in which case both person refused and the thing concerning which refusal is made, are typically Dative complements:

- (35) *nginngin* *0-bu-ndi* *nganu* *mayi-wu*
 say no 3SG-AUX-PST 1SG DAT food-DAT

‘He refused me food’ [said no to me about food].

An overt nominal agent of *nginngin bu-* or *na-* could be Ergative-marked, but might also be Absolutive (textual examples of both kinds exist). Similarly, many actions which may be performed with respect to a complement require that it be Dative:

- (36) *wiyl* *ya-0-yana* *nganu*
 whistle 3-3SG-AUX 1SG DAT

‘He’s whistling at me’.

- (37) *lirrngang-ma* *ya-0-yu* *nganu* *nga-we-ny-ga* *yum-ba*
 laugh-PS 3-3SG-AUX 1SG DAT 1SG-fall-PST-SUB tree-ABL
galul-wa
 up-ABL

‘He’s laughing at me having fallen down from the tree’.

The usual form of construction in Wardaman is for Dative-marked nominal complement to also be marked by independent Dative pronoun, and the latter in fact often precedes the former in the clause. The nominal establishing identity of the Dative-complement often occurs at some remove from the Dative pronoun, forming an absolutely typical kind of loose linkage within the clause.

- (38) *menyje* *go* *gawalya-wu*
 feel 3SG DAT porcupine-DAT

‘Feel around for the porcupine’.

- (39) *yurrg-ba* *go* *luwu-ya* *gawalya-wu*
 feel-PS 3SG DAT hole-LOC porcupine-DAT

‘Feel around for the porcupine in the hole’.

- (40) *balyab* *0-jingi-ndi* *go* *gangma-wu*
 lie in wait 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG DAT kangaroo-DAT

‘He lay in wait for the kangaroo’.

- (41) *wonggo* *yini-gaygba* (*gunga*) *wurre-wu*
 neg IRR2SG-call 3SG DAT child-DAT

‘You shouldn’t call out to/for the child’.

Dative marks the complements of certain formally mediopassive verbs, the latter status indicated by stem-formative *-yi-*, identical to the reflexive-reciprocal marker, but in these verbs, not identifiable as such.

- (42) *nga-geng-mi-yi-n* *lin-gu*
 1SG-fear-MED-PRES snake-DAT

‘I’m frightened of snakes’ [or frightened of the snake].

The above contrasts with predicate *geng-ma-* ‘fear’, which determines transitive clause structure.

- (43) *nga-wali-yi-n* *nganinggin-gu* *yi-marnany-gu*
 1SG-jealous-MED-PRES mine GEN-DAT YI-husband-DAT

‘I’m jealous of my husband’.

While *wali-yi-*, as (43) shows, occurs with Dative complement expressing person concerning whom one’s jealousy is aroused, there is a contrasting verb *wali-na-* (with inseparable auxiliary *na-*, otherwise ‘to see’) which occurs in transitive clauses with the person causing one to be jealous (rather than the one with respect to whom one is jealous) treated as direct object.

Dative also marks the nominal complement in purposive clauses (see 11.4.).

Possessive phrases in Wardaman have a typical structure in which the possessor if nominal is Dative-marked, if pronominal is expressed by the appropriate independent Genitive pronoun; and the possessor, whether nominal or pronominal, is also marked by a form of the Dative independent pronoun agreeing with nominal or pronominal possessor. Ordering of these constituents is not strict: the Dative-marked nominal, for example, may occur before or after the agreeing Dative pronoun (see further 10.4.). A considerable number of examples, culled from texts, illustrating mainly nominal but also pronominal possessors, is given. These are fairly similar in content and are chosen to show, among other things, various ordering possibilities.

- (44) *marluga* *gegeyenman* *gimiyn-gu* *go* *yibiyi...*
 old man-ABS [name]-ABS [name]-DAT 3SG DAT father-ABS
 ‘Old man Gegeyenman, Gimiyn’s father ...’ [in context, entire possessive construction Absolutive].
- (45) *marluga-wu* *gojorlo-wu* *go* *yibiyi* *yi-warna-gari*
 old man-DAT [name]-DAT 3SG DAT father-ABS YI-other-ABS
yarrulan
 young-ABS
 ‘Old man Gojorlo’s other father, the younger one ...’ [entire possessive construction Absolutive].
- (46) *yidumduma-wu* *go* *yibiyi*
 [name]-DAT 3SG DAT father-ABS
 ‘Yidumduma’s father...’.
- (47) *yibiyi* *yidumduma-wu* *marluga*
 father-ABS [name]-DAT old man-ABS
 ‘Yidumduma’s old man father ...’.
- (48) *marluga* *gunga* *miki benet-gu* *yibiyi*
 old man-ABS 3SG DAT [Micky Bennett]-DAT father-ABS
 ‘Old man, Micky Bennett’s father ...’.
- (49) *nana* *wurren* *yidumduma-wu* *go* *yi-jamuyn*
 that-ABS child-ABS [name]-DAT 3SG DAT YI-MF-ABS
 ‘That child, [who was] Yidumduma’s mother’s father ...’.
- (50) *yibiyi* *gungan.gin* *gunga*
 father-ABS his GEN 3SG DAT
 ‘His father ...’ [no nominal possessor specified].
- (51) *nganinggin* *marluga* *gagung* *mernde-yi* *0-bu-ndi*
 1SG GEN old man-ABS FF-ABS white-ERG 3SG-hit-PST
delimiya
 [Delamere]
 ‘My old grandfather [father’s father] was shot by whites at Delamere ...’.

Note as in (51) the resumptive Dative pronoun (*nganu*) may be omitted from a clause such as this, in which the possessive phrase functions as direct object.

To express possession of a possessor, both possessors are Dative-marked (and there may be independent Dative pronoun, especially agreeing with nominal possessor):

- (52) *nganinggin-gu* *yi-guyu-wu* *minini*
mine GEN-DAT YI-mother-DAT dog-ABS
‘My mother’s dog’.

- (53) *nganinggin-gu* *yi-yaja-wu* *yi-ngawuyu*
mine GEN-DAT YI-yZ-DAT YI-‘wife’
‘My younger sister’s “wife” ’ [= sister-in-law].

- (54) *nana* *marluga* *nganinggin-gu* *go* *yibiyi-wu*
that-ABS old man-ABS 1SG GEN-DAT 3SG DAT father-DAT
yibiyi *0-nyanga-ndi*
father-ABS 3SG-come-PST
‘That old man, my father’s father, came ...’.

In (54), the narrator explains a relationship by genealogical steps for which, of course, a separate term (*gagung*) exists.

A Dative-marked nominal or pronominal possessor cannot be further inflected for function within the clause; that is, the possessor noun cannot be inflected to show agreement with the function of the possessed noun.

- (55) *nganinggin-gu* *yi-guyu-wu* *minini-yi* *nga(n)-la-rri*
mine GEN-DAT YI-mother-DAT dog-ERG 3SG/1SG-bite-PST
‘My mother’s dog bit me’.

That is, the double possessor construction “my mother’s” cannot be Ergative-marked to agree with the possessed noun, “dog”.

Examples of possessive constructions which involve some other kinds of possessed nominals (besides kin) are:

- (56) *wu-den* *go* *gumurrinji-wu* *wudu* *0-yanja*
WU-wing 3SG DAT emu-DAT small-ABS 3SG-go PRES
‘The emu’s wings are/have become small’.

- (57) *wonggo* *0-yerde-rri* *madin* *mernde-wu* *gunga*
neg 3SG-know-PST language-ABS white-DAT 3SG DAT
ngawun *wardagwardag* *0-yana-rri*
no shake head 3SG-AUX-PST
‘He didn’t know the white man’s language at all, he shook his head’.

It can now be seen that the expression of possession is rather similar to the typical Dative complement, in that the favoured construction for both is one in which the nominal complement/possessor occurs in construction with independent Dative pronoun (and also, pronominal possessor may occur in construction with independent Dative pronoun). As one further example, note the occurrence of *gunga* in the following:

- (58) *nga-nginyama-rri* *gunga* *nganinggin-gu* *yi-barnang-gu*
 1SG-assist-PST 3SG DAT mine GEN-DAT YI-aunt-DAT
ngayugu *nga-nginy-ma-rri* *gabbarri* *gunga*
 1SG ABS 1SG-assist-PST also 3SG DAT
nganinggin-gu *yi-guyu-wu*
 1SG GEN-DAT YI-mother-DAT

'I helped out [Kr. 'take partner la', as in fight] my aunt and also I helped out my mother'.

In both clauses *gunga* comes before Dative-marked nominal.

Given that possessive phrases and Dative complements both exhibit the favoured structure with independent pronoun and Dative-marked nominal, it is sometimes difficult to insist on a clear difference between structural descriptions of clauses as ones in which the Dative pronoun is a complement (generally, semantic beneficiary) of the verb, versus those in which it is part of the possessor phrase. Examples (59) and (60) illustrate the structural overlap:

- (59) *nga-gard-bu-n* *gunga* *nguwwun* *wurre-wu*
 1SG-wipe-PRES 3SGDAT faeces-ABS child-DAT

'I am wiping the child's faeces' [for it].

- (60) *nu-marn-bu* *gunga* *warlgin* *mulurru-wu*
 2NSG-make 3SG DAT bed-ABS old woman-DAT

'You [PL] make the old woman's bed for her' [you make a bed for the old woman].

Finally, Dative is used to mark "number of times" with the numbers *guyamin* 'two' and *murrgun* 'three': *guyamin-gu* 'twice', and *murrgun-gu* 'thrice'. There is no exactly analogous form with the number *lege* 'one'. Instead, 'once, one time' is often expressed by the adverb *dijbi*, but there is also a form *legegumin* used in this meaning. (See 7.6.6. for *-min*). A related form *legegun* is used to mean 'once, once in a while, sporadically, from time to time' (7.6.5.).

5.2.4. Locative

Locative case expresses the static meanings "in, on, at", as well as meanings which involve motion "into", "onto", "around" and "past". It differs from Allative (5.2.5.) partly in being more general, for the latter only expresses motion (towards), while Locative may encode the terminus of motion towards. Examples are:

- (61) *banggin-ya* *ga*
 back-LOC carry

'Carry him on [your] back'.

- (62) *gurru-ma* *0-we-ndi* *wiya-ya*
 dive-PS 3SG-AUX-PST water-LOC
 ‘He dived in the water’.
- (63) *jagalyalyirr* *jolyorrg* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya* *yibumbu-ya*
 quartzite-ABS soak 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR tin-LOC
 ‘They used to put the quartzite crystals to soak in a billy’.
- (64) *yijurn-nya* *nga-gi-we* *gunga* *wurre-wu* *bingmarla*
 face-LOC 1SG-put-FUT 3SG DAT child-DAT yellow paint-ABS
 ‘I have to put yellow paint on the child’s face’.
- (65) *lun* *0-gi-ndi* *gunga* *ngabulu-ya* *gila* *yi-guyu-ya*
 out 3SG-put-PST 3SG DAT breast-LOC indeed YI-mother-LOC
 ‘He put it [child] down to her, at the breast, on the mother’.

In (65), the narrator is telling of a child salvaged from a massacre on Delamere Station. The *gunga* refers to the mother, allegedly killed in the attack; an old man coming on the scene is said to have taken the live child and put it to the mother’s breast.

The verb *ngany-ma-* ‘to use up, expend’ (and also used as equivalent to ‘waste, expend or use up uselessly’) takes Locative complement:

- (66) *wu-munburra* *yayi-ngany-mi* *wiya-ya*
 WU-money-ABS 3SG IRR-spend water-LOC
 ‘He might spend the money on grog’.

Some Adverbs (see 7.6.) characteristically occur with Locative complements further specifying location or manner:

- (67) *walig* *yum-nya* *nganja*
 around tree-LOC 1SG-go PRES
 ‘I’m going round the tree’.
- (68) *wu-lirr-ya* *yum-nya* *nga-jingi-n*
 WU-side-LOC tree-LOC 1SG-sit-PRES
 ‘I’m sitting one side of the tree’.

(Adverbial forms *wu-lirr-ya* and *wu-lirr-wa* ‘on the side of, to one side’, are both attested.)

- (69) *yum-nya* *gelegele-wi* *0-yo-rri*
 tree-LOC past-ART 3SG-spear-PST
 ‘He speared past the tree’ [i.e., did not hit it].

- (70) *berrg* *0-waja-rri* *yum-nya*
 past 3SG-leave-PST tree-LOC

‘He passed by the tree’.

Some toponyms are constructed with Locative case-ending added to nominal (generally expressing what exists, in a mythological and/or material sense, at the place): *mennge-ya* ‘at the white cockatoo’, *julamarr-ya* ‘at the white currant’ (Johnstone Hole); *jarrug-ja* ‘at the eggs’ (part of Yingalarri waterhole). Aside from this derivational process, expressions meaning “at X” do not tend to be suffixed for Locative case. The (secondary) adverb *gurru-ya* ‘later’ (from *gurru*, of same meaning) has Locative suffix.

5.2.5. Allative

Allative expresses motion towards the nominal to which it is suffixed.

- (71) *wurr-(y)anggi* *galul* *wu-munburra-warr* *bijbarnang-garr*
 3NSG-go PST up WU-rock-ALL [place]-ALL

‘They went up on top of the scarp to Bijbarnang’.

- (72) *ngarl* *ya-wu-da-n* *ngamanda-warda* *yilama* *yibiyan*
 bark 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES what-EMPH maybe man-ABS
yilama *bulugi* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *wiya-warr*
 maybe cattle-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES water-ALL

‘They are barking, whatever at, maybe a person or maybe cattle are coming to water’.

- (73) *ya-wurr-ga-n* *yirrgulu-warr* *wu-jad-garr*
 3-3NSG-take-PRES river-ALL WU-big-ALL

‘They’re taking it to the big river’.

- (74) *nganja* *nan-garr* *lagla-warr* *megerrma-warang-garr*
 1SG PRES that-ALL camp-ALL yam-having-ALL

‘I’m going to that place that has long yams’.

The allative suffix is generally word-final, but may be followed by the adverbial suffix *-min* (see 7.6.6.).

Toponyms as goal are typically inflected for Allative case (as in example 71), although as noted they are rarely inflected for Locative (5.2.4.). Allative is used in the following way in constructions meaning “from close up”, “from far away”:

- (75) *wonggo* *yayi-da-n* *baraj-garr*
 neg IRR 1EXNSG-see-PRES far-ALL

‘We can’t see it [from] far away’.

- (76) *yi-da-n* *jewe-le-warr*
 1EXNSG-see-PRES close-ALL
 ‘We see it [from] close up’.

This seems very similar to the formation of Allative-inflected objective adclausal complements with verb particles (11.7.), and to the routine use of such complements with certain predicates, such as the particle plus auxiliary construction *geyeg-ba ga-* ‘to imitate’. Here, the thing or characteristic imitated is often Allative-inflected (but may also be Dative-marked):

- (77) *geyeg-ba* *ya-0-ga-n* *gajigaji-warr*
 imitate 3-3SG-AUX-PRES walk-ALL
 ‘He’s imitating his walking’.

gajigaji is the verb particle ‘go on foot, foot-walk’, which normally occurs in construction with verbs of motion, especially “go”. See 11.4.3. and 11.7. for discussion of the use of Allative as complementizer.

5.2.6. Ablative

Ablative case signals that the nominal to which it is suffixed is the point of departure for some motion or transit, as in (78) and (79):

- (78) *wumbang* *yi-bu-n* *wiya-wa*
 emerge 2SG-AUX-PRES water-ABL
 ‘You emerge from water’.
- (79) *diw* *wurr-wud-ba-rri* *go* *nana* *mayin* *galul-wa*
 throw 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG DAT that-ABS food-ABS up-ABL
 ‘They threw that food to him from high up’.

The Ablative has two somewhat specialized uses. One is to indicate the route followed, a pergressive notion, as in (80):

- (80) *ngarr-ga-n* *wu-ma-wa* *yondorr-wa* *wonggo*
 1INPL-take-PRES WU-good-ABL road-ABL neg IRR
yingarr-ga-n *nan-ba* *warringu-wa* *yondorr-wa*
 1INPL-take-PRES that-ABL bad-ABL road-ABL
 ‘Let’s take it by the good road, we mustn’t take it by that bad way’.

The second is to express the notion “up to, point to which”:

- (81) *mejern-ba* ‘up to the waist’ (stomach)
yiberr-wa ‘up to the leg’
yi-lunja-wa ‘up to the chest’
yi-mum-ba ‘up to the eyes’
yi-mirr-wa ‘up to the forehead’

5.2.7. Dissociative

“Dissociative” is the not entirely satisfactory label used for the (historically composite) case-ending *-gunya ~ -wunya*. With human and animate nominals, it generally expresses an anti-benefactive notion: person or entity “away from whom” the predicate’s meaning is to be understood. It may also be understood to express “on account” of a human or animate, though this meaning is secondary with such nominals. However, with inanimate nominals, the case-ending usually is understood to express the meaning “on account of” the entity to which it is suffixed.

- (82) *dordo-werrens* *ngarr-ya* *gunya* *yingangun-bu*
 shoot-liable 1INPL-go 3SG DISS 3SG/1INPL IRR-hit
nu-gerne *ngarrugu* *birrg-ba*
 2NSG-AUX DAT 1INPL take away

‘He’s liable to shoot, let’s go away from him, he might shoot us, you take it away for us/on our behalf’.

The Dissociative form in (82) is a complement of the verb of going. It differs from Ablative in that it does not merely express the notion of “point of departure”, but additionally the idea of going to get away from the referent of the Dissociative-marked nominal; hence the “anti-benefactive” sense of the case-form.

- (83) *mowoj* *o-yanggi* *nganunya*
 sneak away 3SG-AUX PST 1SG DISS

‘He snuck away from me’.

- (84) *guda nana* *marluga* *gayardung* *o-yanggi*
 where that-ABS old man-ABS run 3SG-AUX PST
barlarra *o-jingi-ndi* *yi-munburra-ya* *wurrugunya*
 hide 3SG-AUX-PST YI-rock-LOC 3NSG DISS

‘Where did that old man run to? He was hiding from them in the rock’.

- (85) *o-ga-ndi* *gunya* *yi-ngawuyu* *marluga-wunya*
 3SG-take-PST 3SG DISS YI-wife-ABS old man-DISS

‘He took the old man’s wife away from him’.

There is an interesting, somewhat different usage of Dissociative. The 3SG independent pronominal form *gunya* is sometimes found to be used to mark, not the “person away from whom” the predicate action (trajectory, position etc.) is to be understood, but rather an “anti-benefactive” consequence of what is predicated by the verb for a major clausal participant. In other words, here the Dissociative actually functions somewhat more directly like an additional element of the predicate, implying that there will be a negative consequence for a participant of engaging in the verbal activity.

- (86) *bulburuwuru* *0-wud-ba-rri* *gonjo-warang* *wonggo*
 dirty-ABS 3SG-throw-PST dirt-having-ABS neg
yini-ngu-n *gunya*
 IRR2SG-eat-PRES 3SG DISS

‘It’s [a] dirty [thing], he threw it down and it’s got dirt on it, you ought not eat it’.

In (86), *gunya* relates to the 2SG participant expressing the notion that eating the thing mentioned has negative implications, will not be of benefit, but “anti-benefactive”.

- (87) *narrng-ma* *nunu-we* *gunya*
 stuck-PS 2NSG IRR-AUX 3SG DISS

‘You might get stuck’.

Here, Dissociative underscores that what is predicated as possible (getting stuck) will be non-beneficial for 2NSG. The same kind of relation between predicate and participant is found in (88):

- (88) *0-jarram-bu-rri* *birdij* *0-gi-ndi* *gunya* *jimirndi*
 3SG-look-PST find 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG DISS knife-ABS
0-jarlgba-rri-wan
 3SG-stab-PST-DF

‘He looked around, found the knife [to his detriment] and stabbed him’.

It is difficult to fluently translate the anti-benefactive contribution of *gunya* above. It is understood to mean that the finding of the knife was of detriment to the one who is understood victim, and direct object of the verb “to stab”. (88), however, differs from (86) and (87) in that, presumably, any independent Dissociative form could be substituted there, and the meaning understood in relation to that person-number category. That is, in (88), the Dissociative is not a third person category interpreted directly as an element of predicate meaning, as in (86) and (87).

With inanimate and non-human nominals, Dissociative case marks the thing “on account of which”:

- (89) *wonggo* *wurr-yo-rri* *ngawun-gunya* *layin-gunya*
 neg 3NSG-spear-PST nothing-DISS meat-DISS

‘They didn’t spear him for nothing, [but] on account of meat’.

A final example shows that, where in context a human or animate nominal is clearly understood as one “on whose account” or more generally “in relation to whom” the predicate action is understood, the case-suffix is interpreted accordingly.

- (90) *janginyina-wuya* *wud-jala-yi-rri-yawu* *yagjagbula*
 lightning-DU-ABS 3NSG-boomerang-RR-PST-NAR [name]-ABS
jabirringgi *garnayanda-wunya* *wud-jala-yi-rri-ya*
 [name]-ABS [name]-DISS 3NSG-boomerang-RR-PST-NAR
gunya
 3SG DISS

‘The two Lightnings boomeranged each other, Yagjagbula and Jabirringgi, on account of Garnayanda, they boomeranged each other on her account’.

(90) is taken from a version of the Lightning Brothers myth. The two brothers fought with each other over one’s theft of the other’s wife, Garnayanda.

One common way of asking “what for” in the explicit sense ‘on account of what’ is *ngamanda-wunya* [what-DISS], and this may be further suffixed with the indefinite, emphatic interrogative *-warda* (7.5.8.): *ngamanda-wunya-warda* ‘whatever in the world for?’

It is clear that when Dissociative can be understood in relation to a major clausal participant (one marked by subject or object pronominals in the verb), it is interpreted in the sense “away from” with reference to that participant (with verbs of motion and trajectory), or in anti-benefactive sense. Where it is not interpretable as conveying meaning in relation to such a major clausal participant, it is interpreted in the sense “on account of”. Thus the latter may be the interpretation given to instances with both inanimate and animate nominal; but for this to occur with the latter, the animate nominal must be clearly interpretable (from clause and text structures) as other than a major clausal participant.

It is important to make explicit that Dative, not Dissociative, is generally used as the complement of verbs of taking (*me-*) and stealing (e.g., ditransitive *mowo-*). In the latter, the person stolen from is marked by object pronominal on the verb (*ngon-mowo-rri* ‘he stole it from me’), and any use of independent 1SG Dissociative pronoun in construction with the ditransitive verb generally receives a speaker judgment equivalent to “ungrammatical”. But also, a meaning such as ‘he took it from him’ tends to be expressed *o-me-ndi gunga*, with 3SG independent Dative pronominal. Thus Dative is typically used to express something that may practically be understood as anti-benefactive, but it is not generally expressed as Dissociative. In example (85), use of Dissociative gives a fairly concrete spatial formulation to the verb and complement, something like “took away, physically carried away from him”. Dative is clearly the more general case, and may express a relation to a complement of both semantically benefactive and anti-benefactive kinds. See example (119) below.

5.2.8. Source

The second, (historically) composite case suffix, *-gunba ~ -wunba*, expresses that the nominal to which it is suffixed is the source or provider of something. In some of its uses it may overlap with Ablative. Ablative, however, tends to be more restricted to expressing point of departure in relation to motion or transit, while Source need not imply anything about motion, transit, or explicitly spatial source, but simply expresses that the

nominal to which it is suffixed is to be understood as origin. It is found with both animate and inanimate nouns as source.

- (91) *yirrug* *yirr-garranyji-yi-rrri* *ma-bujgun-gunba* *megerrman*
 1EXNSG 1EXNSG-grow-MED-PST MA-wild-SOU long yam-ABS
magulu *julamarran* *mogorlgorl* *buda*
 cheeky yam-ABS white currant-ABS Ampelocissus-ABS black plum-ABS
bawujin *walanu* *wayida* *dan-ganung-wan* *mayin*
 plat potato-ABS potato-ABS yam-ABS this-COL-ABS-DF food- ABS
 ‘As for us, we grew from native foods: long yam, cheeky yam, white currant, “wild grape”, black plum, small potato, “wild potato”, yam, these [sort of] foods’.

Note that when the speaker begins listing foods, these are all given in Absolutive form, and no longer to be understood as directly within the scope of the Source inflection.

A second example in which Source is suffixed to nominal of notional adjectival type is (92):

- (92) *wudu-wunba* *yi-jad-marla* *0-bu-yi-rrri* *nana* *gangman*
 little-SOU YI-big-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST that-ABS kangaroo-ABS
 ‘From [being] small, that kangaroo grew big’.

Here the “Source” is the condition of being small, expressed by *wudu*.

- (93) *gangma-wunba* *yi-nebel* *wu-dagbarla-rrri* *wurr-bel-wu-rrri*
 kangaroo-SOU YI-shoulder-ABS 3NSG-have-PST 3NSG-slice-PST
 ‘They had shoulder bones of kangaroos and sliced’ [with them].

Source is the preferred case with which to indicate kin or social origin, e.g. *wurren nganinggin-gunba mejern-gunba* ‘a child from my belly’, and the like.

Source is also often used to express the language in which something is said, or from which something comes:

- (94) *poli* *yingyi* *go* *mernde-wunba*
 [Polly] name-ABS 3SG DAT white man-SOU
 ‘“Polly” was her name in English’.

- (95) *nu-yana* *yibiyani-gunba*
 2NSG-say man-SOU
 ‘You say it in [Aboriginal] language’.

- (96) *gurru-ya-wan* *wud-janga-ndi* *lurrbu* *bogogo-wunba* *yanin*
 later-LOC-DF 3NSG-come-PST home foraging-SOU like now
 ‘And later they would come home from foraging, like [around] this time now’.

As (96) is intended to illustrate, Ablative tends not to be used as widely with verbal particles as Source, which has considerable usage in the formation of adclausal complements, and there may often have a causal sense (see 11.5.).

5.2.9. Originative

The suffix *-jila* is much more restricted semantically than Source. It is most commonly found with toponyms and cardinal direction terms to express where someone or something is from, as in: *giwunin-jila* ‘from the Flora River’ (Giwunin is a focal site on the river); *wugimadgun-jila* ‘from Scott Creek’; *yingawunarri-jila* ‘from Top Springs’. It is found suffixed to interrogatives as in (97):

- (97) *dang-mulu* *yi-bony-mulu* *gudang-jila-warda*
 this-PL-ABS YI-stranger-PL-ABS where-ORIG-EMPH
 ‘Where in the world could these strangers be from?’ or ‘These are strangers, where from?’

Originative has been found commonly suffixed to the direction term “south”, *gorrong-jila*, meaning ‘people from the south’. More rarely, it has been found suffixed to nominals or independent genitive pronouns to signal source of something in the sense of prior ownership or possession:

- (98) *yiwarlng* *nana* *yinggawun-jila*
 clothes-ABS that-ABS 2SG GEN-ORIG
 ‘Those clothes are from you’.

5.3. “Having” and “lacking”: Proprietary and privative suffixes

5.3.1. “Having”

Derived nominals meaning “having X”, where X is a nominal, are formed by suffixation of *-garang* ~ *-warang* to the stem. This derivational process contrasts with another involving *-barra* ~ *-warra* (5.4.), in that it tends to be used to express more permanent, inherent, affecting, or internalized possession or association rather than transitory association. Some common though transitory conditions are often expressed by means of the suffix (e.g., *wiya-warang* water-having = ‘drunk’, *barndi-warang* sore-having = ‘with sores’; *yigilirr-warang* mucous-having = ‘having a cold, sick’), but all come within the ambit of affecting or internalized association. There may be, nevertheless, some semantic overlap between the “having” suffix and that described in 5.4.

“Having” constructions can be inflected for all the case-endings:

- (99) *gin.gina-warang-nyi* *jin* *ngan-gi-ndi*
 [name]-having-ERG blame 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST
 ‘The one who has Gin.gina blamed me’.

As (99) illustrates, the “having” construction is used to refer to a person in terms of the spouse he or she has. The above sort of locution may be used to avoid mentioning the name of an avoidance-category relative. Further examples of “having” derivations follow.

- (100) *din* *nganbu-da-rri* *mawuya-wu* *yilama* *marluga*
 blame 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST poison-DAT maybe old man-ABS
nga-wo-ndi *mawuya-warang* *mayin*
 1SG/3SG-give-PST poison-having-ABS food-ABS

‘They blamed me for poison[ing], [they reckoned that] I gave the old man food with poison in it’.

- (101) *ngarr-ya* *langgan-garr* *yimiyan-garr-min* *wu-jad-garr*
 1INPL-go billabong-ALL same-ALL-ADV WU-big-ALL
gadi-warang-garr
 lily-having-ALL

‘Let’s go [to] that same big billabong [place] with lilies’.

- (102) *namulu-warang* *yumin* *bag* *ye-0-we-yen* *gurru-ya*
 white ant-having-ABS tree-ABS break 3-3SG-AUX-POT later

‘The tree with termites may break later’.

- (103) *mangali* *yi-wad-garang* *ngarr-gi-n* *yi-marnayn-(n)ya*
 girl-ABS YI-pubic hair-having-ABS 1INPL-put-PRES YI-husband-LOC

‘The girl has pubic hair, let us put her with her husband’ [give her in marriage].

One common way of asking “What’s up?”, “What’s going on?”, and (contextually) “What’s the matter?” is *ngamanda-warang*, literally, ‘what-having’?

Many nominals in common use in certain meanings are derived “having” – forms, e.g., *munba-warang* ‘sorcerer’; *namu-warang* ‘dirty person’; *nyungga-warang* (from *nyunggawula* ‘curly hair’) ‘curly-haired (person)’; *wu-bol-warang* ‘grey-haired (person)’.

5.3.2. “Lacking”

Adjectival nouns meaning “lacking X”, where X is a nominal, are formed by suffixation of *-wagbawun* to the nominal stem, usually one which has undergone final syllable reduction.

-wagbawun is the only trisyllabic affix in the Wardaman inventory. There is a nominal *wagba*, meaning ‘orphan, person without relatives’; and there is an adjectival derivational suffix *-gun* ~ *-wun* (9.4.). It seems, then, that a nominal designating a condition of quintessential lack may have come to be, via derivation, a more purely grammatical form which expresses lack, or the absence of that to which it is affixed.

Like the “having” forms, the “lacking” forms thus created may be further case-inflected, although this seems to be somewhat less common than for the “having” forms. Examples of its occurrence are:

- (104) *yi-nayin* *wu-loyi-rrri-ya* *mobonyi*
 YI-naked-ABS 3NSG-dance MED-PST-NAR night
jorrgon-garang *yiwarlng-wagbawun*
 cockrag-having-ABS clothes-lacking-ABS

‘They danced naked last night, with cockrags on, no clothes’.

- (105) *wonggo* *nganburr-wojbarna-n* *yi-gulan-wagbawun*
 neg 3NSG/1SG-hear-PRES YI-ear-lacking-ABS

‘They don’t listen to me, [they have] no ears’.

- (106) *ma-dalbirrman* *mayin* *nga-marn-bu-rrri* *ma-nyalug-wagbawun*
 MA-tough-ABS food-ABS 1SG-make-PST MA-soft-lacking

‘I made tough food/bread, it’s not soft’.

Note as in (106) that a quality can be represented as lacking in the same way that a substantive nominal can. The Absolutive form of ‘soft’ is *nyalugin*, so the form here has undergone final syllable reduction.

- (107) *nga-na-n* *word-marla* *wengman* *wiya-wagbawun*
 1SG-see-PRES head out-INCH empty-ABS water-lacking-ABS

‘I see [lit.] its head coming out, it’s empty, [there is] no water’.

(The most common sense of the particle *word* is ‘head out’ or ‘protruding’, as when a person sits in the grass and only the head can be seen. Here it is used in the apparent sense that the receptacle is becoming visible.)

- (108) *wurren-bi* *wardirrg-bi* *wambarr-ma* *0-yanggi*
 child ABS-ART girl ABS-ART anywhere-PS 3SG-go PST
warlam-wagbawun
 skin-lacking

‘As a child, as a young girl, she went anywhere, no skin’.

The above is about a woman who, the speaker says, when young was not selective about her sexual partners: she went “anywhere” and had “no skin” or subsection. The nominal “skin” is usually used with prefix, YI- for skin of the body, and WU- for bark or other integument. Here it is unprefixd.

- (109) *yirr-garranyji-rrri* *mernde-ya* *yi-bujgun-wagbawun*
 1EXNSG-grow MED-PST white-LOC YI-wild-lacking-ABS

‘We grew up at European places/with Europeans, we are not wild’.

- (110) *yiwarlng* *wu-gid* *dana* *dirrba* *yinge-we*
 clothes-ABS WU-narrow-ABS this-ABS stuck 1SG IRR-AUX
walba-wagbawun *nganu-wo-ndi*
 wide-lacking-ABS 2NSG/1SG-give-PST
 ‘This dress is tight, I might get stuck, you gave me something not wide [enough]’.

An Ergative-marked instance found was *yi-gurlurrghi-wagbawun-(n)yi* ‘one without compassion’. The Dissociative suffix *-gunya* may be suffixed to the privative, though such combinations are rare. Where this happens, the stem form of the privative ending becomes *-wagba-*, yielding such forms as *wiya-wagba-wunya* ‘on account of the lack of grog’.

5.4. Adverbial *-barra* ~ *-warra*

The suffix *-barra* ~ *-warra* overlaps to some extent with the usage of *-garang* ~ *-warang*, in that it can be used to express “having”. However, it generally expresses temporary possession, or transitory use or association. In its range of uses it is much more clearly adverbial than the “having” construction. For example, it may be suffixed to verb particles which have temporal reference (e.g., *juny-ma* ‘set, of sun’) to express the notion ‘at that time’: *juny-ma-warra* ‘at sunset, when the sun goes down’. A number of examples of the use of this suffix follow.

- (111) *wu-jerrij-barra* *nga-nyanga-yan* *lurrbu*
 WU-cold weather-ADV 1SG-come-POT home
 ‘I might come back cold weather time’.
- (112) *yi-born-ma-rri* *yiwarlng-barra-yi,* *yini-jerri-yi,* *yini-me*
 2SG-bathe-PST clothes-ADV-ADV IRR 2SG-cold-MED IRR 2SG-get
yanga
 sickness-ABS
 ‘You bathed with your clothes on, you might get cold, you might get sick’.

Example (112) illustrates that a further adverbial suffix *-yi* is commonly affixed to *barra*, although its contribution to meaning is not entirely clear. It cannot, synchronically at least, be viewed as equivalent to Ergative/Instrumental suffix, although it may be related to it historically.

- (113) *wurr-bu-yi-rri* *yum-barra* *garra-gurlang*
 3NSG-hit-RR-PST stick-ADV cousin-DY-ABS
 ‘The cousins were fighting with sticks’.
- (114) *numbulan* *garn-barra* *0-lawu-rri*
 that way spear-ADV 3SG-catch-PST
 ‘He caught up to him that way with spear’.

- (115) *bilyba* *ya-0-bu-n* *yarlarrg-barra*
 switch 3-3SG-AUX-PRES leaf-ADV
 ‘He switches him with leaves’ [as a doctor does, curing].
- (116) *mad-barra* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *lege* *yibiyani*
 word-ADV 3-3SG-come-PRES one-ABS man-ABS
 ‘A single man is coming with news’.
- (117) *guyamin-barra* *nungguru-warra* *yi-bayin* *yanima* *wo*
 two-ADV hand-ADV YI-mother-in-law-ABS thus give
 ‘Give to your mother-in-law thus, with two hands’.

There are many common usages in which nominals are alternately found with *-garang* and *-barra*, with no discoverable difference in acceptability of meaning, e.g., one may say a person is coming *meny-garang* ‘anger-having’, and *meny-barra*.

Note that *-barra*, like *-garang*, is affixed to the reduced stem.

5.5. *Wayana* ‘and all’: End of list

There is an “end of list” form which may be translated “and all”, and it is understood to include within its scope anything mentioned immediately preceding it. Usually this is a maximum list of two things, and the most standard, often-heard expression of this kind is “vegetable food, meat and all” (or sometimes the reverse order):

- (118) *layin* *mayin* *wayana* *nga-me-ndi*
 meat-ABS food-ABS and all 1SG-get-PST
 ‘I got meat, bread and all’.

However, many other such lists (typically, of two) are also situationally devised, as in (119):

- (119) *wengman* *nu-gi-ndi* *nganu* *yibumbu* *dubuluji* *wayana*
 empty-ABS 2NSG-put-PST 1SG DAT billy-ABS bag-ABS and all
 ‘You emptied out billy cans and hand-bag and all on me’.

(Observe in this example that the anti-benefactive nuance glossed “on me” is derived from the larger sense of the utterance, and that the Dative rather than Dissociative independent pronoun is used here.)

- (120) *jawarrga* *yi-darra-wuya* *mordorl* *wayana* *0-ginye-rri*
 liver-ABS YI-kidney-DU-ABS tail-ABS and all 3SG-cook-PST
jerr-ya
 oven-LOC
 ‘He cooked the liver, kidneys, tail and all in the ground oven’.

It often happens that only one nominal may be actually named to suggest the domain of reference within which “and all” is understood to apply:

- (121) *ngurruwun* *wiya-wagbawun* *ngayal* *ya-0-bu-n*
hot time-ABS water-lacking-ABS flower-ABS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES
belerren *wayana*
gum-ABS and all

‘In the hot time there’s no rain, gum trees and all flower’.

From the examples (118 – 121) there is nothing to suggest that the “and all” form has other than independent word status, although its position with respect to listed nominals is certainly restricted (it always follows immediately). However, a few examples show that its use is sometimes to be analyzed as suffixal:

- (122) *mayi-wu* *nganja* *gangga-rlan* *lany-wayana-wu*
food-DAT 1SG go PRES upriver-ALL beef-and all-DAT

‘I am going upriver [i.e., to Katherine town] for food and beef and everything’.

Here, the members “food” and “meat” of the usual list of two are discontinuous, and “for food” may easily be seen as simply a Dative-marked nominal expressing a purposive relation. But to the reduced stem-form *lany-* ‘meat’ is suffixed *-wayana*, as shown by the fact that Dative is suffixed to them as a unit.

5.6. Nominal number

There are three sets of suffixal number forms to be discussed under this head: one suffixed to a nominal to mark focal member of a pair, hence a notion that implies dual number; the second, explicitly a dual suffix which may be affixed to nominals and to verbs; the third, a plural (and with mass nouns, collective) number suffix. Although the dual and plural number suffixes are also found with independent pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives, those forms will be given separately in subsequent chapters. Here discussion and examples will concentrate on number-marking in the other kinds of nominals, substantival and adjectival.

5.6.1. Focal member of pair, *-garrma* ~ *-warrma*

The suffix *-garrma* ~ *-warrma*, added to a nominal (often a personal name), singles out the nominal thus treated as the focal member of a pair. Thus the category is inherently dual, but differs from the dual (5.6.2.) in that the latter simply signals “pair” without (necessarily) expressing any additional notion of focality (but see that section). The focal member suffix is generally found in the data with proper names. Examples are:

- (123) *oliba-warrma* *ya-wud-janga-n-guya* *ngorlog-ba-wu* *mad-gu*
[Oliver]-FP 3-NSG-come-PRES-DU talk-PS-DAT language-DAT

‘Oliver and another are coming to talk language’.

In Kriol there exists a grammatical category analogous to the Wardaman one, by means of which people generally translate this suffix, e.g., “Oliver two-fella”. Notice that the verb, as is often the case in Wardaman, shows dual agreement by means of the regular dual suffix, thus bringing into relief some of the differences (distributional and semantic) between the focal member and dual categories.

- (124) *wunggunburr-wo-ndi* *julay-warrma* *juni*
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST [July]-FP [Junie]
 ‘They gave it to July and Junie’.

Here “July” is treated as focal member of the pair, but the second member, (July’s wife) Junie, is also mentioned.

- (125) *nidban* *gunga* *magulu-wu* *ngamungguja* *niiiiid*
 cicada-ABS 3SG DAT cheeky yam-DAT boss-ABS [noise]
ya-0-yana-jana *ma-jag-ma-jad* *yanan* *gumurlurlu-warrma* *go*
 3-3SG-say rdp MA-big rdp thus [beetle]-FP 3SG DAT
 ‘Cicada is boss of cheeky yam, he goes “niiiiid”, great big ones [yams] like this, beetle and him for it’.

There is some ellipsis in this example, which is to be understood as follows. The story from which this comes tells how cicada, “boss” of cheeky yam, went off to get water. Beetle drank it and urinated on yam, thus making it bitter. In the final line, the speaker marks “beetle” as focal member of the pair, with 3SG Dative pronoun cohering with the earlier verbless predicative phrase “boss for cheeky yam”.

The adverbial interrogative *gun.garr-ma* ‘how, what kind of, what sort of, how many’ (and related forms, see 7.5.5.) appears to be morphologically relatable to the focal member of pair suffix, although no independent account can be given of the initial syllable *gun*. This interrogative shows no close semantic affinities with the focal pair suffix, and the evidence for any historical link between them remains speculative.

5.6.2. Dual suffix *-guya ~ -wuya*

The dual suffix *-guya ~ -wuya* is “chameleon” in that, although it marks a category of the noun, it is freely affixed to either nominal or verb (or both within the clause), to express the notion of a set of two. Examples in which the dual suffix has occurred on nominal or on each member of a nominal phrase in this chapter are (3, 30, 90, and 120). In (123) there was an example of dual suffixed to a verb. Further examples of that kind are:

- (126) *ya-wurr-nge-yi-n* *wirrig* *ya-wurr-bu-yinggan-guya*
 3-3NSG-argue MED-PRES tomorrow 3-3NSG-fight RR POT-DU
 ‘They are arguing, tomorrow they may fight’.

- (127) *ngayi-ga-n-guya*
 1INDU-take-PRES-DU
 ‘Let’s you and I take it’.

- (128) *bambaya ya-wu-da-yi-n-guya*
 row 3-3NSG-AUX-RR-PRES-DU
 ‘They are rowing [arguing] together’.

There is no distinction in verbal pronominals between dual and plural categories in second and third persons (see Chapter 6): those forms in the verb may be designated simply “non-singular”. Thus the dual suffix, whether suffixed to nominal or verb or both, often functions within the clause to explicitly mark dual reference (e.g., example 126 and 127 above). Dual suffixed to a nominal expresses that there is a pair of a single kind (e.g., *dang-guya yarrula-wuya* ‘these two young people, this young couple’). However, dual is often suffixed to the second of two overtly expressed nominals, to more explicitly formulate the two thus explicitly mentioned as a pair. Examples are:

- (129) *ngayugu yinggangala-wuya ngayi-jingi-n*
 1SG ABS [ss]-DU-ABS 1IN DU-sit-PRES
 ‘Yinggangala [subsection term] and I are sitting down’.

- (130) *yibiyan yi-ngawuyu-wuya ya-wud-janga-n*
 man-ABS YI-wife-DU-ABS 3-3NSG-come-PRES
 ‘The [pair of them] man and his wife are coming’.

Any overt case suffixes follow the number marker, e.g. *yibiyan-guya-yi* ‘the two men’, ERG.

A derived or morphologically secondary adverb *waliguya* ‘all around, in all directions’ may be analyzed as the combination of adverb *walig* ‘around’, and dual suffix, so that the pair concept provides the formal and semantic basis for a notion of entirety.

A special dyadic suffix is used with kinship terms; see 5.11.

5.6.3. Plural *-mulu* ~ *-bulu*

The plural suffix *-mulu* ~ *-bulu* is added to nouns to express “more than two”. This ending is much more rarely suffixed to the finite verb compared to the dual suffix, which is frequently found on the verb. This provides a basis for saying that “plural” is the less highly marked nonsingular category as compared with dual. Examples of its use are:

- (131) *dan-mulu goyogba-mulu wurre-mulu, yibiyi-wagbawun*
 this-PL orphan-PL-ABS child-PL-ABS father-lacking-ABS
 ‘These are orphans, [they have] no father’.

- (132) *ngawun-da-rri-ya* *mulurru-mulu* *wurr-ga-ndi-ya*
 1SG/3NSG-see-PST-NAR old woman-PL ABS 3NSG-take-PST-NAR
wird-ba *yug-barra*
 on shoulder-PS yoke-ADV

'I used to see the old women, they carried it on their shoulders with a yoke'.

- (133) *nan-gunya-wunyin* *wurr-bu-ndi* *digirrij-bi* *marluga-mulu-yi*
 that-DISS-SPEC 3NSG-hit-PST dead-ART old man-PL-ERG

'On account of that now the old men beat him severely'.

- (134) *yijjarlu-warr* *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya* *murrgun* *jadede*
 some-ALL 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR three [Saturday]
murrgun *jadede-mulu*
 three [Saturday]-PL ABS

'Sometimes they used to take me for three Saturdays, three Saturdays' [i.e., for trips of three weeks].

There is some phonological reason to attribute a slightly different status to the boundary between nominal stem and plural suffix, compared with other suffixes. Although elicitation makes clear that the alternation of the initial segment is ideally conditioned as stated in 3.5.3. (and suffixal forms occur as expected, e.g., in relatively fixed forms such as independent pronouns and demonstratives), nevertheless a significant number of cases have come to light of the *-mulu* allomorph post-stop with other nominal stems. For example, clear instances of *yi-jordjord-mulu* 'mad ones, mad buggers', and also *berngij-mulu* 'black soil' (see below) have been recorded. One might possibly see here some tendency towards dissimilatory widening of the distribution of the nasal-initial allomorph, which in any event is considered (3.5.3.) to be basic, and the stop-initial allomorph of more restricted distribution.

There are at least three nouns to which the (formally plural) suffix is commonly added to create more explicitly collective or mass forms. Those with which this is attested are: *lirrminin* 'pebble', *marranyin* 'sand', and *berngijin* 'black soil'. It might be argued their referents are materially of similar kind, with multiple component parts; but at any rate, they are grammatically 'non-count'. Examples of number-suffixed forms are:

- (135) *lirrmin-mulu-ya* *yirr-gurrgba* *wonggo*
 pebble-PL-LOC 1EXNSG-sleep-PRES neg
yi-ngarr-gurrgba *belg-ja* *ngarr-gurrgba*
 IRR 1INPL-sleep PRES mud-LOC 1INPL-sleep-PRES
lirrmin-garang-nya
 pebble-having-LOC

'Let's sleep on the gravel, we can't sleep in the mud, let's sleep in the gravelled area'.

(135) shows two alternative formulations with *lirrminin* 'pebble', one number-suffixed, the other "having"-suffixed, and both showing final syllable reduction before suffix.

- (136) *marrany-mulu-ya* *yirr-gurrba-rrri*
 sand-COL-LOC 1EXNSG-sleep-PST
 ‘We slept on the sand’.

Two informants understood number-suffixed “sand” to designate a large expanse of sand.

A number-suffixed form *berngij-mulu-ya* ‘on the black soil’ was recorded a number of times, with suffix-initial nasal segment.

Finally, the plural suffix is found with the numeral one (*lege-mulu*) in the meaning ‘a few’:

- (137) *wunggun-bu-ndi* *ngawun* *lege* *ngawun* *wud-jingi-ndi*
 3NSG/3NSG-hit-PST nothing one nothing 3NSG-be-PST
lege-mulu
 one-PL-ABS

‘They shot them, nothing [left], not one, they were only a few’ [remaining].

5.7. Article suffix *-bi ~ -wi*

An article-like ending *-bi ~ -wi* (see 3.6.) may be suffixed to many parts of speech, most commonly to nominals, to adverbs, and more rarely, to verb particles. In general, the article ending contributes specificity or concreteness to the meaning of the form to which it is suffixed, but it does this in slightly different ways for different word classes.

The article is suffixed to nominals of both substantive and adjectival kinds. In (138), suffixed to body parts specifying the focus of action, it gives greater concreteness to their involvement in the hitting:

- (138) *o-bu-ndi-ya* *darang-bi* *banggin-bi*
 3SG/3SG-hit-PST rump ABS-ART back ABS-ART
 ‘He hit his rump part, back part’.

With words designating place or geographic feature, the article equally contributes specificity, and often is to be interpreted as having a pergressive sense with respect to the predicate:

- (139) *yirrgulun-bi* *ya-o-gomarla-n*
 river ABS-ART 3-3SG-follow-PRES
 ‘He is following along the river’.

Notice the article is suffixed to Absolutive case-form.

With nominals which specify condition or status, the contribution of the article is to create something like a clausal complement meaning “at the time of X”, or “when X”, where X is the condition or status.

- (140) *wudu-wi* *0-ba-ndi* *wuja-yi*
 little-ART 3SG-burn-PST fire-INST
 ‘When he was little he got burned’.
- (141) *wu-bol-warang-marla* *ya-0-bu-yi-n* *yarrulan-bi*
 WU-grey-having-INCH 3-3SG-AUX-RR-PRES young person ABS-ART
 ‘As a young person he is turning grey-haired’.

See also (108) above, a similar kind of example.

- (142) *0-nyanga-ndi* *yi-merrug* *yinggiya-warda* *danani*
 3SG-come-PST YI-spirit-ABS who ABS-EMPH this-ABS
mulurru *yimiyani-bi* *namanya-wa* *0-nyanga-ndi*
 old woman-ABS same ABS-ART west-ABL 3SG-come-PST
 ‘Who in the world is this spirit that has come? This is that same old woman
 who’s come back from the west’.

The above is from a text about child spirits. The speaker imitates someone’s wondering reaction to seeing such a spirit — “Who is this?” He then imitates recognition of the spirit — “It is the same one”, i.e., a previously known person who has returned in spirit form.

The article suffix’s occurrence with adverbs might be described as partly inflectional, partly derivational. It may be freely suffixed to such adverbs as *bulgu* ‘in the middle’ (*bulgu-wi*, or reduplicative *bulgulgu-wi*), to give greater concreteness to the specification of locality; and to the specification of time with such adverbs as *wirrig* ‘tomorrow’, *dalgan* ‘forenoon, daytime’, and *bulju* ‘long ago’:

- (143) *bulju-wi* *0-yanggi* *yiwarna* *gandawag*
 long ago-ART 3SG-go PST other-ABS moon-ABS
 ‘He went long ago, last month’.

It is now apparently inseparable in such adverbs as *burrugawi* ‘long ago’, which is not attested without it.

The article suffix is widely attested with demonstratives following certain other suffixes such as locational *-beng ~ -weng* (7.2.3.): *dan-beng-bi* ‘right here in this place’. Apparently doubled instances of the article suffixes have been recorded only with demonstratives (not with other parts of speech), as in the following examples:

- (144) *nana* *0-bardarra-rrri* *walanja-yi* *gaya* *yi-balanggin*
 that-ABS 3SG-scratch-PST goanna-ERG today YI-new ABS
yilama *ya-0-jingi-n* *dan-bi-wi* *barlba*
 reckon 3-3SG-be-PRES this-ART-ART underneath
 ‘A goanna has scratched that anew today, [I] reckon he’s underneath right here’.

- (145) *wolo-ya* *ya-0-jingi-n* *yi-bam-biji* *word-ba* *nan-bi-wi*
 grass-LOC 3-3SG-sit-PRES YI-head-only out-PS that-ART-ART
ya-0-jingi-n
 3-3SG-be-PRES

‘He’s sitting in the grass with only his head out, he’s right there’.

Although the article suffix has been found to occur with forms which normally function as verb particles, it is arguable that the suffix permits them to occur in a more distinctly nominal function, that is, with nominal reference. In examples (146) and (147), the article is suffixed to *warduj* which usually is paired with verbs of motion in the meaning ‘disappear, vanish’; and *wabaja* likewise usually enters into combinations where it means ‘to get lost’.

- (146) *warduj-bi* *wurr-bu-ndi*
 disappear-ART 3NSG-hit-PST

‘They beat him out of sight’.

- (147) *wabaja-wi* *wurr-jarram-bu-rri go:::* *ngawun* *wonggo*
 lost-ART 3NSG-look-PST 3SG DAT nothing neg
birdij *wurr-gi-ndi*
 find 3NSG-AUX-PST

‘They looked around for him lost [one], nothing, they never found him’.

Finally, it must be noted that there sometimes occurs a suffix of shape *-yi* which, while its contribution to meaning remains somewhat difficult to specify, must apparently be distinguished from *-wi*. An example which shows the two in close proximity is:

- (148) *dirlyag-ba* *wu-da-yi-rri-wuya* *wudu-wuya-wi*
 sweetheart-PS 3NSG-AUX-RR-PST-DU little-DU-ART
wudu-wunba-yi
 little-SOU-ADV?

‘They were sweethearts [from the time/when] the two of them were little, from little’.

While the suffix *-wi* is clearly the article, *-yi* is probably to be related to the general adverbial suffix mentioned above as common following adverbial *-barra*, and illustrated in (112). There are forms with which seemingly either *-wi* or *-yi* may occur: notable among these is the interjection meaning ‘OK, all right, enough’, the usual form of which is *yilgba-yi*. Suffixed with *-wi*, this appears to have a more clearly substantival character, as in:

- (149) *yilgba-wi* *yi-dagbarla-n*
 OK-ART 2SG-have-PRES

‘You have enough’.

5.8. Experiential and anaphoric specifiers

There is a suffix *-winyin* (often realized as [*winyin*]) by means of which the speaker presents that to which it is suffixed as having specific or particular reference. This may or may not have been established textually: the form is not a textual anaphor, but rather a (performative) marker of experiential specificity. It is a form for which one kind of Kriol equivalent is a reinforcing use of “now”: “this one now”, “me now”, etc.

The first examples will be drawn from one text which is particularly rich in the use of this suffix. The speaker tells of a place called *Mawuya-ya*, literally “at the poison”, or “poison place”. He describes how he or someone like him, closely affiliated to the place, might go there to ask for poison in order to harm someone else. (The speaker explains that people used to do this). He begins the story (divided into prosodic lines) as follows, with an address by himself as visitor to the place:

(150) *dana-winyin*

this ABS-SPEC

ngayugu

1SG ABS

muymuy-munggayin

[place]-territorial ABS

mawuya

dana

nga-lawu-n

poison-ABS

this-ABS

1SG-come to get-PRES

‘This one here [i.e., the speaker], me, a person of Muymuy, I come to get this poison’.

The first line is the speaker’s way of getting the place’s attention; and he does so by telling the place that he is someone here, now, known. Later he adds:

(151) *mad-barra*

word-ADV

yinga-yana

IRR 1SG-say PRES

go

3SG DAT

ngayugu-winyin

1SG ABS-SPEC

yi-laglawun

YI-indigenous-ABS

yibiwan

man-ABS

X *nganinggin*

X 1SG GEN

yingyi

name-ABS

ngayugu

1SG ABS

nga-nyanga-n

1SG-come-PRES

‘I might say to it: me now, a man of this place, X is my name, I’ve come’.

The suffix is added following non-zero case-endings, e.g., *nan-gu-winyin yum-gu* ‘of that particular kind of tree’.

One text about a place again began with this suffix in the first line, that is with a formulation by the speaker that the place is already referentially established or specific:

(152) *wu-dab*

WU-cave

wu-dab-winyin

WU-cave-SPEC

ya-0-jingi-n

3-3SG-be-PRES

‘The cave, the particular cave is there ...’.

And another speaker talking of bush foods she used to eat said:

- (153) *jarrug go nan-gu galawarra-wu lany-gu nana-winyin*
 egg-ABS 3SG DAT that-DAT pigeon-DAT game-DAT that ABS-SPEC
 ‘Eggs of the spinifex pigeon, [exactly] that ...’.

It seems quite probable that etymologically, this suffix is to be regarded as nominal class prefix *wu-* followed by monosyllabic stem *-nyin*.

There is a suffix *-marlang*, much less frequent in the data, which contrasts with *-winyin* in that it appears to be much more clearly a textual anaphor. Its use signals that something has previously been referred to, or established, somewhere in the discourse. It is a kind of category which often seems to find an equivalent in Kriol usage of the demonstrative “that” as textual anaphor.

-marlang is added to nouns and demonstratives, following any overt case- marker, and has been also recorded on subordinate (NP-relative type) verb forms. The suffix itself is invariant in form. It occurred in a story about a fight between brolga and emu, in which both had previously been introduced, but emu had not been mentioned for some time.

- (154) *gumurrinji-marlang bagbag 0-bu-ndi yi-warli bag*
 emu-ANA break 3-AUX-PST YI-arm-ABS break
yi-bam darang wayana
 YI-head-ABS rump-ABS and all

‘He broke the arm of that emu, broke his head and rump and all’.

In another part of the same story we find:

- (155) *bornorro-yi-marlang debgarra wunggun-bu-ndi-ya duy-ma nard*
 brolga-ERG-ANA hiding 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR heap-PS lot
 ‘That brolga beat the whole lot [emu’s children] to a pulp’.

From camp conversation the following example was recorded:

- (156) *layin-marlang ngerr-me-we dog-ba*
 meat ABS-ANA 1INPL-get-FUT cut-PS
 ‘That meat, we have to get a cut [half, quarter] of it’.

In a text about marriage, the speaker has been describing the kind of man to whom an additional wife would be promised, and has mentioned that such a man would be expected to work for, and to dance in ceremony for, his (promised) mother-in-law. Later in this text we find:

- (157) *nana yi-warna-gari yi-namun-garang*
 that-ABS YI-other-other-ABS YI-sister-having-ABS
nana yo-0-lo-yi-n-ga-marlang gunga
 that-ABS 3-3SG-dance-MED-PRES-SUB-ANA 3SG-DAT
nana-wunyin ya-wurr-wo-n
 that-SPEC 3-3NSG-give-PRES

‘The other one who has [is married to] the elder sister, that one who [as mentioned] dances for her, that’s the one to whom they give her’.

(157) illustrates *-marlang* suffixed to a subordinate verb form, which already has a more nominal character in that it describes “one who dances”. This example also shows clearly the functional difference between *-marlang* and *-wunyin*.

In a text about social classification, the speaker has been bemoaning, as older people often do, the laxity of present sexual and marital partnerships, and says:

(158) *gaya-marlang* *ngawurnen* *wu-warlam* *wagbawun*
today-ANA whole lot WU-skin-ABS lacking

‘Today [as I’ve said] it’s open slather, there are no skins’ [i.e., there is no observance of appropriate restrictions].

(158) illustrates the very general kind of textually anaphoric function that *-marlang* may have.

There were lengthy texts in which this suffix did not occur at all.

5.9. Dissimilarity: /-gari/ ‘(an)other, different’

There is a nominal suffix *-gari* ‘another, different’:

(159) *yi-marnayn* *0-gerne-rri* *bangbu-gari-yi*
YI-husband-ABS 3SG-take away-PST woman-other-ERG

‘Another woman stole [her] husband’.

(160) *yugurni* *wunggun-ga-ndi-ya* *julu-gari-warr*
again 3SG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR hill-other-ALL

‘Again [once more] he took them to another hill’.

(161) *marluga-gari* *lege* *0-bu-ndi* *nan-beng*
old man-ABS-other one-ABS 3SG-hit-PST that-SPEC

‘He shot one other old man right there’.

The statement of the distribution of *-gari* is complicated by the fact that it often occurs suffixed to a nominal stem *yiwarna*, which also means ‘another’, or ‘next’, ‘further’ (in a series). Examples will first be given of the occurrence of *yiwarna* by itself, followed by examples of the various ways in which *yiwarna* and *-gari* tend to co-occur.

(162) *ya-0-nyangi-we* *wurrugu* *dan-mulu-wu* *yanggun-ga-wa*
3-3SG-come-FUT 3NSG DAT this-PL-DAT 3SG/3NSG-take-FUT
gurru *yanggun-di-yan* *lurrbu* *yiwarna* *gandawag*
later 3SG/3NSG-bring-POT home other-ABS moon-ABS

‘He will come for this lot, he is going to take them, later he may bring them home next month’.

- (163) *ngarr-gurrngbi-we* *wu-boba-ya* *ngarr-(y)ingbe* *yiwarna-warr*
 1INPL-sleep-FUT WU-dry-LOC 1INPL-go FUT other-LOC
lagla-warr
 place-ALL

‘We have to sleep on dry ground, let’s go to another place’.

- (164) *wonggo* *ngawun-yerde-n* *yiwarna-mulu* *ngawun*
 neg 1SG/3NSG-know-PRES other-PL ABS no
yilama *lege* *nga-yerde-n*
 reckon/maybe one-ABS 1SG-know-PRES

‘I don’t know others of them, no, I think I know one [of them]’.

- (165) *wabad* *wurr-bu-ndi* *yiwarna-mulu-yi* *wurre-mulu-yi*
 doublebank 3NSG-AUX-PST other-PL-ERG child-PL-ERG

‘Some other children “doublebanked” him’ [ganged up on him].

-gari may be suffixed to *yiwarna*, and means ‘another, a different one’:

- (166) *marluga-wu* *gojorlo-wu* *yibiyi* *yiwarna-gari*
 old man-DAT [name]-DAT father-ABS another-other

‘Another father of Gojorlo’s’.

- (167) *nga-wali-na-n* *nana* *yiwarna-gari* *bangbun*
 1SG/3SG-be jealous-PRES that-ABS another-other woman-ABS

‘I’m jealous of that other woman’.

Frequently, the form *yiwarna-gari* is used in combination with *-gari* suffixed to nominal stem referring to that which is different or other:

- (168) *wonggo digirrij* *0-bu-ndi* *wangi* *0-bu-ndi* *wabirlmagun*
 neg dead 3SG-hit-PST only 3SG-hit-PST graze
marluga-gari *yiwarna-gari* *marluga* *0-bu-ndi*
 old man-other-ABS another-other-ABS old man-ABS 3SG-hit-PST
mejern-bulud
 stomach-bullet

‘He didn’t kill him, he only grazed him, he shot another old man [called] “Bullet-Belly” ’.

- (169) *yirr-(y)anggi* *0-na-rri* *yiwarna-gari* *walanja-gari*
 1EX NSG-go PST 3SG-see-PST another-other-ABS goanna-other-ABS

‘We went on and he saw another goanna’.

This kind of doubling of *-gari* on separate modifier and modified nominal amounts to a form of agreement similar to the occurrence of case-marking on more than one constituent to constitute a phrase.

5.10. Similarity: “Like”

Discussion of expressions of X like Y is not entirely appropriate in any single chapter, for they are various, and none of them has precisely suffixal status (as judged, for example, that none conditions final syllable reduction in nominal stems). However, at least two of the expressions show a strong tendency to be post-posed to the comparand, the thing with which another is being compared, and to this extent are clitic-like. Two of the expressions, besides being used in the construction of nominal similes, can also express comparisons between wider syntactic units, and thus may function something like conjunctions.

The two most common expressions of likeness are *marrajbi* (with inseparable article-element *-bi*, see 5.7.), and *wagayma* (with final syllable probably to be identified morphologically with the particle-final suffix, see 11.1.2.). The use of the first of these appears to be limited to nominal scope, and shows a strong tendency to follow the nominal to which likeness is being expressed, as in the following examples:

- (170) *mernden* *marrajbi* *ya-wurr-(y)anggan*
white-ABS like 3-3NSG-go POT
‘They have to be/will be like white people’.

- (171) *ya-wurr-ya* *yibiyān-junuyān* *ngarrug* *marrajbi*
3-3NSG-go-PRES man-real 1INPL-ABS like
‘They [a certain kind of devil dog] go around as real people like us’.

The second expression, *wagayma*, may be post-posed to the standard of comparison (nominal or nominal phrase), or may precede it.

- (172) *marnanurran* *merderl* *minini-wu* *wagayma*
[plant]-ABS testicles-ABS dog-DAT like
‘Grewia is/looks like dog’s testicles’.

- (173) *gen.gen* *ma-durrudban* *mayin* *wagayma* *bardigi*
[plant]-ABS MA-round-ABS food-ABS like [plant]-ABS
‘Gen.gen is a round tucker like Terminalia’.

- (174) *ya-0-dagbarla-n* *wagayma* *ma-mernde-wun* *mayin*
3-3SG-have-PRES like MA-white-ADJ-ABS food-ABS
‘It has a tucker like [a] European food plant’.

Wagayma may introduce a larger unit, such as a whole clause, expressing likeness to something else:

- (175) *nana* *madin* *wagayma* *nga-yana-rrri* *yinggi*
 that-ABS word-ABS like 1SG-say-PST 2SG DAT
 ‘That word is like what I told you’.

5.11. Actual, real, proper: *-junuyn ~ -yunuyn*

The concept of genuineness, that something is “real, actual”, or as is often said in Kriol, “proper”, may be expressed by the suffix *-junuyn ~ -yunuyn*, as in the following examples:

- (176) *nana* *yingawa* *gungan.gin-junuyn* *wonggo*
 that-ABS niece-ABS his GEN-real neg
yo-0-lo-yi-n *go*
 3-3SG-dance-PRES 3SG-DAT
 ‘That is his actual niece, he doesn’t dance for her’.

- (177) *jelmerrin* *wurr-me-ndi* *lowaglowa-wu* *wurr-yo-yi-rrri-ya*
 [plant]-ABS 3NSG-get-PST play-DAT 3NSG-spear-RR-PST-NAR
gewernima *garn-barra* *wurre-nulu-yi* *garnin-junuyn-(n)yi*
 pretend spear-ADV child-PL-ERG spear-real-INST
wurr-yo-yi-rrri *gurru* *yi-jad* *yi-jad*
 3NSG-spear-RR-PST later YI-big-ABS YI-big-ABS
 ‘They got *jelmerrin* for play [a plant used to make toy spears], the children pretended to spear each other with spears, later on as big people they speared each other with real spears’.

An adjectival nominal *yi-yunjun* ‘real, actual’ is recorded as a frequently-used modifier of terms designating kin relationships.

This suffix is not found only with “argument” nominals as illustrated above, but has also been recorded with directional terms (nominals), and with verb particles. For example, in the text Galapin we find:

- (178) *yin.gun-waja-rrri* *galul-yunuyn*
 3SG/1EXNSG-leave-PST up-really
 ‘He left us right up on top’.

And in the text Yirlorloban, we find *birrg-junuyn gerne-rrri*, ‘he took it right away, removed it completely’, in which the verb particle *birrg* is suffixed, and here (with AUX *gerne-*, as usual), yields the sense of complete and forceful removal.

5.12. ‘Only, just’: *-biji*

The invariant suffix *-biji* ‘only, just’ was exemplified in (145) above. Other examples of it are:

- (179) *ngayugu-biji* *ma-nganja* *warlad-warlad*
 1SG ABS-only HAB-1SG go sick rdp-ABS
 ‘Only I am sick all the time’.

- (180) *nganu* *wurren* *nganinggin* *mayinyjaga* *wu-barrun-gu*
 1SG DAT child-ABS 1SG GEN-ABS HAB 3SG go WU-hunt-DAT
gangma-wu *walanja-wu* *lege-biji* *nganu* *yi-buruwun*
 kangaroo-DAT goanna-DAT one-ABS-only 1SG DAT YI-killer-ABS
 ‘My child goes hunting all the time, for kangaroo, and goanna, my one only is a crack hunter’.

(180) records the mother of several sons boasting about just one in particular, well-recognized for his hunting skills.

- (181) *gelegele-wi* *o-yo-rri* *go* *gonjo-biji*
 right past-ART 3SG-spear-PST 3SG DAT earth-just
 ‘He speared right past it, [hit] just the ground’.

- (182) *gila* *wiya-yi* *merleng* *minyardin-biji* *ngana-yu*
 douse water-INST light-ABS charcoal-only 3SGHT-be
 ‘Douse the flame with water, let it be just coals’.

5.13 Subsection terms

It is convenient to set out in this chapter the set of subsection or “eight-class” terms which are regarded as “properly” Wardaman language. As mentioned in Chapter 1, other sets of terms are widely known and used, including ones from Mudbura and Warlpiri. These are “social category” terms, used on a society wide basis; that is, every known person belongs to one category or another. These terms are used as a short-hand way of talking about kin relationships, and about correct and incorrect marriages within the prescriptive marriage system. Strangers can be quickly incorporated into the subsection system, but that is not equivalent to complete social assimilation or acceptance.

MALE	FEMALE	=	MALE	FEMALE
<i>yiwangari</i>	<i>yimbangari</i>	=	<i>jabijin</i>	<i>jabiday</i>
<i>yiwalyarri</i>	<i>yimbalyarri</i>	=	<i>yanymirra</i>	<i>yinyganymirra</i>
<i>yurrwarla</i>	<i>yimburrwarla</i>	=	<i>yiwanay</i>	<i>yimbanay</i>
<i>jangala</i>	<i>yinggangala</i>	=	<i>yimid</i>	<i>yimidani</i>

Each subsection category has distinct male and female terms. These are arranged next to each other, and possibly (but given traditional and contemporary Wardaman marriage practices, certainly not uniquely) intermarrying subsections are shown related by = .

This is the only area of Wardaman morphology in which masculine and feminine prefixes can be distinguished. Clearly, however, they cannot be neatly segmented in all instances. Three of the male terms exhibit the segmentable prefix *yi-* (which may be historically related to the Wardaman animate nominal class prefix of the same shape). Most the female terms can be seen as having an underlying prefix shape /*yiN-*/ which assimilates to *m* before a hardened stem-initial segment *b*. Notice that the feminine term *yinyganymirra* shows a different form of hardening, of *y* to *g* following the palatal nasal. Notice also the homorganic nasal-stop cluster in the feminine form *yinggangala*. Similar forms of many of these categories occur in other languages of the region (see McConvell 1985).

All but two of the female terms show prefix form /*yiN-*/; the exceptions are *jabiday* and *yimidani*, where gender is apparently indicated in the suffix (cf. masculine *jabijin*).

The subsection terms may take the same number suffixes as other nouns. Vocative forms of the subsection terms do not differ from those given. There are additional, collective forms of the subsection terms, designating a group of people belonging to a subsection. These are:

<i>yiwangaringgan</i>	<i>yimbangaringgan</i>	<i>jabijban</i>	<i>jabidayanggan</i>
<i>yiwalyarringgan</i>	<i>yimbalyarringgan</i>	<i>banyimirrang</i>	<i>yinyganymirranggan</i>
<i>yurrwarlanggan</i>	<i>yimburrwarlanggan</i>	<i>yiwanayinggan</i>	<i>yimbanayinggan</i>
<i>janggalajban</i>	<i>yinggangalajban</i>	<i>yimijban</i>	<i>yimidaninggan</i>

Most of the above differ from the regular subsection term by the addition of a suffix *-nggan*. There are other differences: some forms show an ending *-ban* (see 9.3. for what is apparently this same suffix elsewhere in nominal stem formation), and the *jangala* and *yimid* terms unexpectedly have stem-final palatal stop before it. The initial segment in *banyimirrang* is also unexpected.

For those collective forms with suffix *-ban*, there is reduction of the final *-n* before suffixes, e.g., *janggalajba-yi* ERG. For those in *-nggan*, there is no syllable reduction: the final *-n* is treated as part of the stem, e.g., *yiwangaringgan-yi*, ERG.

5.14. Kin terms

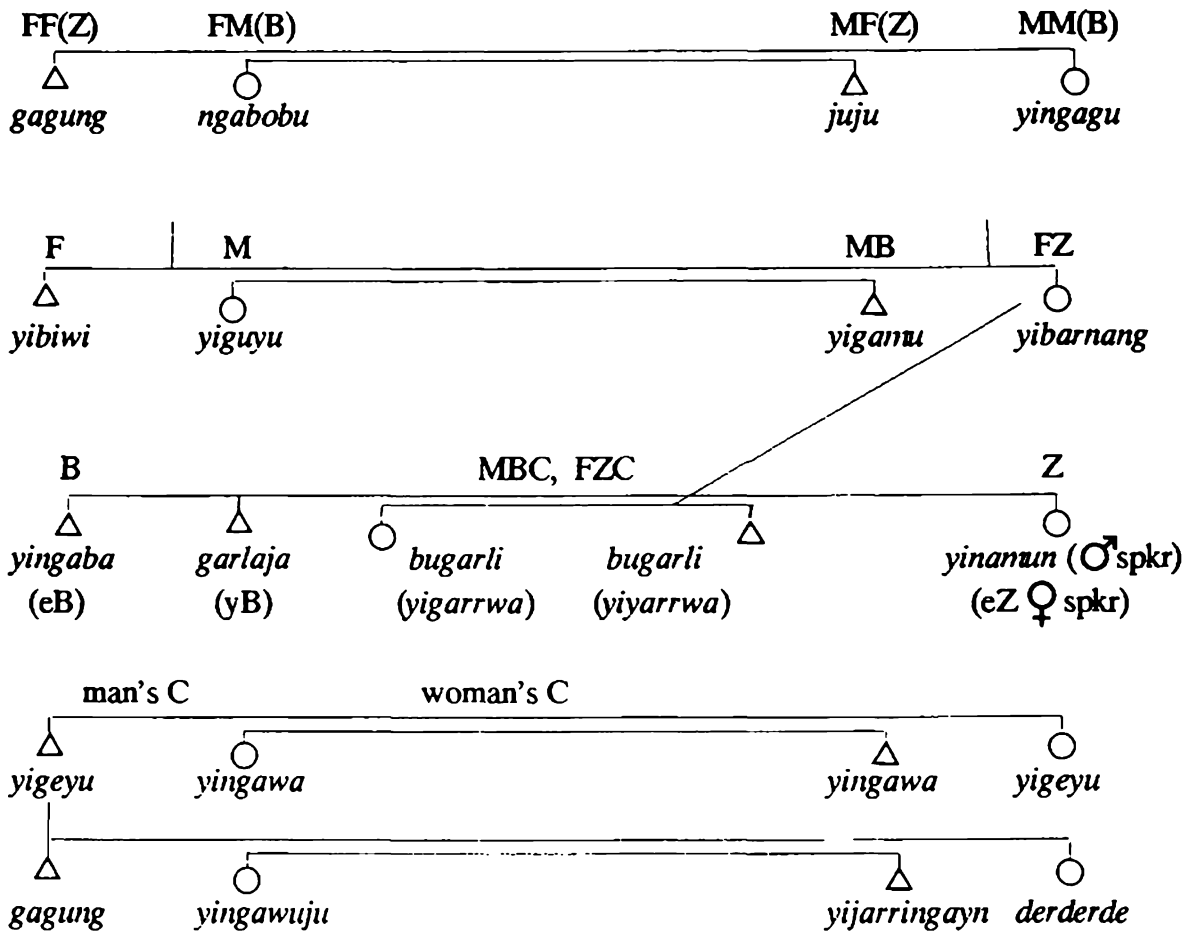
Table 5 diagrams the kin terms, distinctions among which are briefly summarized here.

Terms for grandparents and grandchildren are as follows. In the second ascending generation, FF and FFZ are *gagung*, and the reciprocals SS and SD are also *gagung*. MM and MMB and *yingagu*, and the reciprocal DD and DS are *denderde*. FM and FMB are *ngabobu*, and the reciprocal is *yingawuju*. MF and MFZ are *juju*, the reciprocal, *yi-jarringayn* (although speakers commonly use *yi-jamuyn*, seemingly a borrowing from Jawoyn).

In the first ascending generation, F is *yibiwi* (*yibiyi*, see 3.10), and FZ is *yibarnang*. It is said that a “younger father”, i.e., FB-, may be described as *yibiwi yi-ngardung*; and

likewise, that a FZ- may be termed *yibarnang yi-ngardung*. M is *yiguuyu*, and MB *yigamu*.

Table 5. Some Wardaman kin terms



In Ego's own generation, *yinamun* is Z for a man, and e.Z for a woman, while *yingaba* is e.B, *garlaja* y.B. While there is a general term for cross-cousin, *bugarli*, genealogies indicate that very close (first degree) cross-cousins are termed (female) *yigarrwa*, and (male) *yiyarrwa*. Such close cousins are evidently identified with siblings, in that the child of *yigarrwa* is *yingawa* 'woman's child, man's ZC'; and that of *yiyarrwa* is *yigeyu* 'man's child, woman's BC'. It is clear, however, that cross-cousins of close degree did not marry; it is said to be a distant *yigamu* 'uncle' whose child was promised to a man in marriage by her father. A person refers to her or his mother-in-law (spouse's mother) as *yibayin*, and to mother-in-law's brother (spouse's uncle) as *yidugal*. These sex-specific terms are reciprocal, that is, e.g., a woman refers to her son-in-law as *yidugal*, and to son's wife as *yibayin*. Spouse's father is *lambarra* (a term that appears to be indigenous to Wardaman, though it is also common in the Kriol of this region, usually in reference to spouse's father, and sometimes also to the reciprocal). A woman uses the term *yimarnayn* for her husband, and a man uses the term *yingawuyyu* for his wife. These terms

are also used for one's siblings-in-law of the same sex as the spouse designated by the term, e.g., a woman calls her husband's sister *yingawuyu*.

A woman calls her child *yingawa*, and this is the term used by a man for his ZC; hence, the term may be characterized as "woman's child". A man calls his child *yigeyu*, and this is the term a woman uses for her BC; hence, the term may be labelled "man's child".

There are two common terms which are vocative only: one may call out to "child" with the term *juga*; to mother, with the term *gajang*. One may refer to any potential mate by the term *dardu*, which is often used in a joking way as it may connote "sweetheart".

There are dyadic terms which correspond to many of the kin stems, i.e., terms which designate the relation between two kinsmen. The set of such terms attested in this series is the following:

<i>guyu-rlang</i>	'mother and child'
<i>biwu-rlang</i>	'father and child'
<i>gamu-rlang</i>	'uncle and child'
<i>barnang-gurlang</i>	'father's sister and child'
<i>namun-gurlang</i>	'siblings' (i.e., two women, or mixed gender pair)
<i>ngaba-wurlang</i>	'siblings' (i.e., two males)
<i>ngagu-rlang</i>	'MM/MMB and reciprocal'
<i>ngawuju-rlang</i>	'FM and reciprocal'
<i>mungguj-gurlang</i>	'MF and reciprocal'
<i>bayin-gurlang</i>	'mother- and child-in-law'
<i>lambarra-wurlang</i>	'father- and child-in-law'
<i>ngawuyu-rlang</i>	'husband and wife couple, sisters-in-law'
<i>marnany-gurlang</i>	'brothers-in-law'
<i>garra-gurlang</i>	'cousins' (i.e., two women, or mixed-gender pair)
<i>yarra-gurlang</i>	'cousins' (i.e., two males)

All show a dual suffix *-rlang*, or with additional syllable *-wu-rlang* after vowel-final stems, *-gu-rlang* following nasal- and stop-final stems, plus the "cousin" stems, which show some irregularity. While one might regard them as reduced by loss of the semivowel (e.g., *garrwa-garra-*), it is evident that they do not behave like regular vowel-final stems in that they have the *-gurlang* suffix form.

All dyadic terms made be pluralized by suffixation of the regular plural number marker *-mulu* (5.6.3.), e.g., *garra-gurlang-mulu* '(many) cousins' (all female, or mixed gender); *guyu-rlang-mulu* 'mother and children', or 'mothers and children', and so on.

The dyadic terms designating kinsmen in adjacent generations are built on the ordinary term designating the senior kinsman. That is, the dyadic term for "mother and child" is built on the "mother" term, not on *yingawa* 'woman's child'. Terms designating kinsmen in alternate generations do not show a single pattern. Terms designating sets of siblings, cousins and spouses/siblings-in-law distinguish all-male sets on the one hand, from all-female and mixed gender sets on the other.

A small number of "tri-relational" terms (see Laughren 1982, also McConvell 1982, and Merlan 1992) have been recorded.

5.15. Nominal phrases

Substantival nouns, adjectival nouns, demonstratives, number words and pronouns all may constitute the sole member of the nominal phrase. The nominal class prefixes have an important function in serving to disambiguate the domain of reference of adjectival nouns which constitute the only member of a phrase. They also play a role in indicating grammatical agreement and creating textual cohesion (see 10.7.).

Section 5.2.3. has shown that in the genitive phrase, Dative-marked possessor may occur before or after the possessed, and that the position of commonly-occurring independent Dative pronoun agreeing with the possessor is not strictly fixed.

As some examples have indicated (e.g., 6, 23, 117) a nominal phrase may be recognized partly by the fact that all word-level constituents of it are case-marked in accordance with the grammatical function of the phrase as a whole, e.g., *nan-yi yibiyān-(n)yi* 'that man' ERG.

Fuller remarks on identification of phrases, constituency (including discontinuous constituency), and variant ordering within the phrase are to be found in 10.2. – 10.9.

Chapter 6

Independent pronouns and person-marking in the verb

6.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with two areas of Wardaman morphology: free pronouns, and person-marking prefixes in the verb. It is generally convenient to treat these one after the other because there are categorial and formal continuities between the two areas. There are however a few complications in that presentation of the pronominal prefix forms (6.6.) will require some anticipatory discussion of prefixally-marked tense and mood distinctions in the verb (described more fully in Chapter 8).

6.2. Independent pronouns: Base forms

In Wardaman, as in Wakiman (Cook 1987, Chapter 5), a basic distinction is to be made between what may be called “base” and “general oblique” (6.3.) free pronominal categories. “Base” forms are the foundational forms of two case categories in free pronouns. With zero inflection to the base, they fill Absolutive case-functions; that is, they serve in intransitive subject and transitive object functions within the clause, in conjunction with the obligatory pronominal prefixes which mark these categories in the verb. With Ergative inflection, base forms fill transitive subject function within the clause, in conjunction with the pronominal prefixes marking this function. Thus two case categories, Absolutive and Ergative, that from the point of view of case-marking in the noun serve quite different functions, from the perspective of (historical) pronominal morphology differ principally by outer inflection. A plausible historical inference may be that the distinction between Absolutive and Ergative categories in the free pronouns on the base pronominal series may be a relatively recent development.

In the base pronouns and elsewhere in the person-marking system, there is no formal distinction between dual and plural in the person categories 1EX(clusive), and 2NSG (nonsingular); there is a single form which may optionally be dual-suffixed (see 5.6.2.) in order to make a distinction between dual and plural, but this is morphologically secondary. In addition, there is generally no formal distinction between dual and plural in third person categories of all kinds (i.e., neither in demonstratives, nor in the pronominal prefixes in the verb).

Though there are thus simply ‘nonsingular’ pronominal base forms in 1EX, 2NSG and 3NSG categories, there are also to be distinguished first and second person singular base forms, a 1 Dual category, and a 1Inclusive Nonsingular category. Leaving aside third person forms entirely for the moment, the base pronominal forms in 1 and 2 person categories are:

	Singular	Dual	Nonsingular
1	<i>ngayugu</i>	<i>yawung-guya</i>	<i>ngarrug</i>
1EX	—	—	<i>yirrug(guya)</i>
2	<i>yinyang</i>		<i>nurrug(guya)</i>

1SG is *ngayugu*, 2SG *yinyang*. Clearly the notion of “inclusion” does not apply to 1SG, but only to forms that signal 1SG + 2. There are three nonsingular categories that all belong to one form class in the sense that they all exhibit a final syllable *-rrug*, where the *rr* (based on this, and evidence from the pronominal prefixes in the verb) is clearly to be taken as a nonsingular element. However, *ngarrug* has a different status from the other two in that it is inherently more than dual, and cannot be suffixed for dual number. It contrasts with 1IN DU *yawung-guya*, which (based on evidence from the general oblique or Dative form) appears to have a stem *yawu-* with epenthetic nasal before the dual suffix. The forms 1EXNSG *yirrug* and 2NSG *nurrug* may optionally be dual-suffixed to explicitly indicate dual number, for as noted there is no difference between dual and plural categories in 1EX, 2NSG and 3NSG pronominals in the verb. 1EXNSG and 2NSG pronouns may also be plural-suffixed (5.6.3.): *yirrug-bulu*, *nurrug-bulu*.

The Ergative free pronouns are transparently built on the stems given above by suffixation of the usual Ergative marker:

	Singular	Dual	Nonsingular
1	<i>ngayug-ji</i>	<i>yawung-guya-yi</i>	<i>ngarrug-ji</i>
	—	—	<i>yirrug-ji</i>
2	<i>yinyang-nyi</i>	—	<i>nurrug-ji</i>

With Ergative suffix 1IN DU form is *yawung-guya-yi*. The 2NSG and 1EXNSG forms may, of course, be dual suffixed: *nurrug-(g)uya-yi* and *yirrug-(g)uya-yi*. A few minor remarks on the realization of some of these forms are required.

Although careful pronunciation reveals *ngayug-ji* as 1SG ERG form, common realizations include [*ngayig-ji*], and ones in which the velar stop loses a great deal of its occlusive quality, and may be deleted altogether, up to and including [*ngayiji*]. And though careful pronunciation reveals (Absolute) 2SG *yinyang*, there is a strong tendency for the *a* to be raised and fronted following the high front vowel and palatal nasal, so that a common realization is [*yinyeng*]. Finally, though the 1EXNSG ABS and ERG forms *yirrug* and *yirrug-ji* are realized with second vowel as *u*, with the addition of the dual suffix there is a tendency for the second vowel to lose its rounding and to assimilate in frontness to the first vowel, yielding realizations approximating [*yirriguyayi*].

Absolute pronouns in the function of transitive object of a predicate occur in conjunction with object pronominal prefixes in the verb marking the object; absolute pronouns in the function of intransitive subject, and Ergative pronouns in the function of transitive subject, occur in conjunction with subject pronominals in the verb. Reflexive and reciprocal constructions, as is true for other kinds of nominals, require that their subjects be expressed by Absolute forms of the independent pronouns.

Examples of free pronouns in Absolutive and Ergative case forms follow.

- (183) *ngayugu* *gala* *nganjiji* *jarrambu* *gunga*
 1SG ABS try 1SG FUT looking 3SG DAT
 ‘I must try to go look for him’.
- (184) *yinyang* *ya* *gunga* *jarrambu*
 2SG ABS go 3SG DAT looking
 ‘You go look for him’.
- (185) *ngayugu* *nganburr-gi-ndi* *jin*
 1SG ABS 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST blame
 ‘They blamed ME for it’.
- (186) *ngayugu* *yi-nayin* *yiwun-gegema* *nganu* *nga-guwe-we*
 1SG ABS YI-naked ABS 2SG/3NSG-shoo 1SG DAT 1SG-go in-FUT
yiwarlng
 clothes-ABS
 ‘I’m naked, get rid of them for me, I’ve got to put on my clothes’.
- (187) *ngayugu-biji* *ma-nganja* *warlad warlad*
 1SG ABS-only HAB-1SG go PRES sick rdp
 ‘Only I am sick all the time’.
- (188) *wonggo* *ngayugu* *nganu-gomarla-n* *yibiwi*
 neg 1SG ABS 2NSG/1SG-follow-PRES father-ABS
nu-gomarla-wa
 2NSG-follow-FUT
 ‘Don’t follow ME, you must follow the Lord’ [“father”].
- (189) *wu-walban* *nganu-wo-ndi* *wonggo* *ngayugu* *gunju-warang*
 WU-wide 2NSG/1SG-give-PST neg 1SG ABS flesh-having
larrgaja
 boney
 ‘You gave me a loose-fitting dress, I’M not ample, I’m skinny’.
- (190) *yirr-(y)ingbe* *yirrug-bi* *nu-jingi* *nurrug*
 1EXNSG-go FUT 1EXNSG-ART 2NSG-sit 2NSG-ABS
 ‘Us, WE’LL go, YOU stay’.
- (191) *yilgba-yi-warda* *dagbarla* *yinyang* *wonggo* *yi-marnany-garang*
 OK-ADV-EMPH keep 2SG ABS neg YI-husband-having-ABS
 ‘Maybe it’s OK, keep him, you don’t have a husband’.

- (192) *ngala* *nurrug-bulu* *wonggo* *nu-marnbu-rrri* *wuja*
 what about 2NSG-PL-ABS neg 2NSG-make-PST fire
nu-nyanga-ndi *yinabam-garr*
 2NSG-come-PST cooked food-ALL
 ‘What about you lot, you didn’t make a fire, you came for cooked food’.
- (193) *ligba* *wurr-gurrnga-rrri* *yorr* *nga-gurrnga-rrri* *ngayugu* *nonggo*
 dead sleep 3NSG-sleep-PST soundly 1SG-sleep-PST 1SG-ABS also
 ‘They slept like the dead, and me too, I slept soundly’.
- (194) *wonggo* *ngarrug* *ngarr-we-ndi*
 neg 1IN PL 1INPL-born-PST
 ‘We weren’t born’ [yet].
- (195) *yi-jug-jumban* *ya-wurr-garrany-ji-n* *merndewun-gunba*
 YI-last rdp-ABS 3-3NSG-grow-MED-PRES European-SOU
mayi-wunba *yirrug* *yirr-garranyji-yi-rrri* *ma-bujgun-gunba*
 food-SOU 1EXNSG-ABS 1EXNSG-grow-MED-PST MA-wild-SOU
 ‘Those coming behind are growing from European food, [but] WE grew from native foods’.

These examples illustrate the grammatical and textual contribution of the independent forms. (186) and (191) illustrate verbless predications, the former with adjectival nominal, the latter with “having” construction as the predicates. In such instances the free pronouns function by themselves as arguments of the predicate, for subject person can never be marked directly on the non-verbal predicate in Wardaman (and thus these constructions contrast markedly with semantically adjectival-predicate and other similar construction types in southern Arnhem languages of the putative Kunwinykuan group, see e.g., Merlan 1983: 57–59).

Elsewhere the free Absolutive pronoun serves to call attention to the person it designates, also obligatorily marked (as transitive object, or intransitive subject) in the verbal pronominal complex. (185) is focalized “They blamed me” (as compared with someone else, or contrary to expectation, etc.). (187) illustrates that the free pronoun functions to make possible qualification of the subject with nominal suffixes such as *-biji* ‘only’. (188), (190) and (195) are examples in which the contrast between two nominals is expressed with both overt, direct contrast being a sub-category of special salience which the free pronouns are characteristically used to mark.

Examples with Ergative case-marked free pronouns are:

- (196) *gurru* *girdibun-barra* *yirr-(y)ingbe-wuya* *gangga-rlan*
 later finish-ADV 1EXNSG-go-FUT-DU upriver-ALL
wurre-wuya *ngawun-da-wa* *ngayug-ji*
 child-DU-ABS 1SG/3NSG-see-FUT 1SG-ERG

‘Later when [we’re] finished we [EXDU] will go upriver [i.e., to town], I have to see the two children myself’.

- (197) *yijurn* *ngen-yerde-rri* *nga-yerde-rri* *gabarri* *ngayug-ji*
 face-ABS 3SG/1SG-know-PST 1SG/3SG-know-PST again 1SG-ERG
 ‘He knew me, and I also knew him’.

- (198) *dawag-ba* *ngang-bu-ndi* *wonggo* *yiniwun-wo-n*
 stop-PS 1SG/2SG-AUX-PST neg IRR2SG/3NSG-give-PRES
layin *mayin* *yawunggin* *ngayug-ji-wan* *dawag*
 meat-ABS food-ABS 1INDU GEN-ABS 1SG-ERG-DF stop
ngawun-bu-ndi *gunya* *jajali-wujban*
 1SG/3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DISS frequently-AGT ABS

‘I stopped you from giving them our [1INDU] meat and food and I stopped them from backing-and-forthing’.

Note here the special anti-benefactive sense of 3SG Dissociative pronoun here, expressing that “their” constant coming and going was a detriment to a major clausal participant (see 5.2.7.), here presumably to be understood as loosely cohesive with 1SG free and bound pronominal person (and 1INDU of the previous clause).

- (199) *wonggo* *yiniburr-warrang-ma* *narnaj-(j)i-wi* *yinyang-nyi*
 neg IRR3SG/2SG-swear self-ERG-ART 2SG-ERG
gabarri *warrang-ma*
 in turn swear

‘He ought not to swear you [by] himself, you swear at him back’.

- (200) *mogorlgorl* *yarlnge-wu* *go,* *yibiyang-gu* *nonggo*
 Ampelocissus-ABS bluetongue-DAT 3SG DAT man-DAT also
yirr-ngu-n *yirrug-ji*
 1EXNSG-eat-PRES 1EXNSG-ERG

“Wild grape” belongs to blue-tongue [i.e., is its habitual food], it’s for people too, WE [1EXNSG] eat it’.

These examples show that within the transitive subject function, use of free Ergative pronouns corresponding to subject pronominals in the verb emphasizes the salience of the transitive subject category, whether in the context of a complete reversal of participants with respect to subject and object roles in adjacent clauses (197), (199); the contrast of two entities in different clauses with respect to something, where only one may be cast grammatically as transitive subject (200); and also seemingly more subtle, partly grammatical contrasts such as that in (198). In that complex example, in the first clause 1SG acts on 2SG, “I stopped you”; the second clause, complement to the first, expresses what “I” stopped “you” from doing, i.e., from giving away “our” things freely; the third clause, with 1SG ERG pronoun in first place, shows a return to 1SG as the agent category, thus contrasting with 2SG of the previous clause. However, first person was initially agent, in the first clause, and this seemingly accounts for the suffixation of 1SG ERG pronoun with the “defocusser” *-wan*, which normally occurs on nominal topics (and sometimes also on other topical constituent units, see 10.3.7. for details). That is,

ERG-marking on 1SG free pronoun marks a change in agent from 2SG of the previous clause, hence a contrast; but the resumed 1SG agent is topical, not new, hence “defocussed”. See further 10.11. for comments on pronominal topics.

So far no third person “base” forms have been mentioned. The majority of third-person referring forms are demonstrative pronouns, that is, they refer with locational contrast as an inherent element of their meaning (primary spatial contrasts, designating in terms of relative distance categories with reference to which the textual usage of some of these forms must be understood). There is only one set of third person forms which is not inherently demonstrative in this way, and this is a set with stem *narnaj* evident in all forms. These are as follows:

	Absolutive	Ergative
3 SG	<i>narnaj</i>	<i>narnaj-(j)i</i>
3DU	<i>narnaj-guya</i>	<i>narnaj-guya-yi</i>
3PL	<i>narnaj-bulu</i>	<i>narnaj-bulu-yi</i>

The forms are entirely regular. It is artificial to make a distinction between 3DU and 3PL here, in fact, on morphological grounds there is no distinction to be made even between singular and nonsingular: the single stem *narnaj* is inflected with ordinary dual and plural number forms. It is of interest, however, to note that an additional nonsingular form with suffixal element *-ganung*, i.e., 3NSG *narnaj-ganung*, has been recorded. This suffix is also found with some of the demonstrative stems, see 7.2. All of these third person forms are frequently found (in both Absolutive and Ergative case-functions) with article-suffix (see 5.7.), e.g., *narnaj-bi* 3SG ABS; *narnaj-guya-yi-wi* 3DU ERG, etc. Use of these forms is illustrated in the following examples:

(201)	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>yanggun-bu-n</i>	<i>wurren</i>	<i>worlog-ba</i>
	neg	3SG/3NSG-AUX-PRES	child-ABS	wash-PS
	<i>ya-0-bu-yi-n</i>	<i>narnaj-bi</i>		
	3-3SG-AUX-RR-PRES	self-ABS-ART		

‘She is not washing the children, she is washing herself’.

(Note that 3NSG object “children” is marked in the verbal pronominal prefix, but that the external nominal *wurren* is formally singular; it is not uncommon that PL not be marked on the noun, though it is more usually marked on human as opposed to non-human nouns.) Here the 3SG base form *narnaj* functions to make salient the intransitive subject/reflexive object category by contrast with another object (“children”), in the same way that has been illustrated for the free (first and second) person forms.

A third person Ergative-marked form was illustrated in (199) above.

(202)	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>yinga-na-n</i>	<i>gurlurr</i>	<i>gija</i>	<i>narnaj</i>
	neg	IRR1SG/3SG-AUX-PRES	sorry	as	3SG ABS
	<i>gurlurr-marla-wagbawun</i>				
	sorry-ITER-lacking-ABS				

‘I can’t be sorry for him, just as HE has no compassion’.

In (202), again as in many of the examples with free person forms, the contrastive function of *narnaj* is associated with the switch of participants in relation to clause function in adjacent clauses. A comparison is emphasized between the relation of transitive subject “I” of the first clause to the “him” of that clause, with the “he” of the second, by the use of *narnaj*.

Finally concerning third person forms, it needs to be mentioned that there is a non-demonstrative, third person pronominal base *ngajbang*, which may usually be translated “self” or “selves”, and which generally serves the emphatic function which that translation suggests. In addition to being approximately equivalent to the “myself” of “I myself will do it” (as contrasted with another’s doing it), it very often has, like the English emphatic form, the meaning “by oneself, alone”. This form may be suffixed for dual or plural number with the usual suffixes, but it may also function without such overt number suffixation in apposition to nonsingular nominals, as in *ngajbang-bi ngabobu-mulu yinggi* ‘your father’s mothers and mother’s brothers themselves’, ABS. And though basically a third person category, it may function in apposition to any person category, as the following examples illustrate:

(203) *narnaj-bi* *0-yanggi* *ngajbang-bi*
3SG ABS-ART 3SG-go PST self-ABS-ART
‘He went himself’.

(204) *ngayug-bi* *nganjagi* *ngajbang-bi*
1SG ABS-ART 1SG go PST self-ART
‘I went myself’.

(205) *dang-mulu* *yinyganyimorra-mulu* *ya-wurr-yu* *ngajbang*
this-PL ABS [ss]-PL ABS 3-3NSG-sleep PRES self ABS
ngajbang-bi *yanyimorra-mulu* *ngajbang-bi* *ya-wurr-yu*
self ABS-ART [ss]-PL ABS self ABS-ART 3-3NSG-sleep PRES
‘These women of yinyganyimorra subsection live separately, by themselves, and these men of yanyimorra subsection live by THEMSELVES’.

(206) *duba* *ya-0-jingi-n* *ngajbang-bi* *yi-bayin-barra-yi*
sit 3-3SG-AUX-PRES self-ABS-ART YI-mother-in-law-ADV-ADV
‘He sits alone by himself, with his mother-in-law’.

(207) *mulurru-wuya* *wurrugu* *ngajbang-guya-yi*
old woman-DU ABS 3NSG DAT self-DU-ERG
‘And their old women, the two of them by themselves [put it]’.

In (207) a complex ellipsis of a predicate expression is the reason for the apparently fragmentary syntax; but the much larger context is not relevant here, the point being simply to illustrate the “self” form with dual and case suffixes.

6.3. Dative or “general oblique” free forms

Contrasting with the ‘base’ pronominal series on which Absolutive and Ergative forms are built is a Dative or general oblique series, with wide-ranging functions. These forms have already been extensively exemplified in this grammar because of their ubiquity. Forms in this series are:

	SG	DUAL	NSG
1SG	<i>nganu</i>	<i>yawu</i>	<i>ngarrugu</i> <i>yirrugu</i>
2SG	<i>yinggi</i>		<i>nurrugu</i>
3SG	<i>gunga</i>		<i>wurrugu</i>

As elsewhere in the person system, there is no morphological difference between dual and plural stem forms for the categories 1 EX, 2 and 3 nonsingulars. There is one form in each category which may be dual-suffixed to explicitly distinguish dual from (other) nonsingulars: *yirrugu-wuya*, *nurrugu-wuya*, and *wurrugu-wuya*. Though the 1IN category is morphologically of the same series as these, it is inherently more than dual nonsingular, and cannot be dual-suffixed. The 1IN DU form, *yawu*, may probably be taken as the basic stem (which, as shown in 6.1., is nasal-augmented and dual-suffixed in the “base” series to *yawung-guya*). The 3SG form, as described in 3.9., is often realized as [g]. As in the “base” series, there is commonly fronting and unrounding of the second stem vowel in the 1EXNSG form to something approximating [*yirrIgu*].

The Dative series fulfills a set of functions within the clause which are all characterized by relative obliqueness of the pronominal relation to the predicate, as compared with the major syntactic (verbally-marked) clause functions. They specify the pronominal object complement in many intransitive clauses, including in clauses of “saying to” which are normally, but not invariably, intransitive; they specify the pronominal benefactive (and sometimes also, semantically “anti-benefactive”) complement of the intransitive and transitive (excepting ditransitive) clause; and they mark possession in agreement with a Dative-marked pronominal possessor, or otherwise in apposition to a free Genitive pronominal possessor; they mark the pronominal complement of adverbs of location and other (temporal) position. Examples in these functions are:

- (208) *yi-jurn-nya nga-gi-we gunga wurre-wu bingmarla*
 YI-face-LOC 1SG-put-FUT 3SG DAT child-DAT (yellow) paint
nga-gi-we gunga yanjigbe nganu yi-borrordin-gurne
 1SG-put-FUT 3SG DAT 3SG go FUT 1SG DAT YI-pretty-CAUS
 ‘I have to put paint on the child’s face, I have to put it on him so he will look nice for me’.

The first Dative series pronoun is *gunga*, which constitutes a phrase with *wurre-wu*; note that the exact place (“face”) where the paint is to be put may not be analyzed as part of the same phrase, but is treated separately by Locative case-marking. The second Dative pronoun is 1SG *nganu*, which is semantically benefactive (“for me”) or “ethical

Dative” (“on, in relation to, to me”), and in any event marks a pronominal complement which has a rather oblique relation to the predicate, here “go”.

- (209) *nga-jaba-rri* *wujaban* *darni* *nganinggin* *yilama*
 1SG-build-PST house-ABS yonder mine-GEN-ABS reckon
ya-0-nyani-we *mulurru* *nganu* *yirr-ma-wu*
 3-3SG-come-FUT old woman-ABS 1SG DAT company-PS-DAT
 ‘I built my own house over there, maybe the old woman will come and keep me company’.

Here the 1SG oblique *nganu* is complement of “come”, and occurs in construction with Dative-marked particle *yirr-ma* ‘company, keep company’.

- (210) *nyilg* *ye-0-wenwen* *ngarrugu*
 sprinkle 3-3SG-AUX rdp 1INPL DAT
 ‘It’s sprinkling on us’.

In (210) *ngarrugu* is obliquely linked to the particle plus auxiliary construction “sprinkle”.

- (211) *layin* *gangman* *nu-yo* *ngarrugu*
 game-ABS kangaroo-ABS 2NSG-spear 1INPL DAT
 ‘You shoot a kangaroo for us’.

In (211) Dative *ngarrugu* is the beneficiary of the imperative ‘shoot’.

- (212) *ngayugu* *wonggo* *ngani-warrangma* *wonggo* *ngayugu*
 1SG ABS neg 2SG/1SG-swear neg 1SG ABS
yinggi *yi-ngawuyu* *ngayugu* *yinggi* *yi-geyu*
 2SG DAT YI-wife-ABS 1SG ABS 2 SG DAT YI-B Ch

‘Don’t swear at ME, I’m not a wife to you, I’m your niece’ [or, ‘niece to you’].

In (212) free pronouns are amply illustrated. There are two oblique forms, both *yinggi* ‘yours, to you’. Here, the Dative contrasts with what would normally be use of the free Genitive pronoun (*yinggawun* ‘yours’, which very often occurs with the corresponding Dative pronoun in apposition, see 6.4.). An attempt is made to render the difference between Genitive and the use of Dative here by means of the translation e.g., “wife to you” instead of “your wife”, and implying a more indirect relation than is expressed by means of the Genitive pronoun.

- (213) *yirr-worlorlma-rri-ya* *wurrugu* *mernde-wu* *bornborn-gu*
 1EX NSG-fill-PST-NAR 3NSG DAT European-DAT bathe-DAT

‘We filled it up for the Europeans’ baths’ [or, ‘for the Europeans to bathe’].

Here 3NSG *wurrugu* occurs as benefactive complement of “fill”, and as part of a more complex construction, with Dative pronoun and modified Dative nominal (Europeans), and further complemented by a Dative-inflected particle “bathe”.

- (214) *marnungurru* *ngorlogba* *wurrugu* *yimburr-wojbarna-wa*
 forcefully talk 3NSG DAT 3NSG/2SG-listen-FUT
 ‘Talk loudly to them, they’ve got to listen to you’.

Here the 3NSG Dative occurs as indirect object complement of a verb of speaking, *ngorlog-ba*.

- (215) *yibiwan-guya* *darni* *guyamin* *bega-wu* *ya-wud-janga-n*
 man-DU-ABS yonder two-ABS tobacco-DAT 3-3NSG-come-PRES
jejbarla *0-yana-rri* *gunga* *nan-gu* *mernde-wu*
 asking 3SG-say-PST 3SG DAT that-DAT European-DAT
a *nu-gaygba* *wurrugu-wuya* *0-yana-rri* *gunga*
 oh 2NSG-call 3NSG 3SG-say-PST 3SG DAT

‘Two men yonder are coming asking for/to ask for tobacco he said to the white man Oh! you call out to the two of them, he said to him’.

In (215), 3SG DAT *gunga* occurs as pronominal complement of the verb of saying, but is associated with a Dative phrase “white man” which makes explicit the nominal complement of the verb of saying. There is also 3NSG DAT pronoun as complement of the verb *gaygba*- ‘to call out’.

- (216) *ngana-nja* *guji* *yawu*
 3SGHT-go first 1INDU DAT
 ‘Let him go before us’.

(216) illustrates 1INDU Dative pronoun as complement of *guji* ‘first, in the first place, before’.

- (217) *nga-jingi-n* *duba* *yinggi* *wu-lirrwa*
 1SG-AUX-PRES sit 2SG DAT side
 ‘I am sitting to one side of you’.

In 5.2.3. there occurred a number of examples of Dative pronouns in possessive constructions, and these will not be further illustrated here. But see also 5.4.

6.4. Dissociative independent pronouns

It is convenient to treat the independent Dissociative pronouns following Dative, for the former, for the most part (but with the important exception of 3SG), are transparently and directly built on the latter by the addition of *-nya* to the Dative form. The series is:

	SG	DUAL	NSG
1	<i>nganunya</i>	<i>yawung-gunya</i>	<i>ngarrugunya</i> <i>yirrugunya</i>
2	<i>yingginya</i>		<i>nurrugunya</i>
3	<i>gunya</i>		<i>wurrugunya</i>

Such is the “outer” position of the Dissociative suffix generally that it has occasionally been found suffixed to forms equivalent to the Absolutive, e.g., 1 IN DU *yawung-guya-wunya*; and also, to number-suffixed forms equivalent to Absolutive, e.g., 2 NSG *nurrug-(g)uya-wunya*. That is, there is some tendency for the Dative basis of the Dissociative forms to be supplanted by a re-analysis involving suffixation directly to the Absolutive. Notice that this tendency may actually be driven by the 3 (SG) category *gunya*, which is not built on or equivalent to the independent Dative form (*gunga*), but rather is equivalent to the nominal case-suffix *-gunya*. In any event the forms as given in the chart are more common than the reanalyzed ones.

The independent forms correspond to the various meanings and uses of the case category as described in 5.2.7. As mentioned there, the 3SG free Dissociative form, besides motion away from and reason for which, often signals complementation of the verb in a loose “anti-benefactive” sense which is interpreted in relation to some proximately-occurring major clausal nominal or nominal phrase. An extended textual example with two occurrences of free Dissociative forms is:

- (218) *barlarra* *0-jingi-ndi* *yi-munburra-ya* *wurrugunya*
 hide 3SG-AUX-PST YI-rock-LOC 3NSG DISS
wud-jarram-bu-rri *gunga* *wonggo* *wunggun-da-rri*
 3NSG-look for-PST 3SG DAT neg 3NSG/3SG-see-PST
girrb *0-jingi-ndi* *barlarra* *wud-jarram-bu-rri* *mernde-mulu-yi* *ngawun*
 quiet 3SG-sit-PST hide 3NSG-look for-PST white-PL-ERG nothing
lurrbu *lurrbu* *wud-janga-ndi* *gunya* *nan-ba-wan*
 home home 3NSG-come-PST 3SG DISS that-ABL-DF
0-yanggi *wurrugunya* *yerrerdby-warr-min*
 3SG-go PST 3NSG DISS [place]-ALL-ADV
galgal *0-yanggi*
 climb rdp 3SG-go-PST

‘He hid from them in the rocks, they looked around for him and they didn’t see him, he sat quietly hidden, the whites looked, nothing, they came back away from him and then he went from them towards Yerrerdby and climbed up on top’.

Another extended textual example which highlights various possibilities of expression with Dative and Dissociative is this:

- (219) *nganinggin* *yiwarlng* *dan-ganung* *barlarra* *0-gi-ndi* *nganu*
 SG-ABS clothes-ABS this-COL ABS hide 3SG-AUX-PST 1SG DAT
gonjon *0-buju-rri* *barlarra* *0-gi-ndi* *gonjo-ya* *mun ...*
 dirt-ABS 3SG-dig-PST hide 3SG-AUX-PST earth-LOC cover
nganinggin-yi *yibiwi-yi* *0-bu-ndi* *debgarra* *nganburr-ga-ndi*
 mine GEN-ERG father-ERG 3SG-hit-PST hiding 3NSG/1SG-take-PST
gunya
 3SG DISS

‘My clothes, these he hid on me, he dug [a hole in] the ground and he hid them in the ground covered up ... my father gave him a good hiding and they took me away from him’.

(Three dots indicates precise repetition of the preceding clause from *barlarra* onwards.) Note the first Dative occurrence of *nganu* which expresses the oblique kind of complement relation (here, to the predicate construction “hide”) typical of that series. It would have been quite grammatical for the speaker to use a 1SG Dissociative form here, which would be more appropriately translated “from me”. The final 3SG dissociative *gunya*, however, is much more likely than the corresponding Dative here. The first interpretation of the clause *nganburr-ga-ndi gunga* is apparently likely to be something like “they took me for him” or “to him”, and not “they took me from him”, probably because there is a tendency to interpret directionality of “take” and the Dative pronominal complement as the same, rather than different. However, with a predicate construction, the lexical meaning of which has “direction away” as one explicit component, either Dative or Dissociative pronoun complement could be used with nearly equivalent meanings, rather than (potentially) markedly divergent interpretations:

(220a) *mowoj* *0-yanggi* *nganunya*
sneak 3SG-go PST 1SG DISS
‘He snuck away from me’.

(220b) *mowoj* *0-yanggi* *nganu*
sneak 3SG-go PST 1SG DAT
‘He snuck away on me’.

However, similar interpretation of the two is also facilitated here by the fact that the verb “go”, with 1SG free pronoun of the reported situation, must be motion away. There exists a ditransitive verb *mowojba-* which treats the person ‘snuck away from’ as transitive object, thus eliminating any possible ambiguity that may exist between Dative and Dissociative.

6.5. Genitive independent pronouns

In addition to “base” and Dative series pronominal forms, there is a distinct Genitive series, with the following forms:

	SG	DUAL	NSG
1	<i>nganinggin</i>	<i>yawunggin</i>	<i>ngarrugun.gin</i> <i>yirrugun.gin</i>
2	<i>yinggawun</i>		<i>nurrugun.gin</i>
3	<i>gungan.gin</i>		<i>wurrugun.gin</i>

The genitive element in this series (except for 2SG) is evidently *-gin* (see 11.4.), and it would appear that, historically, this series was built on the Dative, but has subsequently become formally independent of the latter.

The genitive series serves: adnominally, to mark the pronominal possessor, sometimes in conjunction with a free Dative form of the same propositus person; to mark that a

contextually understood or specifiable, but lexically unspecified, nominal is possessed. Such a “headless” Genitive phrase functions itself as predicate argument. The Genitive pronouns, as attributives and as arguments in their own right, may be inflected for the full range of nominal case endings, as exemplified with 1SG:

Absolutive	<i>nganinggin</i>
Ergative	<i>nganinggin-yi</i>
Dative	<i>nganinggin-gu</i>
Locative	<i>nganinggin-ya</i>
Allative	<i>nganinggin-garr</i>
Ablative	<i>nganinggin-ba</i>
Dissociative	<i>nganinggin-gunya</i>
Source	<i>nganinggin-gunba</i>
Originative	<i>nganinggin-jila</i>

In keeping with the fact that Genitive pronouns may by themselves function as core arguments, they may be appropriately translated in some contexts as “on me”, “from me”, and the like; that is, express personal reference, rather than being modifiers. The following exemplify the different uses of the Genitive forms:

- (221) *dalgirrig* *ya-0-jingi-n* *nganinggin-ya*
 lean 3-3SG-AUX-PRES 1SG GEN-LOC

‘He is leaning on me’.

Here Locative-marked 1SG Genitive pronoun is non-attributive complement of the particle plus auxiliary construction meaning “lean on”, which ordinarily has Locative complement.

- (222) *nganinggin-yi* *ngabobu-yi* *duwu-ma* *0-bu-ndi*
 1SG GEN-ERG FM-ERG rear-PS 3SG-AUX-PST

‘My grandmother reared him’.

- (223) *ngana-yu* *wiyan* *nu-waja* *nu-me* *layin* *mayin*
 3SGHT-be water-ABS 2NSG-leave 2NSG-get meat-ABS food-ABS
bega *wuja* *gija* *yirrug-ji* *ma-yirr-me-n*
 tobacco-ABS fire-ABS as 1EX NSG-ERG HAB-1EXNSG-get-PRES
yirrugun.gin *mayin* *wurrugu* *wurre-wu* *nu-jingi*
 1EXNSG GEN-ABS food-ABS 3NSGDAT child-DAT 2NSG-sit
wiya-wagbawun *gija* *yirrug*
 water-lacking as 1EXNSG-ABS

‘Let the grog be, leave it, get meat and food, tobacco and matches as we always get ours, food for the children, live without grog like us’.

In (223) the Genitive pronoun *yirrugun.gin* serves as attributive of a nominal phrase (presumably “meat, food” etc. actually ellipsed within the prosodic line, which ended with the possessive pronoun in the original utterance). The speaker resumes with the

phrase “food for the children”. Further examples illustrating a variety of points are all drawn from a single text:

- (224) *nganinggin* *yibiyi* *wonggo* *0-jarram-bu-rri* *nganu* *ngawun*
 1SG GEN-ABS father-ABS neg 3SG-look for-PST 1SG DAT no
 ‘My father didn’t look for me, no’.

- (225) *guyamin* *jadede* *nganinggin* *yibiwi* *0-lu-rri-ya* *nganu*
 two-ABS [Saturday] 1SG GEN-ABS father-ABS 3SG-cry-PST 1SG DAT
 ‘[For] two Saturdays my father cried for me’.

Both examples have Genitive pronouns in modifier function. Notice that both clauses are syntactically Absolutive-Dative, that is, with oblique complement of “look (for)” and “cry (for)”, as is characteristic for both.

- (226) *guyamin* *ngabobu* *nganinggin* *ngorlog-ba*
 two ABS FM-ABS 1SG-GEN-ABS talk-PS
wud-jingi-ndi-ya-marla *nganu*
 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR-ITER 1SG DAT
 ‘My two grandmothers used to sit and talk to me’.

Note the order in the phrase “my two grandmothers”, numeral-modified-modifier (and compare with 227); and also that, with explicit numeral “two”, dual marking is foregone. This frequently happens, but sometimes dual marking occurs in the presence of numeral.

- (227) *nganinggin* *mulurru* *yi-barnang*
 1SG GEN-ABS old woman-ABS YI-aunt-ABS
ngabobu *nganinggin*
 FM-ABS 1SG GEN-ABS
nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-marla *wabaja*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-ITER disappear
 ‘My old auntie, my grandmother, they used to take me right away’.

(227) is organized in prosodic lines as originally spoken. See 10.3. – 10.4. for discussion of ordering in the noun phrase, and the possessive noun phrase in particular.

- (228) *0-yana-rri* *go* *mulurru-wu* *yi-ngawuyu* *go*
 3SG-say-PST 3SG DAT old woman-DAT YI-‘spouse’ 3SG DAT
ngabobu-wu *nganinggin-gu*
 FM-DAT 1SG GEN-DAT
 ‘He told the old woman, my father’s mother’s sister-in-law ...’

The modifying phrase which specifies the identity of the old woman (“my father’s mother’s sister-in-law”) is not Dative-marked to agree with “old woman” in the main clause, but rather is an Absolutive identifying phrase with Dative possessor phrase. The

ordering in that phrase is modified-Genitive modifier, which as can be seen from the other examples given above, alternates rather freely with the reverse order.

- (229) *nganinggin* *badbad* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya*
 1SG GEN-ABS cover 3NSG-put-PST-NAR
 ‘They covered mine’.

- (230) *wurr-bu-ndi* *digirrij* *0-yanggi* *nganinggin-gunya* *0-ngegba-rri*
 3NSG-hit-PST dead 3SG-go PST 1SG GEN-DISS 3SG-die-PST
wangi *yi-geyu-mulu* *go* *nganburr-gi-ndi* *barn-garang*
 only YI-Ch-PL-ABS 3SG DAT 3NSG/1SG-put-PST poison-having-ABS
 ‘They beat him severely and he left he died on my account, only his children called me a sorcerer’.

This example shows a Dissociative-marked Genitive pronoun meaning “on account of me, on my account”. In the context, the speaker’s meaning was not literally that the man referred to had died on her account, but there is here rather more complex attribution of “authorship”. The speaker’s meaning was that the man’s children said that he had died on account of her — they alleged she had poisoned him; thus the “voice” of the clause “he died on my account” is that of the man’s accusing relatives. *yi-geye-mulu*, somewhat unusually in this syntactic context, occurs in Absolutive (rather than Ergative) form. However, that may be linked to the fact that the speaker paused briefly following the phrase “his children”, perhaps considering how to put the unpleasant accusation. (In the first line, *digirrij* may mean either (completely) dead, or as we say, “near-dead”, “half-dead”, or the like. Here, the meaning is that the beating was severe, but that the man was able to carry himself off).

Finally, when Genitive pronouns are used in headless phrases, it is rather common that the possessive phrase be expanded by use of a complementary free Dative pronoun of the same person and number (see also 10.4.). For example, a typical verbless predication of possession is of the following sort:

- (231) *nana* *nganinggin* *nganu* / *gungan.gin* *gunga*
 that-ABS 1SG GEN-ABS 1SG DAT 3SG GEN-ABS 3SG DAT
 ‘That is mine’/‘That is his, hers’.

An example of this kind of Absolutive Genitive, which in context occurred as object of the verb “put”, is:

- (232) *nganinggin* *nganu* *ngajbang-bi*
 1SG GEN-ABS 1SG DAT self-ABS-ART
 ‘[They put] mine by itself’.

6.6. Derivatives of “base” pronouns: Article-suffixed and “first” free forms

The base pronominal forms, Absolutive and Ergative, in their functions as explained in 6.1. above, commonly occur suffixed with the article *-bi ~ -wi*. The article suffix (as described in 5.7.), when added to a non-nominal part of speech, serves to nominalize or make more concrete its reference; and when added to a nominal form, does something like make its reference more definite, in a way that is often best translatable by English substitutive “one” (“big one”, etc.). Yet the article cannot be regarded as a form that stands in place of an ellipsed lexical expression (as English substitutive “one” does). Rather, in keeping with the fact that Wardaman nominals of adjectival kind very commonly constitute a nominal phrase by themselves (see Chapter 4), what the article does is to suggest more concretely a domain of reference of which the current nominal token is “one”. The article suffix thus performatively marks, not ellipsis, but definitivization.

The article suffix is commonly added to free pronouns, both Absolutive and Ergative (see an example of the latter in (199)). Following the Ergative suffix, the article invariably has the shape *-wi*; thus the Ergative-article sequence is *yi-wi*, as in 1SG ERG-ART *ngayug-ji-wi*, etc. However, in the Absolutive series we find apocope of the final vowel of the 1SG form before the article suffix, the occurring form being not *ngayugu-wi* but *ngayug-bi*. For the sake of clarity the article-suffixed Absolutive forms are listed:

1SG	<i>ngayug-bi</i>
2SG	<i>yinyang-bi</i>
1IN DU	<i>yawung-guya-wi</i>
1IN PL	<i>ngarrug-bi</i>
1EX NSG	<i>yirrug-bi</i>
2NSG	<i>nurrug-bi</i> (also <i>nurrug-(g)uya-wi</i> DU, <i>nurrug-bulu-wi</i> PL)
3SG	<i>narnaj-bi</i>
3DU	<i>narnaj-guya-wi</i>
3PL	<i>narnaj-bulu-wi, narnaj-ganung-bi</i>

With the free pronouns, the article suffix usually contributes an emphatic element of meaning reinforcing the pronoun’s reference, something like “I myself”, as in:

- (233) *nga-gaju-wa* *ngayug-bi*
 1SG-arise-FUT 1SG-ABS-ART

‘I for one will get up’, ‘I myself will get up’.

In comparison with this, as observed in 6.1., the essentially third person form *ngajbang* which may occur with any person/number form, is often understood to express a different nuance, “I alone”, or “I by myself”.

Built on the base stems, and showing the same slight differences from the latter as the article-suffixed forms, is a series which expresses that the referent of the pronoun is

“first”. This series is formed with the suffix *-baywa ~ -waywa*. It is syntactically anomalous in that it often is understood as in construction with a transitive subject pronominal form in the verb, in which instance one normally expects any external pronoun to be Ergative-marked. The ordinary interpretation of these forms, however, appears to be as in construction with the agent pronominal in transitive clauses, despite the absence of Ergative marking, as in:

(234) *ngayug-baywa* *ngawun-da-rri*
 1SG ABS-first 1SG/3NSG-see-PST
 ‘I saw them first’ [I before others saw them].

(235) *narnaj-baywa* *ngan-da-rri*
 3SG ABS-first 3SG/1SG-see-PST
 ‘He saw me first’ [he before others].

Like the article suffix, this suffix is final, and follows any overtly-marked dual number: e.g., *nurrug-(g)uya-waywa* ‘you two first’.

This suffix has also been found with certain primary adverbs to create secondary ones which seem to have a somewhat more explicit relational sense, e.g., from *jaburnu* ‘ahead, in front’, *jaburrung-baywa* ‘first, ahead of anyone’. It is also suffixed to nominal stems to create more adverbial forms of manner: *yi-bam-baywa* ‘head-first’, *banggin-baywa* ‘back-first’.

6.7. Person-marking in the verb

Every finite verb in Wardaman is prefixed with pronominal(s) expressing the category of grammatical subject for all clauses, and also the category of direct object if the clause is transitive. As noted in 5.2., the Wardaman verb has a maximum of two pronominal form-order slots, filled by two pronominal series which are called “subject” and “object”. In ditransitive clauses — i.e., those with predicates which occur in construction with two major, Absolutive non-subject nominals — the notional indirect rather than direct object is marked in the pronominal complex by the object prefix series, and of course the transitive agent by means of the subject pronominal series. The notional direct object cannot be marked on the verb in the ditransitive clause.

Table 6 shows the set of prefixes which mark the subject in intransitive clauses, i.e., the set, members of which occur as sole pronominal adjuncts to the verb. Tables 7 and 8 show the transitive-clause prefix combinations, those with both subject and object slots filled. The morphology of the intransitive subject prefixes is uncomplicated, and the morpheme divisions can be shown simply alongside the occurring forms in one table. The transitive ones, however, are not simply analyzable in all instances as the subject prefixes combined with a segmentable object series; some forms are morphologically

more complicated, or portmanteau-like, than this. Hence two kinds of tables are given for the transitive combinations, one showing the occurring forms of the prefix combinations, and the second positing morpheme identity and segmentation.

Two factors complicate the discussion of the prefixes, and need to be introduced. It is useful to make a basic distinction between “past” and “non-past” Wardaman verbal tense-mood-aspect categories; and it is necessary, further, to recognize a distinction between “indicative” or “realis” versus “irrealis” forms of the verb. The former distinction allows us to state in relation to it the distribution of a third-person, initial prefix element *ya-*: this occurs on third person “non-past” forms of the verb, including Present, Future, Potential and Admonitive (“lest” etc.) forms, and does not occur in the Past tense (nor in mood categories including Hortative and Imperative). The initial non-past third person element *ya-* is not explicitly a person marker, but is linked to person categories in the following way: it occurs only on non-past forms with third person subject as the sole pronominal category in the verb, or in transitive combinations where third person is both subject and object. Thus, 3SG PRES *ya-0-nyanga-n* ‘he/she/it is coming’ with *-0-* marking the 3SG category; *ya-wud-janga-n* ‘they (NSG) are coming’ with /wurr/ (see 3.5.1.) marking the 3NSG category; *ya-0-nyangi-we* ‘he/she/it will come’, FUT; *ya-0-nyanga-yan* ‘he/she/it may come’ POT. In the transitive 3 → 3 combinations, the initial *ya-* absorbs or represents a contraction of the usual prefix segments as these may be seen from the Past forms, where the initial *ya-* does not occur. Compare for example, 3SG → 3NSG and 3NSG → 3NSG in Present and Past tenses:

	Past	Present	
3SG → 3NSG	<i>wunggun-bu-ndi</i>	<i>yanggun-bu-n</i>	‘he hit/is hitting them’
3NSG → 3NSG	<i>wunggunburr-bu-ndi</i>	<i>yanggunburr-bu-n</i>	‘they hit/are hitting them’

For reasons that will become clearer when the prefixal morphology is examined in detail, *wunggun-* must be identified as the basic shape of the 3SG → 3NSG combination. On that basis, in the present we would expect *ya-wunggun-* but instead find the actually-occurring form to be contracted, as shown. In 3SG → 3SG combinations, both subject and object pronominals are zero, and the initial prefix *ya-* occurs as the only prefixal element, i.e., (pedantically) *ya-0-0-bu-n* ‘he/she/it is hitting him/her/it’. (In texts and interlinear glosses double zeroes in 3SG → 3SG combinations are not written in this way).

The second, greater complication in the prefix system is one involving the marking of the major mood distinction between indicative and irrealis forms. In terms of this contrast, indicative categories are unmarked, and irrealis marked. The marking of irrealis is implemented in two ways, and in some forms both occur: by an outer mood prefix of the shape *yi-* for (most) non-third person (except 1EX NSG) categories, and *ya-yi-* for third person categories; and by some differences, compared with indicative inflection, in the form of the person-marking pronominals themselves. In the irrealis mood third person complex *ya-yi-*, the first element may probably be identified with the initial

non-past *ya-* described above⁷, and the *-yi-* with the irrealis prefix shape which occurs with other persons. Since the mood prefixes are easily segmented from the pronominals, there are no phonological distortions of the kind illustrated above with non-past *ya-*; but the important observation to be made is a morpho-syntactic one, that morphological irrealis verb forms inflect for person and number somewhat differently than the corresponding indicative forms. In this way, mood and person-marking are linked systems, just as tense-aspect and person-marking are, in the presence or absence of initial non-past *ya-*, also linked systems.

For clarity of presentation, all indicative prefix forms will be discussed first, and a final section will make explicit the differences between person-marking in indicative and irrealis verb forms. The verbal categories themselves are discussed elsewhere (Chapter 8).

6.7.1. Intransitive prefixes (indicative mood)

The prefixes which occur as adjuncts to the verb in intransitive clauses are set out in Table 6. Non-past third person prefix *ya-* is indicated in parentheses; past forms are the same as those given, minus this prefix.

Table 6. Intransitive prefix forms

Occurring forms		Morpheme segmentation
1SG	<i>nga-</i>	(same)
1EX NSG	<i>yirr-</i>	<i>yi-rr-</i>
1DU IN	<i>ngayi-</i>	<i>nga-yi-</i>
1IN PL	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>nga-rr-</i>
2SG	<i>yi-</i>	(same)
2NSG	<i>nu-</i>	(same)
3SG	<i>0-</i>	(same)
3NSG	<i>(ya-)wurr-</i>	<i>wu-rr-</i>

7. An initial, third-person prefix comparable to *ya-* occurs in non-past categories in a number of neighbouring languages (e.g., Jawoyn, and with some differences, also Mangarrayi). However, in those languages the prefix is limited to the non-past, and contrasts with zero in the past categories. In Wardaman, what is apparently etymologically the same element *ya-* occurs in the irrealis, and may occur in the past irrealis. Further discussion, however, makes it clear that *ya-* probably diffused into the irrealis paradigm in order to prevent homophony of a considerable number of otherwise homo-phonous forms. Therefore in its occurrence in the irrealis, *ya-* cannot be considered directly comparable to the non-past marker *ya-* though, as noted, it is probably etymologically the same form.

3SG subject is *0-*. Several forms (1EX, 1IN PL, 3NSG) show a nonsingular (subject) element *-rr-*, just as the same categories do in the free pronouns. However, this element cannot be neatly identified synchronically as a “nonsingular” marker (i.e., of a category which does not distinguish dual and plural) because of the 1IN PL form, which must be regarded as explicitly “plural” because it contrasts, formally and semantically, with the 1IN DU prefix category. The same categories as in the free pronouns (1EX, 2NSG, 3NSG) may properly be regarded as “nonsingular” in that dual and plural are not distinguished (in a morphologically primary way, though dual may be distinguished by suffixation to the verb, as described in 5.6.2.).

2NSG unexpectedly fails to exhibit the number element *-rr-*, and thus marks 2NSG person/number in a more synthetic fashion than the other categories.

The 1 IN DU form is seemingly transparent, identifiable with 1SG *nga-*, combined with a 2SG element *-yi-*.

6.7.2. Transitive prefixes (indicative mood)

The occurring transitive prefix combinations are set out in Table 7. For ease of reading, the chart is divided into blocks by object category. Table 8 presents a morpheme segmentation of the occurring prefix forms.

Table 7. Transitive prefix combinations

Subject		Object		
		3SG	3NSG	
1SG		<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngawun-</i>	
1EXNSG		<i>yirr-</i>	<i>yirrwun-</i>	
1DU IN		<i>ngayi-</i>	<i>ngayiwun-</i>	
1PL IN		<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngarrwun-</i>	
2SG		<i>yi-</i>	<i>yiwun-</i>	
2NSG		<i>nu-</i>	<i>nuwun-</i>	
3SG		<i>0-</i>	<i>wunggun-</i> (nonpast <i>yanggun-</i>)	
3NSG		<i>wurr-</i>	<i>wunggunburr-</i> (nonpast <i>yanggunburr-</i>)	
	1SG	1EX NSG	1DU IN	1PL IN
2SG	<i>ngani-</i>	<i>yin.gini-</i>	—	—
2NSG	<i>nganu-</i>	<i>yunggunu-</i>	—	—
3SG	<i>ngan-</i>	<i>yin.gun-</i>	<i>ngayin.gun-</i>	<i>ngan.gun-</i>
3NSG	<i>nganburr-</i>	<i>yin.gunburr-</i>	<i>ngayin.gunburr-</i>	<i>ngan.gunburr-</i>
		2SG	2NSG	
1SG		<i>ngang-</i>	<i>nganun-</i>	
1EX NSG		<i>yimun-</i>	<i>yimun-</i>	
3SG		<i>yimburr-</i>	<i>nunggun-</i>	
3NSG		<i>yimburr-</i>	<i>nunggunburr-</i>	

Table 8. Transitive prefix segmentations

Subject		Object			
		3SG		3NSG	
1SG		<i>nga-0-</i>		<i>nga-wu-n-</i>	
1EX NSG		<i>yi-rr-0-</i>		<i>yi-rr-wu-n-</i>	
1DU IN		<i>nga-yi-0-</i>		<i>nga-yi-wu-n-</i>	
1PL IN		<i>nga-rr-0-</i>		<i>nga-rr-wu-n-</i>	
2SG		<i>yi-0-</i>		<i>yi-wu-n-</i>	
3SG		<i>0-0-</i>		<i>wu-ng-gu-n-</i>	
3NSG		<i>wurr-0-</i>		<i>wu-ng-gu-wu-rr-</i>	
	1SG	1EX NSG		1DU IN	1PL IN
2SG	<i>nga-n-ni-</i>	<i>yi-n-gu-n-ni-</i>		—	—
2NSG	<i>nga-n-nu-</i>	<i>yi-n-gu-n-nu-</i>		—	—
3SG	<i>nga-n-0-</i>	<i>yi-n-gu-n-0-</i>	<i>nga-yi-n-gu-n-</i>		<i>nga-n-gu-n-0-</i>
3NSG	<i>nga-n-wu-rr-</i>	<i>yi-n-gu-n-wu-rr-</i>	<i>nga-yi-n-gu-n-wurr-</i>		<i>nga-n-gu-n-wu-rr-</i>
		2SG		2NSG	
1SG		<i>nga-ng-</i>		<i>nga-nu-n-</i>	
1EX NSG		<i>yi-nu-n-</i>		<i>yi-nu-n-</i>	
3SG		<i>yi-n-wu-rr-</i>		<i>nu-n-gu-n-0-</i>	
3NSG		<i>yi-n-wu-rr-</i>		<i>nu-n-gu-n-wu-rr-</i>	

The transitive prefix combinations are quite transparent also, although at first glance some may not appear so. Let us outline the morphemes that represent the various person categories.

Third person singular subject and object are everywhere zero. By comparison with third person NSG object *-wu-* which always follows first and second person subject marker (e.g., 1SG → 3NSG) one may, in attempting to simplify an eventual statement of the significance of relative ordering, assume that 3SG object always follows first and second person categories also.

3NSG object is *wu-* in combinations where the subject is first or second person. These combinations always show the ordering S-O (subject-object). In combinations where object is 3NSG and subject a third person, we find that what may be identified as an object marker *wu-* appears first in the prefix complex, followed by a nonsingular object marker *gu* (see further), and then subject marker for the third person category, e.g., 3NSG → 3NSG /*wu-n-gu-n-wu-rr-*. Therefore in these combinations 3NSG object is (partly) expressed by *-wu-*, as in combinations with first and second person subjects, but order is inverted to O-S.

First person singular subject is always *nga-*. First person singular object is everywhere represented by *nga-* followed by an accusative marker *n* and then subject pronominal.

First person singular is always first in the prefix complex, as subject or object; and a glance at the tables shows that all first person categories are ordered first, regardless of whether they are subject or object.

1 EXNSG is always represented by person marker *yi-* both as subject and object, and in forms with 1EXNSG acting on third person object, this is always followed by nonsingular marker *-rr-*.

1INDU is always represented by *ngayi-*, as subject and object.

1INPL is always marked by person marker *nga-* as subject or object, together with nonsingular *-rr-* as subject with third person object.

2SG subject is represented by *yi-* with third person objects, by *-ni-* with first person objects. It appears first in the prefix complex as subject with third person objects (S-O), but follows first person in 2SG subject on first person forms (O-S). 2SG object is marked by *-ng-* with first person subject, and here the order is S-O; by *nu-* (basically a 2NSG form) when the subject is 1EXNSG, and here the order is S-O; and by *yi-* person marker with third person subjects, and here the order is O-S.

2NSG is always represented by person marker *nu-* as subject or object. It always follows first person elements whatever its function, and precedes third person markers, regardless of function.

3SG subject is always zero; 3NSG subject is always *-wu-rr-*, and follows all object markers. A summary of this global allomorphy of person and number markers is:

1SG	<i>nga-</i>	S or O
1EX NSG	<i>yi-rr-</i>	S
	<i>yi-</i>	O
1DU IN	<i>nga-yi-</i>	S or O
1 IN PL	<i>nga-rr-</i>	S
	<i>ngu-</i>	O
2SG	<i>yi-</i>	S on 3-object
	<i>-ni-</i>	S on 1-object
	<i>-ng-</i>	O with 1SG subject
	<i>-nu-</i>	O with 1EX NSG and 3-subject
2NSG	<i>nu-</i>	S or O
3SG	<i>0-</i>	S or O
3NSG	<i>wu</i>	O
	<i>wu-rr-</i>	S

Besides the person markers, two other elements in the prefix system function to indicate subject-object relations. The first of these is accusative marker *n*. This marker may be taken to occur twice in many forms, following the object person marker, and following the element *gu* where this is present (see discussion of this assumption below). The accusative marker occurs in all 3 → 1 forms, all 2 → 1 forms, all 3 → 2 forms, all 1 → 2 forms with the exception of 1SG → 2SG, and in all forms with 3NSG object, regardless of subject.

The element *gu* is found in all plural-object forms except those with 3NSG object where the subject is first or second person, and in the first person on 2NSG object forms. Thus *gu* marks nonsingularity of the object in those forms in which it occurs. Heath (1976) has suggested comparatively concerning *n* and *gu* that these were historically complementary, with *n* following vowel-final object prefixes, and *gu* following prefix complexes with final nonsingular element *rr* (or equivalent). If one accepts this, it then becomes necessary to assume that the accusative marker spread so that it also followed *gu*. The distribution of *n* is now wide, and it is no longer limited, as it may historically have been, to marking object chiefly in combinations with singular object, which would have largely been correlated with vowel-final prefix combinations.

However, Wardaman poses three problems of different kinds and seriousness for these historical assumptions about the original complementary distribution of *n* and *gu* as phonologically-conditioned markers of singular and nonsingular objects, respectively. The first problem concerns forms with 1DU IN object which would not have contained nonsingular morpheme *rr*, but yet, as objects, are followed by *gu*. The second concerns 3NSG object forms which do not have *gu* where the subject is a first or second person category. Here however we must assume that 3NSG as object with first and second subject categories never exhibited the nonsingular marker *rr*, which is associated with subject forms; thus its forms as subject would have been *wii-rr*, but its form as object with those categories, *wii*.

The third problem has to do with the absence of *gu* in the forms with first person subject on 2NSG object. The subject marker for this category is *nu*; thus we may assume that there has been no nonsingular *rr* marker in this category (but note that the Absolutive 2NSG free pronoun is *nurrug*). In the 1 → 2 forms at issue, 2NSG is followed only by accusative *n* as we would expect if this were a vowel-final category. On the other hand, 2NSG object forms with third subject show the element *gu*, and in the terms of the proposed historical distribution of *n* and *rr* we would expect this *gu* to have followed *rr*, but there is no reason to posit its historical presence in the form.

Alternatively it might be suggested, in the case of the 1DU and the 2NSG object forms mentioned, that the function as *gu* as nonsingular object marker allowed it to be generalized to 1DUIN object forms and 2NSG forms with third subject, but not to 1 → 2NSG forms where a different process, plural object neutralization (see below) has shaped the structure of the 1 → 2 categories.

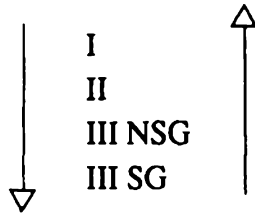
A general characteristic of the Wardaman prefix system is, in sum, that case relations are made explicit not by different shapes of person markers covarying with function *per se*, but chiefly by the presence of the relational marker *n*, along with the contrast between nonsingular subject element *rr* versus object element *gu*.

Another feature of the system is that, excepting the 1IN forms, there is one morphologically singular and one nonsingular category in each person (as in the free pronouns). That is, there is no dual-plural distinction except in 1IN.

There are regularities in the ordering of pronominal elements, but these relate, not simply to respective subject and object function of the two adjuncts, but to the feature specification of the two in relation to each other. There are approximately equal numbers of forms in which the order is O-S and S-O. The kinds of combinations exhibiting each

order differ, however. The S-O combinations include all $1 \longrightarrow 2$, $1 \longrightarrow 3$, and $2 \longrightarrow 3$. The O-S combinations include all the opposite relationships, $2 \longrightarrow 1$, $3 \longrightarrow 1$, and $3 \longrightarrow 2$. Combinations with third person subject and/or object are indeterminate, since both categories are always zero. In the combinations with 3NSG object, the 3NSG \longrightarrow 3NSG forms plainly shows O-S order.

The facts of ordering allow us to rank three categories below, and other considerations of formal patterning (the presence of *gu* in e.g., 3SG \longrightarrow 3NSG, for example) lead us to add the fourth, 3SG category, despite the fact that it is always formally zero, as follows:



Arrows indicate the determination of ordering. That is, the descending arrow is meant to indicate that the subject is a “higher” category and the object a “lower” one; these are the combinations with S-O ordering. The ascending arrow represents combinations where subject is a lower category and object a higher one. These are the O-S combinations. An ordering principle may be stated in relation to these categories:

1. In any subject-object combination where order is identifiable, a pronominal of a higher category will appear before a pronominal of a lower one, no matter what the case function of the two.

This means, for example, that a first person pronominal element will appear before any other, no matter whether it is marking subject or object function.

We may refer to the S-O combinations as “direct”, and the O-S ones as “inverse”.⁸ This distinction will be useful in providing a way of describing the distribution of *gu*. Before that can be summarized, however, we need to formulate two instances of neutralization of pronominal number.

From the set of occurring forms, it can be seen that 1EX NSG \longrightarrow 2SG and 1EX NSG \longrightarrow 2NSG are identical: *yi-nu-n-*. The difference in object number has been neutralized, and the occurring 2 morph *-nu-* is that elsewhere associated with nonsingular number:

2. Object neutralization. In 1EX NSG \longrightarrow 2 forms, the formal number distinction between 2SG and 2NSG object is neutralized, and the semantically singular object is marked with nonsingular form.

A second number neutralization can be seen in the fact that there is no difference between 3NSG \longrightarrow 2SG and 3SG \longrightarrow 2SG; both are *yimburr-*. The distinction found elsewhere between 3SG and 3NSG subject is neutralized in the second form, with semantically singular subject marked by nonsingular /wu-rr/.

8. These useful terms were diffused into the Australianist literature from Algonquian studies in Heath (1976).

3. Singular-nonsingular subject neutralization. In the combination 3SG \longrightarrow 2SG, the semantically singular subject is formally marked as nonsingular, and the difference between this form and that with 3NSG subject category neutralized.

We may now reconsider the distribution of the morpheme *gu*. As was pointed out in some speculative historical discussion of *gu* above, (and now putting aside the suggestion of its historical, phonologically-conditioned complementarity with *n*), the correlation between *gu* and nonsingular object marking is not perfect. One case of that lack of correlation has been otherwise accounted for formally, by the observation concerning 2 object neutralization, above. The only other forms where *gu* might be expected because the object is nonsingular, but is not found, are the 3NSG object forms with first or second person subjects. But we have also observed that all such forms are “direct” rather than “inverse”, and morphologically quite transparent. Considering its absence from direct combinations regular, we may formulate a statement of the distribution of *gu*:

4. Occurrence of *gu*. In transitive combinations in which the semantic object is nonsingular, *gu* occurs between subject and object person markers, ordered in terms of the ranked categories stated above. Distribution of *gu* is subject to the limitation that it does not apply to the combination which has been described as exhibiting 2 object neutralization, nor to the direct combinations of third NSG objects with first or second person subjects.

This last pair of restrictions amounts to the observation that *gu* only occurs in inverse combinations. A different way of putting this in terms of ordering is that, with the exception of the form which shows 2 object neutralization, and those with 3SG subject in which ordering is indeterminate because the subject category is formally zero, *gu* occurs in all nonsingular object forms in which the object precedes the subject. The only exceptions to this, in terms of the occurring ordering, can be the 3NSG object forms with first and second person subjects.

Now let us consider the distribution of object-marking *n*. One simple assumption would be that *n* occurs after all object markers, including object number markers, regardless of their ordering. The only exceptions here would be 3SG object forms, which are morphological zero, and the 1SG \longrightarrow 2SG forms with the object marked by *ng*. This is in fact the assumption which underlies certain morpheme segmentations shown in Table 8, that require special mention.

The assumption has been made that the 2 \longrightarrow 1SG forms contain accusative marker *n*, by analogy with 2 \longrightarrow 1NSG forms, and that degemination reduces this underlying cluster (see 3.3.). Alternatively, one might assume that no *n* occurs in these forms, so that, for example, the underlying 2SG \longrightarrow 1EX NSG string would be /*yi-n-gu-ni*/, and that no *n* occurs to the right of *gu*, where it results in a cluster *n-n*. Each way of viewing the matter has its advantages: the statement of the distribution of *n* is simplified by the assumption that it occurs to the right of all object markers. On the other hand, if we view it as not underlying in those combinations mentioned above, there is no need to posit underlying geminate clusters *n-n*.

The simple statement of the distribution of *n* as following all object markers requires equating some occurrences of *ng* (before velar stop) with the accusative marker, in a way that is not entirely unproblematic. Considerations are as follows.

With first or second person subject, 3NSG object is marked by *wu-* and accusative marker *n*. In the 3 → 3NSG combinations, though, the first element of the prefix complex has been segmented as *wu-ng*, where the historical identity of this *ng* with the accusative marker *n* is plausible but not certain. The basic 3NSG object form (with 3 subject) is *wunggun-*, in which *gu* is a nonsingular number element, and *n* the accusative marker.

In *wunggun-*, any claim that *ng* represents an assimilated instance of the accusative marker is problematic, but cannot be rejected out of hand, based on the following consideration. There are several other places in the prefix forms where an apparently comparable *ng* occurs before nonsingular element *gu*, including 2NSG → 1EX NSG *yunggunu-*, 3SG → 2NSG *nunggun-*, and 3NSG → 2NSG *nunggunburr-*. There are numerous other instances, such as 3SG → 1EX NSG *yin.gun-* where what is evidently the accusative marker *n* does not assimilate before the velar stop of the nonsingular element *gu*. However, there is another place in the paradigm in which what is evidently to be identified as the accusative marker undergoes assimilation, in 3SG → 2SG and 3NSG → 2SG forms (both) *yimburr-* (2SG *yi-*, accusative marker *n*, and 3NSG subject element *wu-rr*). Thus assimilation of the accusative marker elsewhere renders its assimilation before the velar stop plausible, but not to be unproblematically assumed.

The simplest statement of the distribution of *n*, with note taken of the fact that it requires some speculative assumptions as above, would be:

5. In all transitive combinations with overtly marked objects, with the exception of 1SG → 2SG, the object marker *n* is inserted after the object pronominal. If the object is *gu* marked, *n* is inserted immediately after *gu* as well as to the right of the object pronominal which precedes it.

Thus the assumption is made that some occurring prefixal forms are to be accounted for by the historical double occurrence of *n*, now frozen in the prefixal forms. The principles stated can also be understood generatively, as a way of producing the output of actually occurring prefixal forms. They need to be ordered with respect to each other so that the ordering of pronominal elements precedes the distribution of *gu*. An example of the way in which the principles form the basis of a derivation is shown below with the transitive combination 3NSG → 1EX NSG. We assume ordering is the first rule to apply to the categorial combination:

	Input	Output
Ordering	3NSG → 1EX NSG	<i>yi-wu-rr-</i>
<i>gu</i>	<i>yi-wu-rr-</i>	<i>yi-gu-wu-rr-</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>yi-gu-wu-rr-</i>	<i>yi-n-gu-n-wu-rr-</i>
Phonological rules	<i>yi-n-gu-n-wu-rr-</i>	<i>yi-n-gu-n-bu-rr-</i>

Accusative marker *n*, used throughout the system (except in the case of 3SG objects), serves as an index of grammatical function, while the pronominal ordering constraint serves as an index of hierarchical feature relations between the members of any subject-object pair.

The pronominal prefix system relies overwhelmingly on relational marking to distinguish subject and object function, rather than on morphological differentiation of person marking itself by function. The striking exception to this is the occurrence of a 2SG allomorph *-ni-* with first person objects. As will now become evident, that marker belongs to the system of person marking linked with irrealis mood. In just that familiar area of the transitive paradigm (1 → 2 and 2 → 1 combinations) in which formal representation can be seen to be contested within linguistic systems (see Heath 1976: 188), paradigmatic material is brought over from the marked irrealis mood category. Differences of the irrealis paradigm from the indicative in person- and other related prefixal marking will now be summarized.

6.7.3. Irrealis person- and mood-marking

Unlike the initial prefix *ya-* which occurs in non-past but not past indicative tense-mood-aspect forms of the verb (6.6.), irrealis marking as described below remains the same on non-past and past irrealis forms of the verb. The meanings and uses of the verb forms are described in 8.9.

The canonical mark of irrealis mood is initial prefix (preceding pronominal elements) *yi-* for non-third subject person categories, and *ya-yi-* for third subject categories. However, this distinction is not realized in this canonical form in all person-number forms of the verb: second person subject categories diverge from the pattern, and so do those forms with first-ordered pronominal element (*yi-*) representing the person-number category 1EX NSG, in ways detailed below.

Table 9. Intransitive prefixes (irrealis mood)

1SG	<i>yi-nga-gaygba</i>
1EX NSG	<i>ya-yirr-gaygba</i>
1IN DU	<i>yi-ngayi-gaygba</i>
1IN PL	<i>yi-ngarr-gaygba</i>
2SG	<i>yi-ni-gaygba</i>
2NSG	<i>nunu-gaygba / yunu-gaygba</i>
3SG	<i>yayi-0-gaygba</i>
3NSG	<i>yayi-wurr-gaygba</i>

In Table 9 is given an irrealis paradigm of the verb *gayg-ba-* ‘call to’, morphologically intransitive in that only subject person is marked on the verb. (Any complement “to whom” is Dative-marked; cf. the related, transitive verb *gayg-ba-rla-* ‘to call to’.)

Mood- and person-marking prefixal forms which are distinctive to the irrealis paradigm are italicized. In sum, they are: *yi-* for all non-third subject persons except 1EX NSG,

which has *ya-* before the person-element *yi-*; and except 2NSG which has mood/person-marking prefixal form *nunu-* (preferred) or sometimes *yunu-*; *yayi-* for third person subjects. In addition, the 2SG category has the person-element *-ni-* following the mood marker, instead of the indicative-paradigm 2SG subject form *yi-*.

Obviously, there is an important element of phonological determination in the deviations from the realization of what was called above the “canonical” irrealis pattern. For example, if the usual 2SG indicative subject element were present, the prefix form would be: *yiyi-*. If the usual 2NSG subject marker *nu-* occurred in this paradigm, we would presumably find the mood-person marker *yi-nu-*, segmentally very similar to the transitive 1EX NSG \longrightarrow 2 combination *yinun-*. Avoidance of such ambiguities has probably played some part in the historical structuring of the irrealis paradigm. The fact of the occurrence of *ya-* as part of irrealis mood-marking for third person subjects must presumably be seen in the same light. Compare, for example, the present indicative 2SG \longrightarrow 3SG form ‘you are putting it’, *yi-0-gin*, with the structural form that 3SG \longrightarrow 3SG irrealis would have, were it not for the presence of *ya-* as part of the irrealis mood marking: **yi-0-0-gi-n*. Though ‘structurally’ different, the two forms would be homophonous were it not for the presence of *ya-* as part of the 3 subject irrealis marker: (pedantically) *ya-yi-0-0-gi-n*. It is quite probable that the *ya-* irrealis element may be identified etymologically with the non-past, third person prefixal form *ya-* discussed at 6.6. (and this would explain its comparatively anomalous distribution over tense-aspect categories of the verb, see fn. 7).

The differences of person-mood marking in the irrealis transitive paradigm compared with the indicative may now be briefly summarized in Table 10. Listed across are corresponding indicative and irrealis combinations which differ in any respect other than the presence of initial irrealis mood-marking prefix *yi-*, or *yayi-* for third person subject forms. That is, for example, the indicative 1SG \longrightarrow 3SG combination is *nga-*, the corresponding irrealis one *yi-nga-*. The indicative 3SG \longrightarrow 3SG form is *0-* (with prefix *ya-* in non-past verbal categories), the corresponding irrealis form prefixed with mood/person-marker *yayi-*. All combinations which differ from each other in only these transparent ways are not listed.

Table 10. Differences in indicative and irrealis transitive combinations

Description	Indicative	Irrealis
2SG \longrightarrow 3SG	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-ni-</i>
2NSG \longrightarrow 3SG	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nunu- ~ yunu-</i>
2NSG \longrightarrow 3NSG	<i>nuwun-</i>	<i>nunuwun- ~ yunuwun-</i>
3SG \longrightarrow 1EX NSG	<i>yin.gun-</i>	<i>yayin.gun-</i>
1EX NSG \longrightarrow 2SG/NSG	<i>yinun-</i>	<i>yayinun-</i>
3SG/NSG \longrightarrow 2SG	<i>yimburr-</i>	<i>yayimburr-</i>

From Table 10 can be seen that the 2SG person form *-ni-* which occurs in intransitive clauses also occurs here with 3SG object; and likewise that the 2NSG person marker

which occurs in intransitive clauses, here occurs with 3SG and 3NSG objects. Now we may summarize the significance of the occurrence of this 2SG *-ni-* person element in the 2SG \longrightarrow 1EX NSG and 2NSG \longrightarrow 1EX NSG combinations of the transitive indicative paradigm. It comes from the irrealis paradigm, and fills in those contested combinations (again, see Heath 1976) of the transitive paradigm in which 2 person acts on 1. (In other languages the 1 \longrightarrow 2 forms may be equally problematic.) On a scale of graduated transitivity values of verbal categories, irrealis would probably have to be considered lower in transitivity than the indicative mood (and the precise justification for this in Wardaman will emerge in Chapters 8 and 9, where the uses and meanings of irrealis are discussed; see also Hopper and Thompson 1980). To fill out what are often problematic categorial combinations in the transitive paradigm, Wardaman has recourse to formal elements of the less highly transitive irrealis one.⁹

In Table 10, remaining differences from the indicative consist in the fact that, before 1EX NSG person element *yi-* as subject and object, and before the 2SG object element *yim* in 3SG/NSG \longrightarrow 2SG the irrealis marker does not consist of *yi-*, or in the latter case, of *yayi-*, but of *ya-*. Another irregularity of the irrealis forms is that 2SG/NSG \longrightarrow 1EX NSG forms were found not to be distinguished from the indicative forms.

6.7.4. Habitual aspect- and person-marking

There is an habitual category of the verb (8.10.), the canonical marker of which is an initial prefix of shape *ma-*. In many ways the habitual aspect-person prefix forms are very analogous to the irrealis ones, though there is no reason to see habitual as a semantic sub-category of irrealis. The habitual person-aspect prefixes as they occur in intransitive clauses are shown in Table 11 opposite the irrealis ones.

Table 11. Irrealis and habitual person-mood-aspect prefix forms

	Irrealis	Habitual
1SG	<i>yi-nga-</i>	<i>ma-nga-</i>
1EX NSG	<i>ya-yirr-</i>	<i>ma-yirr-</i>
1DU IN	<i>yi-ngayi-</i>	<i>ma-ngayi-</i>
1PL IN	<i>yi-ngarr-</i>	<i>ma-ngarr-</i>
2SG	<i>yi-ni-</i>	<i>ma-ni-</i>
2NSG	<i>nunu- ~ yunu-</i>	<i>ma-nu-</i>
3SG	<i>yayi-0-</i>	<i>mayi-0-</i>
3NSG	<i>yayi-wurr-</i>	<i>mayi-wurr-</i>

9. The resolution of historical competition and change within the transitive person-marking paradigm in the area of 2 \longrightarrow 1 and 1 \longrightarrow 2 by bringing over of forms from the irrealis or similar verbal mood category of lesser transitivity, is not a phenomenon limited to Wardaman. In Jawoyn, for example, the 1SG \longrightarrow 2SG prefix form is etymologically an irrealis mood-marking prefix which is required in third person intransitive forms, and 3 \longrightarrow 3 transitive forms.

The habitual forms are comparatively uncomplicated, in that wherever the irrealis paradigm has *yi-* or *yayi-* or simply *ya-* as the mood marker, varying with the form of the following prefix as we have seen, the habitual simply has *ma-*. The analogy to the irrealis forms can be seen, for example, by the fact that the 2SG intransitive form (and hence also the 2SG → 3SG transitive combination) is expressed with the 2SG person marker *-ni-*, characteristic of the irrealis prefix set in these parts of the paradigm.

Transitive combinations simply involve the prefixation of *ma-* everywhere except in third person forms and combinations, which have the prefix complex *mayi-*. For example, the indicative 3SG → 1SG form below would be *ngan-*; in the habitual it is *ma-ngan-*, and shows leftward assimilation to the stem mid-vowel (see 3.7.3.):

- (236) *ma-nga-jejbarla-n-ga* *wonggo* *mo-ngon-wo-n*
 HAB-1SG/3SG-ask-PRES-SUB neg HAB-3SG/1SG-give-PRES
 ‘When I always ask him he never gives me [anything]’.

Chapter 7

Demonstratives, interrogatives, and adverbs

7.1. Introduction

Wardaman demonstrative formations in context may be analyzed as belonging to one of two functional word-classes: to the nominal class, or to the adverbial one. The former class expresses arguments, while the latter modifies ad-verbally. While the analysis of any given form in context as one or the other is fairly clear (and leaving aside for the moment the lack of neat distinction in this language between adverbs and verb particles, see Chapters 4, 7 and 11), morphologically the division between demonstrative or deictic nominals and certain adverbial formations is not a sharp one, for in many instances the same stems serve as the basis of formations of both kinds. In organizing the discussion of forms which have such a common basis, it has seemed best to describe in close succession morphologically related forms. The adverbial formations which share stems with demonstrative nominals really constitute much of the spatial adverbial backbone of the language, leaving a residual store of time, manner and other adverbs (discussed in 7.6.) that do not exhibit a great amount of distinctive morphology (aside from certain suffixes), and in fact constitute a lexical repository many members of which are not sharply distinguishable from verb particles on either semantic or functional grounds.

7.2. Demonstrative categories and some related forms

The demonstrative pronouns, may serve either as modifiers within a nominal phrase, or like all sub-types of nominal in Wardaman, may by themselves constitute the sole, reference-making member of a nominal phrase. As modifiers, they normally occur within a phrase preceding the modified, but the reverse order may be found (10.3., 10.9.). As modifiers and arguments, the demonstrative pronouns may be inflected for the range of nominal case-suffixes.

The system of demonstratives shows a tripartite division in terms of spatial categories which will be called “Immediate”, “Proximate” and “Remote”. These categories are roughly translatable in English as “this”, “that” and “yonder”, and the spatial and textual semantics of all of them will be illustrated below. In summary fashion, the spatial reference of the Immediate category is in the vicinity of the speech situation, and may designate within the vicinity of the speaker, hearer or both. Something that is designated as “that” in the sense of distal from speaker but close to hearer is liable to be coded with the Proximate category, but never with the remote category as it is still within range of the location of the speech event. The Immediate and Remote categories are the most closely linked in most of their uses to spatial semantics, although forms of the immediate category may have textually immediate reference to that just said or about to be said. The Remote category is most restricted to spatial reference in the extra-linguistic context

(as opposed to linguistic), and its use seems to be to refer to things, objects, locations etc. which are generally visible from the location of the speech event, or portrayed as visible from the perspective of a narrated or reported speech event, but in either case distal from it.

This leaves relatively unspecified the proximate category, which is in fact widest of the three in its range of uses, and the least restricted in its textual and other extended distribution. As noted above, it may designate within the general vicinity of the speech situation something that is distal from speaker and close to hearer, or something that is distal from both but still relatively close. Further, it is the category generally used to code the textual familiarity of some nominal, where its use often amounts to specification of definiteness of the referent via its proximate text-spatial semantics. In this definite-marking usage it is often best translated by English definite article. It is also the category most widely used to mark the relation of units of text to others, by means of inflected forms which mean such things as “and then, after that”, and so on.

Case forms in the three series are shown in Table 12. Stem morphology is not complicated: each series has an Absolutive form, and a stem-form used with non-zero suffixes. The two stems differ most unpredictably for the remote category.

Table 12. Demonstrative case-forms

	Immediate	Proximate	Remote
ABS	<i>dana</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>darni</i>
ERG	<i>dan-(n)yi</i>	<i>nan-yi</i>	<i>dang-nyi</i>
DAT	<i>dan-gu</i>	<i>nan-gu</i>	<i>dang-gu</i>
LOC	<i>dan-(n)ya</i>	<i>nan-(n)ya</i>	<i>dang-nya</i>
ALL	<i>dan-garr</i>	<i>nan-garr</i>	<i>dang-garr</i>
ABL	<i>dan-ba</i>	<i>nan-ba</i>	<i>dang-ba</i>
DISS	<i>dan-gunya</i>	<i>nan-gunya</i>	<i>dang-gunya</i>
SOU	<i>dan-gunba</i>	<i>nan-gunba</i>	<i>dang-gunba</i>

Immediate and Proximate categories have expanded Absolutive forms *danani* and *nanani*, i.e., characterized by the addition of a suffix to the Absolutive otherwise attested only with the interrogative “where” (7.5.3.). The contribution to meaning of this suffix appears to be very much like that of the article suffix *-bi* (5.7.), in concretizing and making more specific the spatial reference of the form. Usually these are best translated in English as “this one here”, “that one there”. An illustration of the Immediate form is:

- (237) *0-bu-ndi-ya* *darang-bi* *gila* *dana-ni* *gila*
 3SG-hit-PST-NAR rump ABS-ART indeed this ABS-ART indeed
yi-bam
 YI-head-ABS

‘He hit him right on the rump, really right here on the head’ [speaker indicates own head].

This suffix is glossed inter-linearly as ART(icle), the same as *-bi*.

All of the demonstrative categories commonly exhibit number-marked forms, to which case-inflections may be added, as follows:

	Immediate	Proximate	Remote
DU ABS	<i>dan-guya</i>	<i>nan-guya</i>	<i>dang-guya</i>
PL ABS	<i>dan-mulu</i>	<i>nan-mulu</i>	<i>dang-mulu</i>
COL ABS	<i>dan-ganung</i>	<i>nan-ganung</i>	<i>dang-ganung</i>

Non-zero case-affixes are added directly to each of the number-marked stems so formed, e.g., Immediate ERG *dan-guya-yi*, *dan-mulu-yi*, *dan-ganung-nyi*.

The third number category is characterized by suffix *-ganung*, which appears generally to have a collective meaning, and best glossed by English “these” and “those”. This suffix was noted as a possible formation with third person non-deictic free pronominal stem *namaj* (6.1.).

Examples follow of the demonstrative forms as arguments and modifiers, with comments mainly relating to their spatial and textual deixis.

(238)	<i>ngarrugu</i>	<i>dana</i>	<i>yirrbag</i>	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>yanja</i>
	IIN PL-DAT	this-ABS	back	neg	3-3SG-go PRES

‘This one can’t/doesn’t move back for us’.

(238) exemplifies the spatial reference of *dana* as referring within the immediate speech locale. The context of utterance was one in which some women, trying to make more room on a blanket for some new female arrivals to sit down, were exasperated by a man sitting on the blanket at a range the women thought entirely too close, and refusing to move. Given his proximity, he was referred to as *dana*, and the remark had a cutting edge in that, although he was so close, he was referred to as a third person.

(239)	<i>dan-guya</i>	<i>ngamanda-wu</i>	<i>yawanyayn</i>	<i>ya-wurr-(y)ana</i>
	this-DU-ABS	what-DAT	whisper	3-3NSG-AUX

‘What are these two whispering for?’

Reference is to two people close to others who, despite that proximity, appeared to be trying to talk privately between themselves, something that was rejected as inappropriate in the close quarters.

(240)	<i>nan-yi</i>	<i>yibiyani-yi</i>	<i>bura-yi</i>	<i>0-jala-rri</i>
	that-ERG	man-ERG	boomerang-INST	3SG-boomerang-PST
	<i>darni</i>	<i>yibiyani-gari</i>	<i>gabbarri</i>	<i>yurmi</i>
	that-ABS	man-other-ABS	again	back
				<i>0-jala-rri</i>
				3SG-boomerang-PST

‘The/that man hit yonder other man with a boomerang, and then HE boomeranged him back’.

Particularly in the case of the Proximate category, it seems necessary to give a few extended examples in order to illustrate the category's function in expressing that a reference has been established within the text. The following lines are consecutive, the beginning of a long narrative about Aboriginal-European clash in the Wardaman homelands on Delamere (text *Mejern*).

(241) *mernde-yi* *wunggun-wo-ndi* *ngamanda* *mulurru*
whitefella-ERG 3SG/3NSG-give-PST what-ABS old woman-ABS

mulurru-wuya
old woman-DU-ABS

wunggun-wo-ndi *mayin*
3SG/3NSG-give-PST food-ABS

dij-barra
[dish]-ADV

rais
[rice]-ABS

nan-guya-yi *mulurru-wuya-yi* *wurr-ga-ndi* *lagla-warr*
that-DU-ERG old woman-DU-ERG 3NSG-take-PST camp-ALL

galul
up

wunggunburr-wo-ndi *na*
3NSG/3NSG-give-PST [now]

mayin *nana*
food-ABS that-ABS

mawuya-warang
poison-having-ABS

'A white man gave the what's it, an old woman,
two old women
he gave them food
in a dish
rice
the/those two old women took it to camp
up top
they gave it to them now,
the/that food
with poison in it ...'.

In the first prosodic line, as the speaker attempts to establish the narrative, she characteristically uses a "whachacallit" kind of formation before finding the correct designation of the referent she had in mind, proceeding from "old woman" to "two old women", both of whom are being just introduced here. Neither is preceded by a

demonstrative modifier. In the fifth line, the established status of the dual referents is indicated by the use of *nan-guya* to modify them. Such usage cannot be seen simply or purely as spatial deixis, for the spatial location of the “two old women” remains unaltered from when they were first mentioned. By line 5, however, they are “proximate” via the spatial semantics of this category, which generally designates something which is distal but not remote. In the eighth line, the “food” which was previously entered into the text in second, third and fourth lines, is now equally constructed as being an established entity. Slightly further on in the same text we find an example of the collective plural form of the proximate category:

(242) *wunggunburr-wo-ndi*
3NSG/3NSG-give-PST

wurr-ngu-ndi *na* *yi-warna-mulu-yi*
3NSG-eat-PST [now] YI-some-PL-ERG

marluga *gegeyenman*
old man-ABS [name]-ABS

gimiyn-gu *go* *yibiyi*
[name]-DAT 3SG DAT father-ABS

marluga *gegeyenman*
old man -ABS [name]

ngawurnen-(n)yi *dulu* *marluga* *yurrwarla*
many-ERG [name]-ABS old man-ABS [skin]-ABS

dulu
[name]-ABS

nan-ganung-nyi *wurr-ngu-ndi*
this-COL-ERG 3NSG-eat-PST

‘They gave it to them
and some of them ate it now
old man Gegeyenman
Gimiyn’s father
old man Gegeyenman
a lot of them, Dulu, old yurrwarla [subsection] Dulu
these/those ate it ...’.

The narrator establishes by name and kin relation the identity of a couple of old men who were victims in the poisoning incident. Notice in line 6 that while *ngawurnen-(n)yi* is Ergative-marked, the next-mentioned referent is not, but is Absolutive, as is usually the case in “listing”, “mention” or “citation”. In the following line, however, there is a return to full clausal structure, and here the Proximate collective form is Ergative-marked, its referent those who have been established by the speaker. Again from further on in the same text:

- (243) *marluga-gari* *yiwarna-gari* *marluga* *0-bu-ndi*
 old man-other-ABS other-other-ABS old man-ABS 3SG-hit-PST

mejern-bulud
 stomach-[bullet]

mejern *gila* *dog*
 stomach indeed pow

0-yanggi *marluga* *nana* *mejern* *durd*
 3SG-go PST old man-ABS that-ABS stomach-ABS hold

‘Another old man, he shot another old man [called]
 “Bullet-Belly”
 really, bang, in the stomach,
 that/the old man went holding his stomach ...’.

In beginning to speak of particular people who got shot in one place, the speaker makes first reference to “an” old man (no demonstrative modifier) called “Bullet-Belly” ever after this incident. In the third line, another use of the nominal “old man” is modified by *nana*, indicating establishment of the reference in the text. This example illustrates modified-modifier ordering, which may be found with any of the demonstrative categories used as modifiers, but seems especially common with the Proximate category in this “textually established” kind of usage.

Several textual instances of the Remote category may be cited from the same text. The first is taken from the point in the narrative at which several survivors of the poisoning run downriver:

- (244) *yijarlu* *gayardung* *wurr-(y)anggi* *yirrgulun-bi*
 some-ABS run 3NSG-AUX-PST river-ABS-ART
- yirrgulun* *beye* *darni*
 river-ABS downstream-ABS yonder-ABS
- yi-man* *werrwerr* *wurr-bu-ndi* *na*
 YI-good-ABS out rdp 3NSG-AUX-PST [now]
- mernde-yi-wan* *0-na-rri* *lege* *werr* *wurr-bu-ny-ga*
 white-ERG-DF 3SG-see-PST one-ABS out 3NSG-AUX-PST-SUB
beye
 downriver
- a* *darni* *yibiwan* *ya-wurr-ya* *yibiwan* *wonggo*
 oh that-ABS man-ABS 3-3NSG-go man-ABS neg
wurr-ngegba-rri
 3NSG-die-PST

‘Some ran along the river
 a/the river [is] downstream yonder
 they come out all right now [i.e., unharmed]

and the whites saw one as they were coming out downriver
 “oh! yonder Aborigines are going! the Aborigines didn’t die!”’.

By the second line of this passage the speaker has established a narrative environment in terms of which a river is said to be “yonder”, i.e., remote in terms of the deictic perspective of the narrated event. The Aborigines who have fled come out downriver and one is spotted by a European, whose spatial perspective is now the one from which the narrator constructs a speech report. The European is made to say “yonder” Aborigines are going, i.e., distal from the speaker of the narrated speech event. A final example from the same text helps to contrast Proximate and Remote categories in context:

- (245) *wunggunburr-gomarla-rrri* *beye*
 3NSG/3NSG-follow-PST downriver-ABS
- wunggu-da-rrri* *na* *a* *darni* *darni* *ya-wurr-ya*
 3SG/3NSG-see-PST [now] oh! yonder-ABS yonder-ABS 3-3NSG-go-PRES
- lerl-ma* *wurr-me-ndi* *nana* *yirrgulun* *na*
 reach-PS 3NSG-AUX-PST that-ABS river-ABS [now]
- ‘They followed them downriver
 he saw them now, “Oh! yonder, yonder they’re going”
 they reached the river now ...’.

In the second line, once again a European is reported as saying, “Yonder they are going”. Note in this line that the pronominal categories in the verb are third singular acting on third nonsingular, i.e., presumptively a single European seeing a number of Aborigines. Study of text material of this kind of historical narrative, however, shows that frequently in the fairly remote past time of these events, the third singular category is used to designate “Europeans” of unspecified number, presumably partly because at this time depth they are not and cannot be individuated. The second line is possibly better understood as, “They saw them now”. The last line narrates the reaching of the already-established river by the Aborigines, and is another instance of the definite and significantly textual-deictic nature of the Proximate category. Examples of other case forms of the Remote are:

- (246) *nga-yerreba* *wurrugu* *dang-mulu*
 1SG-feel shame-PRES 3NSG DAT yonder-PL-ABS
- ya-wud-janga-n*
 3-3NSG-come-PRES
- ‘I feel shame before them, yonder [people] are coming’.

(246) illustrates use of the Remote category to designate referents clearly near neither speaker nor hearer, but explicitly formulated as far removed from both.

- (247) *dang-nyi* *wunggun-bu-ndi* *yibiyani-yi*
 yonder-ERG 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST man-ERG
- ‘Yonder man hit them’.

(247) illustrates the common separation of demonstrative modifier from modified within the clause, their common reference, and their plausible grammatical analysis as belonging to a single phrase, indicated by common Ergative case-marking.

While the use of the Remote category has generally been found to be in contexts such as those cited above, in which spatial deixis is referrable to the world of the immediate speech situation, or that of a narrated or reported speech situation as a “remote but distantly visible” category, there are nevertheless instances of use in which it must be understood to refer to spatial and temporal remoteness completely distal from the immediate speech situation or that of the narrated event, as in the following example:

- (248) *ngorlogba-ya-wa:n* *mugurn* *nganburr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya* *na*
 talk-LOC-DF sleep 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU-ABS [now]
wonggo nganburr-yana-rri-ya *yugurni wirrig-(g)u-nin* *yi-bujgun*
 neg 3NSG/1SG-say-PST-NAR more tomorrow-DAT-ADV YI-wild-ABS
wunggun-bu-ndi-ya *burrugawi* *mernde-yi* *dang-ganung*
 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR long ago white-ERG yonder-ABS-COL
- wonggo nganburr-yana-rri-ya-wuya* *nga-gurrgba-rri-ya* *na*
 neg 3NSG/1SG-say-PST-NAR-DU-ABS 1SG-sleep-PST-NAR [now]

‘In talking the two of them put me to sleep, then they didn’t talk more to me, for tomorrow, wild people, whites shot them/those long ago.
 The two of them didn’t talk to me, I slept now’.

In this passage the speaker uses the Remote collective form *dang-ganung* to refer to temporally and spatially remote, wild Aboriginal people that her two older companions had been telling her about before she went to sleep. See also (259) below for an instance of the Remote category which cannot be understood to be Remote but visible in terms of the speech situation, but rather is Remote invisible.

7.2.1. “This side”, “that side” and “person from here”, “person from there”

To the tripartite division of the demonstratives correspond three forms meaning “this side”, “that side”, and “yonder side”, as follows:

Immediate	<i>dan.guyugun</i>
Proximate	<i>nan.guyugun</i>
Remote	<i>dangguyugun</i>

These are built on the non-zero stems *dan-*, *nan-*, and *dang-*, but the segmentation of the remainder is not clear. These forms normally occur unsuffixed in Locative and Allative senses, “on, at, to this side”, (e.g., *0-yanggi dangguyugun borle* ‘he went across to yonder side’), but they may occur both Locative-suffixed (*dan.guyugun-ya ngayi-jingi-n* ‘you and I are sitting on this side’), and Allative-suffixed (e.g., *dan.guyugun-garr-min* ‘to this side’). They are suffixed for Ablative case. They occur in complex phrases with Ablative-marked location from which, e.g. *weliny-ba dan.guyugun* ‘this side of/from Weliny’.

Also built on the familiar demonstrative stems are forms which mean “person from this place”, and “person from that place”:

Immediate	<i>dannguguwunman</i>
Proximate	<i>nannguguwunman</i>
Remote	<i>dangnguguwunman</i>

Although the middle segment(s) of these forms cannot be identified, the last syllable *-man* is undoubtedly to be regarded as a noun-forming suffix which occurs elsewhere (see 9.3.). These forms may be case-inflected in the same way as all nominals which have that suffix, typically with reduction of the final *-n* before non-zero affixes. An example use of these forms is:

- (249) *nannguguwunman* *yi-lalmugbug* *ngayugu*
 that place-ABS YI-[place] 1SG-ABS
 ‘I’m a person from there, of Lalmugbug’.

Notice that toponyms can be prefixed with the animate nominal class marker to create forms meaning “person of X place”. Such forms may be number-marked in the usual ways.

7.2.2. “Here”, “to here”

Perhaps etymologically related to the Immediate demonstrative stem is a functionally adverbial form *damin* ‘here’. If the first element *da* is identified with the stem *dan-*, the second syllable might be identified with the adverbial suffix *-min* (see 7.6.6.). However, this is not at all certain, especially since related case forms (see below) seem to indicate the root may be *dami-*. An example of its use is:

- (250) *dunggululu-warang* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *yibiyang-gu* *bangbu-wu*
 pubic apron-having-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES man-DAT woman-DAT
damin *ngawun* *darang* *wurr-ga-ndi-ya* *jaburru-wu*
 here nothing rear-ABS 3NSG-take-PST-NAR front-DAT
yi-wad-biji *juba* *gila*
 YI-pubis-only shut indeed

‘He/she is coming with a pubic apron on, [it was] for men and women, here on the rear nothing, they wore it in front, really covered only the pubis’.

Though essentially adverbial, the form *damin* may be inflected for Ablative case to mean ‘from here’. It has an allative form *dami-rlan* ‘to here, this way’, showing the same allative case marker as occurs with cardinal direction terms (see 7.4.):

- (251) *yirrbag* *nyanga* *dami-rlan* *nyanga*
 back come here-ALL come
 ‘Come back, come this way’.

See also (264) below for a further example of *dami-rlan*. (As noted above, the fact that the Allative case form shows reduction of the final *-n* makes the identification of the final syllable with adverbial suffix *-min* more doubtful, as there is no evidence the suffix can reduce in this way.)

The allative form is similar in meaning to *borri-rlan* (7.3.).

7.2.3. Spatial specifier *-beng* ~ *-weng*

A spatial suffix which specifies spatial location as more exact or precise than does the Locative case suffix is *-beng* ~ *-weng*, which is suffixed to Absolutive nominal forms, and to the inflecting demonstrative stems. The fact that it is suffixed to Absolutive stems and cannot itself inflect suggest that it has an adverbial rather than nominal suffixal character. It is often best translated as “right here”, “right there”, and the like. It may itself be further suffixed with the Article *-bi*, e.g., *nan-beng-bi* ‘right there in that place’. Examples of its use follow:

- (252) *ngad-jingi-n* *yimiyan-(n)ya-yi* *yirrgulu-ya* *yimiyan-beng*
 1INPL-sit-PRES same-LOC-ADV river-LOC same-SSPEC
 ‘We’re sitting at the same place on the river, right in the same place’.

- (253) *yi-yarlug-mulu* *wonggo* *ya-wud-jingi-n* *lege-weng* *janadba*
 YI-active-PL-ABS neg 3-3NSG-sit-PRES one-SSPEC stationary
mayi-wurr-ya *warrgban*
 3HAB-3NSG-go everywhere
 ‘They’re active, they don’t sit down for good just in one place, they go about all over’.

- (254) *wonggo* *janadba* *ya-0-jingi-n* *warlŋgin-(n)ya* *gungan.gin-beng*
 neg stationary 3-3SG-sit-PRES bed-LOC 3SG GEN ABS-SSPEC
 ‘He doesn’t stay one place in his bed, right [in] his own’.

If Locative marked “bed” and the possessive pronoun are regarded as part of a single phrase, it is necessary to specify that case-marking applies to one but not the other. Alternatively these could be regarded as two phrases, the second apposed to the first.

- (255) *marluga-gari* *lege* *0-bu-ndi* *nan-beng* *delimiya*
 old man-other-ABS one-ABS 3SG-hit-PST that-SSPEC [Delamere]
 ‘One other old man was shot right there at Delamere’.

- (256) *nan-beng-wan* *0-jingi-ndi*
 that-SSPEC-DF 3SG-sit-PST

0-jingi-ndi *nan-beng* *mawuya* *0-dagbarla-rri-ya* *yani-ma-yi*
 3SG-sit-PST that-SSPEC poison-ABS 3SG-have-PST-NAR thus-PS-ADV
 ‘And right there [where] he was sitting
 he was sitting right there and had poison like this’.

- (257) *wu-dab* *wu-dab* *ya-0-jingi-n* *jumba* *darni*
 WU-cave-ABS WU-cave-ABS 3-3SG-be-PRES behind yonder
bijbarnang-beng
 [place]-SSPEC

‘A cave, a cave is there, behind yonder, right at Bijbarnang’.

In 5.7. demonstrative stems were shown to occur with doubled forms of the article suffix. Another example of this is:

- (258) *dan-bi-wi* *gila* *0-bu-ndi-ya,* *dan-bi-wi* *ale*
 this-ART-ART indeed 3SG-hit-PST-NAR this-ART-ART TAG
yi-berr-wi
 YI-leg-ART

‘Really he hit him right here, right here, isn’t that right, on the leg’.

There is sometimes assimilation in the Immediate form of the nasal to the *b* of the article suffix, yielding *dam-bi-wi*.

7.3. “This way”, “that way” and related forms

There are three high-frequency adverbial deictic forms which have meanings translatable approximately “this way” and “that way”.

One of these, *borri-rlan*, occurs only suffixed with what can certainly be identified elsewhere as Allative suffix with directional terms; the stem does not occur in Absolutive or other form (except that it, as well as the next, may be suffixed with final adverbial ending *-min*, see 7.6.6.). The other, *numbulan*, is more problematic, because while it seems likely that the final syllable might be identified etymologically with the directional Allative suffix, contrastive phonetic evidence is that the lateral here should be identified as plain alveolar, and not retroflex. Therefore its similarity to the Allative suffix is suggestive, but a synchronic identification apparently ought not to be made.

The first form, *numbulan* ‘that way’, expresses direction or motion away relative to the speaker, but compared to another form *dawu* (see below) it use generally implies that the the starting point of motion or relative location is distal from the speaker. Because of this latter element, it is often best translated as “that way from” or “that side of”, with the “pivot” location generally either Absolutive-marked or Ablative-marked. Textual examples are:

- (259) *0-nyanga-ndi* *jerrba-wi* *0-nyanga-ndi* *delimiya* *werr* *nana*
 3SG-come-PST straight-ART 3SG-come-PST [Delamere] out that-ABS
wudu *wiyan* *0-waja-rri* *darni* *delimiya* *numbulan*
 little-ABS water-ABS 3SG-leave-PST yonder-ABS [Delamere] that way

‘It [a dreaming] came straight on and out at Delamere it left a little rain [stone] there the other side of Delamere’.

The “pivotal” location from which direction away is being expressed is Delamere, which was remote and invisible from the location at which this narrative was recorded.

- (260) *numbulan* *bakit-ja* *nana* *wu-dambu-wa* *nana*
 that way [pocket]-LOC that-ABS WU-junction-ABL that-ABS
yibiwan *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *dijbala*
 man-ABS 3SG-sit-PST-NAR one day

‘That way from the junction, in the pocket, the man would sit for one day’.

The phrasing in this excerpt seems somewhat fractured. It comes from a story concerning obtaining of poison from a site called Mawuya-ya, and relates how any man intending to get the poison would go out near the site and sit close by it for a day before approaching it. “That way” has to be understood in relation to the Ablative-marked “from the junction”, i.e., once again a deictic pivot that was remote from the speaker.

Contrasting with *numbulan* is the form *borri-rlan*, which expresses motion towards speaker from a distal location. Examples are:

- (261) *ya-0-nyanga-n* *borri-rlan* *jalirra* *nu-lawu*
 3-3SG-come-PRES this way-ALL meet 2NSG-AUX

‘He’s coming this way, you [go to] meet him’.

- (262) *barangan* *werr-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi* *werr-ma* *borri-rlan*
 gap-ABS out-PS 3SG-come-PST out-PS this way-ALL
dana-ni *0-lawu-rri* *gorrondolmi* *yurba-warr*
 this-ART 3SG-reach-PST rainbow-ABS stand-ALL

‘He came out [at] the gap out this way right here he reached Rainbow Serpent standing up’.

As the speaker was narrating this mythological story, at *borri-rlan* she was pointing in the southerly direction from which the mythic figure had come towards Willeroo; at *dana-ni*, she indicated the place where we were all standing at the time. As noted above, there are no other case-forms of this stem.

The third form has a zero stem, *dawu* ‘that way, over that way’, and also has explicitly Allative case-form *dawu-rlan* ‘that way, in that direction’, and Ablative case-form *dawung-ba* ‘from that way’. The difference between this and *numbulan* is that it expresses distal direction or motion with the speaker or present speech situation as pivot or reference point of the deixis. The trajectory or distance away remains unspecified, and may be more or less remote. Examples of the case-forms follow. In the first textual example, *dawu* occurred in context with *numbulan*:

- (263) *wurr-wemi-yi-rri* *yilgbayi* *gayardung* *wurr-yanggi* *gila*
 3NSG-vomit-MED-PST OK run 3NSG-go-PST indeed
galung-lan *numbulan* *gayardung* *wurr-yanggi* *yijarlul* *dawu*
 up-ALL that way run 3NSG-go-PST some that way
galung-lan *walig* *wurr-(y)anggi* *dawu*
 up-ALL around 3NSG-go-PST that way

‘They vomited and were OK they ran up that way and some ran up that way they went around that way’.

The translation here is not particularly revealing of the difference between *numbulan* and *dawu*, which has to do with the centering or pivot of deictic reference more remotely for the former, and less remotely for the latter, with reference to the frame of reference created narratively by the speaker. Because *dawu* simply specifies motion away and does not imply a remote but rather proximate pivot, it can sometimes be better translated as “this way”, and such a translation in (263) might better bring out the contrast with *numbulan*.

- (264) *dawu* *0-ngegba-rri-wan* *dawu* *namanya* *windim*
 that way 3SG-die-PST-DF that way west [Wyndham]

‘And he died that way, that way to the west at Wyndham’.

- (265) *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *nan-ya* *na* *nan-ba* *wunggun-bu-ndi-ya*
 3SG-be-PST-NAR that-LOC [now] that-ABL 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR
dami-rlan *dawu-rlan* *wunggun-bu-ndi*
 this-ALL that way-ALL 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST

‘It [a house] was there [at Delamere] now, and from there they shot this way, they shot that way’.

- (266) *dawu-rlan* *julu* *darni* *gal-ma* *ngarr-(y)anggi*
 that way-ALL hill-ABS yonder-ABS climb-PS 1IN PL-go PST

‘We climbed up yonder hill [going] that way’.

- (267) *yin.gun-bu-ndi-ya* *muyirr-ma* *dawu-rlan*
 3SG/1EX NSG-hit-PST-NAR gather-PS that way-ALL
beye-rlen *yuluy-wa*
 downstream-ALL [place]-ABL

‘They shot us in droves, [going] downstream that way from Yuluy’.

- (268) *wunggun-bu-ndi-ya* *yibiwan-mulu* *yirrig-bulu*
 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST man-PL-ABS 1EX NSG-PL-ABS
yin.gun-ga-ndi *barlarra* *dawu-rlan* *wu-jurlma-ya*
 3SG/1EX NSG-take-PST hide that way-ALL WU-pocket-LOC

‘He shot at the Aborigines as for us, we were taken that way and hidden in the pocket’.

In (267) the speaker is narrating an incident which occurred when she was a child. As a European threatened the Aboriginal camp, the children (*yirrig-bulu*) were taken away and hidden by an adult. Note that here as elsewhere Locative may encode the terminus of motion towards, and therefore occurs in construction with Allative-marked *dawu*.

- (269) *gangman* *0-nyanga-ndi* *dawung-ba* *yurrb* *0-we-ndi*
 kangaroo-ABS 3SG-come-PST that way-ABL stand 3SG-AUX-PST
nan-ya *wed* *0-na-rri* *nga-nyanga-ndi* *baraj*
 that-LOC look back 3SG-look-PST 1SG-come-PST far
- ‘The kangaroo came from that way and stood there, he looked back: “I’ve come a long way”’.

This form may be suffixed with spatial specifier *-beng* (7.2.3.), and here it shows the same stem-form as it does with Ablative: *dawung-beng* ‘right that way’, or also, with stationary sense “right over there” (see (274) below for exemplification).

7.4. Cardinal directions and related forms

From the point of view of inflectional morphology we may identify eight directional terms that form a class. Four of these are standard directional terms “north”, “south”, “east” and “west”, two are terms “up” and “down”, and two are explicitly riverine directionals “upstream” and “downstream”. Certain other forms already examined have similar inflectional forms, for example, *damin* ‘here’ (7.2.2.), but was discussed above because of its closer semantic link, and possible morphological relationship, to the main demonstrative categories. *Dawu* also has similar inflectional possibilities, but was described above along with other forms of similar but contrasting meaning. Forms of the cardinal direction terms are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Cardinal direction terms

	Locative	Allative	Ablative
north	<i>jongon</i>	<i>jongo-rlon</i>	<i>jongon-ba</i>
south	<i>gorro</i>	<i>gorrong-lan</i>	<i>gorro-wa</i>
east	<i>yyianggu</i>	<i>yyiang-lan</i>	<i>yyianggu-wa</i>
west	<i>namanya</i>	<i>namanya-rlan</i>	<i>namanya-wa</i>
up, above	<i>galul</i>	<i>galung-lan</i>	<i>galul-wa</i>
down, below	<i>barrwa</i>	<i>barrwa-rlan</i>	<i>barrwa-wa</i>
upstream	<i>gangga</i>	<i>gangga-rlan</i>	<i>gangga-wa</i>
downstream	<i>beye</i>	<i>beye-rlen</i>	<i>beye-wa</i>

As an inflectional class these have the characteristics that the Locative sense is absolutive in case-form, the Allative is marked by a case-suffix *-rlan* rather than the ending *-garr* ~ *-warr* which occurs with other nominal sub-types, while the Ablative

ending is the same as the ordinary one. Slight stem shape irregularities can be seen in most of these forms, e.g., the difference between the absolutive stem-form for ‘up’, *galul*, versus its Allative stem-form, *galung-*.

The term up has a commonly used, absolutive reduplicative form *galuhul*, which usually expresses added intensity “up and up”, or the like; likewise *barrwa* has frequent absolutive reduplicative form *barrwarrwa*.

- (270) *warnaba* *wolon-marla* *wurr-bu-yi-rri* *wolon*
 spirit grass-ABS-CAUS 3NSG-AUX-RR-PST grass-ABS
yanjaja *jaburru galulul* *barrwa* *ya-wurr-ya*
 3SG-go rdp-PRES ahead above rdp-ABS below 3-3NSG-go-PRES
yibiwan
 man-ABS

‘The *warnaba* spirits made themselves into grass, the grass keeps going on ahead up above below the people go along’.

Here the speaker is describing the manner of *warnaba* spirits of manifesting themselves as the movement in long grass. The description is partly effected by reduplication of the verb “to go” (see 3.8.), along with reduplication of “above”, both contrasted with the simultaneous movement underground of the anthropomorphic manifestation of these spirits. Examples of some of the other directionals follow.

- (271) *ma-ninyja-ga* *gunya* *gangga-rlan* *nyog-ba*
 HAB-2SG go-EMPH 3SG DISS upriver-ALL howl-PS
mayi-0-jingi-n *yinggi*
 3HAB-3SG-sit-PRES 2SGDAT

‘You always go away from him upriver and he always sits and howls at you’.

- (272) *mayi-wu* *nganja* *gangga-rlan* *lany-wayana-wu*
 food-DAT 1SG-go-PRES upriver-ALL meat-and all-DAT

‘I’m going upriver [i.e., to Katherine town] for food and meat and all’.

(See 5.5. for *wayana*.)

- (273) *yum-nya* *0-yanggi* *galul*
 tree-LOC 3SG-go-PST up-ABS

‘He climbed the tree’.

Note in (273) that just as Locative case with other nominal sub-types may express the end-point of motion towards (5.2.4.), so the notional Locative case of directional terms, formally Absolutive, may also express the terminus of motion, here in construction with a Locative case-marked nominal.

- (274) *wonggo nunu-ni-n dan-garr lagla-warr wu-boban-marla*
 neg IRR2NSG-bring-PRES this-ALL place-ALL WU-dry-CAUS
nga-gi-ndi nu-ngu-wa nu-ngu dawung-beng
 1SG-put-PST 2NSG-consume-FUT 2NSG-consume that way-SSPEC
gangga-wi wonggo nunu-nyanga-n lurrbu lurrbu
 upriver-ART neg IRR2NSG-come-PRES home home
wiya-warang
 water-having-ABS

‘You can’t bring it to this camp, I made this a dry place, you have to drink, you drink right over there upriver, you can’t come back here with alcohol’.

In (274) “upriver” is illustrated with article suffix (5.7.).

- (275) *gorro-wa ya-0-nyanga-n bulun ngayin.gun-me*
 south-ABL 3-3SG-come-PRES wind-ABS 1INDU/3SG-AUX-PRES
mog-ba yi-wangayn
 smell-PS YI-armpit-ABS

‘The wind is coming from the south, it [animal] will smell our armpits [sweat]’

Absolutive (i.e., notional Locative) and Allative-marked forms may be further case-marked with Dative in a purposive sense, as illustrated in (275):

- (276) *waray ngan-ga-ndi namanya-rlan-gu*
 ask 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST west-ALL-DAT

‘He asked me to go west’ [implication: to take him west].

Forms meaning “to the west, western side” etc. have been found with particle suffix (11.1.2.) suffixed to the Allative-case form, for example:

- (277) *namanya-rlan-ma nu-na*
 west-ALL-PS 2NSG-look

‘Look on the west side, to the west’.

A number of derivative forms of cardinal direction terms have been found. The first set designates those from a given direction. All stems may be dual- and plural-suffixed, as follows:

	SG	DU	PL
northerner(s)	<i>yi-jongonong</i>	<i>yi-jongonong-guya</i>	<i>yi-jongonong-mulu</i>
southerners	<i>yi-gorrong-jila</i>	<i>yi-gorrong-jila-wuya</i>	<i>yi-gorrong-jila-mulu</i>
easterners	<i>yi-yanung</i>	<i>yi-yanung-guya</i>	<i>yi-yanung-mulu</i>
westerners	<i>yi-namanyung</i>	<i>yi-namanyung-guya</i>	<i>yi-namanyung-mulu</i>

Further, there are three derivative forms with suffix *-burri* which designate winds from a given direction, but also are able to be used to designate people from a given direction

collectively. These are: *jongon-burri* ‘northerly’, *gorrong-burri* ‘southerly’, and *iyang-burri* ‘easterly’. Although the analogous westerly form (**namanyung-burri*) was tested with informants, for some reason it was unable to be confirmed as a form they recognized; they said that only *namanya-wa* ‘from the west’, the ordinary Ablative form, was possible. In reference to winds, these terms may be used as follows:

- (278) *gorrong-burri* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *bulun*
southerly 3-3SG-come-PRES wind-ABS
‘A southerly wind is coming’, ‘the wind is blowing from the south’.

7.5. Interrogatives

The interrogatives are a morphologically disparate set. They differ in their relative morphological diversity from some other regional languages in that, for example, neither the form meaning “when?” nor that meaning “where?” is related to the form meaning “what” (cf. Mangarrayi, Merlan 1982, also Ngalakan in Merlan 1983: 77–79). They tend to occur in first position in the clause.

7.5.1. ‘Who?’ *yinggiya*

‘Who?’ has the Absolutive form *yinggiya*, which serves as the non-zero stem. It may be number-marked for dual and plural with the usual suffixes, and inflected for any case, but the most commonly found forms are Absolutive, Ergative and Dative.

- (279) *yinggiya-yi* *duy-ma* *0-gi-ndi* *gonjon*
who-ERG heap-PS 3SG-AUX-PST earth-ABS
‘Who heaped the dirt up?’

- (280) *marlarluga* *wud-jingi-ndi-ya* *burrugawi* *wonggo*
old man rdp-ABS 3NSG-be-PST-NAR long ago neg
yinggiya-yi *ye-0-nge-n* *warranggin* *wurr-nge-ndi*
who-ERG 3-3SG-sing-PRES corroboree-ABS 3NSG-sing-PST
yi-jajaburrunggun-nyi *wurr-ngegba-ny-ga* *lig-ba*
YI-predecessors rdp-ERG 3NSG-die-PST-SUB lot-PS

‘The old men used to be [around] long ago, there is nobody who sings corroboree, [our] forebears sang, who have all died’.

(280) illustrates the formation “nobody”, negative particle *wonggo* (or *warna*, see 12.2.5.) followed by a form of *yinggiya* appropriately inflected for clausal function of the negative nominal phrase.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (281) | <i>lege-biji</i> | <i>mulurru</i> | <i>0-dagbarla-rri</i> | <i>wuluwari</i> |
| | one-ABS-only | old woman-ABS | 3SG-have-PST | [name] |
| | <i>yinggiya</i> | <i>jigurra</i> | <i>0-dagbarla-rri</i> | |
| | who-ABS | [name] | 3SG-have-PST | |

‘He only had [was married to] one old woman Wuluwari, who? he had Jigurra’.

(281) illustrates a self-correction by the speaker who first names one person, then corrects asking “Who?” appropriately Absolutive in form as the direct object of “have”, and followed by the sought-after name.

7.5.2. ‘What?’ *ngamanda*

‘What?’ *ngamanda* occurs most commonly in Absolutive form as directly questioned element (as in “What did you get?”) and may also occur as nominal modifier (as in “What food did you get?”); as Dative-marked *ngamanda-wu* meaning “what for? why?”; Instrumental-marked “by means of what?” or Ergative-marked (see (288) below); Dissociative- and Source-marked; suffixed with adverbial *-barra* ~ *-warra* in very similar sense to the Instrumental; and also “having”-suffixed, also meaning approximately “why? what for? concerning what?” as in the following:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (282) | <i>ngamanda-warang</i> | <i>nu-nyanga-ndi</i> |
| | what-having-ABS | 2NSG-come-PST |

‘What did you come for?’ ‘Concerning what did you come?’.

The Dative-marked form not uncommonly occurs finally in the interrogative clause:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (283) | <i>yi-gi-ndi</i> | <i>duy-ma</i> | <i>ngamanda-wu</i> |
| | 2SG/3SG-put-PST | heap-PS | what-DAT |

‘What did you heap it up for?’.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (284) | <i>yirr-ngu-ndi-wan</i> | <i>mayin</i> | <i>gila</i> | <i>ngamanda</i> | <i>layin</i> |
| | 1EX NSG-eat-PST-DF | food-ABS | indeed | what-ABS | game-ABS |
| | <i>nana</i> | <i>walanja</i> | | | |
| | that-ABS | goanna-ABS | | | |

‘And we ate vegetable food, what game? that [was] goanna’.

In the excerpt (284) the speaker was recalling an actual incident and asking, “What game animal?” (did we eat on that occasion); and having thought about it, supplies the answer “that (was) goanna” (note use of the Proximate demonstrative here, see 7.2.).

“What?” more often than not is suffixed with one of the emphatic or indefinite suffixal elements discussed in 7.5.5. – 7.5.7., and there is further exemplification of it in those sections.

7.5.3. 'Where'? *guda*

'Where?' *guda* has an inflectional paradigm similar to that of the direction terms (7.4.). The morphological absolutive form may be used either where the sense is static (as in "Where are you?"), or directional ("Where are you going?"). There is also an explicitly directional, Allative-marked form *guda-rlan*, and Ablative *gudang-ba*. "Where?" is also, however, found suffixed with the ordinary Locative (*gudang-nya*) as in:

- (285) *nga-gi-ndi* *gej-ba* *gudang-nya* *0-we-ndi*
 1SG-AUX-PST ask-PS where-LOC 3SG-fall-PST

'I asked him where he fell'.

Like the Immediate and Proximate demonstratives (7.2.), *guda* may be suffixed with an Article-like suffix *-ni*, *guda-ni* 'where?', either static or directional.

- (286) *guda* *mulurru* *0-yanggi* *guda* *mulurru*
 where old woman-ABS 3SG-go-PST where old woman-ABS
0-yanggi *marla* *gila*
 3SG-go-PST again indeed

'Where has old woman gone? where has old woman gone? [he said] over and over again'.

- (287) *guda-ni* *wurr-(y)anggi* *jurd-ba* *nga-bu-wa* *go*
 where-ART 3NSG-go-PST point-PS 1SG-AUX-FUT 3SG DAT

'I have to point out to him where they went', or 'Where did they go? I have to show him'.

- (288) *guda* *ngamanda-yi* *birdij* *ngan-gi-we*
 where what-ERG find 3SG/1SG-AUX-FUT

'Where is something going to find me?'.

(288) illustrates the simultaneous use of two interrogatives within the clause.

- (289) *guda-rlan* *yanja* *darni* *yibiyān*
 where-ALL 3-3SG-go-PRES yonder-ABS man-ABS

'Where is that man going?'.

- (290) *jorr-ma* *nu-gi-wuya* *guda-rlan* *0-yanggi*
 track-PS 2NSG-AUX-DU where-ALL 3SG-go-PST

'You track where it went'.

- (291) *gudang-ba* *ya-wud-janga-n*
 where-ABL 3-3NSG-come-PRES

'Where are they coming from?'.

“Where” may be Originative-suffixed to question provenance (as place of birth), or recent provenance, even occurring in construction with a Source-suffixed nominal, as in the phrase *gudang-jila wu-jaba-wunba* ‘from which house?’

7.5.4. ‘When?’ *nyangurlang*

‘When?’ is expressed by the interrogative *nyangurlang*, which looks as if it might be analyzed as containing an irregular form of the (directional) Allative suffix. However, the proposed initial stem is not otherwise attested.

- (292) *nyangurlang* *ya-0-jingi-n* *waring-ma* *wirrig-bi*
 when 3-3SG-be-PRES open-PS tomorrow-ART

‘What time is it open tomorrow?’.

- (293) *nyangurlang* *duba* *ya-wurr-bu-n*
 when shut 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES

‘When do they shut it?’.

- (294) *oliba-wu* *0-nyanga-ndi* *gej-ba-warra* *nyangurlang*
 [Oliver]-DAT 3SG-come-PST ask-PS-ADV when
ya-wu-di-yan *wurren*
 3-3NSG-bring-POT child-ABS

‘He came for Oliver asking when they might bring the child’.

7.5.5. ‘What kind?’, ‘how many?’ *gun.garr-ma*

The interrogative *gun.garr-ma* may be used to question a nominal, in relation to which it is understood to mean “what kind of X?” A common question of this kind is:

- (295) *gun.garr-ma* *madin*
 what kind-PS word-ABS

‘What’s the word?’

This is used in the sense “What’s the news?”, “What’s happened?”, “What did they say?”, and the like.

This interrogative may also be used in a more general sense, not to question a particular nominal, but (often with indefinite suffix, see 7.5.7.) to ask “what kind?” of an entire proposition. Used in this way, it can be meant to express, for example, “how many?”

- (296) *gun.garr-ma-warda* *yanan* *yibiwan* *wud-janga-ndi* *yi-jad-bi*
 what kind-PS-INDEF thus man-ABS 3NSG-come-PST YI-big-ART
mululurru *bangbu-wayana*
 old woman rdp-ABS woman-and all

‘What was it like? a whole lot of people like this came, old women and women and all’.

Ordinarily the form is as given, exhibiting a suffix which may be identified with the usual verb particle suffix *-ba ~-ma*. Without this, and suffixed with nominal derivational suffix *-wari* (see 12.2.), there is a resulting form which also means “what kind? what sort? what manner of thing?”, and from this general sense, may also be understood in context to mean “what colour?”.

- (297) *gej-ba* *nga-gi-ndi* *mulurru* *gun.garr-wari*
 ask-PS 1SG-AUX-PST old woman-ABS what kind-NOM
magulu *gaba gaba* *nyanga jurd-ba* *nga-bu-wa* *yinggi*
 cheeky yam-ABS here here come show-PS 1SG-AUX-FUT 2SG DAT
 ‘I asked the old woman “What sort of thing is *magulu*?” “Here here, come on, I’ll have to show you”’.

7.5.6. Emphatic (question) suffix *-gula*

In this and the following two sub-sections three suffixes are discussed which occur with interrogative expressions and contribute different sorts of modal flavourings. The first of these, *-gula*, appears to be the most emphatic and demanding of response (and/or agreement), perhaps equivalent in feeling-tone to a loudly-spoken “that’s right?”. Its emphatic character is indicated by the fact that it is one of the few words in the language which is often followed by phonetic glottal stop – another is the question tag *ale* (12.4.1.). Its distribution, however, distinguishes it from the latter, in that *-gula* as recorded generally has a single (nominal) element or phrase within its scope and not an entire proposition, as *ale* may. *-gula* is also phrase-final, and not followed by any grammatical suffix; in this it differs from another question suffix *-gan*, discussed in the next section.

Examples of *-gula* are:

- (298) *ngan-gerne-rri* *birrg* *mayin* *ngamanda-warang-gula*
 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST take away food-ABS what-having-ABS-EMPHQ
 ‘He took away my food from me, whatever for!’

- (299) *gudang-ba-gula* *baraj-ba-gula* *0-nyanga-ndi* *ale* *marluga*
 where-ABL-EMPHQ far-ABL-EMPHQ 3SG-come-PST TAG old man
 ‘Where from, it came from far away, didn’t it, old man?’

(299) was a question put by a speaker to another person present during the narration of a mythological story, and the speaker was more or less demanding confirmation of his version of events from the other.

- (300) *guda-ni-gula* *jinbiya* *berrg* *0-nyanga-ndi*
 where-ART-EMPHQ [place] past 3SG-come-PST
 ‘Where, it came past Jinbiya?’.

The context of (300) was the same as that of (299).

(301)	<i>0-nge-ny-ga</i>	<i>gin.gina-yi</i>	<i>yinggi</i>	<i>mobonyi</i>
	3SG-tell-PST-SUB	[name]-ERG	2SG-DAT	night
	<i>yinggiya-gula</i>	<i>bili mak</i>	<i>nan-garr</i>	<i>nganburr-ga-ndi</i>
	who-ABS-EMPH	[Billy Muck]	that-ALL	3NSG/1SG-take-PST

‘The one Gin.gina named to you last night, who [was that]! Billy Muck! they took me to him’.

(301) occurred in the context of a night-time recording session in which the speaker was recounting some events in relation to which she wanted to recall the name of a particular old man. She knew the old man had been named (to the writer) the previous night, and this is presumably the feeling-tone in terms of which *-gula* may be understood here, that is: you all know who I’m trying to name, say it!

Although *-gula* is almost always found suffixed to interrogative words and phrases, there are instances which appear to be emphatic but not necessarily interrogative, e.g.,

(302)	<i>banggin-gula</i>	<i>ya-wurr-(y)uju</i>	<i>ngojgoj-ba</i>
	back-ABS-EMPH	3-3NSG-AUX	ache/be stiff

‘Their backs ache!’.

In this sense *-gula* appears similar if not identical in its meaning contribution to another emphatic suffix *-ga* (see 12.4.3.).

7.5.7. Question suffix *-gan*

A relatively milder and extremely common interrogative suffix is *-gan*. By “milder” is meant that its feeling-tone is such that the speaker appears more to be inquiring of himself or herself, rather than intrusively trying to elicit a response from an interlocutor. This quality is no doubt linked to the fact that forms with *-gan* are often of the “whatchamacallit” sort, in which the speaker is seeking to remember something, but is searching for the missing item himself or herself, and not really expecting anyone else to supply it. Distributionally, too, *-gan* differs from *-gula* in that it may be followed by grammatical affixes (case-suffixes, etc.), in which case inflections are added to the form *-ga-*. *-gan* forms are most common with *ngamanda* ‘what’, *yinggiya* ‘who’, and also with the mode particle (12.2.4.) *yilama* ‘maybe, (X) thinks that’:

(303)	<i>ma-birral</i>	<i>0-ba-ndi-ya</i>	<i>ngamanda-ga-yi</i>	<i>wurr-ginye-rri-ya</i>
	MA-dry-ABS	3SG-burn-PST-NAR	what-Q-INST	3NSG-cook-PST-NAR
	<i>wu-munburra-yi</i>	<i>jabalawarna-yi</i>		
	WU-stone-INST	flat stone-INST		

‘It dried now, with what’s-that did they cook it? with/on a stone, A big flat stone’

- (304) *ngamanda-ga-warra* *mayi-warra* *buda-warra* *yingilga-warra*
 what-Q-ADV food-ADV plum-ADV juice-ADV
nganbu-dagbarla-rri
 3NSG/1SG-have-PST

‘With what’s-that? they kept me with the juice of black plum’.

In (304) the speaker was explaining how, when she was a child, in the interests of making her mature quickly, older female relatives kept applying the juice of black plum to her pubis, and by this intended to encourage the growth of pubic hair.

- (305) *jigurra* *yingyi* *go* *mernde-wunba* *poli*
 [name] [name]-ABS 3SG-DAT white-SOU [Polly]
yinggiya-gan *wuluwari* *jini* *yinggiya-gan* *ngurluman* *modi*
 who-ABS-Q [name] [Jinny] who-ABS-Q [name] [Maudie]

‘Jigurra, her name in English was Polly, and who’s that? Wuluwari [was] Jinny, and who’s that? Ngurluman [was] Maudie’.

- (306) *borre* *ngeng-me-ndi* *yilama-gan* *ngani-werreny-bu-rri*
 dream 1SG/2SG-AUX-PST maybe-Q 2SG/1SG-ensorcell-PST
mejern
 stomach-ABS

‘I had a dream about you [that] you might have ensorcelled my stomach’.

- (307) *yijarlu* *yilama-gan* *yayi-wud-janga-n* *yayi-wurr-me*
 some-ABS maybe-Q IRR3-3NSG-come-PRES IRR3-3NSG-take
ngarrugu *laglan*
 1INPL-GEN-ABS camp/belongings-ABS

‘Some people might come and take our things’.

- (308) *ya-wurr-(y)anajana* *yawanyayn* *dang-guya* *bangbu-wuya*
 3-3NSG-AUX rdp-PRES whisper that-DU-ABS woman-DU-ABS
yilama-gan *yi-mum-gu* *wurrugu*
 maybe-Q YI-eye-DAT 3NSG-DAT

‘Those two women keep on whispering, I reckon about their boyfriends’.

- (309) *yilama-gan* *wiyan* *lege* *yayi-0-jingi-ndi* *yarluba*
 maybe-Q rain-ABS one-ABS IRR3-3SG-be-PST pregnant

‘Maybe she’s been pregnant for one wet season ...’.

(309) was said in the context of telling a story about the fear women used to have of the evil eye, or men’s malignant gaze, when they were pregnant. The speaker has constructed an hypothetical situation, in which a woman had been pregnant for several months, and she continues as in the example.

7.5.8. Indefinite suffix *-warda*

Another suffix which contributes a slightly different tone than *-gula* and *-gan* is *-warda*. This cannot be properly described as just an interrogative suffix, although it is very common with interrogative words and phrases. It is a more general flavouring element of the “interpersonal” dimension, and expresses either broad and slightly querulous interrogation of the “what in the world?” kind (i.e., which suggests that the event or thing is unusual, there may be a wide, unforeseen range of possible answers, and the like), and often (with non-interrogative elements) a tone of exasperation or end-of-tether. Where it leaves open a wide range of possibilities, it is often best translated indefinitely, “somewhere/something-or-other”, and the like. A sizeable set of examples is given to help establish the range of this suffix. Note from some of these that *-warda* is final, occurring after any non-zero nominal or other affixes.

- (310) A: *yi-mum* *nganu* *ngan-da-n*
 YI-eye-ABS 1SG-DAT 3 SG/1SG-see-PRES
- B: *yilgbayi-warda* *dagbarla* *yinyang* *wonggo* *yi-marmany-garang*
 OK-EMPH have 2SG-ABS neg YI-husband-having-ABS
- A: ‘He’s making eyes at me’, ‘He’s making up to me’.
- B: ‘All right then! keep him! you don’t have a husband’.

This scenario was enacted by two women telling of their younger days in which they had both been interested in the same man. One of them alleges that she told the other the man seemed to be favouring her with his ocular attentions. The other alleges she responded in some exasperation, “All right then! Keep him!”.

- (311) *ya-wurr-nge-yi-n* *menyin* *ngamanda-wunya-warda*
 3-3NSG-argue MED-PRES anger-ABS what-DISS-EMPH
- ‘They’re arguing in earnest, whatever for!’
- (312) *ngarl* *ya-wu-da-n* *ngamanda-warda* *yilama* *yibiyani*
 bark 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES what-ABS-EMPH maybe man-ABS
- yilama* *bulugi* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *wiya-warr*
 maybe cow-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES water-ALL
- ‘They’re barking, whatever at! maybe a man or a cow is coming to water’.
- (313) *yijarlu-warda* *yarrulan* *yi-mum* *ya-wu-da-n*
 some ABS-EMPH young-ABS YI-eye-ABS 3-3NSG-see-PRES
- ya-wurr-ya* *gayardung* *jirri-warang*
 3-3NSG-go-PRES run love magic-having-ABS
- ‘Certain kinds of young people attract sweethearts and run off with them’.

In (313) *-warda* contributes a tone of reprehensibility of the young people who do as stated, perhaps also to be rendered as ‘some of these young people ...’.

- (314) *yinggiya-warda nana mernden*
 who-ABS-EMPH that-ABS white man-ABS

‘Who in the world was that European?’

(314) occurred as a speaker was recounting a story and attempting to remember the name of a well-known European in the area.

- (315) *warramarlg-ba ma-nu-wudba nganu dubuluj ngamanda-wu-warda*
 overturn-PS HAB-2NSG-AUX 1SG-DAT bag-ABS what-DAT-EMPH
ma-nu-jarram-bu-n-ga yilama wu-munburra-wu
 HAB-2NSG-look for-PRES-SUB maybe WU-money-DAT

‘You lot are always turning my bag upside down, what in the world are you always looking around for, maybe money’.

- (316) *yinggiya-mulu-warda durrurndung ya-wud-janga-n*
 who-PL-ABS-EMPH line up 3-3NSG-come-PRES

‘Who in the world are they coming in a line?’

- (317) *beng-marla ye-0-bewe-n ngamanda-yi-warda*
 snap-ITER 3-3SG-tread-PRES what-ERG-EMPH

‘What on earth is treading on/snapping things?’

(317) was said in the context of trying to identify something unseen that was moving about making noise and snapping dry twigs.

- (318) *yirlarlan baraj yiwarna-gari-warr lagla-warr nunja-warda*
 country far other-other-ALL place-ALL 2NSG go-EMPH
yirlarla-wujban
 country-AGT

‘It’s a long haul, you go to another place, you itchy-footed people!’

The sense and tone of (318) are: where you are thinking about going is a long way off, what do you keep travelling about for? go on if you must!

- (319) A: *nana-warda*
 that-ABS-EMPH
- B: *nana bago birdij ngarr-gi-ndi*
 that-ABS ID find 1INPL-AUX-PST

A: ‘Maybe that thing?’ or ‘Is that it?’

B: ‘That’s the one, we’ve found it’.

In (319), A asks using the *-warda* suffix whether an object might be the one sought after; the use of the suffix presumably leaves the matter wide open. The particle *bago* is often used in such a context, to confirm the identity of something yet with something mentally formulated (and perhaps sought after) but not previously to hand (see 12.4.2.).

(320)	<i>yirlorloban</i>	<i>dana</i>	<i>0-nyanga-ndi</i>	<i>gudang-ba-warda</i>
	taipan-ABS	this-ABS	3SG-come-PST	where-ABL-EMPH

‘Taipan came here, wherever from!’

-warda here qualifies sought-after information which the speaker cannot recall, and expresses some degree of querulousness at being unable to. A common mode of talking is to state positively that someone has gone, and then rather than asking “Where?” directly, to say something like *yilama-gan gudani-warda* ‘maybe somewhere-or-other’; or simply, *gudani-warda* ‘somewhere-or-other’, leaving it open for someone else to comment or suggest an answer.

There occur as free words or interjections the combinations *warda-gan*, conventionally used to mean ‘I don’t know’, or ‘might be like that’, ‘perhaps’; and also *gala-warda* with the same meaning (see 12.2.3. for the particle *gala*).

7.6. Adverbs

This chapter will conclude with brief examination of some important adverbial contrasts and pockets of adverbial morphology.

7.6.1. Temporal adverbials

Adverbs which designate time-sectors during the day, and sequence of days in relation to each other, do not form a coherent morphological set. Some parts of the days are designated by passage of the celestial bodies, and these are etymologically related to, often nearly identical to, verb particles which designate such passage. For the rest, the time-of-day adverbs are morphologically unanalyzable, with minor exceptions.

The following set may be listed and illustrated in part:

<i>gorromogon</i>	‘middle of the night, very early in the morning’
<i>gardarr-ma,</i> <i>gardarr-ma-warra</i>	‘sun-rise’
<i>dalgan</i>	‘early part of the day, day-time, full day’
<i>ngorrogorro</i>	‘afternoon, latter part of the day’
<i>juny-bi</i>	‘sun-set, early evening’
<i>mobonyi</i>	‘night-time’

The forms *gardarr-ma* and *juny* are particles which designate the rising and setting of the sun (the latter often *juny-ma*). The first form, “middle” or “deep night”, may be illustrated by the following:

(321)	<i>gorromogon</i>	<i>ngarr-gurrqba-wan</i>	<i>wirrig</i>	<i>ngarr-(y)ingbe</i>
	deep night	1INPL-sleep-DF	tomorrow	1INPL-go FUT

‘It’s the middle of the night when we sleep, tomorrow we must go’.

- (322) *gorromogon-bi* *ngarr-gaju-n* *baraj* *ngarr-(y)ingbe*
 deep night-ART 1INPL-rise-PRES far 1INPL-go-FUT

'We'll get up very early/in the night, we have a long way to go'.

The form *gardarr-ma* has the variants *gardarr-ma-wu*, usually used with reference to 'towards dawn, towards sun-rise', and *gardarr-wi*, usually used to designate the extended night-time and meaning 'all night' (e.g., up until dawn). Examples of some of these forms are:

- (323) *milijurn* *yi-jad* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *gardarr-ma-wu*
 star-ABS YI-big-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES rise-PS-DAT
gardarr-ma *ya-0-bu-n* *ngarr-(y)ingbe* *wirrig-bi* *juny-ma*
 rise-PS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES 1INPL-go FUT early-ART set-PS
yayinyji
 IRR3-3SG-AUX

'A big star is coming up towards dawn, day is breaking, we have to go early before/lest the sun go down'.

- (324) *bandimi* *ya-wurr-ga-n* *gardarr-wi* *mululurru-yi*
 [song] 3-3NSG-take-PRES dawn-ART old women rdp-ERG

'The old women dance bandimi all night'.

- (325) *nga-la-rri* *gardarr-wi* *garlirli-yi*
 3SG/1SG-bite-PST dawn-ART mosquito-ERG

'Mosquitoes bit me all night'.

- (326) *dalgan* *marninggani* *bulgu* *ya-0-jingi-n*
 day sun-ABS middle 3-3SG-be-PRES

'*Dalgan* is when the sun is in the middle'.

That the major night-day contrast corresponds to the difference between *dalgan* and *mobonyi* is illustrated by (327), a description of a kind of spirit:

- (327) *mobonyi* *ya-wud-janga-n* *yo-yi-yin* *dalgan*
 night 3-3NSG-come-PRES spear-NOM-PURP day
ya-wurr-ya *wabaja*
 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES vanish

'At night they come to spear [people], by day they disappear'.

- (328) *ngorrogorro-wan* *bayjurrurru* *juny-ma* *yanja* *gayawarr*
 afternoon-DF go down set-PS 3-3SG-go-PRES nearly

'[When] it's *ngorrogorro* the sun is nearly going down'.

Another form derived from the particle *juny-ma* ‘set’ (of sun) is *juny-ma-wu* ‘until sun-set’. Just as *gardarr-wi* means the extent of time until dawn, so *juny-bi* is used to mean ‘up to dark’, or that period of time until the sun sets. In (329) the two forms given are equivalents:

- (329) *juny-bi/juny-ma-wu-min* *ngayi-jingi-ndi* *ngorlog-ba*
 set-ART/set-PS-DAT-ADV 1INDU-sit-PST talk-PS
 ‘We sat and talked until sun-set’.

- (330) *mobonyi* *morr* *ya-0-yana*
 night dark 3-3SG-AUX-PRES
 ‘It’s dark at night’.

Adverbs designating the relation of days to each other include: *gaya* ‘today’, or ‘right now’ (a shifter); *wirrig* ‘early in the morning’, ‘next day’, hence ‘tomorrow’; *ngiwa* ‘yesterday’. Forms based on these include *wirrig-(g)ari* ‘tomorrow night, next day’, also *wirrigayla* of the same meaning (evidently a suffix *-gayla*, but otherwise unattested); *ngiwan-bi* ‘another day before’, hence often equivalent to ‘day before yesterday’. Built on *gaya* is the important interjection *gayawun*, understood to mean ‘still, for a while’, and used as interjection, ‘just a minute!’, ‘wait!’, ‘hang on!’ and the like.

- (331) *gayawun-bi* *yibi* *wonggo* *0-ngegba-rri* *yum-nyi*
 still-ART live-ABS neg 3SG-die-PST stick-INST
yi-bam *deb* *nu-bu*
 YI-head-ABS hit 2NSG-AUX

‘He’s still alive, he hasn’t died, hit him on the head with a stick’.

- (332) *yirr-ya* *gayawun* *ngo-yongi-we*
 1EX NSG-go PRES still 1SG/3SG-farewell-FUT
 ‘Let’s go, I still want to say good-bye to him’.

- (333) *nga-gaju-rri* *ngayugu* *nurrug-bulu* *nu-gurrgba-rri* *nganunya*
 1SG-rise-PST 1SG ABS 2NSG-PL-ABS 2NSG-sleep-PST 1SG DISS
gayawun-bi
 still-ART

‘I got up, you all were still sleeping on me’.

Examples of some of the other forms are:

- (334) *wirrig* *ya-0-nyanga-yan* *gadala* *wirrigayla* *ya-wud-janga-yan*
 tomorrow 3-3SG-come-POT [name] next day 3-3NSG-come-POT
mululug-garang
 initiand-having-ABS

‘Gadala may come tomorrow, and the next day they may come with the initiand’

- (335) *0-nyanga-ndi* *ngiwa* *ngorrogorro*
 3SG-come-PST yesterday afternoon
 ‘He came yesterday afternoon’.

Another term which designates ‘in a few days’ time, a few days ‘time from now’, is *ngoyogoyonbi*.

Other common temporal adverbs include those designating indefinitely long expanses of time, e.g., *bulju* and *burrugawi* ‘long ago’, *jandangbi* ‘for good, forever, definitively’; and those designating repetition or iteration such as *jajali* ‘all the time, frequently’.

- (336) *bulju-wi* *0-yanggi* *yiwarna* *gandawag* *ya-0-nyanga-yan*
 long ago-ART 3SG-go-PST other moon-ABS 3-3SG-come-POT
lurrbu *murrgun-barra* *gandawag-barra*
 back three-ADV moon-ADV
 ‘He went a long time ago, last month, he might come back in three months’ time’.

- (337) *nga-jawe-yi-n* *nga-jingi-n* *duba* *jandangbi*
 1SG-be tired MED-PRES 1SG-AUX-PRES sit for good
nge-werrba
 1SG-rest-PRES
 ‘I’m tired, I’m going to sit down for good, and rest’.

- (338) *burrugawi* *yirr-ngu-ndi* *yirr-waja-rri-wan*
 long ago 1EX NSG-consume-PST 1EX NSG-leave-PST-DF
jandang-bi *wonggo* *yirr-gerle-n* *yugurni* *ngawun*
 for good neg 1EX NSG-taste-PRES more nothing
 ‘Before we used to drink and we gave it up for good, now we don’t touch it at all any more’.

7.6.2. Adverbs of manner

Contrasting common adverbs of manner are *marnungurru* ‘hard, forcefully, loudly’ etc., and *miyarra* ‘gently, softly’, and the like.

- (339) *yi-mum* *daw* *yanja* *marnungurru* *nu-me* *jilig-ba*
 YI-eye-ABS tight 3-3SG-AUX-PRES hard 2NSG-AUX wake-PS
 ‘He’s sleeping soundly, wake him up hard(er)/forcefully’.
- (340) *miyarra/marnungurru* *ngorlogba* *wurrugu*
 softly/loudly talk 3NSG-DAT
 ‘Talk softly/loudly to them’.

7.6.3. Adverbs of motion and location

As noted in Chapter 4 and at the beginning of this chapter, there is little distinctive adverbial morphology, and many of the forms that functionally one might classify as adverbs can be formally similar to particles (e.g., can take the final particle suffix *-ba~ -ma*). Illustratively one might take the forms *borle* and *malang* ‘across, cross over’, and *bulgu* ‘in the middle’. The first seem to be approximately synonymous, but while the first is commonly found with particle suffix *-ma*, the latter is not:

(341) *malang/borle/borle-ma ya-0-jingin*

‘He’s sitting on the other side, opposite’.

Borle also has a commonly-used reduplicative form *borlerlewurlang*, which may equally be used with particle suffix.

Bulgu, on the other hand, is not found with particle suffix, but often with the article:

(342) *marninggani bulgu ya-0-jingi-n*
sun-ABS middle 3-3SG-be-PRES

‘It’s mid-day’.

(343) *wud-janga-ndi dami-rlan bulgulgu-wi*
3NSG-come-PST here-ALL middle rdp-ART

‘They were coming this way in the middle’ [i.e., taking a short-cut].

An important contrast is that between location or movement “outside”, versus location or movement “inwards”. There is an adverb *warlarrgu* ‘outside’, and one *warljub* ‘inside’, but even more importantly for the first dimension is a particle plus AUX combination *werr bu-*, ‘to emerge, move outside, outwards’. This may be used, for example, in description of travel (by people, or dreamings) to designate emergence (from the bush, into a place of habitation, or the like, into the visible world in the case of dreamings). This combination is used very commonly, much more so than, for example, the particle plus AUX combination *wululu we-*, which means ‘to go inside, go in’ (to a structure, cave, or the like). See further comments on this contrast at 10.14.

7.6.4. *Yani-ma* ‘thus’ and related forms

There is a small set of adverbs all of which exhibit stems of the form *yana-* or *yani-*, and all of which are deictics which function to point to something emergent within the speech situation, and have meanings “thus, like this”, and so on. The basic forms are *yani-ma* ‘thus’, *yanan*, ‘thus’, and *yanin* ‘at this time’. Examples of these are:

(343) *wunggun-ngu-ndi-ya lege-wagbawun wurren yani-ma-wan*
3SG/3NSG-consume-PST-NAR one-lacking child-ABS thus-PS-DF
nunu-gun-ngu wiya-yi
IRR2NSG-drown water-INST

'It's drowned not just one child [i.e., many], and it's like that that you might drown'.

- (344) *dugban* *mordori-warang* *yani-ma-yi* *burrburg-bari*
[insect] tail-having-ABS thus-PS-ADV spotted-NOM

'*Dugban* has a tail like that, spotted one'.

- (345) *ngana-wurr-nge-yi-n* *yani-ma-yi* *yi-menje-wuya-ga*
3HT-3NSG-argue MED-PRES thus-PS-ADV YI-dangerous-DU-ABS-EMPH

'Let them argue like that, the two of them are cheeky'.

Yani-ma formally looks like an adverb or verb particle, and is the basis of an adjectival nominal stem *yaniman* 'one like that':

- (346) *nana* *yi-yaniman-bi* *wu-donyman*
that-ABS YI-thus-ABS-ART WU-crooked

'It is like that, [it is] crooked'.

Yanan means 'thus, like that':

- (347) *yanan-ga-yi*
thus-EMPH-ADV

'It's just like that'.

- (348) *yanan-gu* *ya-wud-jingi-n* *guyanin-gu,* *guyanin* *miwinin*
thus-DAT 3-3NSG-sit-PRES two-DAT two-ABS sleep-ABS

'They will stay [for] thus [many], for two days'.

- (349) *widinywidiny-ma* *ngan-da-n* *minini-yi* *yanan*
wag tail-PS 3SG/1SG-AUX-PRES dog-ERG thus
wolo-ya *yilama* *linin* *birdij* *0-gi-ndi*
grass-LOC maybe snake-ABS find 3SG-AUX-PST

'The dog is wagging its tail at me like that in the grass, maybe it's spotted a snake'.

Yanin indexes time, 'at this time', 'at a time like this':

- (350) *yirrwun-dagbarlagbarla-n* *lagla-ya* *yanin* *mad-barra*
1EX NSG/3NSG-keep rdp-PRES camp-LOC this time word-ADV
ya-0-nyanga-n *lege* *yibiwan*
3-3SG-come-PRES one-ABS man-ABS

'Like around this time they always keep them in camp, and one man comes with the word' [about what to do next].

- (351) *yanin* *0-nyanga-ndi* *ngiwa* *ngorrogorro*
this time 3SG-come-PST yesterday afternoon

'He arrived around this time yesterday afternoon'.

In the same meaning the article-suffixed form *yanin-bi*, and also adverbially-suffixed form *yaning-barra* are also common:

- (352) *wurre-wu* *yanggun-gelewu-n-ga* *yaning-barra*
 child-DAT 3-3SG/3NSG-send-PRES-SUB this time-ADV
ya-wurr-ga-n *bandimi*
 3-3NSG-take-PRES [song]

‘When he sends them for the child, that’s the time they have bandimi’.

7.6.5. ‘Once’ *legegun*

As noted in 5.2.3., most of the forms expressing “X number of times” take the Dative suffix. Only that built on the numeral *lege* ‘one’ shows the ending *-gun*, *legegun* ‘once’, and this may be assumed to be an isolated adverbial ending, or perhaps relatable to the adjectival ending *-gun* ~ *-wun* (see 9.4.).

A related form, *legegu-min* ‘sporadically, once in a while’ additionally shows the ending to be discussed in the following section.

7.6.6. Adverbial ending *-min*

An adverbial final suffix *-min* may be added to a number of different parts of speech, often with little isolable contribution to meaning. The suffix sometimes may be glossed “in the direction of”, “in the manner of”, or “up until”. It is frozen lexically in a number of forms including the numeral *guyamin* ‘two’, the adverb *jangbuwarrmin* ‘in vain, for nothing’, and apparently the demonstrative *damin* ‘here’ (see 7.2.). As noted in 7.6.5., the form *legegumin* means ‘sporadically, once in a while, now and again, sometimes’.

- (353) *legegumin* *yi-bam-nya* *nga-ga-ndi*
 sometimes YI-head-LOC 1SG-take-PST

‘Sometimes I would carry it on my head’.

- (354) *legegumin* *nganja* *wonggo* *ma-nganja* *yi-wolmagolman*
 sometimes 1SG-go-PRES neg HAB-1SG go-PRES YI-constant rdp-ABS

‘I go once in a while, I don’t go all the time’.

- (355) *juny-ma-wu-min* *ngayi-jingi-ndi* *ngorlog-ba*
 set-PS-DAT-ADV 1INDU-sit-PST talk-PS

‘We sat and talked until sunset’, ‘right up until sunset’.

- (356) *ngarr-ya* *langgan-garr* *yimiyang-garr-min* *wu-jad-garr*
 1INPL-go-PRES billabong-ALL same-ALL-ADV WU-big-ALL

‘Let’s go to the same big billabong’.

(356) illustrates how *-min* may occur on only one constituent of a nominal phrase.

- (357) *ngayinyja* *weliny-garr-min*
 1INDU-go Weliyn-ALL-ADV
 ‘Let’s go to/towards Weliyn’.

- (358) *ngarr-waja* *wirrig-(g)u-min*
 1INPL-leave tomorrow-DAT-ADV
 ‘Let’s leave it for tomorrow’.

A perfectly usual alternative to (358) is with *wirrig-(g)u*, and without the final suffix.

- (359) *nu-linyje* *ngarrugu* *gajarrang-garr-min*
 2NSG-cut 1INPL-DAT wax-ALL-ADV
 ‘You cut it for us right up to the wax part’.

- (360) *nugurn-garr-min* *ngan-waja-rrri*
 sleep-ALL-ADV 3SG/1SG-leave-PST
 ‘He left me [as I was] sleeping’.

As some of the examples show, *-min* often seems to have a liminal component of meaning ‘right up to’ whatever is designated by the nominal, particle, or adverb to which it is suffixed. Conceivably this suffix is relatable to the verbal suffix *-min* in Wakiman, which Cook (1987: 184) glosses ‘progressive aspect’.

7.6.7. Secondary adverbs

A few common adverbs are worthy of mention as “secondary”, that is derived from basically adverbial forms by means of nominal case-suffixes. The processes involved are not regular, but examples include: *gurru-ya* ‘later’, built from the adverb *gurru* of the same meaning by addition of the Locative case suffix; *marla-warr* ‘over and over, again’, built from what is elsewhere (8.13.) an iterative verbal suffix by means of the Allative case-suffix; and *yijarlu-warr* ‘sometimes’, built from the adjectival nominal stem *yijarlu* ‘some’, again with the Allative suffix.

Chapter 8

Categories of the finite verb, and the verb in the clause

8.1. Introduction: Verbal construction types

There are two common types of verbal construction in Wardaman. One has as its main constituent a finite verb which by itself expresses the lexical verbal content of the clause. It carries pronominal adjuncts in keeping with the transitivity structure of the clause which the verb partly instantiates, and marking for a number of verbal categories including tense-mood-aspect, and possibly others such as subordination. Finite verbs may be divided into a number of different formal types, based on shape and analyzability (see following).

The second kind of construction is one which consists of a verb particle and inflecting verb. The verb particle, an interesting, multi-functional part of speech, is the basis of formation of a number of types of adclausal complements (see 11.4.). But for the moment we will consider it only as part of the verbal construction. In such particle+ finite verb structures, often most of the lexical verbal content of the clause is associated with the particle, while the lexical contribution of the finite verb may vary. We might think of the possible internal relation of particle and finite verb as a spectrum, with variation along it in terms of the semantic specificity versus generality of the verb. Where the verb is highly general, it may seemingly contribute only to specification of the transitivity of the clause, but very little to lexical meaning. Where the verb is semantically more specific and transparent in combination with the particle, it contributes both to the specification of transitivity in the clause, and to lexical meaning in a more readily analyzable way.

Most particles tend to be fairly specialized in their co-occurrence, that is, they occur with only one or a small number of inflecting verbs. But combinations tend to differ in the extent to which the meaning contributions of particle and verb can be assessed. An example is *birdij*, which in material recorded has been found with only two inflecting verbs. Its combination with the CV- root *gi-*, yields the meaning 'find, locate'. In construction with the CV- root *na-*, it means 'to spy, to find' (as, in the terms of Australian Aboriginal child-spirit concepts, a father or other relative is said to "find" a child, see Merlan 1986). Such examples present themselves more or less as idioms with respect to given meanings, in that the contribution to meaning cannot be neatly apportioned as between particle and finite verb. But such combinations have some degree of semantic transparency that can be assessed by looking at the meaning the finite verb may have as sole constituent of a verb phrase, and by comparing the various pairings of the particle with other finite verbs.

Most of the finite verbs that occur in such combinations as *birdij gi-* can occur by themselves as the main constituent in verbal constructions of the first type discussed above; and from their occurrence there, an independent lexical meaning can be established. By itself, the verb *gi-* means 'to put'; and *na-* 'to see'. We can therefore

appreciate that with respect to the combination *birdij gi-*, the second combination *birdij na-* may be analyzed as ‘finding by seeing’, or the like. But there seems to be no revealing way to further analyze the relationship between *birdij* and *gi-* in semantic terms.

In other cases of limited co-occurrence of particle with finite verbs, we may speak more confidently of the semantic contribution and relation to each other of the constituents. For instance, the particle *gayardung* ‘run’ may occur with verbs of motion *ya-* ‘go’ and *nyanga-* ‘come’, but we are able to say that the particle expresses a manner of movement, while the finite verbs differ in directionality.

It is not usual for a particle to commonly occur with more than several different finite verbs. An important grammatical feature that such alternative combinations may contribute to, or directly instantiate, is transitivity at the clause level. For example, the particle *birriwirlib* ‘roll, tumble’ with either main motion verb, ‘go’ or ‘come’ may only occur as part of an intransitive clause structure. However, with either *wudba-* (which by itself means ‘to throw’) or *bu-*, the combination can only occur within a transitive clause structure (with appropriate pronominal adjuncts, etc.). There are many ways in Wardaman that such intransitive/transitive pairs or sets with the same verb particle are implemented, and sometimes here an (at least partial) semantic compatibility between particle and co-occurring finite verb can be discerned by examining the set of possible pairings into which each particle may enter (as above, the two pairings with *birdij*). For instance, two common combinations into which the particle *bard* enters are: *bard wudba-* ‘throw down’, and *bard we-* ‘fall down’. From this can be discerned some of the semantic components associated with *bard* rather than with the finite verb, i.e., trajectory downwards. In another example, we find the combinations *barlarra gi-* ‘to hide’, and *barlarra jingi-* ‘to hide, be in hiding’, where the lexical semantics of the finite verbs (‘to put’ and ‘to be, sit’ respectively) are expanded into the difference between transitive and intransitive clause structures. Compare the different possibilities of pairing with *bod-ba* ‘visit’: with *na-* ‘see’, it means ‘to visit’; with *nyanga-* (otherwise ‘to come’) the pair means ‘come to visit’, and with *lawu-* (otherwise ‘to reach, get to, catch up to, fetch’), something like ‘visit with’.

There are many instances where alternative pairing does not change transitivity value, but rather subtly alters verbal semantics. The particle *birrij-ba* with *bu-* (by itself, ‘hit, strike’) means ‘to knead’; but with *me-* (otherwise, ‘to get’) means ‘to stir’. Both finite verbs determine transitive clause-level structures. Similarly, *bag-ba* with *ya-* (by itself ‘to go’) may be translated simply ‘to break’; but with *we-* (ordinarily, ‘to fall’) may be translated ‘fall and break, break in falling’. Both of the finite verbs here instantiate intransitive clause structures.

So far most of the examples have involved pairings in which the particle appears more specialized than the finite verb in its lexical semantics. We may say this on the basis that verbs like *gi-* and *bu-* occur in combination with many different particles, and in many instances the semantic contribution of the verb amounts to little more than the specification of general type of action, or minimally, determination of the transitivity of the clause. There are, however, pairings with what might be described as semantically more specific lexical verbs, which co-occurring particles seemingly further qualify. Here the verbs contribute not only transitivity, but a more specialized lexical meaning. An

example in point in the verb *bewe-* ‘to step on, tread upon’, which has been found paired with particles *bengmarla* in the meaning ‘to snap, break’, and *gilywaj* in the meaning ‘to trample’. See 8.19. for more detailed examination of causativization and other transitive/intransitive pairings.

Insofar as a finite verb appears to only specify transitivity and contribute little to predicate semantics, it is convenient to consider it an “Auxiliary” verb. In interlinear glosses, many finite verbs in particular constructions are so labelled. However, as we have seen, there is a variable degree to which finite verbs in particle+ verb constructions may be defined as having only an auxiliary function. Partly by examining alternative pairings with the same particle, additional degrees of predicate function and semantic contribution can be discerned.

It can also be seen that particles function to specify verbal semantics. The more fully they do so, the more limited they are in their possible pairings with finite verbs. The more generalized they are semantically, the greater are their possibilities of co-occurrence with a variety of lexical verbs. There is a point at which we want to call the more general modifiers “adverbs”, and as has already been indicated at several places in this description, there is no absolute line that can be drawn in Wardaman between verb particles and adverbs — both, for example, can form adclausal complements, but the latter are more limited in this respect. It is, however, useful to recognize a general difference between the two word-classes in the terms given.

Finite verbs fall into several different formal classes. There is a small but very important set of 15 or 16 CV roots (see 8.16.), all of these are of high frequency both as independent verbs, and most also as auxiliaries or supporting predicates in particle+ verb constructions. These are *ba-* ‘burn, thirst’, *bu-* ‘hit’, *ga-* ‘take’, *gi-* ‘put’, *la-* ‘bite’, *lu-* ‘cry’, *me-* ‘get’, *na-* ‘see’, *ni-* ‘bring’, *nge-* ‘sing’, *ngu-* ‘eat, consume’, *we-* ‘fall’, *wo-* ‘give’, *ya-* ‘go’, *yo-* ‘spear’, and *yu-*, copula (see 8.20.). The verb “go” is so irregular that it is not particularly useful to classify it as a CV- root, hence the alternative 15 or 16.

There are finite verbs of two syllables which are morphologically unanalyzable, or monomorphemic. Examples are *bewe-* ‘tread on’, *buju-* ‘to dig’, *gaju-* ‘to rise, grow’, *gerle-* ‘to taste’, *germe-* ‘to take away from’; *gewu-* ‘to shoo, chase away’, *gila-* ‘to water, douse’, *ginye-* ‘to cook’, *jingi-* ‘to sit’, *linyje-* ‘to cut’, *megbe-* ‘to snap’ *golo-* ‘to laugh at’, *menyje-* ‘to feel’, *mowo-* ‘to steal’, *ngenyje-* ‘to choke’, *nyanga-* ‘to come’, *waja-* ‘to leave’, *yana-* ‘to do, say’, *yeli-* ‘to call out’, and *yonga-* ‘to farewell’. Some of these show a suggestively similar final syllable, e.g., the final *-(ny)je-* in *linyje-* ‘cut’, *menyje-* ‘feel’, and *ngenyje-* ‘choke’, indicating that this may be historically analyzable.

Some verbs of two syllables, and all of three syllables or more, are morphologically analyzable into two parts, a variable initial element and a small set of inseparable, final auxiliary-like elements. These include the pairs *-ma* and *-ba* which are in complementary distribution depending on the stem-final element; *-wu* and *-bu*, also in complementary distribution; a small number of verbs with final element *-ma*, suggesting that this also may be historically separable; a small number of verbs with final syllable *-rla* some of which contrast with verbs which lack this element, and on the basis of which the final syllable may be seen as a transitivizing element; and a few verbs which contain a final syllable *-yi-* (post-nasal *-ji-*), identical with what is elsewhere the reflexive-reciprocal

marker, but which here must be defined as a formal marker of a small class of mediopassive verbs.

Where the syllable *-ma* occurs, the initial element may be analyzed as ending in any segment but a stop; the shape *-ba* follows stops. Examples are: *gurg-ba* ‘sleep’, *gayg-ba* ‘shout’, *barlirrg-ba* ‘sweep’, *bidbid-ba* ‘twirl fire-drill’, *borlorrod-ba* ‘spread out’, *jongorog-ba* ‘yawn’, *jornog-ba* ‘fill up’, *lorrod-ba* ‘sharpen’, *mowoj-ba* ‘sneak away’, *wud-ba* ‘throw’; *yerrb-(b)a* ‘be ashamed’, *yid-ba* ‘sharpen’, and *yurrg-ba* ‘feel’. Examples with final *-ma-* are: *jong-ma* ‘kiss’, *jorl-ma* ‘kick’, *murndi-ma* ‘mind, look after’, *newerr-ma* ‘be hungry’, *nginy-ma* ‘help’, *ngorr-ma* ‘grind’, *ngunyang-ma* ‘knead’, *warrang-ma* ‘swear’, *warrgany-ma* ‘mess up’, *born-ma* ‘bathe, wash’, and others. This final syllable, *-ba* or *-ma*, is probably to be seen as historically relatable to the final particle suffix of the same allomorphy (11.1.2.). Such a relationship is supported by the fact that there are some forms with this final syllable which are inflecting verbs, or alternatively may function as verb particles, e.g., finite *ngorlog-ba-*, and particle *ngorlogba*; or inflecting *born-ma-*, and particle *bornborn* ‘bathe’.

The shape *-wu* occurs after non-nasal sonorants, while *-bu* occurs after stops and nasals. Examples of each are: *bel-wu* ‘slice’, *jewu-* ‘show’, *lawu-* ‘get, fetch, reach’; versus *lid-bu* ‘sew’, *marn-bu* ‘make’, *yerrengej-bu* ‘rummage, make a mess of’, *jarran-bu* ‘look for’, *jijin-bu* ‘give work to, lay tasks upon’, *dem-bu* ‘peck at’. Historically, this final element is probably to be related to the finite independent verb *bu-*, but cannot be synchronically identified with it, as their past tense suffixes differ (e.g., *bel-wu-rri* ‘he sliced it’ versus *bu-ndi* ‘he hit it’).

The few verbs which end suggestively, for the purposes of historical analysis, in *-rna* are: *jomarna-* ‘to finish off’, *ledbarna-* ‘see’, and *wojbarna-* ‘listen’. This may be relatable to *na-* ‘see’.

The verbs which end in *-rla*, some of which also contrast with stems which lack the final syllable, are the following:

<i>gayg-ba-</i>	‘call out’ (intransitive) vs.	<i>gayg-ba-rla-</i>	‘call out to’
<i>biyima-rla-</i>	‘inflate’ (transitive)		
<i>dagba-rla-</i>	‘have’ (transitive)		
<i>wema-rla-</i>	‘vomit’ (something) vs.	<i>weniyi-</i>	‘vomit’

The small class of verbs called semantically “Mediopassive”, and which are constructionally intransitive, includes a number which do not contrast with a paired transitive verb, but a small number that do, however, as follows.

<i>jawe-yi-</i>	‘be tired’		
<i>lo-yi-</i>	‘dance’		
<i>jerri-yi-</i>	‘be cold’		
<i>la-yi-</i>	‘die’		
<i>garrany-jiyi-</i>	‘grow’		
<i>worlgbi-yi-</i>	‘work for, do work for’ vs.	<i>worlg-ba-</i>	‘roil’
<i>burla-yi-</i>	‘lie, tell lies, be a liar’ vs.	<i>burla-ma-</i>	‘lie to’
<i>wali-yi-</i>	‘be jealous of’ vs.	<i>wali-na-</i>	‘be jealous towards’
<i>weniyi-</i>	‘vomit’ vs.	<i>wemarla-</i>	‘vomit’ (something)

This element must evidently be seen historically as related to the reflexive-reciprocal marker, which intransitivizes the predicate where subject and object are co-referential or overlap, to create a formally intransitive clause. The segmentation of the form “to grow” is tentative, for it appears that there has been doubling of the mediopassive element.

A final, isolated final syllable is equivalent to the CV verb “to consume”, and occurs in *gun-ngu-* ‘drown’.

8.2. Overview of tense-aspect-mood categories

A main contrast within the system of verbal categories is that between Indicative and Irrealis tense-mood-aspect forms. Indicative forms are those in which there is no explicit qualification of the reality or eventuality of that which is designated by the predicate; Irrealis forms are those which are overtly so qualified. The distinction must be seen as one which is tailored to the linguistic categories, however, for not all Indicative forms designate “real” events. They are used rather to make predicate meanings in a way that involves no explicit qualification of the factuality or eventuality of what the predicate designates.

The Indicative categories are Present, Past, Future and Potential, each of which is described and illustrated in a separate section below. Each category is marked by one or more allomorphs, and the tense-mood-aspect categories in the language overall are highly regular and show little variation. The Present, Future and Potential forms have non-past *ya-* in first position within the inflecting verb in ‘third person’ forms, i.e., in those where the sole pronominal adjunct is third person, and in those in which both subject and object are third persons (see 6.6.). This initial non-past, third person prefix in the non-past categories contrasts with zero in the same position in the Past forms of the verb, e.g., *yanggun-bu-n* ‘he is hitting them’, versus *wunggun-bu-ndi* ‘he hit them’.

As a whole, the Indicative mood contrasts with Irrealis mood. Irrealis is directly signalled by first-position prefix(es) in the verb, in general *yayi-* for ‘third person’ forms (as above), and *yi-* for non-third person forms. There are also some differences from Indicative forms in person-marking pronominals (6.6.3. for further details). Irrealis prefixation may co-occur both with Present and Past tense marking, and further, with a zero-stem form, i.e., one with no explicit tense-aspect suffixation. Irrealis prefixation with Present forms of the verb expresses modal meanings of the sort “ought to”, and with negative particles (either *wonggo* or *warna*, 12.2.5.), meanings ‘should not’, and ‘cannot’ (either inability or physical and/or social constraint). Negative Imperatives in Wardaman (8.9.2.) are not formally distinguished from such forms. Irrealis prefixation with Past tense marking expresses past counterfactual meanings “meant to”, “ought to have”, and the like. Irrealis prefixation with zero-stem expresses mere possibility “may, might” (and contrasts with Potential, which expresses eventuality but without qualification of the reality of the event designated by the predicate). A particular use of the Irrealis zero-stem forms is in what may be called “admonitive” constructions, often best translated by use of English “lest”. There will be some illustration in this chapter of all of these forms and uses, and forward reference to discussion of conditional and other constructions in following chapters.

Most verbs in Wardaman have an invariable stem to which inflectional endings are added. Some, however, show a distinctive Future stem form, that is, a stem to which Future suffix is added. For those verbs which have distinctive Future stem, this is also found in Irrealis zero-suffix forms, i.e. with Irrealis prefixation and zero suffixation to the stem, to express mere possibility, and also in the admonitive semantic construction type mentioned above.

The verbs which have distinctive Future stem are all ones with final stem-vowel *a*: all those verbs with final syllable *-ma ~ -ba*, as well as *yana-* ‘say, do’, *nyanga-* ‘come’, and the irregular *ya-* ‘go’. (Not all stems with final *a*, however, have a distinctive Future stem; for example, *la-* ‘to bite’, *ga-* ‘to take’, *ba-* ‘to burn’, do not). To exemplify the relation between the regular and Future stem, and the Irrealis form with zero suffix, we can take the verb *nyanga-*: Present 3SG form *ya-0-nyanga-n*, FUT *ya-0-nyangi-we*, and zero-suffixed Irrealis form *yayi-0-nyangi* ‘lest he come’. The vowel of the regular stem is *a*, that of the Future stem, *i* (following which the Future suffix *-wa* becomes *-we*). In this sharing of stem by Future and (one of the) Irrealis paradigmatic forms, we see some indication of the historical nature of the Future as a sub-category of Irrealis mood. From this we may assume that the generalization of the *-wa* as Future suffix is a later development in the language, and that stem alternation is a relic of an earlier, somewhat different organization of tense-mood categories.

The Positive Imperative (8.7.) is neither Indicative nor Irrealis. “Hortative” (8.8.) constitutes a semantic category of forms of urging (“let us go”, “may he go” etc.), but the first-position prefix complex is distinctive only in third person forms. Otherwise, the prefix complex is not distinguished from that found in Indicative forms.

There is an Habitual verbal category (8.10.), which has been found to occur only with Present-tense suffixation on the verb, and may also have additionally non-past subordinate suffixation. As noted in 6.6.4., formally the Habitual prefix complex has much in common with the Irrealis mood category, but there is no reason to see Habitual synchronically as a sub-category of Irrealis. Final sections of this chapter describe reflexive-reciprocal marking, minor aspectual categories of the verb (marked by outer suffixes), and subordinate marking. There is also a discussion of the paradigm of the highly irregular verb “to go”.

8.3. Present tense

There are two Present tense suffixes in Wardaman, *-0* and *-n*. Those with the former allomorph include all verbs which have final syllable *-ma ~ -ba*, the verb *yana-* ‘say, do’, *waja-* ‘leave’, and the verb *ya-* ‘to go’. By far the majority of different formal types of verb stems (including those with final syllable *-wu ~ -bu*, *-rna-*, *-yi-*, all the CV- roots, the unanalyzable bisyllabic roots) have Present allomorph *-n*.

The Present is used to designate predicate meanings in non-past time, but not necessarily confined to the moment of the speech event. Present may designate that which is always so, that which is presently so, and that which is imminent, and thus assimilated to the present moment. Examples of the Present are:

- (361) *ngawun-gi-n* *yingawa* *yingawa* *yirr(w)un-gi-n*
 1SG/3NSG-put-PRES wC-ABS wC-ABS 1EX NSG-3NSG-put-PRES
yi-wangari *yimbangari* *jabiday* *jabijin* *yi-garrwa-wunba*
 [ss] [ss] [ss] [ss] YI-cousin-SOU
yimburrwarla-yi *yanggun-gi-n* *yingawa*
 [ss]-ERG 3SG/3NSG-put-PRES wC-ABS

'I call them *yingawa* [woman's child], we call *yiwangari* and *yimbangari*, *jabiday* and *jabijin* from a female cousin, an *yimburrwarla* woman calls them CHILD'.

- (362) *merleng* *ya-0-ba-n* *nu-gi* *yibumbu* *darib-a*
 light 3-3SG-burn-PRES 2NSG-put billy-ABS boil-PS
worroman-bi *yawu-lu-n* *wurre-nulu* *digirrij*
 fast-ART 3-3NSG-cry-PRES child-PL-ABS dead

'The light/flame is burning, you put the billy on fast, the kids are crying like mad'.

- (363) *bulu-yi* *dubudubul-ma* *ya-0-gi-n* *yibumbu*
 wind-ERG rattle-PS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES tin-ABS

'The wind is rattling the tin'.

- (364) *gandawag* *ya-0-jingi-n* *yi-bayin-barra-yi*
 moon-ABS 3-3SG-live-PRES YI-mother-in-law-ADV-ADV
dang-nulu *yinyganymirra* *yawurr-yu* *ngajbang*
 that-PL-ABS [ss]-ABS 3-3NSG-sleep-PRES self -ABS

'The moon lives with his mother-in-law, [and] those *yinyganymirra* women live by themselves'.

- (365) *ngan-gaygba-rla-n* *ngorlogba-wu*
 3SG/1SG-call to-PRES talk-DAT

'He's calling to me to [come and] talk'.

8.4. Past tense

There is a single Past category in Wardaman, with two allomorphs *-rri* and *-ndi*. The former occurs with the majority of verbs, including all those which end in final *-ma* ~ *-ba*, *-rla*, *-rna*, the Mediopassives, and those in *-wu* ~ *-bu*. The complete set of verbs which take the allomorph *-ndi* include many of the CV- roots, and three other high- frequency verbs: *ba-* 'burn, thirst', *bu-* 'hit', *ga-* 'take', *gi-* 'put', *megbe-* 'break, snap', *ngu-* 'eat', *nge-* 'sing', *me-* 'get', *wo-* 'give' and also *nyanga-* 'come' and *jingi-* 'sit'.

Thus the verbs with final syllable *-wu* ~ *-bu* for the Past have allomorph *-rri*, and differ in this respect from the independent verb *bu-*, with Past *-ndi*.

While Past may, depending on context, be understood to be either punctual or continuous, past iterative meaning can be explicitly marked with an additional suffix (see 8.13.).

- (366) *yi-munburra-warra* *gaya-gayardung* *wu-lawu-rri*
 YI-stone-ADV run rdp 3NSG-catch-PST
 ‘They ran and caught up to him, with/holding stones’.
- (367) *ngan-da-rri-wan* *birdij-ba* *yaning-barra* *0-jingi-ndi-ya*
 3SG/1SG-see-PST-DF find-PS then-ADV 3SG-be-PST-NAR
gadin-nya *nganinggin* *yibiwi*
 [garden]-LOC mine-GEN-ABS father-ABS
 ‘When he “found” me [i.e., when I was conceived], at that time my father was working in the garden’.
- (368) *legen-(n)yi* *jabarda-yi* *0-gi-ndi* *dijorrong-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi*
 one-ERG [ss]-ERG 3SG-AUX-PST play didgeridoo 3SG-come-PST
lagla-warr *gajigaji* *nana* *mernden* *0-gerne-rri-wan*
 camp-ALL walk rdp that-ABS white-ABS 2SG-AUX-PST-DF
marlugbarr *birrg*
 didgeridoo-ABS take away
 ‘One jabarda was playing the didgeridoo, and that whitefella came walking to the camp and took the digeridoo away’.
- (369) *dilyg-ba* *wud-jingi-ndi* *go* *led-ba* *wu-da-rri*
 wait-PS 3NSG-sit-PST 3SG-DAT watch-PS 3NSG-AUX-PST
yondorrin *go*
 road-ABS 3SG-DAT
 ‘They waited for him and watched the road for him’.
- (370) *garn-barra* *jumba* *ngayugu* *nga-jingi-ndi* *gunya* *banggin-ya*
 spear-ADV behind 1SG-ABS 1SG-sit-PST 3SG-DISS back-LOC
 ‘I sat behind his back, [he holding] a spear’.
- (371) *many-ma* *yin.gun-me-ndi-wuya* *yiwarna-mulu*
 aim-PS 3SG/1EXNSG-AUX-PST-DU other-PL-ABS
wud-jingi-ndi-ya *go* *dalala-ma*
 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR 3SG-DAT line up-PS
 ‘He took aim at the two of us, and others lined up for him’.

8.5. Potential

Potential is marked by the suffix *-yan*, and occurs with the Indicative non-past suffix *ya-* in third person forms.

Potential expresses predicate possibility, and is best translated with use of the English modals “may, might”. The category contrasts with Future in that the latter expresses future necessity rather than mere possibility of what is designated by the predicate, either because someone wills it, or because the action is otherwise formulated as being inevitable.

- (372) *nganja dij-bi nga-nyanga-yan wirrig*
 1SG-go-PRES one day-ART 1SG-come-POT tomorrow
 ‘I’m going for one day, I might come back tomorrow’.
- (373) *gurru yanggun-di-yan lurrbu yiwarna gandawag*
 later 3-3SG/3NSG-bring-POT home another-ABS moon-ABS
 ‘He may bring them back later, next month’.
- (374) *ngayugu ngan-gelinye-n ngamanda-wu nga-bu-yan*
 1SG-ABS 3SG/1SG-talk about-PRES what-DAT 1SG/3SG-hit-POT
gelinye-wujban
 gossip-AGT
 ‘What’s he talking about me for, I might hit him, the gossip!’
- (375) *ngan-marn-bu-rri yiyalang gaya ya-0-nyanga-yan*
 3SG/1SG-make-PST know today 3-3SG-come-POT
 ‘He let me know he might come today’.
- (376) *ya-0-nyanga-n ngorrogorro-wi yilama-gan gaya*
 3-3SG-come-PRES afternoon-ART perhaps-Q today
ya-0-nyanga-yan wirrig-bi
 3-3SG-come-POT early-ART
 ‘He comes in the afternoons, maybe today he’ll come early’.
- (377) *bujun yayinyjaga warljub ngawun-gege-ma-yan*
 if 3IRR-3SG-go-FUT inside 1SG/3NSG-scold-POT
nimbuj-ba ngawun-bu-yan
 backwards-PS 1SG/3NSG-hit-POT
 ‘If he goes inside I might scold them and drive them all away’.

8.6. Future

Future is marked by the suffix *-wa*, which occurs in combination with initial (Indicative non-past) prefix *ya-* in third person forms. As discussed above, for some verbs there is a distinctive Future stem-form to which this suffix is added. Future stems have the characteristic vocalism *i*, so for these verbs Future is marked by the suffix combination *-i-we*.

Future expresses the inevitability or necessity of future action. It is often appropriately translated by the English modals “must” or “have to”, and sometimes simply “is going

to”; and is also the tense-mood-aspect form of jussive complements, and complements of promising (“saying that” with Future time reference). In some of the examples below, the values of Potential and Future can be contrasted.

- (378) *bujun ngan-yani-we gurru nga-yana-yan yinggi*
 if 3SG/1SG-tell-FUT later 1SG-say-POT 2SG-DAT
yyialang ngang-gi-we
 know 1SG/2SG-AUX-FUT

‘If he tells me, later I may tell you, I’ll have to let you know’.

It may seem inconsistent with the semantic characterization of Future as given to have an “if” clause with Future verb form, for the conjunction seems to specify the predicate meaning as merely possible. Future, however, is the preferred form of the protasis of non-past conditionals, seemingly another indication of the closer relationship of the Future (compared, e.g., with the Potential) to irrealis semantically (and formally, an historical indication of which has already been referred to, the sharing of Future stem by Future tense forms and Irrealis zero-suffix forms for some verbs).

- (379) *yawurr-(y)ingbe wirrig*
 3-3NSG-go-FUT tomorrow

‘They have to go tomorrow’.

- (380) *nga-bu-wa digirrij*
 1SG/3SG-hit-FUT dead

‘I’m going to belt him properly’.

- (381) *ngan-yana-rri ya-0-nyangi-we yiwarna wiyani*
 3SG/1SG-say-PST 3-3SG-come-FUT another-ABS rain-ABS

‘He told me he will come back next Wet season’, or ‘He promised to come back next Wet’.

- (382) *gej-ba nganburr-gi-ndi ngawun-ga-wa lurrbu wangi*
 ask-PS 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST 1SG/3NSG-take-FUT home only
nga-ga-ndi lege-biji
 1SG/3SG-take-PST one-ABS-only

‘They asked me to take them home, but I only took one’.

- (383) *ngan-jeye-ma-rri ngan-wo-wa yi-munburra ma-jad*
 3SG/1SG-promise-PST 3SG/1SG-give-FUT YI-money-ABS MA-big-ABS
ngan-burla-ma-rri wonggo ngan-wo-ndi ma-jad
 3SG/1SG-deceive-PST neg 3SG/1SG-give-PST MA-big-ABS
wudu-biji ngan-wo-ndi
 little-ABS-only 3SG/1SG-give-PST

‘He promised he would give me a lot of money, he deceived me, he didn’t give me a lot, he only gave me a little’.

- (384) *nganbud-jeye-ma-rri* *nganburr-ga-wa* *dawu-rlan*
 3NSG/1SG-promise-PST 3NSG/1SG-take-FUT that way-ALL
 ‘They promised they would take me there’.

- (385) *led-ba* *yingayi-na-n* *garmin* *ya-0-nyangi-we*
 watch-PS IRR1INDU-AUX-PRES spear-ABS 3-3SG-come-FUT
ngayi-waja *dami-rlan, dami-rlan* *ya-0-nyangi-we* *dami-rlan*
 1INDU-AUX-PRES this-ALL this-ALL 3-3SG-come-FUT this-ALL
narru *ngayi-waja* *gunya* *0-yana-rri* *nganu*
 dodge 1INDU-AUX-PRES 3SG-DISS 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT
 ‘‘We can watch and if the spear comes we duck this way, if it comes this way we dodge it this way’’, he said to me’.

Although Future is preferred in the protasis of non-past conditionals, the apodosis may be Potential:

- (386) *yilama* *nga-ni-yen* *yinggi* *wirrig* *bujun* *jeme*
 perhaps 1SG-bring-POT 2SG-DAT tomorrow if remember
nga-bu-wa
 1SG-AUX-FUT
 ‘Maybe I’ll bring it for you tomorrow if I can remember’.

8.7. Positive imperatives

Positive imperatives, both intransitive and transitive, use a bare (zero-suffixed) stem (but see discussion of *wo-* ‘give’ below, an exception to this). Person-marking for the subject of imperatives differs from the usual indicative paradigm in that the 2SG subject category is zero in intransitive imperatives, and also in transitive ones where the object is 3SG. Where the object is other (e.g., 3NSG), the usual 2SG person-marker *yi-* occurs. The following exemplify the possibilities. A zero marker is used for 2SG person here for clarity, but not elsewhere in inter-linear glosses, and no zero suffix is written under the bare stem.

- (387) *0-ya* ‘Go!’ [SG]
nu-nja ‘All of you go!’ [NSG]
nu-nja-wuya ‘You two go!’ [DU]
- (388) *0-waja* ‘Leave it/him/her!’ [SG]
nu-waja ‘All of you, leave it/him/her!’
yiwun-waja ‘You [SG] leave them [NSG]!’
nuwun-waja ‘You [NSG] leave them [NSG]!’

Transitive imperatives with other than third-person objects make use of the usual transitive prefix combinations, examples are:

- (389) *ngani-waja* 'You [SG] leave me alone!'
nganu-waja 'You [NSG] leave me alone!'
ngani-na 'You [SG] look at me!'
nganu-na 'You [NSG] look at me!'

Imperatives may follow the clausal particle *gala* 'try to' (12.2.3.), for example:

- (390) *gala 0-na yilama 0-gaju-rri*
 try 2SG-look maybe 3SG-rise-PST
 'Have a look/try to see, maybe he's gotten up'.

- (391) *gala 0-menyje yilama ya-0-jingi-n ngarraba*
 try 2SG-feel maybe 3-3SG-AUX-PRES hot
 'Try to feel him, maybe he's hot'.

- (392) *gala gej-ba 0-gi gangga-rlan-gu*
 try ask-PS 2SG-AUX upriver-ALL-DAT
 'Try asking him to go upriver/to town' [i.e., to take us to town].

Gala (12.2.3.) also occurs in Hortative constructions ("let us X"), in which it co-occurs with Present-suffixed stem.

The indirect object of a transitive imperative is expressed as usual by the appropriate Dative independent pronoun:

- (393) *waring-ma 0-me nganu*
 open-PS 2SG-AUX 1SG-DAT
 'Open it for me!'.

- (394) *waring-ma nu-me nganu*
 open-PS 2NSG-AUX 1SG-DAT
 'You [NSG] open it for me!'.

- (395) *nu-marn-bu wu-jad lalng-ma nu-me nganu nana*
 2NSG-make WU-big-ABS spread-PS 2NSG-AUX 1SG-DAT that-ABS
badbad-ngana
 blanket-ABS
 'You [NSG] make it big, spread out that blanket for me!'.

Reflexive and reciprocal predicates have bare stem ending in the reflexive-reciprocal suffix:

- (396) *wirriny-ma 0-bu-yi*
 turn-PS 2SG-AUX-RR
 'Turn around!'.

- (397) *wirriny-ma nu-bu-yi*
 turn-PS 2NSG-AUX-RR
 ‘You all [NSG] turn around!’.

Exceptionally, the verb *wo-* has positive imperative forms with other-than-third person objects which retain the Present suffix, so that those forms are not distinguished from the Indicative. Compare:

- (398) *0-wo gila*
 2SG-give indeed
 ‘Give it to him!’.

- (399) *ngani-wo-n wiyān*
 2SG/1SG-give-PRES water-ABS
 ‘Give [SG] me water!’.

- (400) *nganu-wo-n wiyān*
 2NSG/1SG-give-PRES water-ABS
 ‘Give [NSG] me water!’.

8.8. Hortatives

Hortatives are considered to be all those paradigmatic forms outside of the regular imperatives which express urging, i.e., forms with first- and third-person subjects, “let us X”, “may he X”.

The forms which fill this function with first person subjects, or subjects that include a first person (e.g., 1INDU), are the same as Indicative forms, for example:

- (401) *gala ngayi-lawu-n geĵ-ba-warra*
 try 1INDU-reach-PRES ask-PS-ADV
 ‘Let’s try to go and ask him!’.

- (402) *ngarr(w)un-waja*
 1INPL/3NSG-leave
 ‘Let’s leave them!’.

- (403) *worroman-bi ngayi-yo-n*
 fast-ART 1INDU-spear-PRES
 ‘Let’s spear it quick!’.

Third-person subject hortatives, however, have a distinctive prefix *ngana-*. Such forms can only have third person objects, and the prefixes which mark these are the usual subject-object combinations, or contracted versions of them (see examples). The suffix does not differ from the usual Present tense for that verb, whether it be *-0* or *-n*.

- (404) *ngana-waja* 'Let him leave him/her!' [SG object].
- (405) *ngana-wu-da-n* 'Let them see it'.
- (406) *ngana-wurr-waja* 'Let them leave it'.
- (407) *ngana-nggun-dagbarla-n* 'Let him keep them' [*ngana-wunggun-*].
- (408) *ngana-nggunbu-dagbarla-n* 'Let them keep them'.

One of the most common hortative expressions is *ngana-yu*, literally, 'let it be, sit', (12.5.5.) which may be used as an interjection to express refusal, or in more complex structures like the following:

- (409) *nga-gi-ndi* *gej-ba* *yiwarlng-gu* *go* *worlog-ba-wu*
 1SG/3SG-AUX-PST ask-PS dress-DAT 3SG-DAT wash-PS-DAT
ngan-jay-ma-rri *o-yana-rri* *nganu* *ngana-yu*
 3SG/1SG-refuse-PST 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT 3SGHT-be
nga-dagbarla-n *wu-garlarl*
 1SG-have-PRES WU-clean-ABS

'I asked him to [if he wanted me to] wash his clothes and he refused, he said to me no [let it be], I have clean [clothes]'.

8.9. Irrealis categories of the verb

As noted in 8.2., Irrealis mood marking co-occurs with Present and Past tense suffixation, and also with zero-stem forms. For those verbs which have a distinctive Future stem, this is the zero-stem form that occurs with Irrealis.

It is also important to clarify the relation of negative forms of the verb to Irrealis. Negations of Indicative predications are not Irrealis. Negatives such as "I did not go", "I am not going" etc., are inflectionally the same as the corresponding Indicative forms, negated either with negative particle *wonggo* or (less frequently) *warna* (see 12.2.5.). However, certain kinds of negations are typically Irrealis. With Present-suffixation and negative particle, Irrealis forms express meanings including prohibition and constraint "may not, cannot, not able to", etc. With Past-suffixation, negative Irrealis forms express counterfactual meanings, "would not have, ought not to have", and the like. All of these inflectional possibilities with Irrealis are exemplified.

8.9.1. Admonitive (zero-stem) irrealis constructions

All examples immediately following have at least one instance of Irrealis-marked zero-stem form. This is generally used, as the examples show, to express something which might happen, the usual (but not invariable) implication being that the event or action so designated is undesirable and ought to be avoided, whether or not this is explicitly stated.

- (410) *ya-0-ngewba* *wu-juda* *wu-juda* *yilama* *ya-0-ngegba*
 3-3SG-breathe WU-short WU-short maybe 3-3SG-die-PRES
yingarr-gurlmi *bujun*
 IRR1INPL-lose may be
 ‘He is breathing very shallowly, maybe he’s dying, we may lose him’.
- (411) *nga-guwe-we* *yiwarlng* *yinganbu-da*
 1SG-go in-FUT clothes-ABS IRR3NSG/1SG-see
 ‘I must put on my clothes, they might/lest they see me’.
- (412) *gardarr-ma* *ya-0-bu-n* *ngarr-(y)ingbe* *wirrig-bi* *juny-ma* *yayinyji*
 break-PS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES 1INPL-go FUT early-ART set-PS IRR3-go
 ‘Day is breaking, we must go early before/lest the sun sets’.
- (413) *warrguj-ba* *me* *gonjo-wa* *yi-jeng* *yayi-0-ba*
 pick-PS AUX ground-ABL YI-foot-ABS IRR3-3SG-burn
marninggani-yi
 sun-INST
 ‘Pick him up off the ground lest he burn his feet’.
- (414) *wudu* *wunjug* *wonggo* *nunu-me-n* *weyiweyi* *nunu-me*
 little tiny neg IRR2NSG-AUX-PRES lift rdp IRR2NSG-AUX
banggin *bag-ba* *bidamarla* *bag-ba* *yayinyji*
 back-ABS break-PS neck-ABS break-PS IRR3-AUX
 ‘You can’t keep on lifting the tiny bub, you’ll pick him up and break his back, his neck might break’.
- (415) *woba* *yinganu-gi*
 make trouble IRR2NSG/1SG-AUX
 ‘You might make trouble for me’.
- (416) *nunu-gun-ngu* *wiya-yi*
 2NSG-drown water-INST
 ‘You might drown’.

In (410) the Irrealis verb form *yi-ngarr-gurl-mi* shows the Future stem form *gurl-mi* of the verb *gurl-ma*- ‘lose, forget, forgo’, and the like. The particle *bujun* often occurs in the protasis of conditional clauses, there translatable as ‘if’; but as the example shows, *bujun* may occur simply in “admonitive” clauses expressing that something undesirable may happen. In some uses of this kind, it is best translatable as “lest” (see further 12.2.2.). (411) exhibits the Irrealis form “they might see me”, with zero-stem. The verb *na*- ‘see’ has no distinctive Future stem form (despite its *a* vocalism).

(412) illustrates the Future stem form of the verb “to go” in this semantically admonitive construction, “lest the sun go down” or “before the sun goes down”. Compare (417) below.

(413) has “he might burn” with zero stem (again, *ba-* ‘burn, thirst’ has no distinctive Future stem).

(414) illustrates two different kinds of Irrealis-marked constructions. The first, a negated Predicate with Present-tense marking, expresses the modal meaning “you should not” (pick up the baby); this kind of form, not distinct from the negative imperative, is further illustrated below. The second form, *nunū-me* is a zero stem-form, the clause in which it occurs expressing the undesirability of the action designated by the Irrealis predicate.

(415) and (416) further illustrate the semantically admonitive usage of the zero-stem forms with *gi-* as auxiliary, and *gun-ngu-* as main verbal constituent. In this irrealis construction, the undergoer is marked as intransitive 2NSG subject (but see e.g., 416).

(412) above illustrated the Future stem form of ‘go’ (*-nyji*) in an admonitive clausal construction. This may be compared with (417) which has an Irrealis Present form, i.e., with stem not distinct from the present indicative. Here possibility does not have the admonitive component that the action predicated is undesirable. But (418) is once again semantically of the type of (412), and here we find use of the Future stem.

(417) *yilama* *yayinyja* *mayinyja* *wurrugu* *ngarlg-ba*
 maybe IRR3-go HAB-3-go 3NSG-DAT summon-PS
 ‘Maybe he is going, he always goes to summon them’.

(418) *bag* *yayinyji* *yinggi*
 break IRR3-AUX 2SG-DAT
 ‘It might break on you’.

(419), on the other hand, illustrates use first, of Present-suffixed Irrealis to express possibility, followed by a zero-suffixed form expressing undesirable action:

(419) *yijarlū* *yilama-gan* *yayi-wud-janga-n* *yayi-wurr-me*
 some-ABS maybe-Q IRR3-3NSG-come-PRES IRR3-3NSG-get
ngarrugu *laglan*
 1INPL-DAT things-ABS
 ‘I think some people might come and take our things’.

(As noted in 8.2., the zero-suffixed form of the verb *nyanga-* ‘come’ has special Future stem, *nyangi-*.)

8.9.2. Negative present irrealis, negative imperatives

The most common occurrence of Irrealis, Present-suffixed forms is in clauses negated with particle *wonggo*, or alternatively *warna*, and expressing modal meanings of impossibility, prohibition, or constraint.

- (420) *wonggo yingerr-nge-n yingyi lin-yi yayi-la*
 neg IRR1INPL-call-PRES name-ABS snake-ERG IRR3-bite
ngarrug wardaman wonggo ngarr(w)un-nge-n yingyi
 1INPL-ABS [name]-ABS neg 1INPL/3NSG-call-PRES name-ABS
ngawun lin-yi yayi-la
 no snake-ERG IRR3-bite
 ‘We may not call his name lest a snake bite him, we Wardaman do not call their names, no, lest snakes bite’.
- (421) *wonggo yinganu-wo-n warnarr-warang*
 neg IRR2NSG/1SG-give-PRES fat-having-ABS
nganu-wo-n gunju warnarr-wagbawun
 2NSG/1SG-give-PRES meat-ABS fat-lacking-ABS
 ‘Don’t give me any with fat, give me meat without fat’.
- (422) *jorr-ma nu-gi-wuya guda-rlan 0-yanggi bujun birdij-ba*
 track-PS 2NSG-AUX-DU where-ALL 3SG-go PST if find-PS
nu-gi-we wonggo nunu-bu-n-guya nu-ni lurrbu
 2SG-AUX-FUT neg IRR2NSG-kill-PRES-DU 2NSG-bring home
gurru yawurr-bu-wa lagla-ya
 later 3-3NSG-kill-FUT camp-LOC
 ‘You two track where it went, if you find it you mustn’t kill it, bring it home and later they’ll kill it in camp’.
- (423) *dan-guya wonggo mugurn yinganburr-marnbu-n*
 this-DU-ABS neg sleep IRR3NSG/1SG-make-PRES
 ‘These two won’t let me sleep’.
- In (423) *dan-guya* is not Ergative-marked. The possibility of Absolutive-marking in such instances seems slightly greater in negated clause structures than in positive ones.
- (424) *wonggo ngayugu nganu-gomarla-n yibiwi nu-gomarla-wa*
 neg 1SG-ABS 2NSG/1SG-follow-PRES father-ABS 2NSG-follow-FUT
 ‘You must not follow me, you must follow the Lord’.
- (425) *yilama-gan yi-borrordin wonggo yingan-da-n*
 maybe-Q YI-pretty-ABS neg IRR3SG/1SG-see-PRES
yi-warringun
 YI-bad-ABS
 ‘Fancy if [I look] good, he mustn’t see me [looking] bad’.

(425) was said in a situation in which a woman did not want to be seen by someone because she thought she had not spruced herself up. The clause (verbless and lacking explicit pronominal) introduced by *yilama-gan* is ironic, ‘Maybe I look nice?’

- (426) *worroman-bi ya wonggo yini-wo-n wiyan yayi-layi*
 fast-ART go neg IRR2SG/3SG-give-PRES water-ABS IRR3-die
ya-0-jingi-n legegun legegun ye-0-ngewba wu-juda wu-juda
 3-3SG-be-PRES sporadically rpd 3-3SG-breathe-PRES WU-short WU-short
 ‘Go quickly, you mustn’t give him water lest he die, he’s there breathing
 irregular short breaths’.

Finally, (427) illustrates the present negative Irrealis as the predicate form in a complement clause of the verb “to stop” or “prevent”.

- (427) *dawag-ba ngang-bu-ndi wonggo yi-niwun-wo-n layin*
 stop-PS 1SG/2SG-AUX-PST neg IRR-2SG/3NSG-give-PRES meat-ABS
 ‘I stopped you from giving them meat’.

As mentioned in 8.9., Negative Imperatives “do not X” are not formally distinct from the negative irrealis forms illustrated in (420)–(427).

8.9.3. Past irrealis

Past tense forms of the verb with Irrealis prefixation express past counterfactual meanings “would have, ought to have”, and the like. The most common construction type in which such forms occur is the past counterfactual conditional one, in which typically both protasis and apodosis exhibit past irrealis forms. Several examples follow (see also 10.2.2.).

- (428) *bujun yi-ngan-wo-ndi ma-jad yi-ngong-wo-ndi*
 if IRR-3SG/1SG-give-PST MA-big-ABS IRR-2SG/1SG-give-PST
ngawun, ma-jad-wagbawun
 no MA-big-lacking-ABS
 ‘If he had given me a lot, I would have given you [some], [but] no, [he did not]
 give a lot’.

- (429) *bujun yayi-0-jingi-ndi gonjon wu-boban*
 if IRR-3SG-be-PST ground-ABS WU-dry-ABS
yingarr-yanggi-wan ngala wonggo yi-ngarr-ya
 IRR1INPL-go PST-DF but neg IRR-1INPL-go-PRES
 ‘If the ground had been dry we would have gone, but we can’t go’.

Past irrealis forms can also occur outside of the conditional structure:

- (430) *yi-nga-jejbarla-rrri wu-muuburra-wu*
 IRR-1SG/3SG-ask-PST WU-money-DAT
 ‘I should have asked him for money’.

8.10. Habitual

The Habitual paradigmatic series is very similar in certain of the required pronominal prefix forms to corresponding Irrealis pronominals (6.6.3.). Habitual is signally marked by the first-position prefix *ma-*, but the 2SG pronominal *-ni-*, and the third person aspect-person combination *ma-yi-*, are (in the first case) identical, and (in the second) analogous, to the corresponding Irrealis forms.

Habitual aspect prefixation has been found to occur only with Present-tense main (8.4.) and subordinate (see 8.16. below) forms of the verb. It expresses that the action predicated is habitual, or (in the case of verbs of condition) that it is of long standing. It is not, however, necessarily used to signal that action is socially customary, a kind of expression for which the Present tense may be and often is used.

- (431) *ma-yi-0-jingi-n* *nganu* *burruga-wunba-wi* *yirr-ma*
 HAB-3-3SG-be-PRES 1SG-DAT long time-SOU-ART company
 ‘He has been staying with me all the time’, [i.e., from long ago].
- (432) *ma-yirr-me-n* *wurrugu* *wurre-wu* *ma-bilawilangman*
 HAB-1EXNSG-get-PRES 3NSG-DAT child-DAT MA-sweet rdp-ABS
mayin
 food-ABS
 ‘We always get sweets for the children’.
- (433) *wonggo* *ma-ngawun-da-n-guya* *ngawun*
 neg HAB-1SG/3NSG-see-PRES-DU no
 ‘No, I don’t see the two of them all the time’.
- (434) *ma-nga-nyanga-n* *yinggi* *ngorlog-ba-wu* *jewu-yin*
 HAB-1SG-come-PRES 2SG-DAT talk-PS-DAT show-PURP
wardama-wu *mad-gu*
 [name]-DAT language-DAT
 ‘I always come to you to talk, [for you] to teach Wardaman language’.
- (435) *ma-yirr-ngu-n* *ma-bujgun* *mayin*
 HAB-1EXNSG-eat-PRES MA-indigenous food-ABS
 ‘We always eat indigenous/bush foods’.

8.11. Reflexive-reciprocal

The reflexive-reciprocal suffix, which immediately follows the bare stem and thus always occurs following a vowel, is *-yi-*. If the final stem-vowel is *a*, presence of the reflexive-reciprocal marker results in the assimilation of that vowel to *i*. Thus, the reflexive-reciprocal stem of the transitive verb *luma-* ‘cut’ is *lumi-yi-*, while that of *warrang-ma-* ‘to swear at’, is *warrang-mi-yi-*:

- (436) *yawurr-warrang-mi-yi-n*
 3-3NSG-swear at-RR-PRES
 ‘They’re cursing each other’.

The reflexive-reciprocal is used to express action where subject and object are identical, including action upon oneself, and in this is similar to certain uses of the English reflexive-reciprocal category. However, typically action of certain (largely negatively evaluated?) kinds, such as fighting and swearing, are formulated with use of an ordinary predicate made reflexive-reciprocal. Thus, for example, the typical way of saying that people are fighting is to say, *ya-wurr-bu-yi-n*, literally ‘they are hitting each other’. A further example of this kind is the formally reflexive-reciprocal verb *nge-yi-* ‘argue’, from transitive *nge-* ‘call’. It seems that the meanings of these verbs should not be taken too literally (e.g., as “hit each other”, “call each other”), but should rather be seen as a kind of grammatical metaphor, or a typical way of formulating certain kinds of action. The sentence *ngamanda-wunya ya-wurr-nge-yi-n* is approximately the equivalent of English “What are they arguing about?”, rather than the more literal “What are they calling each other (for)?” A few textual examples of the reflexive-reciprocal category follow:

- (437) *ngabulu-wan* *0-ginye-yi-rri* *gunga*
 breast-ABS-DF 3SG-cook-RR-PST 3SG-DAT
 ‘And she cooked her breasts for him ...’

(437) refers to the customary practice of warming one’s breasts in the heat of a fire in order to begin and enhance milk-flow. Note that there is an independent Absolutive nominal object in a part-whole relation to the subject of the predicate.

- (438) *ngabulu* *jilyjiyl* *0-me-yi-rri* *jabalawarna-ya*
 breast-ABS squeeze 3SG-AUX-RR-PST flat rock-LOC
 ‘She expressed her milk onto the flat rock’.

Here again, the “breast” which is part of the whole pronominal adjunct is treated as Absolutive object, with reflexive-reciprocal expression of the action-on-self in the predicate.

- (439) *wurr-ngu-ndi-wuya* *girdibun* *nan-ba-wan* *wurr-bu-yi-rri-wuya*
 3NSG-eat-PST-DU finish that-ABL-DF 3NSG-hit-RR-PST-DU
 ‘The two of them ate it all up and then they fought’.

Following reflexive-reciprocal marking, Future tense-marking always has the shape *-ngbe*; or, differently stated, the reflexive-reciprocal and Future together have the shape *-yi-ngbe*:

- (440) *ya-wurr-bu-yingbe*
 3-3NSG-hit-RR FUT
 ‘They are going to fight’.

Reflexive-reciprocal forms of the verbs *na-* ‘see’ and *bu-* ‘hit’ have an important role as auxiliaries in inchoative constructions; see 8.18.

8.12. Mediopassive verbs

There is a class of semantically ‘mediopassive’ verbs which can be identified formally by the presence in the stem of the formative *-yi-* or (following nasal segments) *-ji-* (8.2.). This formative is almost certainly relatable etymologically to the reflexive- reciprocal marker, but in these verbs clearly does not function as such. The mediopassive verbs are all syntactically intransitive, i.e., there occurs with them a sole pronominal adjunct, and there is no indication of action on self or other. Members of this class were listed in 8.2., and a few examples of some of them follow.

- (441) *warlbag-ba me yiwarlŋ yi-ni-ngegbi warlad*
 remove-PS AUX clothes-ABS IRR-2SG-AUX sick
yi-born-ma-rrri yiwarlŋ-barra-yi yi-ni-jerri-yi
 2SG-bathe-PST clothes-ADV-ADV IRR-2SG-cold-MED
yi-ni-me yanga
 IRR-2SG-get sickness-ABS

‘Take off your clothes, you’ll get sick, you bathed with your clothes on [and] you might get cold and sick’.

(441) illustrated the mediopassive verb *jerri-yi-* ‘to be/get cold’, in the zero-stem form of the semantically admonitive construction type. (Note that the predicate phrases *yi-ni-ngeg-bi warlad* with Future stem, and *yi-ni-me yanga* are also of this formal-semantic kind.)

- (442) *ya-0-wali-yi-n nganu*
 3-3SG-jealous-MED-PRES 1SG-DAT

‘She is jealous of me’.

(442) illustrates the formally intransitive predicate *wali-yi-*, which may as shown occur with Dative complement expressing the person of whom one is jealous. This verb contrasts with transitive *wali-na-*, which takes two pronominal adjuncts.

8.13. Iterative suffix *-marla*

One of the functions of the multi-functional suffix *-marla* is to mark repeated action, or iteration, hence amounting often to customary or habitual action. This suffix is most common with verbs suffixed for Past tense (although it may occur with Present forms), and this is perhaps to be understood in terms of the fact that while in the non-past there is a formal distinction between Present and Habitual, there is no such formal distinction available in the Past, except by means of the suffix *-marla*.

- (443) *nganinggin* *ngabobu* *wuluwari* *mulurru* *yidujba*
 1SG-GEN-ABS FM-ABS [name]-ABS old woman-ABS [name]-ABS
nan-guya *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-marla*
 that-DU-ABS 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-ITER

‘My father’s mother Wuluwari, and old woman Yidujba, those two used to take me’.

(While *nan-guya* would normatively be Ergative, it is Absolutive in this passage.)

- (444) *ngorlog-ba* *wud-jingi-ndi-ya-marla* *nganu* *nan-guya*
 talk-PS 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR-ITER 1SG-DAT that-DU-ABS
mulurru-wuya
 old woman-DU-ABS

‘They used to sit and talk to me, those two old women’.

- (445) *nganburr-wo-ndi-yawu-marla* *madin*
 3NSG/1SG-give-PST-NAR-ITER word-ABS

‘They used to instruct me’.

In the three preceding examples, *-marla* is a final suffix following the “narrative” suffixes *-ya* and *-yawu* (see 8.14.).

- (446) *wonggo* *yi-ni-ga-n-marla* *baraj* *nga-ga-wa*
 neg IRR-2SG-take-PRES-ITER far 1SG-take-FUT

‘You shouldn’t take her so far all the time’ – ‘I WILL take her’.

(446) is an excerpt from a narrative in which Elsie Raymond told how her father used to remonstrate with her grandmother for taking her so far out bush all the time as a little girl; and the old woman replies, *nga-ga-wa* ‘I will so’, ‘I WILL take her’, or the like.

- (447) *yi-bam* *warringun* *ngana-yu-marla*
 YI-head-ABS bad-ABS 3HT-be-ITER

‘He’s no good in the head, [says] “let it be”/no all the time’.

(447) was recorded as a description of a person, one who allegedly always says no to every suggestion. Here *-marla* is suffixed to the fixed hortative expression *ngana-yu* ‘let it be’ (8.8.), and actually functions syntactically as something like the preceding verbless descriptive phrase, i.e., in the sense “(he is a person who says) let-it-be all the time”.

The iterative suffix may be added to verb particle to specify repetition of the activity designated by it, for example,

- (448) *bardab-marla* *ya-0-yuju* *ngamanda-wu*
 look around-ITER 3-3SG-AUX-PRES what-DAT

‘What does he keep looking around for?’.

As noted in 7.6., *marla*, and also the allative-marked form *marla-warr* are found to occur as independent adverbs meaning ‘over and over’. The article-suffixed independent form *marla-wi* is also found in this meaning. A common textual conceit is to suffix *-marla* to short, reported utterances or interjections, indicating repetition e.g., *o o o-marla* ‘(she said) “oh!” over and over’.

Elsewhere, *-marla* functions as a marker of the inchoative construction, generally with reflexive-reciprocal forms of the verbs *na-* and *bu-*. The suffix occurs lexicalized in certain verb particles (e.g., *beng-marla* ‘snap, break’) where its semantics must seemingly be understood more in terms of its inchoative-marking rather than iterative-marking function (see 8.18.).

8.14. Narrative suffixes *-ya* and *-yawu*

As examples (443) to (445) illustrate, there are suffixes of the form *-ya* and *-yawu* which commonly follow the Past tense marker, but precede any dual and/or iterative suffix present in the verb form. While these suffixes occur in elicited examples, they are not as common as they are in connected narrative concerning past events. It appears impossible to attribute to either a definitive gloss, for neither appears to contribute to propositional meaning. While it might seem that the final syllable of *-yawu* is relatable in some way to the Dative, there is no semantic or grammatical evidence to support such an assumption. Given their frequency in connected text, they are labelled NAR(rative) in inter-linear glosses.

- (449) *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-wuya* *nulurru-wuya-yi*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-DU old woman-DU-ERG
 ‘The two old women took me’.
- (450) *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *nganu* *buda* *goyin*
 3NSG-get-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT black plum-ABS honey-ABS
 ‘They got black plum and honey for me’.
- (451) *nganbu-dagbarla-rri-ya* *lege-ya*
 3NSG/1SG-have-PST-NAR one-LOC
 ‘They kept me in one place’
- (452) *nga-gi-ndi-ya* *yibumbu-ya* *jamam* *yirr-ga-ndi-ya*
 1SG-put-PST-NAR billy-LOC full 1EXNSG-take-PST-NAR
jabalawarna-warr
 flat stone-ALL
 ‘I filled the billy up, [and] we took it to a flat stone’.
- (453) *buda* *nga-ngu-ndi-yawu* *girdibun*
 black plum-ABS 1SG-eat-PST-NAR finish
 ‘I ate the black plum all up’.

- (454) *mernde-yi* *yin.gun-bu-ndi-yawu* *burruga-wi*
 white-ERG 3SG/1EXNSG-hit-PST-NAR long ago-ART
 ‘Whites shot us long ago’.

8.15. Subordinate suffixation

There is a generalized subordinate clause type in Wardaman which fills both “NP-relative” and “T(emporal)-relative” functions (see Hale 1976 for discussion of this generalized clause type in a number of Australian languages). Unlike a number of languages of this region which have only this one generalized subordinate clause type (see e.g., Merlan 1982 and 1983: 135; Heath 1981), Wardaman also has a range of other kinds of adclausal constructions (Chapter 11).

In Wardaman, subordination of one clause to another is signalled by means of two suffixes. One, *-n-ga*, has non-past temporal reference and expresses imperfectivity of the predicate to which it is suffixed in relation to the predicate of the linked clause; while the other, *-ny-ga* expresses past temporal reference and perfectivity with respect to the predicate of the linked clause. The suffixes are obviously bimorphemic and may be analyzed as having a tense-marking element, followed by a common subordinate marker. Each is suffixed to predicates which are otherwise no different from their normal form.

- (455) *marluga* *gagung* *berru*
 old man-ABS FF-ABS [name]-ABS
- 0-dagbarla-ny-ga* *nganinggin* *ngabobu*
 3SG-have-PST-SUB 1SG-GEN-ABS FM-ABS
- 0-gelewu-rri-ya* *nana* *marluga*
 3SG-send-PST-NAR that-ABS old man-ABS
- ‘Old man my father’s father Berru
 who had [was married to] my father’s mother
 he sent that old man’.

In (455), the first prosodic line names and identifies Berru; the second further describes him by means of a past subordinate construction of which he is subject; the third continues the earlier story-line concerning Berru’s being sent on an errand. Note that the phrase “old man grandfather Berru” is Absolutive, in keeping with its function as direct object of the predicate “send”, rather than Ergative as it would normally be were the predicate “have” in a main rather than subordinate clause.

- (456) *ngan-ga-ndi* *0-na-rri* *magulu* *dibid-ba*
 3SG/1SG-take-PST 3SG-see-PST yam-ABS wind-PS
- 0-bu-ny-ga* *yumin*
 3SG-AUX-PST-SUB tree-ABS
- ‘She took me and saw cheeky yam winding around a tree’.

- (457) *nganburr-ga-ndi* *go* *nan-gu* *marluga-wu*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST 3SG-DAT that-DAT old man-DAT
0-ngegba-ny-ga *delimiya*
 3SG-die-PST-SUB [Delamere]

'They took me to that old man, who died at Delamere'.

The past subordinate clauses in (456) and (457) are both ad-nominal, the first modifying *magulu*, the second, *marluga*.

- (458) *ngan-werreny-bu-rri* *yarrimdi-yi* *barrangardba* *wu-warringun*
 3SG/1SG-ensorcell-PST [song type]-INST throat-ABS WU-bad-ABS
ngo-ngorlogba-ny-ga
 1SG-talk-PST-SUB

'He "sang" [ensorcelled] me with *yarrimdi*, [so that] when I talked my throat was bad'.

(458) illustrates the general subordinate clause function Hale (1976) calls "T-relative", that is, one in which the subordinate clause is not ad-nominal, but rather modifies an entire other clause, supplying some kind of background information.

- (459) *barlba-wan* *jarrambu* *0-yanggi* *barlb* *yayi-we-ny-ga*
 dreaming-DF looking 3SG-go-PST dreaming IRR3-AUX-PST-SUB
warljub *0-we-ndi* *0-na-rri* *ngawun*
 inside 3SG-fall-PST 3SG-look-PST nothing

'It went around as dreaming searching [for where] it might go in as dreaming, it fell/went inside, looked around, nothing'.

(459) is an account of the mythological trajectory of a dreaming figure which was looking around for where it might situate itself in the landscape; note the past subordinate predicate is Irrealis, indicating the uncertainty of its decision.

- (460) *buuu* *0-bu-ndi* *galul-wa* *wu-munburra* *nana*
 [noise] 3SG-hit-PST on top-ABL WU-rock-ABS that-ABS
wirlb *0-wudba-ny-ga*
 scatter 3SG-AUX-PST-SUB

'Whoosh! it burst out from the top scattering that rock'.

(460) is another subordinate clause of the T-relative type, specifying more closely the situation that obtained as the main-clause action was accomplished.

- (461) *mowe* *0-ga-ndi*
 steal 3SG-take-PST
yawe yi-jeng *0-jingi-ny-ga* *jabalawarna-ya*
 yes YI-foot-ABS 3SG-be-PST-SUB flat stone-LOC
0-ga-ndi *mernde-yi*
 3SG-take-PST white-ERG

'They stole it
yes, a foot(print) that was in the flat rock
Europeans took it'.

(461) is adnominal modifier of *yijeng* 'foot', the object of the main first and third clauses. All examples so far have been of past subordinate forms, but present ones are equally common:

(462) *ngarl yawu-da-n ngamanda-warda yilama yibiyan yilama*
bark 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES what-INDEF maybe man-ABS maybe
buligi ya-0-nyanga-n-ga wiya-warr ngarl-ma ya-wu-da-n-wan
cow-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES-SUB water-ALL bark-PS 3-3NSG-AUX-DF
'Whatever are they barking at? maybe a man, maybe a cow, coming down to
water is what they're barking at'.

In (462) the clause "coming to water" contains present subordinate verb which modifies each of the suggested possibilities. Mention of the dogs' barking is taken up again in a further linked clause, marked with the important textual linking suffix *-wan* (see 12.3.7.).

A subordinate verb-form may be further suffixed with the adverbial specifier of place *-beng* ~ *-weng*, to create a modifying clause of "place where":

(463) *0-waja-rri waj jumba julu-ya baraj nana*
3SG-leave-PST leave behind hill-LOC far that-ABS
gangman 0-bu-ny-ge-weng
kangaroo-ABS 3SG-hit-PST-SUB-SSPEC

'He left it a long way away behind the hill, where he shot the kangaroo'.

(Note assimilation of the *a* vowel of *-ga* to the following mid-vowel.)

The adverbial ending may also be suffixed to a nominal head, and a subordinate clause modify it:

(464) *nga-gurrgha-yan yimiyan-beng nga-da-ny-ga yi-guwarlangana*
1SG-sleep-POT same-SSPEC 1INPL-see-PST-SUB YI-buffalo-ABS

'I might sleep in the same place where we saw the buffalo'.

Alternatively, a clause (as in 463) may be subordinate to a nominal head of location, with a subordinate clause suffixed with *-beng* modifying it:

(465) *nga-nyanga-n nan-ba megerrman ngarr-buju-ny-ga-weng*
1SG-come-PRES that-ABL yam-ABS 1INPL-dig-PST-SUB-SSPEC

'I'm coming from where we dug yam'.

In elicitation, informants produced examples with both Allative and Locative inflection of subordinate clauses, for example:

- (466) *gangman* *ngo-yo-ny-ga-warr* *nan-garr* *nganjigbe*
 kangaroo-ABS 1SG-spear-PST-SUB-ALL that-ALL 1SG go FUT
lagla-warr
 camp-ALL

‘I’ll go to the place where I speared the kangaroo’.

- (467) *yanja* *dawu-rlan* *ya-wurr-gurrnga-n-ga-warr-min*
 3SG-go that-ALL 3-3NSG-sleep-PRES-SUB-ALL-ADV

‘It goes [“it flows”, in context] that way right up to where they are camping’.

There are clauses within certain kinds of constructions, and particular verbal categories, which generally may be seen as providing kinds of background information to main clauses, and it is common in Wardaman (but not obligatory) for such clauses to exhibit subordinate marking. The first construction of this kind which deserves mention is the conditional one (past and present). The protasis, or “if” — clause, generally introduced by or containing the particle *bujun* (see 12.2.2.), may be seen as providing background information in the sense that it specifies the conditions under which that which is designated by the apodosis will obtain. The protasis is often formally a subordinate clause, as the following examples show:

- (468) *bujun* *yi-ngan-yana-ny-ga* *yiwarna* *wiyan*
 if IRR-3SG/1SG-tell-PST-SUB other-ABS rain-ABS
yiyalang *yi-ngang-marn-bu-rri*
 inform IRR-1SG/2SG-AUX-PST

‘Had he told me last wet season I would have told you’.

The predicate of the protasis, “had he told me”, is formally subordinate, indicating its linkage, as condition, to the formally independent apodosis which specifies what the outcome would have been. Another example of this kind is:

- (469) *bujun* *yi-ngon-wo-ny-ga* *ma-jad* *yi-ngong-wo-ndi*
 if IRR-3SG/1SG-give-PST-SUB MA-big-ABS IRR-1SG/2SG-give-PST

‘If he had given me a lot, I would have given you [some]’.

The Habitual verbal category (8.10.), in keeping with its categorial semantics, may be used to specify background information in relation to linked clauses with independent predicates, and in this capacity often is formally subordinate to them, as the following examples illustrate:

- (470) *warramarlg-ba* *ma-nu-wudba* *nganu* *dubuluj*
 overturn-PS HAB-2NSG-AUX-PRES 1SG-DAT bag-ABS
ngamanda-wu-warda *ma-ni-jarram-bu-n-ga* *yilama* *wu-munburra-wu*
 what-DAT-INDEF HAB-2SG-search-PRES-SUB maybe WU-money-DAT

‘You’re always overturning my bag, what for? [as] you always search around maybe for money’.

The Habitual, present subordinate-marked “you always search(ing) around” specifies the general conditions under which the overturning occurs.

- (471) *yi-gerrngmarnan* *ngalyalya* *ma-yi-jingi-n-ga* *mayi-wu*
 YI-crybaby-ABS cry HAB-3-be-PRES-SUB food-DAT
wonggo *ma-nu-ginye-n* *gunga*
 neg HAB-2NSG-cook-PRES 3SG-DAT

‘He’s a crybaby always crying for food, you don’t cook for him all the time’.

As in (471), the semantic subordinate linkage between two such clauses may be rather weak, and even were the predicate of the first clause to be independent in form, the logical linkage between the two clauses would be fairly obvious.

- (472) *nga-wojbarna-n* *ma-nganjaga* *dan-garr*
 1SG-listen-PRES HAB-1SG-go-POT that-ALL
ma-yi-wud-jingi-n-ga *nganu* *ngorlog-ba*
 HAB-3-3NSG-sit-PRES-SUB 1SG-DAT talk-PS

‘I listen, I might go there, they [are] always talking to me’.

Subordination of “they sitting (talking)” in (472) perhaps makes slightly more explicit the reason for the subject’s going where “they” are, that is, implies a logical linkage between the two clauses.

The Habitual category has only been recorded to occur with the non-past subordinate marker, in keeping with the fact that it has not been found to be inflected for past tense.

Table 14. Paradigms of CV Roots, “come” and “sit, be”

Gloss	Present	Past	Potential	Future
‘burn’	-ba-n	-ba-ndi	-ba-yan	-ba-wa
‘hit’	-bu-n	-bu-ndi	-bu-yan	-bu-wa
‘take’	-ga-n	-ga-ndi	-ga-yan	-ga-wa
‘put’	-gi-n	-gi-ndi	-gi-yen	-gi-we
‘bite’	-la-n	-la-rri	-la-yan	-la-wa
‘cry’	-lu-n	-lu-rri	-lu-yan	-lu-wa
‘get’	-me-n	-me-ndi	-me-yen	-me-we
‘see’	-na-n	-na-rri	-na-yan	-na-wa
‘bring’	-ni-n	-ni-rri	-ni-yen	-ni-we
‘sing, call’	-nge-n	-nge-ndi	-nge-yen	-nge-we
‘eat’	-ngu-n	-ngu-ndi	-ngu-yan	-ngu-wa
‘fall’	-we-n	-we-ndi	-we-yen	-we-we
‘give’	-wo-n	-wo-ndi	-wo-yan	-wo-wa
‘spear’	-yo-n	-yo-rri	-yo-yan	-yo-wa
copula	-yu	—	—	—
‘come’	-nyanga-n	-nyanga-ndi	-nyanga-yan	-nyangi-we
‘be, sit’	-jingi-n	-jingi-ndi	-jingi-yen	-jingi-we
‘break, snap’	-megbe-n	-megbe-ndi	-megbe-yen	-megbe-we

8.16. Verb paradigms: The CV- roots, and irregular verbs *ya-* ‘go’ and *yu-* ‘be’

The tense-aspect forms of 13 CV roots, and also of the bisyllabic roots *megbe-* ‘break, snap’, *nyanga-* ‘come’ and *jingi-* ‘sit’ are shown in Table 14. The latter are included because they are the only bisyllabic roots to take the Past suffix form *-ndi*; all other verbs besides these three, and some of the CV roots, take *-rri*. It can be seen that, for the most part, the paradigms are highly predictable and regular. Of all of these verbs, only *nyanga-* has a distinctive Future stem-form. The stem-form required in ‘admonitive’ Irrealis constructions is not separately listed, but is the same as that which occurs in the Future tense, minus the tense suffix *-wa*. The stem form of the positive imperative is the same as that of Present tense, minus the tense suffix *-n*, the allomorph found with all the verbs listed.

What might be considered a sixteenth CV- root, the verb ‘go’, requires full paradigmatic specification because of its irregularity. The forms are set out in Table 15.

In the Present, two stem forms can be identified, *ya-* where the immediately preceding element is nonsingular morpheme *-rr-*, and *-Nja* elsewhere. The initial nasal of the latter stem varies here (as it does throughout the paradigm). Where it immediately follows the shape *yi-* (of 2SG, 1INDU), the nasal is palatal; where it follows *a* or *u*, it is plain alveolar. There has clearly been an historical assimilatory process at work in determining the specification of the nasal.

Morpheme breaks are not indicated in the Past forms because of their irregularity. There may be specified two general stem forms, one *-(y)anggi* following *-rr-*, and *-Njagi*, where the same historical assimilatory processes mentioned above are evident. There are two further irregularities, however. The 3SG Past is *yanggi*; and the 1INPL form which we would expect to be *ngarr-* *(y)anggi* is instead *ngadjanggi*, indicating that in this form the history of the relationship between *-rr-* and the following stem is different than in the 1EXNSG and 3NSG forms to which it is ordinarily analogous. Here as in some other paradigmatic forms (e.g., Potential) there is a “trade-off” between presence versus absence of nasal in the stem, and the presence or absence of one in the apparent form of the suffix. That is, where the form of the root in the past is evidently *-ya-*, the past tense marker has a nasal *-nggi*; but where the root has a nasal, *Nja-*, the past tense element is plain *-gi*.

On this basis we may say that the Potential has two stem-suffix forms, *-Nja-gan*, and *-ya-nggan*, the latter following *-rr-* in the expected categories, 1EXNSG, 1INPL and 3NSG. There must be posited both a simple stem form as given, and a doubled one, to account for the occurrence following *-rr-* of Potential forms such as 1EXNSG *yirrajanggan*, to be analyzed as */yirr-ya-ja-nggan/*, with internal hardening of the reduplicated stem, for example:

(473)	<i>yirrug-bulu</i>	<i>gabbarri</i>	<i>yirr-ajanggan</i>	<i>gangga-rlan</i>
	1EXNSG-PL-ABS	also	1EXNSG-go rdp-POT	upriver-ALL

‘We too may go higher up’.

Table 15. Forms of “go”

	Present	Past	Potential	Future
1SG	<i>nganja</i>	<i>nganjagi</i>	<i>nganjagan</i>	<i>nganjigbe</i>
2SG	<i>yinyja</i>	<i>yinyjagi</i>	<i>yinyjagan</i>	<i>yinyjigbe</i>
3SG	<i>yanja</i>	<i>yanggi</i>	<i>yanjagan</i>	<i>yanjigbe</i>
1INDU	<i>ngayinyja</i>	<i>ngayinyjagi</i>	<i>ngayinyjagan</i>	<i>ngayinyjigbe</i>
1INPL	<i>ngarrya</i>	<i>ngadjanggi</i>	<i>ngarrangan</i>	<i>ngarringbe</i>
1EXNSG	<i>yirrya</i>	<i>yirranggi</i>	<i>yirranggan</i>	<i>yirringbe</i>
2NSG	<i>nunja</i>	<i>nunjagi</i>	<i>nunjagan</i>	<i>nunjigbe</i>
3NSG	<i>yawurrya</i>	<i>wurranggi</i>	<i>yawurrangan</i>	<i>yawurringbe</i>
	Present Irrealis	Admonitive	Habitual	
1SG	<i>yi-nganja</i>	<i>yi-nganji</i>	<i>ma-nganja</i>	
2SG	<i>yi-ninyja</i>	<i>yi-ninyji</i>	<i>ma-ninyja</i>	
3SG	<i>yayi-nyja</i>	<i>yayi-nyji</i>	<i>mayi-nyja</i>	
1INDU	<i>yi-ngayinyja</i>	<i>yi-ngayinyji</i>	<i>ma-ngayinyja</i>	
1INPL	<i>yi-ngarrya</i>	<i>yi-ngarryi</i>	<i>ma-ngarr-ya</i>	
1EXNSG	<i>ya-yirrya</i>	<i>yi-yirr-yi</i>	<i>ma-yirr-ya</i>	
2NSG	<i>nununja</i>	<i>nununji</i>	<i>ma-nunja</i>	
3NSG	<i>yayi-wurr-ya</i>	<i>yayi-wurr-yi</i>	<i>mayi-wurr-ya</i>	
	Second Future			
1SG	<i>nganjiji</i>			
2SG	<i>yinyjiji</i>			
3SG	<i>yanjiji</i>			
1INDU	<i>ngayinyjigbe</i>			
1INPL	<i>ngarrijigbe</i>			
2NSG	<i>nunjiji</i>			
1EXNSG	<i>yirrijigbe</i>			
3NSG	<i>yawurr-(y)ingbe</i>			
	Imperative		Hortative	
2SG	<i>ya</i>	3SG	<i>ngana-nja</i>	
2NSG	<i>nunja</i>	3NSG	<i>ngana-wurr-ya</i>	

Similar relationships hold in the (first) Future listed in the chart, where we may identify the two basic stem-suffix shapes *-Njigbe* and *-yingbe*. The former with initial nasal has medial *g*, while the latter with initial palatal continuant has medial velar nasal. It seems that here too in at least two forms which have the morpheme *-rr-*, we should identify two alternative stem forms, a simple and a doubled one, for while these forms are usually as given, there have been recorded the additional forms 1EXNSG *yirr-yingbe*, and 1INPL *ngarr-yingbe*, i.e., suggesting an alternative stem-suffix form *-yiyigbe*. (No

comparable form was recorded for 3NSG.) Those given in Table 15 however, are the usual forms, showing deletion of the palatal glide following *-rr-*.

There is additionally a “second” Future paradigm, which differs both formally and semantically from the first, but is much less commonly used. This second Future appears to have stem shapes *-Njiji*, *-yijingbe*, and *-Njigbe*, thus showing (in the last two forms) trade-offs between nasal segment stem—initially versus before the Future suffix; but additionally, showing the distinctive Future stem shape *-Njiji*. Note that the paradigms of “first” and “second” Futures are not completely distinct, for they have common 1INDU and 3NSG forms. In 1INPL, 1EXNSG and 3NSG, however (i.e., just where there is nonsingular *-rr-*), there occurs the doubled stem form *-yijingbe*, with internal hardening. This contrasts directly with the few doubled forms without hardening reported in the previous paragraph (with stem *-yiyingbe*).

Forms of this additional Future paradigm have been found mainly in clauses introduced by the particle *gala* ‘try’ (see further 12.2.3.), and also in clauses where they express obligation, necessity or inevitability in the way Future forms usually do, for example:

(474) *yanjiji* *wirrig*
 3-3SG-go tomorrow
 ‘He must go tomorrow’

(475) *ngayugu* *gala* *nganjiji* *jarrambu* *gunga*
 1SG-ABS try 1SG-go looking 3SG-DAT
 ‘I’ll try to go look for him’.

The *i* vocalism of these forms suggests that they are essentially doubled forms of the Future stem, and (the singulars) old relics of earlier Future formation, without the distinctive but presumably more recent suffix *-wa*.

The present Irrealis forms, given for the sake of completeness, show the alternation between a stem *-ya* following *-rr-* in 1EXNSG, 1INPL and 3NSG, and a stem *-Nja* elsewhere. In these forms, the palatal nasal occurs following the Irrealis 2SG person marker *-ni-*, and likewise, the 3SG form has palatal nasal following the third person Irrealis prefix complex *yayi-*. The Habitual shows the same patterning.

Although “admonitive” is not elsewhere listed as a separate paradigmatic category, it is worth doing so here because the relationship between Future and admonitive is not apparently as straightforward as usual — although examination will show that the admonitive stem forms may in fact be arrived at by eliminating final *-gbe* or *-ngbe* from the corresponding Future forms.

Finally, there appears to be wider categorial function than usual of the Potential forms. Although Future (as noted in 8.6. above) is the preferred category in the protasis of non-past conditionals, there have been recorded several examples of Potential stems forms of “go”, with reduction of final *-n*, and Irrealis prefixation, in the protasis of non-past conditionals:

- (476) *bujun* *yi-ni-nyjaga* *nan-garr* *yi-ni-me* *wurren*
 if IRR-2SG-go that-ALL IRR-2SG-get child-ABS

‘If you go there you may conceive a child’.

- (477) *bujun* *yayi-nyjaga* *warljub* *ngawun-gege-ma-yan*
 if IRR-3-go inside 1SG/3NSG-hunt-POT

‘If he goes inside, I may hunt them all away’.

It seems to be the case for “go” that Potential forms may be understood to express volition, intention and necessity in the way that Future does for the majority of verbs. Thus informants apparently understand Potential *ngarranggan wirrig-bi* and Future *ngarringbe wirrig-bi* to mean something very similar, ‘We shall/must go early’. As with other verbs, however, Future is the preferred form of jussive complement clauses:

- (478) *nan-yi* *ngan-yana-rri* *nganjigbe*
 that-ERG 3SG/1SG-say-PST 1SG-FUT

‘He/that one told me I must go’.

Hortative and positive Imperative categories attest the stem forms *ya-* and *Nja-*.

The verb *yu-* (reduplicated form *yuju-*, and generally with auxiliary function) ‘to be, be in a place, exist’ is defective in having only Present and non-past subordinate forms. The latter is irregular: the expected *yu-n-ga* is not found, the occurring form being *yungga*. In other tense-aspect categories, parts of the verb of being and location, *jingi-*, are used. Examples of the occurrence of *yu-* are:

- (479) *bardab-marla* *ya-0-yuju* *ngamanda-wu*
 look around-ITER 3-3SG-AUX what-DAT

‘What is he looking around for?’

- (480) *narrangarl-ma* *ya-0-yu* *yi-jeng* *galung-lan*
 protrude-PS 3-3SG-AUX YI-foot up-ALL

‘His foot is sticking upwards’.

- (481) *nyilirr-ma* *ya-0-yuju* (*nganu*)
 ignore-PS 3-3SG-AUX (1SG-DAT)

‘He doesn’t take any notice’ [of me].

8.17. Transitivity

There is a clear difference between canonical transitive and intransitive clause structures in Wardaman, the former characterized by the presence of two pronominal adjuncts in the verb, and by the subject pronominal corresponding to an independent Ergative-marked, semantically agentive nominal; the latter, by the presence of one pronominal adjunct.

However, a bipartite transitive-intransitive division of both clauses and verbs is unsatisfactory. Let us consider clause types first, and here it becomes apparent that it is useful to recognize at least three major ones, and at least one minor one.

An intransitive clause may be defined as one with one pronominal verb prefix (Table 16, Type 1). Various kinds of complements may occur in the intransitive clause, none of which is marked in the verb, e.g., a clause with predicate of motion may have a Dissociative nominal complement, *0-yanggi gunya* ‘he went away from him’, a location complement of some kind, and so on.

The canonical transitive clause is one in which there are two pronominal adjuncts, one of which may be linked to an independent Ergative-marked nominal (that is, if this is present), while the other represents the direct object category (Type 3). There is a ditransitive clause type, which only a few predicates may realize, in which the two pronominal adjuncts represent the semantic agent and the semantic indirect object (Type 4).

Table 16. Types of Noun-Verb Relations

	Noun	Verb
1	ABS _i	SUB _j
2	ABS _i + DAT _j	SUB _j
3	ABS _i + ERG _j	SUB _j + OBJ _i
4	ABS _i + ERG _j + DAT _k	SUB _j + OBJ _k

This leaves the question of how one may regard the common Absolutive-Dative clause Type 2 in Wardaman, i.e., that in which there is one pronominal adjunct to the verb, a semantic agent, and a Dative (often, semantically benefactive) clausal argument function which cannot be encoded on the verb, but may be expressed by independent nominal phrase, commonly a pronominal. If one takes the presence of verbal pronominal prefixes as definitional, this clause type is to be regarded as intransitive. But if one defines the clause type in terms of predicate semantics and argument roles, such a clause-type would better be regarded as two-place, rather than one-place (intransitive) with possible additional complements. The agent nominal, if present in such clauses, is overwhelmingly Absolutive, although it may occasionally be Ergative-marked.

One might also recognize as a distinct sub-type the clause with one pronominal adjunct which is a semantic agent or experiencer, in which there may be an Instrumental phrase expressing the semantic cause or source. The archetypal predicate which occurs in this clause type in Wardaman is *ba-* ‘burn, perish’, often with Instrumental *marninggani-yi* ‘sun’. As with other intransitives, there is an optional purposive (formally Dative) argument position “for which” that may occur with this predicate, e.g., *nga-ba-n wiya-wu* ‘I’m thirsty for water’. But the really distinctive things about this clause type are, first, the presence of the semantically agentive nominal phrase which cannot be marked on the verb, but instead is realized as Instrument; and the encoding of the sole semantically patientive nominal by subject form-class in the verb.

It seems out of keeping with the structural diversity of clause types, then, to simply recognize a distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses. We may more

usefully recognize (at least) the types shown in Table 16. Some further minor types may also be identified on both semantic and formal grounds; e.g., that described in the preceding paragraph; the mediopassive construction; and as will be seen below, a construction type might be recognized for which a label “medioactive” might be coined, to handle the case of some predicate (particle plus verb) phrases which mainly designate weather conditions.

If it is not useful to recognize a simple bipartite division of clauses, it is also not completely satisfactory to recognize a bipartite division of verbs, for at least two reasons. The first is that the transitivity value of finite verbs as sole predicate constituent, and as member of a particle plus verb construction, may be and often is different. There is a large number of particle plus verb combinations, in which the finite verbs are the same ones that generally occur elsewhere as predicates of transitive clauses. With some particles, however, they do not determine transitive clause structure. For example, the finite verb *gi-*, by itself, is transitive, or the predicate basis of transitive clauses. With the particle *milid* ‘show’, however, it takes only one pronominal adjunct, and any indirect object, “person shown to”, is a Dative-marked nominal which cannot be encoded in the verb; thus its argument structure is of the Absolutive-Dative kind. In combination with other particles, such as *denberr* ‘hang up, suspend’, *gi-* is the basis of transitive clause structure.

In the same way the verb root *bu-* may occur in transitive and other clause types depending upon its occurrence as sole predicate, versus its particular lexical combination with given particles. Although *bu-* as sole verbal constituent is transitive, in the particle plus verb combination *jurd(ba) bu-* ‘to show to’ it occurs in the Absolutive-Dative clause type, and any “person shown to” must be Dative-marked outside the verb.

The root *bu-* is particularly common in particle plus verb combinations which designate weather conditions, and clauses of this kind show no evidence of being structurally transitive. For example, in clauses with the particle plus verb combinations *jurr(ba) bu-* ‘sprinkle, rain lightly’, and *larrawardba bu-* ‘to break’ (of day), there is no syntactic indication of transitivity:

- (482) *galulul ya-0-wudba marlŋga jurr(ba) ya-0-bu-n-ga*
 top rdp 3-3SG-throw cloud-ABS sprinkle 3-3SG-AUX-PRES-SUB
 ‘Way high up clouds form when it sprinkles’.

There has never been found to be an explicitly agentive nominal which may occur with this combination, although the “cognate” nominal *wiyan* ‘rain’, in Absolutive form, may co-occur.

- (483) *larraward-ba ya-0-bu-n marninggani*
 break-PS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES sun-ABS
 ‘The day is breaking’.

The Absolutive form of “sun” in propositions with this combination may be taken as an indication that it is formally intransitive (i.e., one-place). It might, as suggested above, be useful to recognize this as a distinct predicate class, for *bu-* otherwise typically occurs

in transitive or Absolutive-Dative clause types. Combinations of *bu-* with other particles, such as *bag* ‘break’, yield transitive clause structures.

Likewise, the verb *na-* ‘see’ is ordinarily transitive (*ngawun-da-n* ‘I see them’), but occurs in a formally intransitive clause structure with the particle *lag(ba)*, meaning as a whole ‘to dry up, become desiccated’; in this combination, it is partly synonymous with the combination *lag(ba) ngegba-* ‘to die and dry up’, where *ngegba-* normally, as sole predicative constituent, occurs in intransitive clause structure.

The second kind of evidence that militates against a strict transitive-intransitive distinction at the level of the predicate is the fact that one important predicate, *yana-* ‘say, do’ is found used both transitively and intransitively. Clauses with this predicate tend to be structured transitively first, where there is a jussive complement of “commanding that” (see 477 above), or second, of “saying to that” with complement clause not one of directly reported speech, in which case the person told may be treated as direct object:

(484) *ngan-yana-rri* *ya-0-nyangi-we* *yiwarna* *wiyan*
3SG/1SG-say-PST 3-3SG-come-FUT next rain

‘She told me she will come next year’.

Note that this amounts to the possibility of “indirect” report, i.e., the report is not framed as direct speech, but rather as a summary of what was said, or as indirect speech. Transitive usage of the verb also is common where what is said is a nominal “cognate object” of speech of some kind, and not necessarily a complement clause:

(485) *nganburr-yana-rri-ya* *madin*
3NSG/1SG-say-PST-NAR word-ABS

‘They gave me knowledge’, in the sense ‘they imparted information’.

Intransitive usage tends to correspond to the function “tell to”, “say to” or “relate to”, where the complement is a clause of reported (direct) speech:

(486) *dana-ni-wan* *0-yana-rri* *nganu*
this-ART-DF 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT

“‘This is the one”, she said to me’.

The same possibility of variable transitivity exists with the particle plus verb combination *yang(ma) bu-* ‘tell, inform’. ‘I informed them’ may be either *yang nga-bu-ndi wurrugu* or *yang ngawun-bu-ndi*, and either may have a full linked clause (either independent or subordinate in form) specifying the content of the report. Textual examples were recorded in which the particle *jurd-(ba)* ‘show, indicate’, which normally occurs with finite verb *bu-* in Absolutive-Dative clause-type such that any “person shown to” must be put into Dative case, alternatively occurs with constructionally transitive *yana-*, as indicated by the fact that the one to whom something is shown is marked by object pronominal form in the verb. (For a parallel difference in transitivity of the “say” verb in Wakiman, see Cook 1987: 221.)

Given the evidence presented here of the inadequacy of a bipartite transitive-intransitive distinction at either clause- or predicate-level, we nevertheless capture something significant about the language by noting that there tends to be congruence between particular verbs as sole predicative constituent and particular clause types, i.e., *bu-* as sole predicate normally occurs in transitive clauses. Further, predicates which as sole constituent function transitively also, in combination with particles, commonly occur in Absolutive-Dative clause structures; but predicates which function intransitively as sole verbal constituent also tend to function intransitively in combination with particles.

There is no single process of transitive-intransitive derivation (but see 8.19. on causatives). Rather the difference between transitive and intransitive predicate meanings and associated clause structures is generally managed “lexico-syntactically”, by the alternation of different finite (auxiliary) verbs with the same particle. Hence, the difference implemented by such alternation is often not simply a grammatical one relating to transitivity, but may also involve additional elements of lexical semantics. Below are listed a number of common alternations of the same particle with different finite verbs, the difference instantiating the difference between transitive and intransitive clause structures:

Particle	Transitive	Intransitive	Gloss
<i>darab-a</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘make bog, bog’
<i>darrib-a</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘put to boil, boil’
<i>denberr</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-/yu-</i>	‘hang up, be hanging’
<i>deng</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘dip up, drop’
<i>dilyg-ba</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘wait for, be waiting’
<i>dily-ma</i>	<i>bu-, marn-bu-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	‘light, burn’
<i>dirrimid</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘block, be obstructing’
<i>diw</i>	<i>wudba-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	‘throw, fly away’
<i>dorlb-a</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘drop, fall’
<i>duba</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘seat, be seated’
<i>badbad</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>yu-</i>	‘cover up, be covered’
<i>bag</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>yu-/ya-</i>	‘break, be broken’
<i>ban.garrg-ba</i>	<i>wudba-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘throw down, fall down’
<i>bard</i>	<i>wudba-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘throw down, fall down’
<i>barlarra</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘hide, be hidden’
<i>barlb</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘be hidden, fall (under)’
<i>bijarrg</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>we-</i>	‘make spurt, spurt’
<i>biliwirlib</i>	<i>wudba-, bu-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	‘make roll, roll’
<i>birilg-ba</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	‘flatten, go flat’
<i>bod-ba</i>	<i>na-, lawu-</i>	<i>nyanga-, ya-</i>	‘visit, come/go visit’
<i>bulmarrab</i>	<i>marn-bu-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘make float, float’
<i>ligirri</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘lean against, lean’
<i>mamaj</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>yana-</i>	‘beckon’ (obj vs. Abs-Dat)
<i>mugurn</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘put to sleep, sleep’
<i>mun-ma</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-/ya-</i>	‘conceal, be concealed’
<i>ngajirr-ma</i>	<i>marn-bu-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	‘make sneeze, sneeze’

Particle	Transitive	Intransitive	Gloss
<i>ngejurl-ma-</i>	<i>marn-bu-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	'make cough, cough'
<i>ngarl-ma</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	'bark at, bark'
<i>ngenyung</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>yana-</i>	'poke tongue (at)'
<i>wabirl</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>we-</i>	'peel, fade'
<i>wardang-ba</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	'put belly up, be belly up'
<i>warlng-ma</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	'open, be open'
<i>wurrnug</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>we-</i>	'knock over, die'

This list shows that a common transitive-intransitive pairing is *gi-/jingi-*, but other pairings are found. As independent predicate *gi-* means 'put', and *jingi-* 'sit', but the latter also has an important copula function ("be, be in a place"), as well as auxiliary function with particles.

The sense of some of the pairs listed may be more or less transparent. In some cases the pair corresponds to a difference in transitivity in clause type, but seemingly without great semantic difference, e.g., *mamaj ngen-me-n* 'he beckons me', versus *mamaj ya-0-yana nganu* 'he beckons to me', or the like.

The difference in pairings with *wabirl* is that between "peel" or "take the skin off", versus "come, peel off, fade, fall off", as one might say of paint on the wall or colour in clothing.

There are many alternative possible pairings where there is no change in transitivity of the clause, but rather a semantic difference in the nature of the action predicated. In Wardaman, this kind of alternation cannot be seen as of formally different kind to the transitive-intransitive pairings shown above. Some of these alternative pairings give some insight into verbal lexical semantics. Examples are:

Particle	Verb-1	Verb-2	Gloss(es)
<i>dibdib</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>buju-</i>	'pull out, dig out'
<i>din.gawurr</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>jala-</i>	'hit on neck'
<i>beng</i>	<i>megbe-</i>	<i>bewe-</i>	'snap by hand, foot'
<i>birdij</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>na-</i>	'find, conceive'
<i>birrij-ba</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>me-</i>	'knead, stir'
<i>bog</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>me-</i>	'dip'
<i>jurlg-ba</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>wudba-</i>	'push, throw'
<i>lag-ba</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>ngegba-</i>	'dry up, die and dry'
<i>luglug-ba</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	'be swollen, burn'
<i>mirrij</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>dagbarla-</i>	'roll up, have rolled'
<i>mob</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>wudba-</i>	'break, throw and break'
<i>mun-ma</i>	<i>jingi-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	'be covered, cook covered'
<i>warrb</i>	<i>yu-</i>	<i>we-</i>	'rest, sit and rest'
<i>yulun-</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>wo-</i>	'give in exchange, get'

In some cases we must see the semantics of particle plus verb pairing as rather compositional, e.g., *lag ngegba-* 'to die and dry up'; or *luglug-ba ba-* 'to swell up and burn'; *mun-ma ba-* 'to cook in a ground oven, pit'.

From some alternative pairings with *me-*, it becomes clear that this verb has a central semantic component in many combinations of “action by hand”, e.g., *dibdib me-* ‘to extract, remove’ versus *dibdib buju-* ‘to extract, dig out’; *birrij bu-* ‘knead’ versus *me-* ‘stir’, where the latter is an action more fully implemented with the hand only. It also is clear that the verb *jala-* which by itself is used to mean ‘to boomerang’, in combinations expresses a component of meaning “touch tangentially”, e.g., *din.gawurrng bu-* ‘to hit on the neck’, versus *din.gawurrng jala-* ‘to hit a (glancing) blow on the neck’.

8.18. Inchoativization

Inchoativization, or “becoming X”, is implemented by a complex structure with reflexive-reciprocal forms of either *na-* (‘see’) or *bu-* (‘hit’) as copula, and nominal or other part of speech designating that which something is becoming marked with the suffix *-marla ~ -barla*. The causative meaning “make something become X” is generally implemented with *-marla ~ -barla* suffixed to the nominal made to become X, and the predicate *marn-bu-* ‘make’.

The suffix *-marla ~ -barla* expresses the semantic category iterative in the predicate.

- (487) *yi-ngelen-marla* *0-bu-yi-rri*
 YI-married-ABS-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST
 ‘He got married’, ‘became a married person’.

- (488) *yimerrug* *ye-0-me-n-wan* *wurren-marla* *ya-0-bu-yi-n*
 spirit-ABS 3-3SG-get-PRES-DF child-ABS-INCH 3-3SG-AUX-RR-PRES
 ‘And when she gets a [child] spirit it turns into a child’.

- (489) *yi-nyalugin-marla* *marnbu* *nganu*
 YI-soft-INCH make 1SG-DAT
 ‘Make it [get] soft for me’.

Among other syntactic distributional facts that make verb particles similar to nominals (11.1.), they may be suffixed with the inchoative category:

- (490) *galyurra-marla* *0-marnbu-yi-rri-ya*
 disturb-INCH 3SG-make-RR-PST-NAR
 ‘He made a nuisance of himself’.

- (491) *galyurra-yi* *dan-yi* *ngan-marnbu-rri* *yi-warringun-marla*
 nuisance-ERG this-ERG 3SG/1SG-make-PST YI-bad-INCH
 ‘This nuisance person made me bad’ [in mind, temperament].

- (492) *wu-bol-warang-marla* *ya-0-bu-yi-n* *yarrulan-bi*
 WU-grey-having-INCH 3-3SG-AUX-RR-PRES young person-ABS-ART
 ‘[Though] a young person, he is turning grey’.

- (493) *layin* *buga-marla* *0-bu-yi-rri* *ngarr-wudba*
 meat-ABS rotten-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST 1INPL-throw-PRES
worrba
 out

'The meat went rotten, let's throw it out'.

- (494) *ngarrug* *yi-yanung-marla* *ngarr-bu-yi-rri* *wardama-mulu*
 1INPL-ABS YI-easterners-INCH 1INPL-AUX-RR-PST [name]-PL-ABS

'We Wardaman have turned into easterners'.

- (495) *yi-derrema-marla* *0-bu-yi-rri-ya* *marluga*
 YI-crawl-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST-NAR old man-ABS
gajigaji-wunba *yanga-yi* *0-bu-ndi*
 walk-SOU sickness-ERG 3SG-strike-PST

'From walking, the old man turned into a crawler, he got sick'.

As (495) illustrates, if represented by nominal or particle, the previous condition is marked as Source.

- (496) *yirrbag-marla-wagbawun* *ngarrugu* *dana*
 back-INCH -lacking 1INPL-ABS this-ABS

'This one can't turn into one who moves back for us'.

In (496) there is no finite verb, but the sense is intelligible from the meaning of the adverb "back(wards)" (along the same trajectory).

- (497) *mirrng-ma-wunba* *yi-man-marla* *nga-bu-yi-rri*
 headache-PS-SOU YI-good -INCH 1SG-AUX-RR-PST

'From [having] a headache I got better'.

In (497) the verb particle *mirrng-ma* is marked as Source or prior condition.

- (498) *wonggo* *yi-nga-na-n* *gurlurrg gija* *namaj*
 neg IRR-1SG/3SG-AUX-PRES sorry as 3SGPRO-ABS
gurlurrg-marla-wagbawun
 sorry-INCH-lacking

'I'm unable to feel sorry for him just as he can't be/become sorry'.

Although the examples given have been mostly with *bu-yi-*, no difference in syntactic distribution has been found from *na-yi-*, which occurs in inchoative meaning with nominals, particles and adverbs, as illustrated for *bu-yi-*.

- (499) *yi-jomod-barla* *0-na-yi-rri*
 YI-heavy-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST

'He got heavy'.

Final-syllable reduction does not occur with the suffixation of the Inchoative marker.

There is some evidence of a usage of *-marla* which is neither fully inchoative, nor iterative, but which appears to express some semantic component having to do with entry into a new state or condition, viz. (500):

- (500) *nganinggin nganu-marla yud-ba ya-0-wudba nganu*
 1SG-GEN-ABS 1SG-DAT-? claim 3-3SG-AUX 1SG-DAT
 ‘He is laying claim to mine’, or, ‘he claims mine as his’.

8.19. Causatives

There is a morphologically distinct causative or resultative suffix *-gurne* ~ *-wurne*, which is added to the part of speech expressing what something is made to be. The finite verb in such constructions is usually *marn-bu-* ‘make’, and less frequently, *gi-* ‘put’ (see further). *Marnbu-* may have otherwise have the material sense of ‘build, construct’ and the like, but equally has non-material senses e.g., in the particle plus verb construction *iyialang marnbu-* ‘to make know, inform’. Note also the following:

- (501) *yi-mum ya-wurr-marn-bu-yi-n*
 YI-eye-ABS 3-3NSG-make-RR-PRES
 ‘They are befriending each other, becoming sweethearts’.
- (502) *wonggo mugurn yi-nganburr-marn-bu-n*
 neg sleep IRR-3NSG/1SG-make-PRES
 ‘They don’t let me sleep’ [Kriol ‘can’t make-im me sleep’].

While *-marla* ~ *-barla* is suffixed to the unreduced stem, *-gurne* ~ *-wurne* may be added to either unreduced or, more commonly, reduced stem: *wu-bililima-wurne* or *wu-bililiman-gurne* ‘make smooth’. The following are examples of the canonical causative construction:

- (503) *wu-donyman-gurne yi-marn-bu-rri*
 WU-crooked-ABS-CAUS 2SG/3SG-make-PST
 ‘You made it crooked’.
- (504) *yi-gelele-wurne marnbu yi-ngarraban ngay-ma me*
 YI-cold-CAUS make YI-hot-ABS stir-PS AUX
 ‘Make it cool off, it’s hot, stir it’.

Alternatively, the construction *yi-gelelen marnbu* ‘make it cool’, without the causative suffix, is found and is considered acceptable.

- (505) *ya-wurr-marn-bu-n yala-wunba wu-nganyngany-gurne*
 3-3NSG-make-PRES ironwood-SOU WU-sharp-CAUS
 ‘They make a sharp one [spear] from ironwood’.

Despite the availability of a distinct causative morphological marker, however, it seems clear that inchoative and causative categories are not entirely distinct, as evidenced by some overlap in the distribution of the suffixes. The basis for this is apparent enough. Both involve change of state or condition from an (often implicit) previous one. The inchoative marker is often found where it can only be understood in causative sense, with *marn-bu-* as finite predicate, and somewhat more commonly, with *gi-*. Sometimes, too, *-gurne* is found where it must be understood to mean, not “cause to be”, but as a perfective nominal form designating the result, “having been made” or “having been caused to be”. Various possibilities are illustrated in this short passage, recorded as a statement from a woman who was upset about efforts to take a child from her care.

- (506) *nga-gi-ndi* *yi-jad-marla* *wudu-wunba* *0-garrany-jiyi-rrri*
 1SG-CAUS-PST YI-big ABS-CAUS little-SOU 3SG-grow-MED-PST
nganu *nganinggin-ba* *mayi-wunba*
 1SG-DAT 1SG-GEN-ABL food-SOU
- yi-jad-gurne* *nunbab* *nu-yana-rrri* *go* *yi-jad-gu-wan*
 YI-big ABS-CAUS realize 2NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT YI-big-DAT-DF
- yi-jad-marla* *duwu-ma* *nga-bu-ny-ga*
 YI-big ABS-CAUS rear-PS 1SG-AUX-PST-SUB
- yi-jad* *nga-gi-ndi* *wonggo murrugu* *murrugin.gin*
 YI-big-ABS 1SG/3SG-CAUS-PST neg 2NSG-DAT 2NSG GEN-ABS
nganinggin
 1SG GEN-ABS
- wudu-wi* *geleng-ma* *yi-na-rrri* *wonggo* *duwu-ma*
 little-ART spurn-PS 2SG-AUX-PST neg rear-PS
yi-bu-ndi *yinyeng-nyi*
 2SG-AUX-PST 2SG-ERG
- yi-jad-gu-wan* *nunbab* *yi-yana-rrri go*
 YI-big-DAT-DF realize 2SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
- yi-mum* *biling-ma* *yi-me-yi-rrri* *go*
 YI-eye-ABS open-PS 2SG-AUX-RR-PST 3SG-DAT

‘I raised her from a little one, she grew from my food,
 when she was already big you opened your eyes to her,
 when she was big [from] my having raised her,
 I raised her [=made her big], she is not yours, she is mine,
 when she was little you spurned her, you didn’t raise her yourself,
 you opened your eyes to her when she was big,
 you opened your eyes to her’.

(Note the co-occurrence of Ablative and Source in the nominal phrase “from my food”; see 11.5. –11.6. concerning the distribution of these categories.)

There is a first construction *yi-jad-marla*, with the formally Inchoative suffix which here, with *nga-gi-ndi*, must be understood in a causative sense. *yi-jad-gurne* here must be taken in the perfective sense “having been made/become big”. There is then an occurrence of *yi-jad-marla* without overt causative verb, but which must be understood as semantically causative; and so must *yi-jad nga-gi-ndi*, though it has neither formally inchoative nor causative suffix.

Other examples which show the overlap between morphological categories follow:

- (507) *wonggo* *nunu-ni-n* *dan-garr* *lagla-warr*
 neg IRR2NSG-bring-PRES this-ALL place-ALL
wu-boban-marla *nga-gi-ndi*
 WU-dry-CAUS 1SG-CAUS-PST

‘You must not bring it to this place, I made this dry’ [i.e., a dry area where liquor is not permitted].

- (508) *ngalyalya-marla* *yi-gi-ndi-ya*
 crybaby-CAUS 2SG-CAUS-PST-NAR

‘You turned him into a crybaby’.

- (509) *yi-nyalugin-marla* *marnbu* *nganu*
 YI-soft-CAUS make 1SG-DAT

‘Make it [YI-class, meat] soft for me’.

- (510) *galyurra-marla* *0-marn-bu-yi-rri-ya*
 nuisance-CAUS/INCH 3SG-make-RR-PST-NAR

‘He made a nuisance of himself’.

There is an alternative to use of either suffix in causative sense, and indeed the use of any finite verb, of the following kind:

- (511) *nganburr-wo-ndi-ya* *buda* *yingilga* *yi-wad-gu*
 3NSG/1SG-give-PST-NAR plum-ABS juice-ABS YI-pubis-DAT
wu-melema-wu *yi-wangany-gu*
 WU-black-DAT YI-armpit-DAT

‘The two of them gave me black plum juice to make my pubis and armpit hair black’.

Here the Dative-marked adjectival nominal “black” occurs as modifier of “pubis” and “armpit”, with a clear purposive semantic “for black pubis and armpit”.

8.20. Copula verbs

Two finite verbs function as copulas, *jingi-* and *yu-*. The former is also a full lexical verb “sit” (and may also occur with particle *duba* in this meaning). In many instances copular kinds of constructions in Wardaman do not involve the use of any finite verb.

For example, as noted in 5.7., semantically adjectival nominals may occur with article suffix forming complements, the subject of which is understood from the pronominal adjunct of a proximate finite verb:

- (512) *wudu-wi* *nganburr-ga-ndi ...*
 little-ABS-ART 3NSG/1SG-take-PST
 ‘When I was little they took me ...’

The verb *yu-* is less common than *jingi-*, both in predications of being and existence (in a place), and in particle plus verb combinations. This is related to its being defective. As noted in 8.16., it has only present tense form *yu-* and non-past subordinate form *yungga*, forms of *jingi-* occurring elsewhere. It also has a reduplicative present tense form, *yuju-*. Besides serving (rarely) as copula, *yu-*, is also found as supporting verb in a number of particle plus finite verb combinations. Any particle which may occur with *yu-* may also occur with *jingi-*, although certain particles (see below) preferentially occur with *yu-* in the Present tense. In a few combinations with particle it seems that the verb may sometimes express the meaning of “lie”, or (with inanimate clausal subjects) “be on the ground”, but this semantic element is certainly not evident in many combinations.

Particles with which *yu-* has been recorded in combination include: *geleng* ‘shine, be shiny’; *lirmgang-ma* ‘smile, laugh’; *mengmeng-ma* ‘be an expanse, spread out, cover, be in flower’ (typically used of expanses of water or flat plains, and in the last sense of plants); *mirng-ma* ‘have a headache’; *ngarralang-ma* ‘stand poised, with paws up’; *ngidgid-ba* ‘whimper’; *warrba* ‘rest’; *word-ba* ‘sit with head out, only head visible’; *narrangarl-ma* ‘protrude, stick up’; *juba* ‘be deaf’; *gunurd-ba* ‘be glad’.

(513) illustrates the non-past subordinate form of *yu-* in copular function:

- (513) *ngayi-jingi-n* *marrany-(y)a* *marranyin* *ya-0-yungga*
 1INDU-sit-PRES sand-LOC sand-ABS 3-3SG-COP-SUB
yi-jad-bi
 YI-big-ABS-ART

‘Let’s sit in the sand, where there is a lot [a big expanse] of sand’.

(514) – (516) illustrate *yu* in combination with particles.

- (514) *yi-jornog-ban* *gunurd-ba* *nga-yu* *mejern*
 YI-sated-NOM happy-PS 1SG-AUX stomach-ABS
 ‘When I am full I feel happy’.

- (515) *bida* *nana* *yum-nya* *ya-0-yungga* *gurlg-ba*
 gall-ABS that-ABS tree-LOC 3-3SG-AUX-SUB swell-PS
 ‘A tree gall is [what is] swelling up on the tree’.

- (516) *wonggo* *gunurd-ba* *ma-nga-yu/ma-nga-jingi-n*
 neg happy-PS HAB-1SG-AUX
 ‘I am not glad’, or ‘not feeling happy’.

Chapter 9

Other aspects of word formation

9.1. Introduction: Historical layers

There remain a few significant aspects of word, and mainly nominal, morphology to be discussed in this chapter. Some of these are isolated, or attested in only a few forms (like the prefix *nya-*, see 9.6.), and may be assumed to be remnants of old processes of word formation, now fairly marginal. Others, however, like nominal formation with the suffix *-ban ~ -man*, are not only clearly old, but were thorough-going in the language, as the large number of relatable forms attests.

9.2. *-bari ~ -wari*, adjectival suffix

A nominal-forming suffix of reasonably frequent occurrence is *-bari ~ -wari*, which is attested suffixed both to verb particles/adverbs and to nominals, creating derived forms which are either semantically adjectival, and/or characterized by perfective passive meaning. This ending is only moderately productive.

Some forms with this suffix include: *burrburg-bari* ‘piebald, spotted’; *nyabnyab-(b)ari* ‘sticky’ (from *nyab*); *walig-bari* ‘around, all around’ (from adverbial *walig* ‘around’); *gorlorlogba-wari* ‘straight’ (related to *gorlorlogba* ‘straight’); *gun.garr-wari* ‘what type?’ ‘what kind?’ (cf. *gun.garr-ma*, 7.5.5.); *derrema-wari* ‘crawling, crawler’ from the particle *derre-ma*; and *yarralma-wari* ‘untidy, unkempt’ (related to particle *yarralma*, ‘stand up, be unkempt, untidy’).

Sometimes the suffix derives a form of a different word class from the base form, e.g., *nyabnyab-(b)ari* ‘sticky’ is derived from particle *nyab-(b)a* ‘to stick to’; and *yarralma-wari* ‘unkempt’ from particle *yarralma* ‘to be unkempt’. However, sometimes suffixation does not clearly result in a change in word class, e.g., compare:

(517a)	<i>walig</i>	<i>yanja</i>	<i>gunya</i>	<i>ye-0-geng-ma</i>
	around	3SG-go-PRES	3SG-DISS	3-3SG-fear-PRES
(517b)	<i>walig-bari</i>	<i>yanja</i>	<i>gunya</i>	<i>ye-0-geng-ma</i>
	around-NOM	3SG-go-PRES	3SG-DISS	3-3SG-fear-PRES

‘He’s going around away from him, he fears him’.

In such instances there is little clear ground for describing the suffix as “nominalizing” (or indeed, as “derivational”), since the resulting form has the same possibilities of occurrence as the base form. Note also *gorlorlogban* ‘straight’ and *gorlorlogba-wari* ‘straight’ are equally descriptors. There is seemingly a difference in syntactic flexibility of regular nominal constructions as compared to these: those with *-bari ~ -wari* are not

commonly attested with case suffixation (although inquiry reveals that informants consider case-suffixed forms of them acceptable).

The subtly more nominal character of *gun.garr-wari* as compared to *gun.garr-ma* may be appreciated from the fact that the latter may be used to question the manner of action, “how?”. It may, however, also be used to ask about the nature of something, e.g., *gun.garr-ma madin* ‘what’s the word?’ ‘what’s the news?’ etc. *Gun.garr-wari*, on the other hand, is used only as adnominal interrogative:

- (518) *gej-ba* *nga-gi-ndi* *mulurru*
 ask-PS 1SG-AUX-PST old woman-ABS
barnagbarnang *gun.garr-wari* *magulu*
 aunt rdp what kind-NOM yam-ABS
gaba gaba nyanga jurd-ba nga-bu-wa yinggi
 here here come show-PS 1SG-AUX-FUT 2SG-DAT

‘I asked the old lady
 “Auntie? What sort of thing is *magulu*?”
 “Here here come, I’ll show you”’.

Two different kinds of textual occurrences of *-bari* are worth citing to further illustrate its functional range. In a text about bushlore, the speaker is describing plants which Aborigines used to collect and use for fish poisons. Allative forms of “here” and “that way” are found suffixed as follows:

- (519) *menjen* *manda-gan* *gelerrnga*
 [plant] what-Q [plant]
dami-rlan-bari
 here-ALL-NOM
dawu-rlan-bari *gelerrnga*
 that way-ALL-NOM [plant]
 ‘*Barringtonia* and what’s-it *Strychnos*
 towards this way
 and that way *Strychnos*’.

Here, *-bari* seems to make more concrete the notion of a region or area in the direction indicated, and thus a nominalizing sort of value.

In another text the speaker talks of evil glances, or “evil eye”, which might keep a pregnant woman from delivering her child easily and in good time. She describes such a woman as follows:

- (520) *yi-birrba* *bangbun* *nana*
 YI-old-ABS woman-ABS that-ABS
burruga-wun-bari *gayawun-bi*
 long ago-NOM-NOM while-ART

‘That is an “old” woman [‘old’ =one pregnant for a time already]
 a long-term one, still a while [to go] ...’.

Here the suffix occurs on *burruga-*, which usually occurs with article suffix as *burruga-wi* in the meaning 'a long time ago, a long while, long before'. Although seemingly essentially adverbial, *burruga-* is here suffixed with what looks like nominal-forming *-gun ~-wun* (see 9.4.), but which may also be analyzed as a reduced form of the Source case ending *-wunba*, which has been contracted with the ending *-bari*, producing a form meaning 'a long-term (person)'.

Examples of this suffix with verb particles, which show the perfective passive semantic most clearly, include: from *dog-ba* 'split, halve, cut', *dog-bari* 'halved, split one'; from *bag-ba* 'break', *bag-bari* 'broken one'; from *dorlb-(b)a* 'drop', *dorlb-(b)ari* 'dropped one'; from *dulyurr-ma* 'break, burst', *dulyurrma-wari* 'burst one'. From nominals, note also the following derivations: from *wengman* 'empty', *wengman-bari* 'emptied, empty, having been emptied'; from *ja.nam* 'full', *jaman-bari* 'full, filled one'; and related to both verb particle *jubad* 'be deaf' and adjectival nominal *yi-jubad* 'deaf', *jubad-bari* 'deaf, deafened one'. Such derived forms do not occur with nominal class prefixes (though they are, as noted above, acceptable with case endings). They tend to occur in absolutive form, for example:

- (521) *dog-bari* *nganu-wo-n*
 split-NOM 2NSG/1SG-give-PRES
 'Give me the halved one/give me that bit'.

9.3. *-man ~ -ban*, nominal-forming suffix

There are many nominals in Wirdaman that have a final syllable *-man* or *-ban*, which is discussed in 11.1.2., and seems to be relatable to the particle suffix *-ba ~ -ma*. This suggestion is supported by the fact that from a considerable number of particles, nominals can be derived by the addition of the noun-forming *-n* (the same element which is commonly deleted in final syllable reduction, see 3.4.): for example, from particle *bilili-ma* 'be slippery' is derived the nominal *bililiman* 'slippery', and so forth.

This seems indicative of former, highly productive derivational processes in which many roots could variably function as verb particles, or as nominals, the former seemingly morphologically basic. In the contemporary language, however, there are large numbers of nominals ending in *-man* or *-ban* that cannot be related to any verb particle. It is possible that corresponding verb particles, or at least some, may have formerly existed but have dropped out of the lexicon, and that along with this went the thorough installation in the language of *-man ~ -ban* as part of an historical, but decreasingly productive, structure of nominal formation.

The suffix *-man ~ -ban* occurs as part of the nominal suffix *-gujban ~ -wujban* (see 11.3.1.), but there is a clear enough semantic contrast between the former and the latter. The latter suffix is very productive especially with a large range of finite verb roots and verb particles in the formation of agentive nominals, i.e., ones that generally designate "agent that does X", where X is an activity (e.g., *bu-yi-wujban* 'fighter' from *bu-*; *nyerreng-ma-wujban* 'noise-maker' from *nyerreng-ma* 'make noise', and so on). In

contrast, the former suffix is found in all sorts of nominal stems which designate either non-agentive substantives, conditions, and the like (*dalbirrman* ‘tough, hard’, *goyogban* ‘orphan’, *langman* ‘plain, clear place’, *wujaban* ‘house’, *megerman* ‘long yam’, *ngigilman* ‘straight’, *wabulman* ‘light-weight’, etc.); or occurs in a large range of animal and other natural species terms. Some of the latter are clearly onomatopoeic, but the character of the formation, in contrast to that with *-gujan* ~ *-wujan*, seems not agentive but rather descriptive of inherent quality or characteristic (which may include typical noise or sound made). Among such forms are: *nilngman* ‘finch’, *gorrgorrmman* ‘kookaburra’, *jerrman* ‘wrens’, *jibilyuman* ‘whistle duck’, *jorrerrngman* ‘kingfisher’, *jorlborrmman* ‘butcher bird’. See however also: *burariman* ‘bluetongue’ (dry country); *gurrbijinman* ‘python’; and even *gangman* ‘plains kangaroo’, where natural species terms are clearly not imitative. There is as yet no sustainable etymology for the suffix *-gujan* ~ *-wujan*.

A more complete listing of nominals with this ending includes: *ngarraban* ‘hot’; *ngirringirriban* ‘greedy’; *ngunagban* ‘odiferous’; *nidban*, insect similar to cicada; *nyorijban*, unidentified bird; *goyogban* ‘orphan’; *warrgban* ‘ubiquitous, promiscuous, all over the place’; *welejban* ‘parrot’; (*mu*)-*wudban* ‘wet ground’; *wujaban* ‘house, humpy’; *yiberrgoban* ‘pigeon-toed’; *derreman* ‘crawler’; *belejeman*, small grasshopper; *belyengman* ‘red’; *berlerlman* ‘kerosene tree’; *bilangman* ‘sweet’; *bililiman* ‘slipper’; *meleman* ‘black’; *burariman*, central blue-tongue; *dalbirrman* ‘hard, tough’; *darlarlman* ‘sated, satisfied’; *demdeman* ‘locust’; *denggerrengman* ‘empty’; *gangman* ‘plains kangaroo’; *gelegeleman* ‘frightened’; *gerregerrewuman*, unidentified bird; *gorrgorrmman* ‘kookaburra’; *gurrbijinman* ‘children’s python’; *jajayman* ‘weak’; *jamunyman* ‘pertaining to mother’s father’s country’; *jerrman* ‘wrens’; *jeyeman* ‘promised spouse’; *jibilyuman* ‘whistle duck’; *jorlborrmman* ‘butcher bird’; *jorrerrngman* ‘kingfisher’; *jurlman* ‘pocket’; *langman* ‘plain, clear place’; *megerman* ‘long yam’; *worroman* ‘quick, fast’; *newerrman* ‘hungry’; *ngaringgirrmman* ‘round, circular’; *ngigilman* ‘straight’; *nilngman* ‘finch’; *nyilirrman* ‘one who ignores or pays no attention’; *wabulman* ‘light’; *yaniman* ‘that sort’; *yi-jumban* ‘last’; and the forms *dan.nguguwunman*, *nan.nguguwunman* ‘from this side, that side’, etc.

9.4. *-gun* ~ *-wun*, nominal suffix

Also clearly old, and now only moderately productive, is the suffix *-gun* ~ *-wun*. Now, this seems to mainly serve to create semantically adjectival nominals meaning “pertaining to X”, e.g., *laglan* ‘country, place’ and *yi-lagla-wun* ‘indigene, belonging to place’; *wungij* ‘darkness, night’ and *yi-wungij-gun* ‘pertaining to night, nocturnal, belonging to darkness’; *mernden* ‘ghost, white person’ and *mernde-wun* ‘European, pertaining to ghosts’; *ngurruwun* ‘hot weather’ and *ngurruwun-gun* ‘perennial’ (of water, i.e., lasting through the hot season). Less commonly, a suffix perhaps relatable to this one been found with a small number (3) of verb particles with particle suffix, to create a derived form which also functions as particle, and which is not distributionally or semantically clearly distinguishable from the base particle form; see examples following.

This suffix is found used with certain common nouns which designate social categories, to create kinds of gentilic formations. For example, one of the matrilineally-transmitted *ngurlu* categories (see 1.3.) is *goyin* ‘sugar bag’, or ‘wild honey’. In the text Galapin a woman speaks of her affiliation with this category, creating with the suffix under discussion a form meaning “belonging to/affiliated with honey”, as follows:

(522)	<i>yi-guyu-wunba</i>	<i>nganu</i>	<i>goyin</i>	<i>yani-ma</i>
	YI-mother-SOU	1SG-DAT	honey-ABS	thus-PS
	<i>yi-goyi-wun</i>	<i>yirrug</i>		
	YI-honey-NOM	1EXNSG-ABS		

‘From my mother, I am honey, like this we are honey people’.

Forms with this suffix may be further case- and adverbially-inflected, viz. in the text Galapin the phrase *mad-barra mernde-wun-barra* ‘in/by means of the European *mernde-wun* language (*madin*)’, with adverbial suffix *-barra* (see 5.4.).

There is some indication of the antiquity of this suffix in the language, in the fact, for example, that the ‘lacking’ suffix *wagbawun* (5.3.2.) is evidently to be analyzed as *wagba*, which by itself means ‘orphan’, or ‘trash’ (discarded etc.), plus this ending. Also the adverb and interjection *gayawun* ‘still, yet, wait’ etc. (see 9.5.1.) is composed of *gaya* ‘today, now’ plus this suffix. Finally, a reasonable argument can be made that the independent genitive pronoun series contains a suffix which may be historically identified with the one under discussion here, viz. the relation between 1SG DAT *nganu* and 1SG GEN *nganinggin*, 2SG DAT *yinggi* and 2SG GEN *yinggawun*, 3SG DAT *gunga* and 3SG GEN *gungan.gin*, and so on. The fact that many pronouns of the independent genitive series have final *-gin*, that is with a high vowel not to be explained in terms of any synchronic assimilatory process, suggests that in some functions the suffix is quite old in the language.

Some nominal forms which are not productive derivations, but with final syllable which may be relatable to this suffix, include: *yi/ma/wu-bujgun* ‘wild, undomesticated’; *dan.guyugun*, *nan.guyugun* ‘this side, that side’ etc.; *dilygun* ‘possum’; *wu-jarranggun* ‘pinkie finger’; *ma-dulgun* ‘bladder’ (cf. *dulgin* ‘urine’); *buruwun* ‘killer, good hunter’; *jurdbawun* ‘index finger’ (cf. *jurdb*, particle ‘to indicate’); *miyiwun* ‘dog’; *muruwun* ‘bottle tree’; *wanguwarlawun* ‘eastern’ (cf. *yiyanngu* ‘east’); and *yi-nimgajamayawun* ‘last of a litter, runt’ (cf. *yi-nim.ɔyo* ‘last-born’). It may even be the case that, historically, the negative *ngawun* contains this suffix.

The verb particles found suffixed with *-gun* were: *new-ma* ‘grab’, as *new-ma-gun*; *gurryu-ma* ‘dive in’, as *gurryu-ma-gun*; and *wabirl* ‘peel, skin, graze’ as *wabirl-ma-gun*. Note that there is some problem identifying this suffix with the nominal adjectival one, in that following a vowel we would expect the form of the ending to be *-wun*. It must therefore be suggested that the ending found with these verb particles cannot be identified synchronically with the alternating ending, but it may be an historically specialized form of it, and may in fact be relatable to that found with *lege* ‘one’ to create the morphologically irregular or isolated form *lege-gun* ‘once’ (see 7.6.5.). Textual examples of the suffixed verb particles are:

- (523) *wangi* *0-bu-ndi* *wabirl-ma-gun*
 only 3SG-AUX-PST skin-PS-?
 ‘He only grazed him’.
- (524) *nganinggin-yi* *yibiwi-yi* *new-ma-gun* *0-me-ndi*
 1SG GEN-ERG father-ERG grab-PS-? 3SG-AUX-PST
 ‘My father grabbed him’.
- (525) *nganinggin* *yibiyi* *gurryu-ma-gun* *0-we-ndi* *go*
 1SG GEN-ABS father-ABS dive in-PS-? 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
 ‘My father dived in for [to get] him’.

9.5. *-mayin*, adjectival suffix

An adjectival ending, *-mayin*, is attested in the word *morrolng-mayin* ‘green, fresh (green)’. While this ending is thus rare in Wardaman, it is of some comparative interest, in that it occurs in other regional languages, e.g., Mangarrayi, as a suffix to cognate colour terms (and also, in the latter language, with some other descriptive terms). Thus in Wardaman we find *belyeng-man* ‘red’, in Mangarrayi *belyeng-mayin*; in Wardaman *dewo-man* ‘white’, and in Mangarrayi *dewo-mayin*, ‘white’.

9.6. *nya-*, actor prefix

A few forms meaning “one characterized by X” or “one who does X” are found to be derived from verb particles with a prefix *nya-*. Though fairly uncommon in Wardaman, this prefix may very likely prove of historical-comparative interest in languages of the region. The base and derived forms in which this prefix is attested are listed below:

Base	Gloss	Derived	Gloss
<i>giwurr</i>	‘be sulky’	<i>nya-giwurr</i>	‘sulky person, one who sulks’
<i>ginod</i>	‘be sulky’	<i>nya-ginod</i>	‘sulky person, one who sulks’
<i>ganjayl</i>	‘disturb’	<i>nya-ganjayl</i>	‘bother, “humbug” ’
<i>yudba</i>	‘claim’	<i>nya-yudbarraj</i>	‘one who claims’
<i>dagurr</i>	‘peer’	<i>nya-dagurr</i>	‘peerer, voyeur’

The particle *yudba* is used to describe the action of people laying claim to things, saying that those things are theirs, often with the connotation that they are falsely laying claim to something which is actually somebody else’s. The final syllable of *nya-yudbarraj* is unpredictable, and no historical source can be suggested for it.

9.7. *-nan*, agentive nominal suffix

The suffix *-nan* was found in two derived forms of agentive meaning: from the verb particle *gerrng-ma* ‘cry, weep’, in *yi-gerrngmaman* ‘crybaby, one who cries a lot’; and from the finite verb *ledbarna-* ‘look at’, in *yi-ledbarnan* ‘one who looks a lot, voyeur’.

The final segment may be identified as the absolutive nominal ending (see 3.4.), and the sequence *-na-* may be historically identified with that found in a small number of finite verbs. This identification is quite certain, on the basis that, as noted above, *yi-ledbarnan* is directly derived from the finite verb *ledbarna-* ‘look at’, and thus only indirectly linked to the related verb particle *led-ba* ‘look at’. Other verbs with the final syllable *-na-* are *jomarna-* ‘finish off’, and *wojbarna-* ‘listen’ (see 8.1.).

9.8. *-widi ~ -bidi*, nominal-forming suffix

A rare nominal-forming suffix is attested in two forms: *yarrbaly-widi* ‘nuisance, nuisance-maker’, from the particle *yarrbaly*; and *jangang-bidi* from the particle *jangang*. The meaning of the second requires some explanation.

There are in Wardaman two particles which people gloss in Kriol as “hard work la”, but this has little to do with “work” in the Standard English sense. It has to do with the notion of expending great effort to try to tell someone something, to make someone understand or “listen”. One of these particles is *jambab* (which usually occurs with *yana-*), the other *jangang* (which also occurs with *yana-*). Thus it may be said:

(526)	<i>jangang</i>	<i>ngarr-ge-yi-rri-ya</i>	<i>wurrugu</i>
	‘work’	1INPL-AUX-RR-PST-NAR	3NSG-DAT

‘We really tried hard with them’ [i.e., to tell them something, or convince them of something].

(Note that the AUX *ga-* is *gʔ-* before the reflexive-reciprocal marker.)

The derived nominal *jangang-bidi* is used to mean someone who has been the object of this hard work. Thus speakers gloss *jangang-bidi* as ‘he can’t believe’, i.e., someone upon whom one has had no effect, who is incapable of “listening” or “being sorry” (i.e., taking account of one’s social effort with him or her).

Efforts to test this suffix with other particles were met with judgments of non-acceptability, so it appears to be synchronically rather unproductive.

9.9. *-ngana*, nominal-forming suffix

A rare suffix *-ngana* has been found with particle *badbad* ‘cover’ to form *badbad-ngana* ‘blanket’, and with reduplicative form *durdurrb* (from *durrb* ‘stab, jab’) to form *dardurrb-ngana* ‘doctor’ (i.e., one who gives injections).

Chapter 10

Issues in constituency and word order

10.1. The question of free word order

As modern description of Australian languages intensified from the early 1970s, it was commonly said that they exhibited “free” word order, both at the level of the phrase and the clause (Dixon 1972; Sharpe 1972; see also more recently Simpson 1991, Chapter 2, where “free word order” is described as a defining dimension of “non-configurationality” for the Pama-Nyungan language, Warlpiri). The general claim is that constituent word-level units can be found in almost any order and the phrase or clause still be grammatically acceptable. Taken in that basic sense, Wardaman, too, exhibits greater freedom of ordering than does English, for example.

Some researchers, however, have reported of their languages that not all orders are equally common within the phrase or clause (Heath 1984; Merlan 1988; McGregor 1990). They have observed that ordering is freer than in English and many of the world’s better-known languages, but have sought to open the question, Free with respect to what? In other words, they have begun to explore the question whether the grammatical notion of the “clause” is the appropriate basis in terms of which to describe ordering phenomena. In my opinion, the answer which is beginning to emerge from this work is that other levels of analysis — for example, intersections between constituent structure possibilities and their typical prosodically organized syntagmatic realizations — must be the units against which different word-level orderings, and their differing frequency and meaningfulness, need to be defined.

We can illustrate from Wardaman examples the difficulties which arise in attempting to define any particular noun phrase on the basis of constituent structure only, in order to show how these problems have informed the approach taken further on in this chapter. Many of the issues involved have been previously noted for their general descriptive interest. Consider the first few lines of the text (appended) Jalijbang, about a moon dreaming place on Innesvale Station.

A protagonist, of Yiwalyarri subsection, is identified. Then:

(527) *yanggi bogogo gangma:1 yorri*

‘He went hunting and scared a kangaroo’

mangali

‘a female’

wurre-warang

‘with young/a joey’.

Then the information given to that point is summarized:

(528) *yorri nana gangman wurre-warang*

‘He speared the kangaroo with a joey’.

Obviously, in the text as given, line divisions have already been made which appear to be of some significance. These, as will be described, are tone groups. At first, information is being conveyed in a manner that may be called “expansion”: only a small “bit” is given in each apparent unit. Then a structurally more elaborate summation is given, that is, one in which the word-level units can evidently be assumed to comprise a whole unit (in this case, clause) in a way the preceding shorter units cannot. That clause contains a nominal constituent structure which is not uncommon in Wardaman, consisting of a demonstrative determiner, plus nominal plus a nominal modifier of the “having X” kind described in 5.3. In fact, as we will see, phrases consisting of the first two elements — demonstrative plus open-class nominal — are the commonest kind of two-word noun phrase in Wardaman, and the position of the “having” modifier following the entity is also typical (although such “having” constructions may of course occur by themselves, as the sole word of a noun phrase). The more elaborate phrase shows us a typical way in which the NP may be realized by a syntagm of words. The preceding lines, however, cannot be identified as a single NP. One of the main reasons for that must be taken to be the fact that preceding words do not all occur within a single unit as defined by prosodic criteria. Semantically, we see that the descriptions “female”, and “having joey” further specify the reference of “kangaroo”, for which here the generic term, rather than any existing, specifically female term, was originally used. A phrase consisting of an open-class nominal such as “kangaroo”, and then followed within the same tone unit by two additional nominal descriptors, would in fact be unusual. It is best to conclude that in the preceding lines “kangaroo”, “female”, and “having joey” do not constitute a phrase, continuous or discontinuous, but together constitute a typical association of prosodically distinguished units of information.

To even begin to assemble the evidence concerning what may, and what may not, constitute a “phrase”, we have to have some criteria of identification. One must, as is ordinarily done, take into account the possible function or role of given words within a conceivable grammatical constituent structure; but identification as a phrase cannot be made ONLY on such grammatical bases, concerning the possible assignment of words to constituent structure. If that were the only criterion, we might be tempted for example to regard *gangman mangali wurre-warang* as a discontinuous noun phrase, and perhaps also to attempt permutations of these words in relation to the verb “speared”, in order to establish possibilities of ordering within the clause as a whole. Any or all of such attempted permutations, I feel quite confident, would be accepted by informants as intelligible. In doing that, however, we would lose sight of the fact that a group such as *gangman mangali wurre-warang* is at least not usual within a single prosodically defined unit.

It is common for constituent structure to be defined with respect to attested examples which show the apparent full range of possibilities of realization. What I am suggesting here, however, may appear to some to go too far: that is, that what may count as an attested example of a particular kind must be defined with respect to some apparently significant

criteria that belong to other levels of linguistic organization beyond the simply grammatical. We have noted the common report that, when what is taken as the central issue is “grammaticality”, many Australian languages appear to exhibit such freedom in ordering that the result has often been stated as “any order is possible”. But that does not tell us what orderings are more frequent than others, or distinguish the meaningfulness of the different orders. And when frequency becomes an issue alongside grammaticality, then it must also be asked, in what contexts do particular orders occur? Ways must be found of discriminating different linguistic contexts, and I am simply suggesting that that cannot be done with respect to the same phenomenon one is attempting, in the first instance, to describe — grammatical function within constituency. Rather it must be done with respect to actual realizations of syntagms which differ meaningfully. Obviously, like some other Australianists (Heath 1984; McGregor 1990; all of us following Halliday and others of the Firthian school), I accept that prosodically defined units appear to be a significant and much under-studied resource for identifying contexts with respect to which different realizations of constituent structure may be defined.

10.2. Information units, given/new and theme/rheme contrasts

Halliday (1985 and earlier) suggests that two major dimensions of textual organization in English have to do with “information” and “thematisation” (see also McGregor 1990 for application of Hallidayan concepts to the Western Australian language Gooniyandi). Information is concerned with the given/new opposition, and thematisation with the theme/rheme, or topic/comment, opposition. He further suggests that information structure is primarily expressed prosodically, while the thematic structure is realised through constituent order. In the previous section I suggested the importance of considering constituency and prosody in relation to each other, in order to achieve a descriptive scheme which delimits phrase structure and ordering possibilities within the phrase in a meaningful way. For present purposes, I consider the use of prosodically defined units to be one of the most helpful methodological offerings of the Halliday framework, mainly because it provides an opening into the study of the interaction between grammaticality and other levels of the organization of text.

Halliday (1985: 274) observes that an information unit does not correspond exactly to any unit in the clause grammar, but other things being equal, tends to be coextensive with one clause, as the “default” condition in English. Each information unit is realized as a pitch contour, or TONE, which extends over the whole tone group. Within the tone group, one foot or syllable carries the main pitch movement, and the element which has this feature of tonic prominence is said to carry the information focus. The tonic foot marks where the ‘new’ element of information ends. Halliday (1985: 277) considers information that is presented by the speaker as recoverable as “given”, and that which is presented as not recoverable to be “new”.

The Wardaman texts appended to this grammar were realized as sequences of tone units. Each such unit is identified by number. Many are short and occupy only one line. The main criterion for identifying a tone unit is on the basis that it is bounded by significant pitch movement, either a rise or a fall. Typically, such a unit is also bounded by short

pause, but the presence of pause is not in itself defining of a tone group. In some cases it is ambiguous whether a particular stretch of speech is best identified as two tone units or as one. This is especially the case where it appears that there may be some pitch movement at the possible tone unit boundary, but pitch remains relatively constant (compared to other instances). In other words, questions of identification may arise because intonational phenomena are perceived as a matter of degree. The temptation to identify a separate tone unit may be strengthened where there is also pause at such a possible boundary, but as noted above, pause in itself is not definitional of the tone unit.

As McGregor (1990: 362) notes for Gooniyandi, tone units in Wardaman do not necessarily correspond to grammatical units, although they do so in particular cases. As has often been noted for Australian languages (and as in the Moon Dreaming text, above), a single nominal word may frequently be found on a tone unit of its own, set apart from other constituents to which it is meaningfully linked. Because nominal and other words are frequently set off in this way on their own tone unit, a number of such units together may contain the information that might otherwise be contained within a clause. At the same time, it may often happen, as Halliday has shown for English, that a tone group will be equivalent to a clause, as for the Moon Dreaming group “he speared the kangaroo with joey”. In the case of smaller constituent units which may comprise part of a clause, I make the assumption that while whatever set of nominal words occurs on a single tone unit may comprise (one or more) noun phrases, it is not legitimate to assume that nominal constituents occurring in different tone groups constitute part of the same particular phrase (although the same actual forms may occur elsewhere as part of a phrase on a single tone group). Thus, in the above Moon Dreaming example, *mangali* ‘female’ and *wurre-warang* cannot be regarded as part of the same noun phrase, even though these two words might occur together elsewhere within a tone unit and as part of a noun phrase. That is, I am prepared to use occurrence on a single tone unit as a minimum condition, necessary but not sufficient, for the identification as a noun phrase of any given set of nominal words.

Following Grimes (1975) and others, it is possible to suggest that there is a distinction to be made between more central or primary tone units, and secondary ones (see McGregor 1990: 364). In such a scheme, the primary unit may be defined by greater prominence of its salient syllable, and by greater pitch movement over the contour. A secondary unit, whatever its precise character, may be defined as in association with a primary one, and generally characterized negatively, by lesser syllable salience and lesser pitch movement. McGregor (1991: 365) suggests for Gooniyandi that the primary unit normally contains the propositional nexus: the verbal complex in clauses with verbs. Further, secondary units normally consist of a single clausal constituent: NP, adverbial, or other. McGregor goes on to hypothesize the existence of a tonic sentence, defined as a primary unit in association with one or more optional secondary ones. In information terms, the secondary unit(s) tend(s) to elaborate the primary one, or otherwise convey information closely related to that of the primary unit. I have not put this plausible distinction between primary and secondary units to work in this description, that is, units in the texts are not identified as primary or secondary. I would only note that the distinction might be profitably elaborated as a set of typical primary-secondary tone unit

nexus types; for example, there is a prosodic relation of dependency between the (typically short and unelaborated) tone units containing a “say” verb, and the unit(s) which realize the reported speech which the verb projects.

There follows consideration of the constituency of the noun phrase, and in 10.8. a summary of noun phrase structure types. This is given together with discussion of normal ordering within the phrase. While no doubt further meaningful distinctions made by ordering remain to be discerned, it is suggested that regular meaningful differences in the presentation of information appear to be associated in some instances with the difference between the orders: demonstrative determiner followed by nominal, versus nominal followed by demonstrative determiner (DEM + N versus N + DEM). I will propose that this difference may be seen as part of the organization of difference between unmarked and marked Theme types, that is, less or more remarkable organization of what any particular tone unit or sequence of them is “about”. A further introductory word may be useful here about the notion of theme.

Again following Halliday (1985: 278–279) in his elaboration of Firthian and Pragueian notions, thematic structure may be defined as that dimension in which is organized what a stretch of speech is about. Theme is commonly defined as (1) the point of departure of what the speaker has to say, or more fully, (2) what the speaker is talking about, the topic; while Rheme is commonly defined as the completion of this point of departure, or the comment. Obviously, the given/new contrast may interact closely with the theme/rheme one, in that, for example, it is possible for something to be presented as either an expected or unexpected, a given or not given, point of departure.

Finally, we will need to consider how to approach the question of the presence and ordering of nominal constituents of clause-level syntactic function, intransitive Subject, transitive Object, and ergative-marked Agent. It is common enough for such functions to be marked only on the verb within any given tone unit, that is, for there to be no overt nominal expression of any given major clause function. Some discussion of lexical realization of these functions is thus required, because case-marking of them is obviously dependent upon their occurrence. But beyond that, is it possible to say that an occurring nominal typically precedes or follows the verb of which it is the object? To the extent that the agent of a transitive verb is realized by a nominal expression, where does this occur with respect to the verb? We will see that the ergative-marked agent is the least frequently occurring of the three syntactic types, and that there is a tendency for all three to occur preceding the verbal word or words; but that this tendency is apparently strongest for nouns and noun phrases in intransitive subject function, noticeable but not extreme for ergative-marked transitive agents, and least noticeable for transitive objects, which occur both pre- and post-verbally with more nearly equal frequency.

10.3. Noun phrase constituency and ordering

Lexemes in noun phrases are normally from nominal, pronominal and demonstrative word classes. Perhaps the most common type of noun phrase in the textual corpus consists of a single word, normally a lexical noun. Number words (such as *lege* ‘one’, *ngawurnen* ‘many’), indefinite words (such as *yijjarlu* ‘some’, and *yiwarna-mulu* ‘some

others'), interrogative words (such as *ngamanda* 'what' or 'which'), and semantically adjectival nominals such as *wudu* 'little', may all occur as the sole word-level constituent of a noun phrase, with no internal syntax.

As has been described elsewhere in this grammar, certain dependent elements may be postposed to the main classes of nominal word — mainly to the lexical noun, semantically adjectival noun, pronominal and in some instances also to demonstratives — which qualify or delimit the meaning of the noun phrase so constructed. Such postposed elements include those of “having” and “lacking” (5.3.1., 5.3.2.), the adverbial element *-barra ~ warra* (5.4.); that which means “and all” or “end of list” (5.5.), the article suffix *-bi ~ wi* (5.7.), *-gari* ‘other, another, different’ (5.9.), *-biji* which means ‘only’ (5.12.), and the “focal member of pair” element *-garrma ~ -warrma* (5.6.1.). Such postposed elements may occur in noun phrases of a single word, or of more than one word. In the latter case certain of them may occur between the words of the larger phrase:

- (529) *lege-biji* *mulurru* *0-dagbarla-rrri*
 one-only old woman-ABS 3SG-have-PST
 ‘He only had one old woman/wife’.

Despite the fact that the “focal member of pair” element is inherently dual, it frequently occurs with dual-marked demonstrative determiner, in which case dual number is pleonastically marked. The nominal so marked is also frequently followed in the same tone unit (hence, I will assume, within the same noun phrase in a way that could be considered semantically conjunctive) by lexical specification of the second member of the pair:

- (530) *du it* *wurr-yana-rrri* *yinggi*
 [do it] 3NSG-do-PST 2SG-DAT
 nan-guya *ngabida-warrma* *nawurla*
 that-DU-ABS [ss]-FP [ss]-ABS
 ‘They did it [poisoned] you
 the pair of ngabida and nawurla’.

It has also been mentioned (5.9.) that the notion of “difference” given by *-gari* tends to be expressed pleonastically, in that it and the adjectival nominal of word rank, *yiwarnagari* ‘another, (a) different (one)’ often occur in the same tone unit and phrase:

- (531) *nana* *yiwarnagari* *yibiyani-gari*
 that-ABS other-ABS man-other
 ‘A different man/another man’.

Noun phrases of two words are not uncommon. The following types are usual.

DEM + N. The various closed classes of demonstrative words (see 7.2.) function to contextualise the phrase, relating it to the linguistic or extralinguistic context, thus specifying reference:

- (532) *darni yibiwan* 'yonder man'
 (533) *dang-ba wujaba-wa* 'from yonder house'

Of the three demonstrative categories (*dana*, *nana*, *darni*, which designate things as Immediate, Proximate or Remote with respect to the speech situation), in many instances the Proximate category signals linguistic recoverability, i.e., that an item is being presented as known or recoverable from the linguistic context (whether it has actually been previously mentioned or not). Thus the Proximate category is most comparable in English to the definite article, and two-word noun phrases consisting of Proximate demonstrative and open-class nominal are very common:

- (534) *nana gangman* 'the kangaroo'
 (535) *nan-gu marluga-wu* 'to/for the old man'
 (536) *nana julu* 'the/that hill' etc.

Demonstratives are also freely used in two-word noun phrases where the second element does not itself name an entity, but where the reference of the nominal word is assumed to be otherwise established or known:

- (537) *nana yiwarnagari* 'the other (one)'
 (538) *nana lege 0-waja-rri jid*
 that-ABS one-AHS 3SG-leave-PST stand
 'He left the one standing upright'.

Demonstratives may also be found in a phrase with a second genitive or dative pronominal word, where it may be assumed that the entity word has been ellipsed:

- (539) *nana go* 'the one of his/hers'

Although the order DEM + N is the most common, the reverse order is also found. This is examined further for phrases containing the Proximate demonstrative in 10.9. Though we have said that DEM + N order is the most common, it is important to note an exception to this: that those demonstrative forms termed "collective", characterized by ending in *-ganung* following one of the demonstrative stems (7.2.), typically follow the nominal that they specify:

- (540) *bangbun dang-ganung wunggunburr-ga-ndi gunya*
 woman-ABS yonder-COL-ABS 3NSG/3NSG-take-PST 3SG-DISS
 'They took those women away from him'.
 (541) *mog wurr-me-ndi layin dan-ganung*
 smell 3NSG-AUS-FST meat-ABS this-COL ABS
 'They smelled the meat'.

- (542) *gajigaji* *0-nyanga-ndi* *wolon* *nan-ganung*
 walk 3SG-come-PST grass-ABS that-COL-ABS

‘The grass came walking’.

(Note that where the specified nominal is non-human, it is treated in verbal prefixation as if singular, despite “collective” suffixation on the demonstrative.) There are however exceptions to the generalization that collective forms tend to follow the nominal:

- (543) *wunggunburr-ga-ndi-wan* *nan-ganung-nyi* *yibiyani-yi*
 3NSG/3NSG-take-PST-DF that-COL-ERG man-ERG

‘Those Aborigines took them away’.

In two-word noun phrases containing a number word and lexical noun, there appear to be slightly more cases in which the number word precedes the nominal. This tendency is most noticeable in respect to the number words *lege* ‘one’, *guyamin* ‘two’, and *murrgun* ‘three’; whereas in phrases with nominal modified by *ngawurnen* ‘many’, the modifier seems equally likely to precede or follow. Examples of the most frequent ordering are:

- (544) *guyamin-yi* *mulurru-wuya-yi*
 two-ERG old woman-DU-ERG

‘Two old women’.

- (545) *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *murrgun* *gandawag*
 3SG-be-PST-NAR three-ABS moon-ABS

‘She would stay for three months’.

An instance of the slightly less common ordering is:

- (546) *a* *0-na-rri* *marluga* *lege*
 oh 3SG-see-PST old man-ABS one-ABS

‘Ah! he saw one old man’.

With respect to the textual frequency of numbers generally, it might seem that because the language has morphological categories that express dual number, the numeral “two” would be infrequent. This is not so, however; there is rather a tendency for “two” to be expressed pleonastically in noun phrases where dual is also overtly marked. (See e.g., the text Mejern, line 235, for examples such as *bangbu-wuya guyamin* woman-DU-ABS two-ABS, ‘two women’.)

Interrogative modifiers invariably precede the nominal:

- (547) *ngamanda* *menyin* *yiwun-wo-ndi* *mululurru*
 what-ABS cheek-ABS 2SG/3NSG-give-PST old woman rdp-ABS

‘What sort of cheek/argument did you give the old women?’

- (548) *yinggiya marluḡa*
 who-ABS old man-ABS

‘Which old man?’ or ‘Old man who?’.

Indefinites tend to precede the nominal with which they occur, but the reverse order is also found:

- (549) *yiwarna-mulu yibiyan-mulu*
 other-PL-ABS man-PL-ABS

‘Some other men’.

- (550) *yijarlu wurren*
 some-ABS child-ABS

‘Some children’.

The structure of possessive noun phrases is discussed in 10.4. Where possession is expressed by genitive pronoun modifying the nominal, the order pronoun-nominal is most common in the textual corpus. However, here again the opposite order, though less common, is certainly well attested. In (551) the most common order is illustrated; in (552) both orders are illustrated.

- (551) *yinggawun-mulu wurre-mulu*
 yours-PL-ABS child-PL-ABS

‘Your children’.

- (552) (*0-jarrambu-rri*) *gungan.gin-gu* *wurre-wu*
 3SG-look for-PST hers-DAT child-DAT

‘[she was looking around] for her children’

guda *wurren* *nganinggin*
 where child-ABS mine-ABS

‘Where are my children?’

Of the many other qualifiers which specify properties or characteristics of entities (e.g., of size, shape, colour, texture, condition of use, taste etc.), it may be suggested that word length may have something to do with ordering freedom with respect to a modified nominal. It is in any event noticeable that several short modifiers (ones of no more than two syllables, e.g., *-jad* ‘big’, *wudu* ‘little’, and *-man* ‘good’) may apparently occur indifferently before or after the modified nominal, for example:

- (553) *wudu wumunbirra yani-ma jurd-ba*
 little-ABS WU-rock-ABS thus-PS show-PS
yinu-yana-ny-ga
 1NSG/2SG-AUX-PST.SUB

‘The LITTLE ROCK like that that we showed you’.

- (554) *gabarani* *wudu*
 oops-ABS little-ABS
 ‘His little unmentionable’.

It may be the case that qualifiers of two or three syllables (including noun class prefix), no matter what their semantic type, have the greatest freedom of occurrence either before or after the nominal. Certainly they seem to precede the nominal more often than do longer modifiers. Other examples are:

- (555) *wangi* *wu-juda* *madin*
 only WU-short-ABS word-ABS
 ‘Only a short story’.

- (556) *yi-birriba* *bangbun* *nana*
 YI-old-ABS woman-ABS that-ABS
 ‘That’s an old [i.e., long-term pregnant] woman’.

Longer modifiers tend to follow the noun, but this ordering is by no means absolute. The reverse order is acceptable, if less common.

- (557) *barrangardba* *wu-warringun*
 throat-ABS WU-bad-ABS
 ‘Bad throat, sore throat’.

- (558) *wurruguru* *yi-wungij-gun*
 devil-ABS YI-dark-of
 ‘A devil of the night’.

- (559) *yi-bam* *yi-warnwarnin*
 YI-head-ABS YI-long-ABS
 ‘A long head’.

- (560) *mayin* *ma-durrudban*
 food-ABS MA-round-ABS
 ‘A round vegetable’.

When demonstrative and longer qualifier occur in the same tone group with a modified nominal, demonstrative always occurs in first position, and there is a strong tendency for the qualifier to occur flanking the nominal on the right:

- (561) *nana* *marluga* *yi-belyangman*
 that-ABS old man-ABS YI-red-ABS
 ‘That old part-Aboriginal [“red”] man’.

This tendency is also true of modifiers formed with “having” suffix, which in general tend to follow any open-class nominal with which they occur, e.g., *nana marluga wiya-warang* ‘the old drunk man’. This tendency is not apparently as strong with the shorter qualifiers, e.g., *nana wudu wurren* ‘the small child’ and *nana yijad wurren* ‘the big child’ are perfectly acceptable, as is e.g., *nana wurren yijad*.

Although the indefinite qualifier *yiwarnagari* ‘a different one, another’ is long, it appears to have considerable freedom of occurrence, pre- or post-nominal, in two-word and longer noun phrases, e.g. *yiwarnagari laglan* or *laglan yiwarnagari* ‘another, different camp’. As noted in 5.9., there is a tendency for the concept of “difference” or otherness to be marked pleonastically on the nominal as well as by this modifier, and this appears to happen where the modifier precedes the nominal, e.g., *yiwarnagari laglan-gari* ‘a different camp’. It may be noted, also, that when it precedes the nominal it may occur in a shortened form, minus *-gari*: *yiwarna bangbun* ‘another woman’, *yiwarna wiyan* ‘next year, another year’. The latter phrase is in fact standard in the meaning ‘next year, next rainy season’. (One does not standardly find *yiwarna wiyan-gari* as a set phrase.) *Yiwarnagari* invariably follows any occurring demonstrative.

- (562) *lurrbu yirr-(y)anggi: nan-garr marluga-warr yiwarnagari-warr*
 back 1EXNSG-go-³ST that-ALL old man-ALL different-ALL
go
 3SG-DAT

‘We went home to her other old man’.

An example of a noun phrase with pronominal head (“me”) and further specification of location is:

- (563) *jumba jingi nganunya banggin-ya*
 behind sit 1SG-DISS back-LOC
 ‘Sit behind me/at my back’.

Alternatively, a meaning of the above sort may be constructed with a nominal head (“back”) and possessive pronoun (here an independent dative one):

- (564) *jumba nga-jingi-ndi go banggin-ya*
 behind 1SG-sit-PST 3SG-DAT back-LOC
 ‘I sat behind him/at the back of him’.

Both pronominal and nominal heads in the two examples above occur in relation to but separate from the adverbial *jumba* ‘behind’, and it is common for only adverbial and verb to occur (*jumba jingi* ‘sit behind’). See 10.4. for further discussion of possession.

Some three-word noun phrases have already been illustrated in examples above, and it should be clear that they are not uncommon, although certainly they are textually less frequent than two- or one-word ones. Common enough types include those with demonstrative, open-class nominal and semantically adjectival nominal (*nana mayin me-belbelin* ‘the/that round vegetable food’), and those with genitive pronominal first in

the phrase followed by nominal and qualifier, where the order of the latter two is apparently not fixed but depends on other factors. For example, one may encounter *nganinggin yiwarlŋ yibirrba* or *nganinggin yibirrba yiwarlŋ* ‘my old clothes’, where the condition-of-use qualifier shows the flexibility of ordering we have already noted for many (apparently relatable to the length of the modifying word). However, as we have already noted, collective-marked demonstratives strongly tend to follow any nominal with which they occur, and this was found to always be the case in such examples in phrases of more than two words: *nganinggin yiwarlŋ dan-ganung* ‘my clothes, these clothes of mine’.

Expansions of simpler noun phrase types are possible with the occurrence of adverbials and inflected nouns which elaborate the reference of an adjectival or open-class nominal, or number word functioning as phrasal head. Such adverbials and embedded phrases often express such notions as origin or source, for example:

(565) *gangma-wunba* *yi-nebel*
 kangaroo-SOU-ABS YI-shoulder bone-ABS
 ‘The shoulder bone of/from a kangaroo’.

(566) *gorro-wunba-wuya* *guyamin*
 south-SOU-DU-ABS two-ABS
 ‘The pair of them from the south’.

Somewhat uncommonly, such elaborations may result in phrases of up to four words occurring on one tone unit, rarely more than that:

(567) *yiwarnagari* *dawung-jila* *gorro-wunba* *bangbun*
 other-ABS that way-ORIG south-SOU woman-ABS
 ‘A foreign woman from that way to the south’.

Some definite ordering tendencies within the phrase may be given as follows:

(1) in noun phrases with pronominal head (such as *yirrug-bulu yi-nimanyug-bulu* ‘we EXCL people of Nimanyug’) the pronominal occurs initially, followed by any modifier, including number word.

(2) in non-pronominal noun phrases, demonstratives generally occur preceding any nominal, except as noted in the case of the collective-marked demonstrative forms, which strongly tend to follow any occurring nominal. Also, number words (especially those from one to three) tend to precede any nominal with which they occur, but this is a much weaker tendency than the former. Genitive pronouns tend to precede the nominal they modify, but this too is a weaker tendency than the first.

(3) other modifiers — roughly, adjectival ones — tend to follow the modified nominal; but certain very common ones of three syllables or less appear to have greater freedom of ordering, either preceding or following the modified nominal.

See also below some discussion of ordering in the possessive phrase (10.4.), in “classifier” or generic-specific constructions (10.5.), in the negated noun phrase (10.6.); and in discontinuous phrases (10.7.).

A summary of noun phrase constituency is given in 10.8.

10.4. The possessive noun phrase

A possessor noun or noun phrase may indicate possession in one of two main ways, or sometimes, in a way that combines both possibilities.

The pronominal possessor may be marked solely by a member of the series of independent genitive pronouns (6.5.):

- (568) *nganinggin ngabolu 0-digirrijba-rri na*
 mine-ABS FM-ABS 3SG-die-PST [now]

'My father's mother has died now'.

Alternatively, the pronominal possessor is often found to be marked by a form of the Dative independent pronoun series (6.3.). Thus, in the following example, where we might have *nganinggin yi-jeyeman* 'my promised spouse', there occurs:

- (569) (*nganburr-wo-ndi*) *yi-jeyeman nganu*
 3NSG/1SG-give-PST YI-promise 1SG-DAT

'They gave me to my promised husband'.

While it is usual for the dative pronoun to follow the possessed noun, examples of the following kind are also found:

- (570) *guda nganu yiguyu*
 where 1SG-DAT mother-ABS

'Where is my mother?'

Not infrequently, independent genitive possessor and independent dative are found flanking the possessed nominal:

- (571) *nganinggin yi-jeyeman nganu*
 1SG-ABS YI-promise-ABS 1SG-DAT

'[They gave me to] my promised husband'.

The order as shown, with independent genitive pronoun to the left, and dative to the right of the modified, is usual; but a few examples of dative to the left and genitive to the right have been found. A construction of this sort may occur without an entity nominal, in cases in which it has presumably been ellipsed:

- (572) *nganinggin nganu nganburr-wo-ndi*
 mine-ABS 1SG-DAT 3NSG/1SG-give-PST

'They gave me mine' [or, possibly, 'to mine'].

While genitive pronoun may occur as sole word above standing for the ellipsed nominal, it would not produce an acceptable sentence for the dative pronoun to occur alone. Thus, in such doubled constructions (*gungan.gin gunga* ‘his’ etc.), the dative pronoun is evidently syntactically dependent upon the genitive one.

Where the possessor is nominal, it is usual if not universal for possession to be marked both on the nominal possessor by suffixation of dative case, and further within the phrase by the appropriate form of the dative independent pronoun (as illustrated in 5.2.3.). Thus, for example:

(573) *jarrug* *go* *galawarra-wu*
egg-ABS 3SG-DAT spinifex pigeon-DAT

‘Eggs of the spinifex pigeon’.

(574) *giminy-gu* *go* *yibiwi*
[name]-DAT 3SG-DAT father-ABS

‘Gimiyn’s father’.

(575) *mulurru-wuya-wu* *yiguyu* *wurrugu-wuya*
old woman-DU-DAT mother-ABS 3NSGDAT-DU

‘The mother of the two old women’.

As the above two examples illustrate (see also 5.2.3.), the possessor nominal may occur either before or after the head noun. Further, the position of the dative pronoun is not strictly fixed: it may occur following the possessed head noun, or following the dative-marked possessor noun. Because of its ordering freedom, it may sometimes occur at some remove from the dative-marked possessor noun with which it agrees:

(576) *yurrwarla-wu* *yimbanay* *yi-ngawuyu* *go*
[ss]-DAT [ss]-ABS YI-wife-ABS 3SG-DAT

‘Yurrwarla’s wife is yimbanay’ [i.e., for a male of yurrwarla subsection, the appropriate wife category is yimbanay].

In 5.2.3. it was shown that the possessor of a possessor is also dative-marked (e.g., my-DAT mother’s-DAT dog), and that particularly the nominal dative-marked possessor tends to show agreement with a dative independent pronoun as well; also, that a dative-marked possessor cannot be further inflected for case function within the clause. Such further case function can be marked only on the possessed head of the nominal phrase: “my-DAT mother’s-DAT dog-ERG (bit me)”, and the like.

A few cases turned up in the corpus of collected texts which seem to suggest that sometimes, a construction which is apparently semantically possessive can be formed simply by juxtaposition of the possessed and possessor nominals, viz.:

(577) *nana* *buda* *yingilga*
that-ABS black plum-ABS juice-ABS

‘The juice of the black plum’.

In considering certain similar constructions in Gooniyandi, McGregor (1990:253) has suggested that they may be regarded not as possessive phrases, but as classifying ones, in which the head noun is classified by type (in the above example, “juice” as of the specific type “plum juice”). It is attractive to consider such phrases as of some kind other than possessive, because they differ from the usual possessive construction types. However, several comments need to be made about this proposal for Wardaman. First of all, the purely syntactic process of juxtaposition seems not to be highly productive: such examples as the above stand out in the corpus as exceptions. There are however a few instances in which kin relations, normally expressed by the usual kinds of possessive constructions, are simply indicated by juxtaposition of the possessor to the kin term. Compare, for example, in the text Gawalyan lines (50) and (55). The first is the expected kind of nominal possessive construction: *mulurru-wu bailet-gu yiguyu go* ‘old woman Violet’s mother’, with third person dative independent pronoun agreeing with the possessor (see next section for discussion of phrases such as ‘old woman X’). But in line (55) we find simply: *dorij bailet yiguyu wurruguya* ‘Doris and Violet’s mother’ with third person nonsingular independent dative pronoun, and no dative marking on the possessor nominals, the two personal names. Since this is not very common, it is probably best considered not a regular kind of possessive construction, but an instance where the two personal names of those readily understood to be the possessors are simply apposed to the possessed noun.

Second, there are some fairly regular types of juxtaposition of what might be described as generic and specific terms. Some of these seem to show a quite regular, even strict, ordering, while others do not. These will be at least mentioned, if not analyzed, in 10.5.

Finally, mention must be made of the typical syntactic treatment of body parts. Body parts may function as arguments in all of the usual clause types, and may be marked by pronominal prefix on the verb in their own right. For example, in a text about a fight which developed between emu and brolga, there lies an explanation of why each of those birds has its particular characteristics. Brolga savagely clobbered emu’s two hands, so that they are now small wings, and emu is flightless. One line says:

(578) *nungguru-wan yanja go wudu wudu na*
 hand-ABS-DF 3-3SG-go-PRES 3SG DAT little little [now]

‘And her hands [wings] are very small now’.

In (578), *nungguru* is the intransitive subject of the verb “go”, which means in context “become” or “have become”. Further on, emu retaliates, and meaning is expressed in such a way that the body part she strikes is treated as direct object, and even more fully concretized by addition of the article suffix:

(579) *gabbarri gumurrinji-yi 0-bu-ndi-ya yi-bam-bi*
 again emu-ERG 3SG-hit-PST-NAR YI-head ABS-ART

‘And then emu hit her head’.

nana yi-bam yanja go yi-belyangman
 that-ABS YI-head-ABS 3SG-go-PRES 3SG-DAT YI-red-ABS

‘And her head is red’.

There is no overt expression of possession here, and with the salience of body parts in the narrative it is quite possible for them to function in their own right as intransitive subjects of the verb “go”, here meaning “to be characteristically”.

It is perhaps more usual, however, for body parts to function syntactically in a way that links them more directly with their owners.

Consider a common circumstance in which a body part is the direct object of an action. The third person object is not cross-referenced on the verb; it is realized by an independent absolutive noun. The possessor is indicated on the verb, in the sort of construction illustrated in (580):

- (580) *ngan-linyje-rri* *yi-jili*
 3SG-cut-PST YI-hair-ABS
 ‘He cut my hair’ [‘he cut me hair’].

In such an instance the “hair” is in the same role as its possessor, and I will regard such cases as ones of possessive NP with pronominal possessor and nominal possessed, with the possibility of realisation on the verb of the former only.

There are certain characteristic expressions, largely of mental action or disposition, in which a body part is the indispensable adjunct in the creation of the particular meaning:

- (581) *yi-gulan* *nga-we-ndi*
 YI-ear-ABS 1SG-fall-PST
 ‘I forgot’.

These are not possessive constructions of the same kind as “my hair” (580), for absolutive *yi-gulan* ‘ear’ is idiomatically combined as adjunct with the verb *we-* to create the meaning ‘forget’. Similarly:

- (582) *mejern* *ya-wud-jingi-n* *lud-ba*
 stomach-ABS 3-3NSG-be/sit-PRES happy
 ‘They are happy’.

Absolutive *mejern* ‘belly, stomach’ as adjunct of the particle plus AUX construction *ludba* and *jingi* yields the meaning ‘be happy’. Again, this is not a possessive construction.

There are instances of possession where a possessed body part is not in a major syntactic function and thus cannot be marked on the verb, for example, in an intransitive construction such as:

- (583) *0-we-ndi* (*nganu*) *nganinggin-ya* *yi-bam-nya*
 3SG-fall-PST (3SG-DAT) 1SG GEN-LOC YI-head-LOC
 ‘It fell [on me] on my head’.

Here the possessive phrase consists minimally of pronominal possessor marked by independent genitive pronoun and possessed nominal.

10.5. Generic-specific noun phrases

It is very common in Wardaman for people to be referred to in terms of membership of a gender/age category. The most commonly used gender/age-set terms are *marluga* 'old man' and *mulurru* 'old woman'. These, then, are generic terms which identify by the gender/age-set to which someone belongs, and individuals may be more closely identified by juxtaposition of a personal name. The overwhelmingly common order is: age-set term followed by personal name. Thus:

(584) *marluga berru*
'Old man Berru'.

(585) *mulurru yidawun*
'Old woman Yidawun'.

Persons may also be specified by subsection term. Usually, the subsection term occurs as sole lexeme of a phrase, and thus there is no internal syntax. However, textual examples have been found which show that when part of a more elaborate identifying phrase, subsection terms occur between age-set term and personal name, thus:

(586) *marluga yurrwarla dulu*
'Old man Dulu of yurrwarla subsection'.

Persons may also be specified by gender/age-set term followed by a kin term, usually one designating someone as kinsman from the speaker's perspective, thus:

(587) *marluga gagung*
'Old man grandfather' [father's father].

It might be suggested that in the above cases, we are dealing with constructions of generic and specific terms, in that order: the age-set (and subsection) terms designate most generally, the personal names and kin terms specifically.

Though it would not seem that there is a highly generalized Generic + Specific syntagm operating widely over the nominal domain, certain other typical constructions may be noted. It is reasonably common for certain kinds of animals to be designated by a construction which includes the generic lexeme *layin* 'meat, animal'. It would appear that either Generic-Specific or Specific-Generic order may occur, e.g., either *gangman layin* or *layin gangman* 'kangaroo'. A textual example occurs in which the speaker is describing the kinds of things she and others used to eat when young, as opposed to European foods:

(588) *jarrug* *go* *nan-gu* *galawarra-wu* *lany-gu*
egg-ABS 3SG-DAT that-DAT pigeon-DAT animal-DAT
'Eggs of the spinifex pigeon'.

See (653) for a textual example of the order *layin gangman*. There are examples of the generic *mayin* ‘vegetable food’ occurring with specific terms, with similar freedom or ordering. And there are scattered other examples of what may or may not be semantically generic-specific phrases, for example within a single tone group the following:

- (589) *yi-munburra* *0-wo-ndi* *dangindi*
 money-ABS 3SG-give-PST paperbark-ABS
 ‘He gave him his money’.

In context, it was evident that the particular contribution of *dangindi*, otherwise the generic term for ‘paperbark’ and today used also to mean ‘paper’, was to make clear that a particular station worker was paid off by being written a *cheque*, i.e., not money in general, but paper (*dangindi*) that, exceptionally, is a kind of money (specifically, of *yi*-type as opposed to generic *wumunburra* ‘money’). Possibly in other contexts *yimunburra dangindi* might also be able to refer to ‘paper money’ (that is, it is likely that “cheque” and “paper money” might be referred to in the same way, as opposed to generic *wumunburra* ‘money’). In any case, it is unclear given the semantic contribution of the noun class prefix *yi-* that we are dealing with a generic-specific construction of a kind comparable to any of those discussed above. We may be dealing with a construction in which *yimunburra* and *dangindi* are more or less semantically equivalent within the linguistic context, where meanings were plainly being made about paying off a worker with money. The above remarks on generic-specific and possibly related constructions are obviously illustrative and suggestive rather than analytic.

10.6. The negated noun phrase

One of the most commonly heard words in Wardaman is *ngawun* ‘nothing, none’. One man of my acquaintance was in fact called by the nickname “Ngawun”, because whenever anybody asked him for anything they could be sure of his answer. However, *ngawun* is an interjection. The particle which most commonly negates the noun or noun phrase is *wonggo*, or secondarily *warna*. These always precede that which they negate (see 12.2.5.).

- (590) *wonggo* *lege* *miwinin*
 not one-ABS sleep-ABS
 ‘Not [just] one night’.

- (591) *wonggo* *yerriyn*
 not [place]
 ‘Not Yerriyn’ [but some other place].

- (592) *wonggo* *nganinggin* *yi-marnayn*
 not mine-ABS husband-ABS
 ‘Not my husband’.

It has been mentioned and illustrated in several places that negative indefinites are formed with the above particles, and the regular interrogative words, e.g., *wonggo yinggiya* ‘nobody’.

10.7. Discontinuous constituency

There are numerous examples in which nominal constituents of groups which occur on a single tone unit, and might be on semantic and syntactic grounds analyzed as members of a single noun phrase, nevertheless occur separated from each other, sometimes by a number of words.

- (593) *oni* *majadmajad* *yirr-me-ndi-ya* *mayin*
 [only] MA-big-rdp-ABS 1EXNSG-get-PST-NAR food-ABS
 ‘We only got big tubers’.

From the preceding context, “vegetable food” seems to be presupposed, while “big” appears to be contrastive with “little ones” (vegetables) of the preceding tone group. In the next example, *wu-jad* ‘big’ modifies *yibumbu* ‘billycan’:

- (594) *yibumbu* *yanima-n* *joy* *nganburr-wo-ndi-ya-wuya* *wu-jad*
 billy-ABS thus-ABS give 3NSG/1SG-give-PST-NAR-DU WU-big-ABS
 ‘They gave me a big billycan like this’.

Here, in context, the information focus appears to be on the deictic “like this”, and generally, on the size of the billycan, further expressed by the qualifier in final position. In the following tone unit the billycan is further described, by an adjectival nominal set off on its own tone, as “clean”.

In the next example, *yidinen-bi* ‘whole’ modifies the earlier occurring *lege walanja* ‘one goanna’:

- (595) *lege* *walanja* *nga-ga-ndi* *go* *yidinen-bi*
 one-ABS goanna-ABS 1SG-take-PST 3SG-DAT whole-ART
 ‘I took one goanna for him whole’.

In this context, the referent “goanna” appears to be considered recoverable, and was explicitly mentioned in the previous tone group. What seems to be presented as salient is that, on one occasion, the speaker took back a whole goanna for her father.

- (596) *ma-garlarl* *0-we-ndi-ya* *ma-nyeyn*
 MA-clean-ABS 3SG-fall-PST-NAR MA-body-ABS

‘The vegetable matter fell down clean’ / ‘the clean vegetable matter fell down’.

In context, a contrast is being made between the “body” which falls away clean after winnowing, and the skin (mentioned in first position in the following tone unit) which

must be put to one side. The focus appears to be on “flesh” and ultimately the contrast between “flesh” and “skin”.

(597) *ma-jad* *wurr-marnbu-rri-ya* *mayin* *yanima-n*
 MA-big-ABS 3NSG-make-PST-NAR food-ABS thus-ABS

‘They made a big loaf of it like this’.

In context, the speaker has referred to vegetable paste from which she says a big loaf (*mayin*) ‘like this’ is made. The focus of information appears to be on the nature and size of the loaf, and perhaps particularly on the deictic “like this”.

(598) *wurren* *0-dagbarla-rri* *wudu*
 child-ABS 3SG-have-PST little-ABS

‘She had a little child’.

This tone unit occurs early in a narration (Gawalyan 2) in which very little is presupposed; only *gawalyan* ‘porcupine’ has been mentioned as protagonist in the preceding tone unit.

Questions arise about the textual significance of such preferred constructions, and possible constituent analysis of them. It would seem that the earlier-occurring lexemes are part of what each tone group as a whole “is about”, or constitute part of the theme, in that sense, of each. However, those lexemes in first position generally seem, in context, to be less a focus of the information unit as a whole than other later-occurring elements with which they are cohesive. As the above examples suggest, the nominal prefix system of Wardaman may play a particular role in making explicit the link between such discontinuous elements. In general terms, my hypothesis is that this is a kind of discontinuity which breaks up a larger theme into parts, the earlier (at least in general, if not in every case) through this presentation rendered as more fully presupposed, the later as more in-focus for one reason or another e.g., because it is contrastive, or otherwise the less presupposable element of the theme as a whole.

Are such constructions to be analyzed as one phrase or two? All of those illustrated occur on a single tone unit, and we have hypothesized above that the discontinuity plays a role in distributing information over that unit, representing an intersection of Theme with Given/New contrasts. Partly because these constructions occur on a single tone unit, I provisionally regard each one as a single noun phrase, and the discontinuity as a way in which more highly presupposable (but not completely given and ellipsable) nominal reference is carried through the text. The common reference of both parts reinforces the identification of participants, but distribution of information into two parts allows one to be presented as more highly presupposed than the other, and (generally) less highly contrastive with surrounding nominal expressions. Where information is distributed discontinuously in this way, first position appears to be more strongly associated with more highly presupposed thematic elements, final position with those that are less so.

10.8. Summary of noun phrase constituency

We may now draw together a summary of basic noun phrase constituency discussed so far, and briefly consider aspects of noun phrase coordination.

We may minimally identify structural noun phrase types as shown in Table 17.

Table 17. Noun phrase structures

Type (1)	Type (2)	Type (3a)	(3b)	(3c)	Type 4
NP (N, PRO)	NP / \ (N) S	/ \ Dem N	NP / \ Adj (Adv) N	NP / \ Poss N	NP NP / \ NP NP NP

In Type 1, the noun phrase consists of a single lexical noun or personal pronoun, and there is no phrase-internal syntax.

Type 2 has a clause-level constituent, and is a cover term for the general subordinate clause type discussed in 8.15., and for the complex particle and nominalized verbal complementizers which are discussed in Chapter 11. As is noted there, such complements tend to be syntactically truncated, with minimal overt specification of participants, with the exception of the allative-marked object of a complement (11.7.).

Several sub-types of head-attribute construction are shown in 3. 3(a) stands for the common construction in which a demonstrative modifies the head; as noted above, and further discussed in 10.9 below, there is variation in ordering of the elements, but a general tendency for most demonstratives to precede the modified, most of the time. 3(b) stands for a number of other sub-types, in which an interrogative, indefinite or other qualifier modifies the head, and there may be some kind of adverbial modifying element. Type 3(c) stands for the possessive phrase, of several particular types as discussed: possessor expressed by genitive pronoun (tending to precede the head), by dative pronoun following it, or both together flanking it; or nominal possessor expressed by dative-marking on the possessor and agreement with an independent dative pronoun. Finally, 4 represents a coordinate noun phrase structure which may now be considered briefly.

It is common enough for semantically and syntactically related noun phrases to occur on separate tone units, each one in some way adding information to the others. For example, in a myth concerning porcupine, her husband goes out hunting and runs into some birds, one kind of which, *manamanagban* (honeyeater?) is explicitly mentioned: 'He caught up to the honeyeaters, they were calling to him'. The tale continues:

- (599) *ngawurnen* *manamanagban*
 many-ABS honeyeater-ABS
 'Many honeyeaters'

golorog-bari *wejbu-ma*
 peaceful dove-NOM mix-PS
 ‘together with peaceful doves’.

There is no question that such are to be seen as separate phrases, and indeed the identification and qualification of participants in separate tone units in this way is a regular feature of Wardaman texts. Whether phrases in separate tone units refer to the same entity in different ways, or designate different entities which in many instances may be construed as having the same role within the text as above, it is out of the question to regard these as sub-parts of the same phrase.

However, it is also common for nouns to occur together within the same tone unit, identically case-marked and sharing a participant role, but without overt coordinator. In fact, there is little evidence of explicit coordination in Wardaman. It would seem that such elements as the “focal member of pair” suffix (5.6.1.) imply coordination, even though the second member of the pair NEED NOT be explicitly designated, but may be mentioned (as in the example *ngabida-warrma nawurla*, see (528) above). Coordination is achieved simply by juxtaposition, and Type 4 allows for this.

(600) *gulid-gu* *buda-wu* *0-yanggi* *bogogo* *gunya* *na*
 green plum-DAT black plum-DAT 3SG-go-PS hunt 3SG-DISS [now]
 ‘She went away from her now foraging for green and black plum’.

A few special issues which relate to coordination are worthy of mention here. There are some textual examples in which one finds apparently coordinate nouns, identically marked with case or adverbial ending, but where their having the same grammatical role within the clause appears counterintuitive. Consider for example in the text Onion, line 30. Here two girls who are preparing food are being cajoled by a man to give him what they are cooking. One of them hesitates, because of the flirtatious implications of a woman giving a man cooked food; but the other girl urges her to give it. She does so, and the man takes the meat, cuts raw onion on top of it, and eats it. The line of interest is:

(601) *anyin-barra* *layin-barra* *0-ngu-ndi* *girdibun*
 [onion]-ADV meat-ADV 3SG-eat-PST finish
 ‘He ate the meat and onion up’.

One might expect onion to be marked with the adverbial, comitative ending, for the idea being conveyed is that he ate the meat WITH onion. But instead, both “onion” and “meat” are marked with the adverbial ending. Nothing is expressed as direct object.

Consider another example which is different in some respects, but basically similar in that an unexpected “spreading” of case-marking appears to be involved. In the text Goyin, there is description of bees depositing eggs in the comb. It is said that the honey body (*yi-nyeyn*) extends right up to/towards the “nose” of the honey-comb. “Nose” is allative-marked (see 5.2.5.). The lines of interest are reproduced below:

- (602) *yi-nyeyn* *yi-jurn-garr-min*
 YI-body-ABS YI-nose-ALL-ADV
 ‘The honey body up to/towards the nose’

yi-jurn-garr *nan-garr* *goyi-warr*
 YI-nose-ALL that-ALL honey-ALL

‘to the nose of that honey’.

We might expect the apparent possessor (or whole of which *yijurn* is a part), *goyin* ‘honey’, to be dative marked. Instead we find that it is allative marked like “nose”. Another instance of similar kind can be seen in the text *Elsie* (46) (see also discussion in 10.4. above, insofar as this last example poses questions about “classifying” constructions).

These have the appearance of ‘coordinate’ phrases like the one exemplified in (600), but present an anomaly in that commonly marked nominals would seem to have different semantic case roles in the clause. Evidently these are instances of the “spread” of case- and adverbial marking across a number of co-occurring nominal constituents.

10.9. Variant ordering in DEM + N phrases

In 10.3 it was said that the most common ordering of demonstrative and specified noun is DEM + N. It was also noted that such phrases containing the forms of the Proximate demonstrative *nana* are of particularly high frequency, since that category has the function of signaling the textual recoverability of the entity, and is perhaps most comparable to the English definite article (see 7.2. for illustration). But recoverability in general does not completely coincide with the identification in context of which particular recoverable entity is being referred to. Let us consider some instances of the variant order with the Proximate category, N + DEM, since it would appear to be associated with and one of the means of clarifying which recoverable or given noun phrase within the information unit is meant, by signalling a break in the flow.

In certain instances where two protagonists have been spoken about, the variant order seems to be associated with a shift from one to the other.

In the *Onion* text, line 65 we have an instance of *marluga nana*. Two men have been discussing the illness of one of them who ate food prepared by two girls. The other man suggests to him that he has been ensorcelled, and he agrees. “I dreamt about them” (63), “about the two of them giving me onion, he says” (64). At that point the other old man calls out to the girls and tells them to rub the victim with fat. It is at that point in line (65) that the phrase in question occurs, and appears to be associated with a transition from the speaker quoting the victim, to the other old man asserting his authority over the girls and telling them to cure him. Note that the “other” old man re-introduced at this point is grammatically the subject of an intransitive verb (“call to”) which takes dative complement.

In the text *Mejern*, between lines (93) and (98) there is a similar shift in transition between two recoverable characters. An old Aboriginal man identified as the father of

Micky Bennett was hiding along the river (92) and saw a white man shooting Aborigines (93). For several dozen lines the speaker has been talking about shooting by whites, not individually identifiable but only known as associated with local stations. A chief interest of this part of the story is the identifiability of particular Aborigines and their exploits in the face of European violence. Having seen the white (or whites) shooting (93), the old Aboriginal man spears his horse out from under him (94–97), and he falls. Line (98) begins with the variant order *mernden nana*, perhaps associated with the transition from the previous few lines in which the old Aboriginal man is the assumed agent (ellipsed in 97). A similar shift occurs between about lines (99) and (104). In (99), the old Aborigine runs up to the white and stabs him, “with a tommyhawk” (100), “stab” (101), and runs away up on top (of the hills) (102–103). Line 104 says: *mernden nana gud gajurri* ‘the white man stood up’. That is, both are recoverable as *nana* signals, but I hypothesize that the variant order may be associated with the signalling of a shift among recoverable items, specifically to one that has receded slightly into the narrative background.

10.10. The ordering of object, agent and subject

In 10.1. I suggested that it is not possible to approach certain questions of word order with only the issue of “grammaticality” in mind, in Wardaman and other Australian languages. Informants, when asked, will approve different orders within the phrase and the elicitation sentence as grammatically acceptable and meaningful. But another matter is what they will actually say themselves, with all the attendant questions of relative frequency of different orders, and the meaningful organization of textual matter. The clause is the understood unit of analysis with respect to which summaries of major constituent ordering are usually made (as in formulae such as SVO, SOV etc.). But this assumes that issues of ordering are fundamentally issues of clause-level grammatical structure. There are however many other issues besides grammaticality which have to do with the occurrence and ordering of nominal constituents.

Some observations drawn from text material will be summarized here about the positioning of the direct object, the ergative-marked transitive agent, and the intransitive subject. These observations were made on text material that had been organized into tone units. As I noted above this chapter, this organization was basic in that no thorough analysis into primary and secondary intonation units was made, although such further study seems promising. Rather, a simple division into tone units or contours was made on the main criterion of pitch movement (generally but not always strongly linked with pause phenomena). Once this is done, it becomes possible to talk about ordering of overt noun phrases fulfilling major syntactic functions within the tone unit and with respect to an occurring verb.

There is an important general issue of the lexical realization of participants. The other side of the coin is ellipsis (and what may be somewhat different, failure for participants to be lexically specified through local portions of text, a more general question of narrative style that will not be further discussed). The fact that two nominal functions may be marked on the inflecting Wardaman verb by pronominal prefixes is linked to the

fact of extensive nominal ellipsis particularly of nominals in intransitive and transitive subject functions.

For instance, in the text Jalijbang, the protagonist Moon is introduced lexically in unit (1) by his subsection, Yiwalyarri, but is not designated again lexically until unit (83), where he is referred to as *gandawag* 'moon'. By that time he has been the understood agent of 31 transitive constructions and numerous intransitive ones. There is only one occurrence of an ergative-marked noun in the entire text of 110 units, at 102 where Moon's wives return, figure out what has happened, and say, Oh! here the old man-ERG is keeping/has his mother-in-law. The relatively straightforward story-line as told, one might say, makes it possible for Moon to be the understood and largely ellipsed agent and subject of numerous transitive and intransitive verbs (and, interestingly, in this story the object of none).

In the text Gawalyan, the first main character introduced is echidna herself. She is identified by the single noun *gawalyan* 'echidna' on the first tone unit of the text. This is not ergative-marked, despite the fact that the next unit gives the information "She had a small child". The naming of echidna simply identifies her, and carries no clear indication of grammatical function. Such naming as the content of a tone unit, amounting to apposition of participants rather than specification of grammatical function, is a common feature of Wardaman text. In the Gawalyan text, echidna is not lexically identified again until line 26, where some birds ask her husband to lend his wife (*yingawiyu*) to them for sexual intercourse. This request, with lexical designation of echidna as "wife", is repeated in line 28. Then there is no further lexical identification of echidna until a final one in line 43, where she is described as having been *yibarnbarnin* 'naked, hairless', until she was speared for refusing the birds, and so acquired quills. There is no instance of ergative-marked agent in the entire text; for after the aggressor birds have been lexically identified once (in lines 22 and 23, on tone units which name them in absolutive case form), they are designated only by pronominal prefixes (subject and object) on the verb throughout the remainder of the text.

The two cases above might be among the texts where there is least lexical designation of protagonists, and reference maintenance to protagonists principally through pronominal prefixation. A text which shows more considerable lexical specification of protagonists is Gumurrinji and Bomorrion "Emu and Brolga". Here, emu asks brolga to mind her children along with brolga's own while emu goes out foraging, and as in some Shakespearean plots, there is ample possibility for confusion. Perhaps for that reason, emu is lexically designated 6 times in a relatively short text, as is brolga; three of the latter occurrences are Ergative-marked, as brolga maliciously destroys emu's children while she is away. Nevertheless there is no case in which both agent and object are lexically specified on the same tone unit, and thus no specific evidence for the ordering of "brolga" and "emu" with respect to each other as lexemes in particular major syntactic functions. Overall, lexical specification of agent and object in the same tone unit is rare textually, but there are instances (such as Dalyarra line 30, "two-ERG women- ERG held her legs-ABS on either side", or the order AVO).

In attempting to calculate the occurrence of overt nominals as agents, subjects and objects, it seemed important to distinguish cases in which they occurred within the same

tone unit as the verbal word(s) bearing pronominal agreement, versus those in which they occurred on another tone group (often, set off as simple nouns or nominal expressions on a tone unit by themselves in absolutive form, or sometimes with case specification). Table 18 shows tabulations derived from 24 texts of nominal (including pronominal) elements in given functions – as direct objects, intransitive subjects, and (ergative-marked) agents, and their position pre- or post-verbally within the tone unit.

Table 18. Position in the tone unit of object, subject and ergative-marked agent

	After V	%	Before V	%	N =
Object	117	43.17%	154	56.83%	271
Subject	43	29.25%	104	70.75%	147
Erg-marked A	25	40.98%	36	59.02%	61

There is a higher absolute number of lexically specified objects throughout the texts compared to the other two categories. Ergative-marked agents are much less common over all texts than are subjects and objects. There is a tendency for lexically specified nouns or noun phrases in all functions to occur more frequently before the verbal word rather than after it. In the long Elsie text, for example, 40 specified objects occur within tone units before the verbal word, and 31 after it. Objects and ergative-marked agents show much less difference as between position before and after the verbal word than do subjects, which show a rather more marked tendency to occur before the verb.

In the Elsie text, of 17 instances of ergative-marked agent noun or noun phrase, 4 occurred on a tone group set off by themselves. In each of those instances the noun or noun phrase follows the tone unit containing the verb which carries its pronominal reference. In one case of an ergative agent so set off, it follows a tone unit with ergative-marked noun, and gives a different description of the referent (i.e., in the first unit the ergative marked noun is *nulurru-yi* ‘old woman’, the one set off by itself, *barnagbarnang-nyi* ‘auntie’, an alternative description).

Of the 17 instances of ergative marking, in only two tone units are both agent and object lexically specified. In one case the order is VOA (*bujurri walanja nulurru-yi* ‘old woman dug the goanna’, where both goanna and the old woman have been previously mentioned and are clearly recoverable). In the second, the order is OVA (*a nawurla wu-di-rri-ya-wuya nulurru-wuya-yi* ‘Oh! the two old women have brought nawurla’). In every instance, the ergative-marked noun or noun phrase is human. There are 7 occurrences of *nulurru* or *nulurru-wuya* ‘old woman’ or ‘two old women’; 5 of *mernden* ‘white man’; 3 of kin terms; 1 of *marluga* ‘old man’; and 1 of a personal name.

In the Galapin text, there are 9 ergative-marked instances. In only two of these are both agent and object present. One of these is an unusual case of verbal ellipsis (see 10.13.); but the order of noun phrases is A O. In the second, the order is AVO.

Here again ergative marked elements are mainly human: there are four instances of “father” or “my father”; 2 of personal names; 1 of *marluga* ‘old man’; 1 of *yibiyan* ‘man, Aborigines’; and 1 of *linin* ‘snake’.

In the Onion text there are 5 ergative-marked instances. In two of these both agent and object present, and the orders are AVO and OVA. The ergative nouns include 2 instances of a personal name, 2 of “horse”, and 1 of the dual marked *nan-guya-yi* ‘those two, the two of them’, in reference to two girls.

In the Mejern text there are 23 ergative marked instances, of which 10 are *mernden* ‘white man, white people’; 4 are *marluga* ‘old man’; 2 are kin terms; 1 is *wuja* ‘fire’; 1 is *mulurru* ‘old woman’; 1 is a personal name; 1 is the Proximate demonstrative clearly referring to an Aboriginal man; 1 is the indefinite *yiwarna-mulu-yi* referring to ‘some (men)’; 1 is *ngawurnen* ‘many’ referring to many people; 1 is *nan.ganung-nyi* ‘these’, referring to people previously named, cited in absolutive case form.

In Mejern, there were 4 instances of ergative-marked agents set off on tone units of their own, with no V. There were 7 instances in which the direct object was lexically specified within the same tone unit, allowing as one of these *mernde-yi ngan-linyje-rriyi-jili* ‘the white man cut my hair’. Here, the object marked by pronominal prefix on the verb is 1SG, the nominal object is *yi-jili* ‘hair’. Three of the other cases involved lexical specification of the object of the ditransitive “give” construction, e.g., *mernde-yi 0-wondi mulurru-wuya* ‘the whites gave [it] to the two old women’. Of the 7 with object lexically specified in the same tone unit, orders were as follows: AVO = 3, OVA = 3, VOA = 1.

In the remaining 12 cases of 23, ergative-marked agent occurred before the verb in 7, and V before A in 4. There was one in which an ergative-marked agent was flanked by two verbs within the tone unit and was clearly the agent of both: *wunggunbu-lawu-rrimernde-yi wunggun-bu-ndi* ‘the whites caught up to them and shot them’. (There were also other cases of tone units comprising more than one clause, e.g., */[nyanga-ndi yurrba] [nungguru new me-ndi mernde-yi]/* ‘he_i came and stood and the white man_j grabbed his_i hand’. This was counted above as an instance of OVA).

There is some indication in this material of a tendency for realized agent and object to be distributed on either side of the verbal word or words. The minor ordering VOA which brings them together most frequently seems to be associated with textual sequences in which the verb, normally the “comment” on a theme, is being treated as point of departure for the tone unit as a whole. Of 24 texts searched (long and short), 3 had no ergative-marked nouns or noun phrase at all.

10.11. Pronominal topics

It is commonly said of non-Pama-Nyungan languages as well as some others which have participant marking on the verb, that pronouns are mainly used “emphatically”, for example, contrastively (e.g., Merlan 1983; Heath 1984). This is true of Wardaman, where topic pronominals of the absolutive independent series typically establish someone as of especial pronominence in relation to a verb. The construction can be illustrated from text.

In the Onion text, the speaker is setting the scene, and establishes in short order what three people concerned with the action were doing:

(603) *ngayugu* *nga-dagbarla-rri* *anyin*
 1SG-ABS 1SG-have-PST [onion]-ABS
 ‘I had the onion’.

dorij-ji *0-ginye-rri-ya* *layin*
 [Doris]-ERG 3SG-cook-PST-NAR meat-ABS
 DORIS was cooking meat’.

nganinggin *yi-marnayn* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *dawung-ba*
 mine-ABS YI-husband-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES that way-ABL
 ‘My HUSBAND is coming from that way’.

In first position in each unit there seems to be a participant presented as a piece of new and salient information. Notice that one might expect *ngayugu* in the first unit to be ergative-marked, but it is not. This may be due to absolutive forms being the normal, or “unmarked” topic series for personal pronouns, and this may override the grammatical function of 1SG in the particular instance.

Other examples are drawn from the text Elsie, which exhibits numerous such first person topics as might be expected in a narrative of personal biography.

(604) *yibujgun* *im rekan*
 wild-ABS [he said]
 ‘Wild thing, he said’.

ngayugu *gila*
 1SG-ABS indeed
 ‘About me, that is’.

(605) *ngabulu* *0-dagbarla-rri*
 breast-ABS 3SG-have-PST
 ‘She had breasts’.

ngayugu *ngawun* *gayawun-bi*
 1SG-ABS none still-ART
 ‘I nothing yet’.

(606) *boisnim* *yi-wo-ndi* *0-yana-rri* *nganu*
 [poison] 2SG-give-PST 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT
 ‘You gave him poison, she said to me’.

<i>ngayugu</i>	<i>nga-yana-rri</i>	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>boisinim</i>	<i>nga-wo-ndi</i>
1SG-ABS	1SG-say-PST	not	[poison]	1SG-give-PST

'I said, I didn't poison him'.

10.12. The verb

The verb may consist of a single inflected word, or an inflected word in construction with a "verb particle" (Chapter 11). Minimally, the inflected verb carries pronominal reference to one participant, maximally to two. Such participants may or may not be realized lexically. The verbal word or words may of course be modified by adverbials. Because the verb carries pronominal specification, it is inherently complex syntactically, and may stand by itself as a complete clause.

10.13. Verbal ellipsis

While it is very common for nouns and longer noun phrases to be ellipsed, it is less common for the inflected verb to be ellipsed. Nevertheless there are some textual examples which illustrate the possibility.

In the text Galapin, the story has been told how a known Wardaman man, while foraging around on the Katherine river, became aware of a stranger up in a tree, and speared him. The speaker appears to offer explanation for this, saying "he_i was a stranger, he_i would have taken his_j fat, he_i might have speared him_j"; then:

(607)	<i>nan-yi</i>	<i>yibiyani-yi</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>marluga</i>
	that-ERG	man-ERG	that-ABS	old man-ABS

'That fellow_i the old man_j'.

In other words, the ellipsed verbal word from the preceding tone unit is *ya-yi-yo-ny-ga* 'he would have speared him', and the ergative-marked agent and absolutive-marked object are left intact.

In a second and quite complex example from Galapin, the speaker has reported how her father told her mother to get the children up away from the river and out of range of the rainbow serpent, who might smell them. The rainbow serpent has not been lexically specified in the immediately preceding few lines. Then:

(608)	<i>marluga</i>	<i>yiwarnagari</i>	<i>lin-yi</i>	<i>o-yana-rri</i>
	old man-ABS	other-ABS	snake-ERG	3SG-say-PST

'The other old man said the snake'.

What is ellipsed from the immediately preceding tone unit is the verbal construction *mog-ba ye-0-me-we* 'it will smell us'. The fact that *linin* is ergative-marked shows that its grammatical function in the ellipsed verb is being preserved. What seems slightly unusual about this example is the separation of the speaker ("old man") from the reporting verb by *lin-yi* standing for an ellipsed clause.

See (719) for the ellipsis of a particle (*milygbilyg-ba*) but restatement of the co-occurring AUX *jingi-*.

10.14. Particle function and position in clause and tone group

There is a tendency for particles to occur immediately preceding the finite verb with which they are in construction, but as in Wakiman (Cook 1987: 241), this is not their invariable position. The usual positioning, amply illustrated throughout this grammar, is of the following sort:

- (609) *narru* *wurr-waja-rri-ya* *wonggo* *balyag*
 dodge 3NSG-AUX-PSTONAR neg touch
0-me-ndi-ya *ngawun*
 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR no
 ‘They dodged and it did not touch them’.

However, within a tone group comprised of a single clause and as well, within complex or multi-clause tone groups, the alternative positioning is commonly found:

- (610) *garn-gu* *wurr-waja-rri-ya* *narru*
 spear-DAT 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR dodge
 ‘They dodged the spears’.

The following examples (drawn from texts) illustrate the alternative positioning:

- (611) *wurr-yana-rri* *gunga* *mernde-wu* *nan-gu*
 3NSG-say-PST 3SG-DAT white-DAT that-DAT
yibiyman-mulu *ol weleru* *dana* *yibiwang-guya* *darni*
 man-PL-ABS [Old Willeroo] this-ABS man-DU-ABS yonder-ABS
guyamin *bega-wu* *ya-wud-janga-n* *jejbarla*
 two-ABS tobacco-DAT 3-3NSG-come-PRES ask
 ‘They said to that white man, the people at Old Willeroo, here two men yonder are coming asking for tobacco’.

- (612) *0-gi-ndi* *dijorrong-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi*
 3SG-AUX-PST play didgeridoo-PS 3SG-come-PST

lagla-warr *gajigaji* *na* *nana* *mernden*
 camp-ALL walk [now] that-ABS white-ABS

0-gerne-rri-wan *marlugbarr* *birrg*
 3SG-AUX-PST-DF didgeridoo-ABS take away

‘He was playing the didgeridoo and he came walking to the camp now, that whitefella and he took the didgeridoo away’.

(612) has three instances of particle following its auxiliary, in first, second and third lines.

(613) *weleru* *wurr-ga-ndi* *goyogban* *wurr-me-ndi*
 [Willeroo]-ABL 3NSG-take-PST orphan-ABS 3NSG-AUX-PST
warrguj
 pick up

'They took him from Willeroo, they picked him up [as] an orphan'.

Possibly, given its usual position before the finite verb, the post-verbal position, and particularly the tone-group final position gives a special prominence to the predicate meaning expressed by the particle.

In general, insofar as a determinate semantic relation can be posited between particles and finite verbs, the former may be said to restrict the latter in that they contribute a specificity of meaning that the latter does not have by itself. Particles do not regularly combine with each other to constitute predicate meanings in the way, for example, two or several verbal roots regularly serialize in some New Guinean languages; examples with more than two particles within the same finite clause have not been found, and those of two are not regular, idiomatic combinations. Where two particles occur together, there seems to be a regular semantic relationship between them of the following two kinds. First, one of the particles might be described as semantically more specific than the other. It is one that enters into regular combination with the finite verb in a unique lexical predicate meaning. The other particle is more general than the first, semantically compatible with it, and refines or elaborates it semantically. This second particle tends to be of such generality that, along a notional spectrum of predicate modification such as was mentioned in Chapter 4, it might fall into the category of adverb.

In the second sort of case, there again exists a relation of semantic compatibility, perhaps even partial synonymy, between the two particles, which need not be contiguous within the clause, and together they reinforce a particular predicate meaning, or express a conjunction of partly similar, paired meanings. The relation of specificity and generality typical of the first sort of case is not found here; instead, the two particles appear to be of approximately equal lexical specificity. Examples of these sorts of combinations follow.

(614) *nan-guya* *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-marla* *buda-wu*
 that-DU-ABS 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-ITER plum-DAT

buda *wiyan-wan* *girdibun-ma* *yarr-ma* *0-yanggi*
 plum-ABS rain-ABS-DF finish-PS end-PS 3SG-go PST

nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-wuya *buda-wu bogogo ngurlmud*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-DU-ABS plum-DAT foraging camping out

'Those two used to take me for black plum
 black plum, when the rains tailed off finally
 the two of them took me foraging and camping out for black plum'.

This example might be seen to illustrate both types of particle cooccurrence characterized above. First, in the second line there is the combination *girdibun-ma* which means ‘finish, end’ (and as a nominal modifier may mean “all, the whole lot”) together with the particle plus verb combination *yarr-ma ya-* ‘to diminish, tail off, end’, often used of seasonal rains. The former particle is more general than the first in that it expresses completion more broadly, and restricts the following lexical combination, producing a meaning something like “when it ended completely, altogether”. In the last line is the combination *bogogo ngurlmud*, of the second sort, where one particle cannot be seen as restricting or modifying the other, because they are of approximately equal lexical specificity, semantically compatible in that each designates activities defined in opposition to staying put, being in camp and the like. The result is a more conjunctive kind of expression: “foraging and camping out”.

(615) *lurle wu-lu-rri-ya ngawurnen mulerr-ma*
cry 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR many-ABS grieve-PS

‘A great number [of them] cried and grieved/cried in mourning’.

(615) may be considered an instance of the second kind, where there is a relation of semantic compatibility and partial synonymy between the two particles, *lurle* used in the meaning ‘cry, weep’ and *mulerr-ma* with connotations of public, loud, grieving and mourning, particularly for a death. Together the particles encode and reinforce a single predicate meaning (as opposed to a more clearly conjunctive one of the *bogogo ngurlmud* type).

(616) *nganinggin yibiwi 0-lu-rri-ya nganu na*
1SG-ABS-GEN father-ABS 3SG-cry-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT [now]
mejern moyin-ma 0-jingi-ndi luyurr-ma
stomach-ABS worry-PS 3SG-AUX-PST long for-PS

‘My father cried for me now he worried and longed for me’.

In (616), *moyin-ma* (which, like some other constructions of sentiment and affect, occurs with the Absolutive nominal *mejern* ‘stomach’, see 10.4.), apparently conveys a sense of worry or concern, while *luyurr-ma* designates longing, pining, or sometimes compassion for. The combination seems to be conjunctive, rather than one particle restricting the other.

(617) *warlarrgu wud-janga-ndi werrwerr*
outside 3NSG-come-PST outwards rdp

‘They came outside’.

As first briefly mentioned in 7.6.3., in Wardaman as in Wakiman (see Cook 1987: 253), there is a common use of two orientational particles which locate action or state as “outwards”, “outside” and “inwards, inside” (but the relational sense, or the relation to something else, of both terms may sometimes not be very precisely defined or explicitly indicated). In Wardaman, the most common term that designates ‘inside, inwards’ is

warljub(-a), and this is more adverbial than specifically particle-like, in that it readily occurs with any number of finite verbs, and is not particularly strongly associated with any, in anything approximating a regular particle plus finite verb combination. There is, however, a second particle *wululu* ‘inwards, inside’, which while it may combine with any verb of motion (“come”, “go” etc.), tends to occur with special frequency with *we-*, which by itself means ‘fall’. The combination *wululu we-*, however, does not mean to “fall in(side)”, but rather simply ‘go inside, motion inwards’ *wululu ngerr-we-n* ‘let us go inside’.

The particle *werr-ma* ‘outwards, outside’ is often used to describe the situation of people emerging from the countryside into a camp or habited place, approximately ‘they came out’; it is used to describe where rivers and creeks come “out” or debouche; and to describe the emergence of dreaming figures from the landscape or from a position covert within landforms into the visible world, or into a particular place. As in (610), this particle may occur with other forms such as *warlarrgu*, generally used (now, at least) to talk about ‘outside’ a house or other structure as opposed to inside, and of such generality that it might be designated an adverb as easily as a particle. Although *werr* is also of considerable generality (i.e., it is used to describe the “outward” motion or position of a large range of arguments), it is more particle- than adverb-like in that it is regularly found in lexical-syntactic combination with the finite verb *bu-* to express action or motion outwards (although it MAY also occur with other verbs). Thus, the cooccurrence of *warlarrgu* and *werr* would seemingly be best described semantically as one of a more general item modifying a more specific one, and together expressing not just emergence ‘outwards’ (i.e., the inward to outward trajectory of *werr*), but to the outside (the general location designated by *warlarrgu*).

The examples presented so far have been of particles cooccurring within a single clause on a tone unit, where each particle (or adverb) is associated with the finite verb of the clause, each in the same way, or one apparently modifying or restricting the other. It often happens in connected narrative that particles are used without a finite verb but simply with a major argument of a (partly realized) clause, often the object, as in the following:

- (618) *wurr-bel-wu-rri-ya* *girdibun*
 3NSG-slice-PST-NAR finish
- wolon* *barlbarlb* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya* *gunga*
 grass-ABS spread rdp 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU 3SG-DAT
- yi-munburra* *nordnord* *wolon* *barlbarlb*
 YI-rock-ABS heap rdp grass-ABS spread rdp
- ‘They sliced it, that’s all (finished)
 the two of them spread the grass out for it
 heap up stones, spread out grass’.

Especially given the preceding context, the last tone unit can be easily understood despite the absence of any finite verb. There are many textual examples elsewhere of a

tone group consisting of one or two grammatically complete clauses, and then an “appended” particle without finite verb, final or near-final within the tone group. The effect of this kind of “incomplete” structure is to indicate that the action, condition etc. designated by the particle should be interpreted in relation to the rest of the tone group, and in direct relation to major arguments within it. Insofar as “ellipsis” is used to mean that some constituent formerly present has been zeroed, the term does not seem appropriate. We seem to be dealing with instances in which the particle SUGGESTS the fuller verbal expression. The following set of examples should illustrate this common textual effect:

- (619) *wurr-ga-ndi-ya* *nana* *magulu* *na* *dun* *wiya-ya*
 3NSG-take-PST-NAR that-ABS yam-ABS [now] tip water-LOC
 ‘They took the yam now and tipped it into water’.

A usual combination with particle *dun* ‘tip, pour’ is the finite verb *wudba-*. In (619), however, there is no finite verb with *dun*, but the object of the particle is clearly understood to be the immediately preceding *magulu*, and the subject, the 3NSG pronominal on the verb.

- (620) *wurr-me-ndi* *jubung*
 3NSG-AUX-PST grind
minyardin
 charcoal-ABS
minyardin *jubung* *wurr-me-ndi* *wiya-warra* *ngay*
 charcoal-ABS grind 3NSG-AUX-PST water-ADV mix
wurr-me-ndi *wiya-warra* *ngay*
 3NSG-AUX-PST water-ADV mix
wurr-ngu-ndi
 3NSG-eat-PST
 ‘They ground the charcoal and mixed it with water
 mixed it with water and ate it’.

Here a few lines are given to establish that there has been one instance of “they ground it”, with particle *jubung* and finite verb *me-*; the object, ‘charcoal’, is separately specified and then repeated in the third line, which ends with particle *ngay* ‘mix, stir’, and no finite verb. The following line begins with the finite verb (*me-* is the usual finite verb with *ngay*, while *jubung* commonly occurs with both *bu-* and *me-*), a repetition of “with water”, and of the particle itself.

- (621) *marlarluga* *nurdurd*
 old man rdp-ABS heap rdp
wunggun-gi-ndi *nurdurd*
 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST heap rdp
wunggun-bu-ndi *gila* *dordo* *duyma*
 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST indeed shoot heap
wunggun-bu-ndi *wurre-wayana* *wuduwudu-wayana*
 3SG/3NSG-shoot-PST child-and all little rdp-and all

wurren

child-ABS

'[they put] the old men in a heap
 they heaped them up
 they just shot them and heaped them
 they shot little tiny kids and all'.

The particle without finite verb occurs in the third line: *duyma* 'heap' normally occurs with the finite verb *gi-*. The following line does not return to more fully specify that predicate, however, but returns to the theme of shooting and the fact that even little children were killed.

- (622) *gud* *0-gaju-rri* *worroman-bi* *wardabarrb*
 arise 3SG-AUX-PST quickly-ART leap/start
- gayardung* *0-yanggi* *yirrgulun* *judjud*
 run 3SG-AUX PST river-ABS descend
- 'He got up quickly with a start
 ran and descended to the river'.

The first line might be interpreted as a combination of particles of compatible semantics, *gud* more general in that it designates arising, getting up, and *wardabarrb* more specific in that while it implies arising, it also specifies the manner in which it is done as sudden, or unexpected. Both *gud* and *wardabarrb* normally occur (in intransitive clauses) with finite verb *gaju-*. That is, it is probably not appropriate to see *wardabarrb* as the particle of a truncated or ellipsed clause, but as the second member of a particle combination with *gud*. In the second line, however, we may posit that *yirrgulun judjud* are members of an incompletely specified predication "and descended to the river". Indications that this string never achieves clausal status are: first, that *yirrgulun* is Absolutive, instead of Allative as one might expect in a fully developed clause; and secondly, that *judjud* normally occurs with *we-* in the meaning 'descend', and therefore may be interpreted as occurring here without finite verb. The latter point is somewhat equivocal, for *judjud* also regularly occurs with the verbs of motion 'go' and 'come'; however, given the lack of case-marking on 'river', we may interpret this as a textually-cohesive fragment, rather than as a particle-combination with finite verb *ya-*.

A passage similar in context occurs further on in the same text from which (622) was drawn:

- (623) *gayardung* *0-yanggi* *gunya* *yirrgulu-warr* *barrwa*
 run 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DISS river-ALL down
- judjud*
 descend
- yirrgulun* *yirrgulun* *yirrgulun* *galul* *werr* *0-bu-ndi*
 river-ABS river-ABS river-ABS up out 3SG-AUX-PST
- berngij-(j)a*
 black soil-LOC

'He ran away from him and down to the river
along the river and came up and out on black soil'.

Here the particle *judjud* is once again apparently not directly paired with a finite verb (though the "river", the place to which the subject descended, is regularly case-marked). The meaning is perfectly clear because of the surrounding specification of the nature and direction of action.

(624) *galul wurr-(y)anggi worroman-bi gayardung julu-ya*
up 3NSG-AUX PST quickly-ART run hill-LOC
duba
sit-PS

'They ran up quickly and sat down on the hill'.

The particle *duba* is here without finite verb, normally *jingi-*, but again its absence does not impair intelligibility.

Although such unpaired particles commonly occur tone-group finally, as so far illustrated, they may also occur in other positions, especially group-initially:

(625) *wardarl 0-yana-rri ngawun*
struggle 3SG-AUX-PST nothing

new wardang 0-wudba-rri
grab belly-up 3SG-AUX-PST

'She struggled, nothing [to no avail]
he grabbed and threw her belly-up'.

The particle *new* 'grab' is unpaired; it usually occurs with *me-*, and does not occur by itself in combination with *wudba-* (which as independent verb means 'throw', and obviously retains some of that semantic content in its combination with *wardang*). 'Grab' in such a construction as this obviously has the same nominal arguments as *wardang*.

While further above were illustrated kinds of particle combinations which may be seen as members of a single finite clause, in the immediate preceding examples we have what should be regarded as particle adjuncts of less than full clausal status to a single clause. These adjuncts add to the development of text, and are related to the fully specified clause in a way that presupposes the sharing of major arguments and argument functions by the particles, and the applicability of other verbal categories (tense-aspect) to the additional particle as well as to the clause as a whole. These constructions cannot, however, taken to be serialized ones insofar as "serialization" is understood to mean the regular combination of predicates in determinate lexical meanings. The constructions illustrated here are textual ones, i.e. not essentially analyzable at the clause level, though they certainly interact with and are constrained by clause-level structure. The particle adjunction effects a close textual linkage between the major clausal predicate(s) and the adjoined one. This packaging of narrative material is most closely comparable to the inclusion, within a single tone-group, of more than one finite clause. While comparable, these processes must be distinguished.

Inclusion of two full clauses within a single tone group is common, although it is unusual in the narratives collected for a tone group to contain MORE than TWO clauses. Examples of two clauses within a single tone unit follow.

- (626) *belgin* *wurr-ngu-ndi* *wurr-wemi-yi-rri*
 dirt-ABS 3NSG-eat-PST 3NSG-vomit-MED-PST
 ‘They ate dirt and vomited’.

- (627) *marluga* *gayardung* *0-lawu-rri* *deb* *0-bu-ndi*
 old man-ABS run 3SG-reach-PST hit 3SG-AUX-PST
bidamarla
 neck-ABS
 ‘He ran and caught up the old man and hit him on the neck’.

- (628) *wirriyn* *0-bu-ndi* *yi-jurn* *walayn* *0-na-rri* *a*
 turn 3SG-AUX-PST face-ABS recognize 3SG-AUX-PST oh
 ‘He turned it over and recognized the face, “Oh!”’.

- (629) *judjud* *wurr-(y)anggi* *galul* *0-yanggi* *marluga*
 descend 3NSG-go-PST up 3SG-go-PST old man-ABS
 ‘They went down and the old man went up’.

- (630) *0-nyanga-ndi* *nana* *marluga* *muyirr-ma*
 3SG-come-PST that-ABS old man-ABS gather-PS
wunggun-bu-ndi
 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST
 ‘The old man came and gathered them together’.

- (631) *nga-gi-ndi* *wiyan* *bog* *nga-me-ndi-ya*
 1SG-put-PST water-ABS dip 1SG-AUX-PST-NAR
 ‘I put water, I dipped it up’.

These examples show that, in the textual linking of two full clauses by prosodic means only, although it often happens that the two finite verbs share an object, or (perhaps better put) presuppose the same object, they may in fact have different subjects and/or objects. (629) illustrates different subjects of the two prosodically-linked predicates, the linkage highlighting precisely their opposite direction of movement: as one went down the other went up. The prosodic linkage of full clauses on a tone unit, then, is an even more explicitly “textual” (rather than “grammatical”) device than is particle adjunction; for the latter operates in terms of the sharing of core arguments among all predicate constituents and the controlling of verbal categories by the finite verb.

Chapter 11

Particles, particle syntax and clausal complements

11.1. Introduction: Special properties of particles

Many languages in this region, like Wardaman, have predicate structures of more than one kind, some of which consist of more than one word. Verbal construction types were described in 8.1., and the distinction was made between predicate structures consisting only of finite verb, and those consisting of verbal “particle” (following some long-standing Australianist usage, see Dixon ed. 1976) and finite verb. We saw that among the finite verbs which may occur as predicators by themselves, with full lexical meaning, are high-frequency verbs (including most of the CV- roots) which also occur widely with verb particles, to constitute most of the language’s verbal lexicon. It was shown that there is moderate flexibility in alternative pairings of the same particle with different verbs, and that this kind of alternation, besides making differences in lexical meaning, also instantiates differences in clause-level transitivity in what was accordingly termed a “lexico-syntactic” manner. This kind of transitivity system is consistent with the fact that there tends to be a strong coincidence between particular verb and either transitive or intransitive clause type (e.g., *bu-*, *gi-* etc. transitive, *jingi-* intransitive). However, a simple dichotomy between transitive and intransitive clauses and/or predicates was argued to be inappropriate, mainly because of the considerable degree to which verbs which, as clausal predicates by themselves determine transitive clause structure, with particles may instantiate the Absolutive-Dative clause type.

Although particle plus verb constructions occur in many other languages of the area, their range of functions is rather distinctive of the group of presumed congeners including Wardaman (for Wakiman, see Cook 1987 Chapter 9; the same range of functions is indicated by the more limited material available for Yangman). Particles in these languages have at least two major functions: first, they productively occur with finite verbs to express predicate meanings; and second, case-marked in a number of ways that will be described in this chapter, they form clausal complements. It is in this second range of functions that the particle system of Wardaman and congeners is particularly distinctive, as compared with other regional languages. For example in the languages immediately to the east (of the Wardaman-Yangman dialect continuum), Mangarrayi and Alawa, particle plus verb constitutes the usual kind of predicate construction. But the extent to which particles in those languages may be used in adclausal complement constructions is very limited, and in particular, there is no parallel to the Allative-marked complements described in 11.4.3. and 11.7. Though the particle plus verb construction type of all of these languages is superficially similar, the differences in syntactic distribution of the particles support the view that we are not dealing with similar syntactic systems. There appear, also, to be some, much more minor differences between Wardaman and Wakiman in the way that particles function: in Wardaman they do not

occur alone, without finite verb, as imperative utterances (Cook 1987: 253). This difference may be related to some others, e.g., the fact that the ‘particle suffix’ in Wardaman (11.1.2.) cannot be clearly associated with aspectual categorial meaning in the way it apparently can in Wakiman (Cook 1987: 235).

11.1.1. Particle shapes

The particle suffix of shape *-ba* ~ *-ma* may be freely suffixed to the majority of particles, and also to many of what are considered in this description to be “adverbs”, that is, verbal modifiers of a more general sort which may occur with a large number of predicates. As noted in Chapter 4, particles constitute an open word class that cannot be strictly delimited from adverbs, though it is useful to retain a distinction between them. There are some particles which appear to contain what is historically the particle suffix, but which now do not occur without it. For example *duba* ‘sit’ was probably *dub-ba*, and with degemination normally occurred as *duba*. The suffix-less form *dub*, however, is not used, in contradistinction to most particles of this shape which still have suffixed and suffix-less alternative forms (e.g., *juba* ‘be deaf, shut, blocked’, and also *jub*). There is also a large number of particles (such as the high-frequency *ngorlog-ba* ‘talk’) which characteristically occur with the particle suffix, and although informants consider them acceptable as particles without the suffix, elicitation and text material fails to reveal any spontaneously-produced examples in which they lack the suffix. We may conclude that there is a long-term tendency for the particle suffix to become lexicalized, and that this may be especially likely where the particle is paralleled by finite verb of the same shape (*ngorlog-ba-*, see comments below in on the historical relationship between particles and finite verbs).

Excluding those forms which are considered adverbs, i.e., general predicate modifiers which may occur with a wide range of finite verbs, an examination was made of 460 particles to ascertain their shapes. Of these, 449 were finally tallied (the remaining few were eliminated for various reasons, e.g., *lowaglowa* ‘play’ because of the exceptionality of the *gl* cluster, *jangjajang* ‘slurp’ because of the apparently special nature of the reduplicative process, etc.). Many fully reduplicative stems were classified as of the kind of one of their identifiable segments, e.g., *dingding(ma)* ‘be pretty, attractive, look nice’ was classified as if it were *ding*, i.e., as a CVS particle; *wardagwardag* ‘shake head no’, as if it were *wardag*, i.e., as a CVC(C)VC particle. The final 449 fell into categories of the following shapes in the numbers given (illustrative examples are also given):

	Number	%
CVS where S = sonorant, e.g., <i>jin</i> ‘blame’	78	17.37
CVCV, e.g., <i>lurle</i> ‘cry’	23	5.12
CVStop, e.g., <i>bag</i> ‘break’	50	11.14
CVR/LS/N, e.g., <i>bilyb</i> ‘switch’, <i>warlng</i> ‘open’	46	10.24
CVC(C)VC, e.g., <i>birdij</i> ‘find’	157	34.97
CVCVCV(C), e.g., <i>barlarra</i> ‘hide’, <i>girdibun</i>	50	11.14

	Number	%
CVC(C)VR/LG, e.g., <i>birilg</i> 'flatten'	19	4.23
CVCCVCV(C)/(N/L), e.g., <i>bulmarrab</i> 'float'	12	2.67
CVCVCCVC, e.g., <i>yarramburl</i> 'have gooseflesh'	6	.13
CVCCV, e.g., <i>don.go</i> 'in a line, lined up'	8	.18

Obviously the first six categories are the most significant, and all of the categories comprise permissible consonant-vowel combinations. But it is of interest to know the average and also maximum lengths and shape-types of the particles to see, among other things, how they compare with the shapes of finite verbs to which, in a moderate number of cases, the particles are synchronically related (e.g., particle and verb of the shape *ngorlog-ba*).

In a lexical list of nearly two thousand entries, 150 were finite verbs, 15 (or 16 including *ya-* 'go') were CV- roots, 20 CVCV- roots, 18 verbs with inseparable suffix *-bu*, and 63 with final syllable *-ba* or *-ma*. Of these, 26 had stem-initial element of the shape CVC(C)VC before the *-ba* ~ *-ma* suffix, 20 initial element of the shape CVS(onorant), 5 of the shape CVCV, 3 of the shape CVCVCV(C), 2 of the shape CVS(top), 5 of the shape CVSC where S = sonorant, and one of the shape CVCVR/LG. The proportions of each type are in keeping with the supposition that these are the result of a long-term process of verbalization of particles.

Recall that the verbal suffixal paradigms in Wardaman are highly regular, and that it only in the CV- roots, and the two roots *nyanga-* 'come' and *jingi-* 'sit', that the *-ndi* Past tense allomorph is found. It is also only among these verbs, and those with final syllables *-bu*, *-rla*, *-nyje*, *-rna*, and some of the CVCV- roots, that the Present allomorph *-n* is found. All other verbs, and in particular the class ending in *-ba* ~ *-ma*, have no overt Present suffix, and all take the Past allomorph *-rri*. It was also noted in 8.2. that there is a small number of verbs which have a distinctive Future stem-form, mainly those which have stem-final *a*, including some monomorphemic roots such as *nyanga-* 'come', but also including the class ending in *ba* ~ *ma*. These facts, and especially that the minority and perhaps relic Past tense allomorph (*-ndi*) is found only among those verbs which are clearly of long-standing in that word class, suggest that the direction of historical change in the language has been towards verbalization of particles, with an accompanying process of levelling of verbal suffixal allomorphy. The fact that the verbs which end in *ba* ~ *ma* have distinctive Future stem vocalism, however, is suggestive of intrusion into the developing majority verb class of a much older distinction between (let us posit and label) Future and Non-Future stem forms realized in a particular way (the contrast between *i* and *a* vocalism) for some verbs, and which seems to have played a part in the realization of Irrealis versus Indicative mood categories.

11.1.2. Particle suffix *-ba* ~ *-ma*

The particle suffix may be freely added to members of this word class which otherwise end in a consonant, e.g., *ban.garrg* or *ban.garrg-ba* 'fall, pitch down, headlong', *bulmarrab* or *bulmarrab-(b)a* 'float', *lom* 'peel, strip' and *lom-ma*, etc. It may also be

suffixed to some members of the class here called adverbs, e.g., *borle* and *borle-ma* ‘across’, *malang* and *malang-ma* ‘cross, across’, etc.

There is a no doubt etymologically related suffix *-ma* in Wakiman, which Cook (1987: 235) describes as implementing aspectual differences in the particle class (or “participles”, as he terms them). In fact, there he recognizes four aspectual participial forms: aspectually “unmarked” (with suffix *-ma* for many members of the class); Punctual, reduced in some way compared to the “unmarked” form, and involving zeroing of *-ma* for some participles; Sequential with suffix *-wi*; and Purposive, which is generally built on the “unmarked” stem form by addition of *y-gu*. Cook (1987: 232) notes that participles in Wakiman can occur alone without nominal arguments as imperative utterances, and it would seem (*ibid*: 255) that such imperative function generally (or invariably?) involves use of the aspectually “Punctual” forms, and not the “unmarked” ones.

In contrast, in Wardaman although the alternation between zero-suffixed and *-ba* ~ *-ma* suffixed particles is ubiquitous, no such clear aspectual difference can be discerned in the alternation, and indeed no perspicuous grammatical distinction can be associated with it. One piece of evidence of the difference between Wakiman and Wardaman comes from the fact that the overtly suffixed particles are freely used in imperative constructions, as the following examples show:

- (632) *wird-ba* *ga* *yi-nebel-ya*
 carry up-PS AUX YI-shoulder-LOC
 ‘Carry it on your shoulder!’.

The locative phrase seems redundant, given that *wird* is usually understood to mean ‘carry on shoulder’ without additional qualification.

- (633) *gud-ba* *me*
 arise-PS AUX
 ‘Get him up!’

- (634) *jen-ma* *luma /* *ning-ma* *luma*
 cut up-PS AUX cut into bits-PS AUX
 ‘Cut it into pieces/into bits!’.

- (635) *marnungurru* *nu-me* *jilig-ba*
 hard 2NSG-AUX awaken-PS
 ‘Wake him up hard!’.

- (636) *yi-jad-wan* *yi-na-yingbe* *wonggo* *yi-gulan*
 YI-big-DF 2SG-AUX-RR-FUT neg YI-ear-ABS
yi-ni-we-n *ngorlog-ba* *jingi* *wurrugu*
 IRR-2SG-AUX-PRES talk-PS AUX 3NSG-DAT
 ‘And when you are big do not forget, tell them/talk to them’.

- (639) *wonggo* *nunu-me-n* *balyag-ba*
 neg IRR-2NSG-AUX-PRES touch-PS
 ‘Do not touch it’.

(639) illustrates the retention of the particle suffix in a negative imperative construction. One might expect this to be less an issue in the negative imperative, because of the fact that it is not formally distinct from the Irrealis Present.

Elsewhere, in other tense-aspect-mood forms of the verb, the presence or absence of the particle suffix equally seems not to be associable with a categorial difference. The following are (elicited) examples of suffixed and suffix-less forms, alleged to be interpreted in the same way:

- (638) *wonggo* *worlog/worlog-ba* *ya-0-bu-n* *gunga*
 neg wash-0/PS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES 3SG-DAT
 ‘She is not washing for her/she does not wash for her’.

- (639) *nyilg/nyilg-ba* *ye-0-wen-we-n* *wiyan* *ngarrugu* *gaya*
 sprinkle-0/PS 3-3SG-AUX rdp-PRES rain-ABS IINPL-DAT today
 ‘It’s sprinkling down rain on us today/now’.

- (640a) *yang-ma* *ngani-bu-ndi* *yimiyān-barra* *nan-yi*
 tell-PS 1SG/2SG-AUX-PST same-ADV that-ERG
wurre-yi *ngon-mowo-rri*
 child-ERG 3SG/1SG-rob-PST
 ‘I told you [at] that time [when] the child robbed me’.

- (b) *yang nga-bu-ndi* *gunga* *nganinggin* *0-me-ny-ga*
 tell 1SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT 1SG-GEN-ABS 3SG-take-PST-SUB
nganu *ngon-mowo-ny-ga*
 1SG-DAT 3SG/1SG-rob-PST-SUB
 ‘I told him when she took mine, when she stole it from me’.

- (641) *nga-wojbarna-rri* *wiyan* *nyilg/nyilg-ba* *ye-0-we-n*
 1SG-feel-PST rain-ABS sprinkle-PST 3-3SG-AUX-PRES
 ‘I felt rain [is] sprinkling down’.

- (642) *yarr/yarr-ma* *wurr-gi-ndi* *gamin* *murag-ja*
 stand-0/-PS 3NSG-AUX-PST spear-ABS shade-LOC
wurr-ngu-ndi-ya *mayin*
 3NSG-eat-PST-NAR food-ABS
 ‘They stood up their spears and ate their food in the shade’.

Although not all of the predicate meanings in these examples can be seen as aspectually punctual, there are some that seem undoubtedly so, e.g., (642), and with respect to these

informants seem to not make a distinction between the suffixed and unsuffixed particle forms. This alternation extends also to members of the word class that are general enough that they might equally be termed adverbs, viz.:

- (643) *menbalu-wa* *0-nyanga-ndi* *borle/borle-ma* *dan-garr yimerrug*
 [Manbulloo]-ABL 3SG-come-PST across-0/PS this-ALL spirit-ABS
 ‘The spirit came across from Manbulloo to here’.

Compare (644) and (645), both of which seem to designate actions of semantically punctual aspect:

- (644) *wu-dab-(b)a* *werr-ma* *0-bu-ndi*
 WU-cave-ABL out-PS 3SG-AUX-PST
 ‘He came out of/emerged from the cave’.

- (645) *barnam* *0-jingi-ndi* *gunga* *jimirndi-warra* *bornborn-ba*
 lie in wait 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT knife-ADV bathe-ABL
yi-nayin *0-nyanga-ndi* *banggin-ba* *werr* *0-bu-ndi*
 YI-naked-ABS 3SG-come-PST back-ABL out 3SG-AUX-PST
go *jimirndi*
 3SG-DAT knife-ABS
 ‘She lay in wait for him with a knife, he came naked from the shower and the knife came out [from] his back’.

In short, whatever the function of the alternation may have been historically, it seems not to be associable with a difference between grammatical categories now. Any supposed levelling of a previous grammatical difference may have to do with the wide distribution of the *-ba* ~ *-ma* verb class in the contemporary lexicon, where the suffix is re-interpreted as a mark of predicate function per se, and not of contrast within the system of verbal categories.

11.1.3. Negative imperative particle constructions

Positive imperatives are not ordinarily formed using the particle alone (as is apparently the case in Wakiman, see Cook 1987: 255). Thus, one usually orders someone, not *duba* ‘sit down!’ with particle alone, but *duba jingi* ‘sit down!’, with particle plus finite verb. While the particle may occur by itself as imperative, this apparently has the quality of a truncated or elliptical utterance.

Negative imperatives of particle plus finite verb constructions may be formed as usual, that is, such constructions are identical to the Present Irrealis tense-mood-aspect forms:

- (646) *wonggo* *duba* *yi-ni-jingi-n*
 neg sit IRR-2SG-AUX-PRES
 ‘Don’t sit down!’ ‘You must not sit down!’.

However, negative imperatives may be formed with particles alone, without any nominal arguments, by suffixation of *-gay* ~ *-way* to the particle. These are apparently rather forceful in tone, perhaps equivalent to the German past participial imperative construction: *Aufgestanden!* The form is very rare in text material collected. Informants produced elicitation examples both with and without the particle suffix:

- (647) *balyagbalyag-gay* *nu-waja*
 touch rdp-PNEG 2NSG-leave
 ‘No touching, you [NSG] leave him alone’.

Note that the fact that the particle itself cannot be inflected for person means that, though the addressees in (647) are nonsingular in the finite imperative form “leave him!”, number of the addressee is not specified in the particle. The force of the particle negator appears to be to negate the action designated by the particle as a whole, “No touching”.

- (648) *jajay-ma-way*
 weak-PS-PNEG
 ‘No weakness!’ ‘Don’t be weak!’.

- (649) *ngarral-ma-way*
 shout-PS-PNEG
 ‘No shouting!’ ‘Don’t shout!’.

See 9.3. for the negation of nominalized finite verbs.

11.1.4. Nominal derivation from particles

While in certain ways particles in Wardaman have noun-like properties (viz. their negation discussed in 11.1.3. above), a derivational process may be applied to many to create adjectival nominal forms meaning “possessed of the property designated by the particle”.

Such nominalization involves the suffixation of *-n* to the vowel-final particle (in the instances attested, to the form with particle suffix), and the prefixation of a nominal class specifier.

There is considerable evidence of *-n* as nominal suffix in Wardaman and congeners, not least in the final-syllable system which undergoes reduction before non-zero suffixes (see 3.1.). There it was shown that occurring finals are not limited to *-n*, but many also have vocalic augment (*-in*, depending on the shape of the root. In any case, final *-n* is ubiquitous.

Besides this evidence of the historical significance of *-n* in the formation of the nominal lexicon, there is also evidence of its synchronic derivational status. This plays a part in the derivation of semantically adjectival nominal stems from particles, and also from verbs with inseparable final suffix *-ma* ~ *-ba*. Before turning to examples of this, it is important to note that there is also widespread evidence of the long-term historical status

in the language of a nominal suffix with (phonologically) conditioned forms *-ban* and *-man*. This may be described in general as a semantically adjectival nominal suffix. In some cases it can transparently be seen to designate an entity in terms of “having the characteristic property” or “performing the characteristic action, noise” etc., signalled by a preceding root. This is most transparent in certain onomatopoeic bird and other names with this suffix: *welej-ban* ‘parrot’, *jeg-ban* ‘turkey’; *nilng-man* ‘finch(es)’, *nirriwu-man* ‘cicada’, etc. But the suffix is found in many other nominal stems which designate properties, characteristics or conditions, where little further insight is possible into any derivative meaning, e.g., *goyog-ban* ‘orphan, person without relatives’; *berlerl-man* ‘kerosene tree’; *ngunag-ban* ‘good smell’; *mele-man* ‘black’, to cite just a few examples. Insofar as any broad semantic specification of this nominal suffix is possible, it may be identified as generally adjectival and largely found as an element of stems which designate inherent properties and characteristics (though, as noted above, many of these stems are argument nouns in their typical syntactic distributions). In its designating inherent characteristics the suffix contrasts with a nominal derivational suffix *-gujan* ~ *-wujan*, which productively derives many, predominantly agentive, adjectival stems from verb particles and from finite verb stems; e.g., a derivate of the particle *jilig-(ba)* ‘wake, awaken’ is *jiligjilig-(g)ujan* ‘awakening fellow, one who goes around waking [people] up’. (See further 9.3., 11.3.1.)

In summary, the nominal suffix *-ban* ~ *-man* is old, may be etymologically related to the particle suffix *-ba* ~ *-ma*, and obviously has had a large role in shaping the current inventory of nominal forms. Some of these, like the onomatopoeic animal names, are associable with an adjectival derivational semantic, but there are many nominals with this suffix that function as typical argument nouns, and afford no additional insight into the suffixal semantics. This nominal suffix can be linked to the particle suffix if it is assumed that there is a final nominal suffix *-n*, which is pervasive in the system of nominal final syllables more generally (3.1.).

Examples of the derivational relation of adjectival nominals to verb particles and finite *-ba* ~ *-ma* verbs follow. Any particle stem ending in *b* is followed by particle suffix of the form *-ba*, but such geminate clusters are generally reduced (3.3.), and therefore only one stop will be written, e.g., /barlbarlb-ba/ will be written *barlbarlb-a*. Since the majority of derivations are from particles, only the finite verb base forms will be specifically identified as such; all other forms in the left-hand column are particles.

Particle/Finite Verb		Nominal Derivative	
<i>barlbarlb-a</i>	‘spread out’	<i>barlbarlban</i>	‘flat, expansive’
<i>bilyb-a</i>	‘switch, swish’ [curing]	<i>bilybilyban</i>	‘devil dog’
<i>birrij-ba</i>	‘knead, stir’	<i>birrijban</i>	‘curly’ [hair]
<i>delguj-ba</i>	‘limp’	<i>delgujban</i>	‘lame person’
<i>dod-ba</i>	‘cross’	<i>dodban</i>	‘deep’ [water]
<i>gerrej-ba</i>	‘fly away’	<i>gerrejban</i>	[type of] ‘devil’
<i>gorlorlog-ba</i>	‘(be) straight’	<i>gorlorlogban</i>	‘straight’
<i>jangurrg-ba</i>	‘eat a lot’	<i>jangurrgban</i>	‘glutton’

Particle/Finite Verb		Nominal Derivative	
<i>darlarl-ma-</i>	'fill up' (V)	<i>darlarlman</i>	'sated (one)'
<i>bilili-ma</i>	'slip, slide'	<i>bililiman</i>	'slippery'
<i>derre-ma</i>	'crawl'	<i>derreman</i>	[small] 'baby'
<i>jeye-ma-</i>	'promise' (V)	<i>jeyeman</i>	'promised'
<i>jajay-ma</i>	'weak'	<i>jajayman</i>	'weak (one)'
<i>nyilirr-ma</i>	'ignore'	<i>nyilirrman</i>	'supercilious'
<i>denggerreng-ma</i>	'empty'	<i>denggerrengman</i>	'empty'
<i>biling-ma</i>	'open, blink eyes'	<i>bilingman</i>	'tiny infant'
<i>yarral-ma</i>	'rise, stand' (V, PAR)	<i>yarralman</i>	'unkempt'
<i>jornog-ba</i>	'fill up' (V, PAR)	<i>jornogban</i>	'full, sated'
<i>ngarrab-a</i>	'hot, warm'	<i>ngarraban</i>	'hot, warm'
<i>gelegele-ma</i>	'right past, missing'	<i>gelegeleman</i>	'frightened'
<i>yani-ma</i>	(do) 'thus'	<i>yani-man</i>	'that kind (of)'

Some examples may be clarified briefly. A number of the derived forms are semantically completely transparent (e.g., particle *jajay-ma* '(be, feel become etc.) weak' and *jajayman* 'weak one, person'). Other forms are not as obviously predictable: the particle *bilyb* designates the action of swishing leaves as part of traditional curing, and the derivative *bilybilyban* 'devil dog' is alleged to have certain medicinal and sorcery-related powers. Similarly, *gerrej-ba* 'fly away' has derivative *gerrej-ban*, which usually occurs as modifier in the nominal phrase *mernden gerrej-ban* (*mernden* = 'ghost, spirit', also 'white person'); this being is characterized by taking flight, often leaving its footprints as signs of its passage on the ground. The particle *nyilirr-ma* is especially used of someone who ignores or does not listen to others; *nyilirrman* is someone who acts superior to others, refusing to heed them (Kriol "flash"). The particle *gelegele-(ma)* is used to describe spearing or firing right past a target without hitting it, as in:

- (650) *gelegele-wi* *0-yo-rri* *go* *gonjo-biji*
 go past-ART 3SG-spear-PST 3SG-DAT ground-only
 'He speared right past it [hitting] the ground only'.

The adjectival nominal *gelegeleman* designates something which has been frightened or startled, (as if) by something such as a weapon, although the element of being the target of a weapon need not be explicit:

- (651) *werr-ma* *0-bu-ny-ga* *gangman* *mambang*
 out-PS 3SG-AUX-PST-SUB kangaroo-ABS chase
wurr-bu-ndi-ya *gelegeleman-bi*
 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR frightened-ART
 'When the kangaroo emerged they chased the frightened thing'.

As described in 7.6.3., *yani-ma* is one of a class of adverbial indices “thus, like this, at this (sort of) time”, and so on. By the derivational process it is made into a nominal index “a thing like this, this sort of thing”:

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| (652) | <i>wu-donyman-gurne</i> | <i>yi-marn-bu-rri</i> | <i>nana</i> |
| | WU-crooked-CAUS | 2SG-make-PST | that-ABS |
| | <i>yi-yaniman-bi</i> | <i>wu-donyman</i> | |
| | YI-this sort-ART | WU-crooked-ABS | |

‘You’ve made it crooked, it is crooked like this [one/sort]’.

While the process deriving nominals from particles and verbs by means of *-n* is highly productive and widely attested, there is much more limited evidence of the derivation of semantically adjectival forms from nominals with final syllable *-n* by nominal class prefixation to a form in which the nominal ending has been zeroed. From the nominal *yirrgulun* ‘river’ is derived an adjectival form “riverine” by that process:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| (653) | <i>layin</i> | <i>gangman</i> | <i>nu-yo</i> | <i>ngarrugu</i> | <i>wonggo</i> |
| | game-ABS | kangaroo-ABS | 2NSG-spear | 1INPL-DAT | neg |
| | <i>yi-yirrgulu</i> | <i>layin</i> | | | |
| | YI-river | game-ABS | | | |

‘You [NSG] shoot us a plains kangaroo, not a riverine one’.

Note also the phrase *ma-gonjo*, also *ma-gonjo mayin*, meaning ‘ground-living vegetable’, from the nominal *gonjon* ‘ground’. This process is not widely attested, partly because many nominals, with appropriate nominal inflection, can function directly as either modifiers or arguments, e.g., *wu-mondoban* may be used to mean either ‘dark shade’ or ‘very shady place’ (see Chapter 4). Otherwise, there are derivational suffixes which are more widely attested in the formation of semantically adjectival nominals (see e.g., 9.4.).

11.2. Temporal clauses: *-barra* ~ *-warra* with finite verbs and particles

Dependent clauses meaning ‘when, at the time when’ may be formed with the suffix *-barra* ~ *-warra* (see 5.4.) from both verbs and verb particles, but in the latter instance exhibit some of the usual limitations of complement clauses based on particles.

Temporal clauses with verbs tend to be used to express background conditions in relation to another clause or series of them, and thus are often constructed with formally subordinate predicates, as in this example:

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (654) | <i>gorromogon</i> | <i>ngarr-gurrnga-n-ga-warra</i> | <i>ya-wud-janga-yan</i> |
| | early morning | 1INPL-sleep-PRES-SUB-ADV | 3-3NSG-come-POT |

‘They may come early in the morning when we are sleeping’.

A similar meaning would be expressed by the subordinate verb form without suffix; but its addition seems to focus on simultaneity of the two actions or conditions expressed by the predicates of clauses so linked. The suffix may be added to finite verb forms:

- (655) *nga-njigbe-warra* *nana* *ya-0-nyangi-we* *yiwarna-gari*
 1SG-go-FUT-ADV that-ABS 3-3SG-come-FUT other-other
 ‘When I will go the other fellow will come’.

The same suffix is added to verb particles, and these function as clause complements: (1) designating the time at which something took place; or (2) as secondary predicates with verbs of motion, the kind of action undertaken during or as a result of that motion. In the first usage, the suffix is added to particles designating events, for example:

- (656) *lilg-ba-warra* *barrunin* *lag* *0-ngegba-rri*
 dry up-ADV fish-ABS desiccate 3SG-AUX-PST
 ‘When it [water] dried, the fish died and dried up’.

The particle *lilg-ba* is usually combined with *ya-* to mean ‘dry up’, and is often used in reference to seasonal drying up of water bodies. Such minimal temporal complements as these differ little from nominals designating seasons and conditions, similarly suffixed, e.g., *wu-jerrij-barra* ‘when it is cold, in cold-weather time’.

As secondary predicates with verbs of motion, the complement clause may have a Dative, semantically direct object, and further nominal complements are also Dative marked. Common in this function is the particle *gej-(ba)* ‘ask’; as clausal predicate with finite verb *gi-* it takes a direct (animate) object, the person asked.

- (657) *oliba-wu* *0-nyanga-ndi* *gej-ba-warra* *walbarnda-wu*
 [Oliver]-DAT 3SG-come-PST ask-PS-ADV plain-DAT
nyangurlang *ya-wu-di-yan* *wurren*
 when 3-3NSG-bring-POT child-ABS
 ‘He came to ask Oliver about the initiation, when they might bring the child’
 [initiaand].

(Here as is often the case, the word meaning “plain” or “flat ground” is contextually understood to refer and allude to “ceremony ground”, and the activity of initiation conducted there.) *Gej-ba-warra* has a semantically direct object, the person asked; and that asked about is also Dative-marked (the nominal “plain”; the more precise content of the question is encoded in a clause linked to the preceding by the (usually) interrogative pronoun “when”, here functioning as a temporal relativizer.

11.3. Nominalization of finite verbs

Complement-forming case suffixes are added directly to particles (see sections 11.4. – 11.8.) without any formal mark of derivation. Finite verbs, too, may form some of the same complement types, but in order for them to do so they must be suffixed with a formal

mark of nominal derivation, added to the verb stem. Before non-zero case suffixes, the form of this suffix is *-yi-*, e.g., the finite stem *jarrambu-* ‘look for’ has the derived stem-form *jarrambu-yi-* to which further suffixes Locative, Ablative, Allative, and Source may be added. These complement types are discussed in following sections, along with comparable particle complements. There are four further considerations here.

First, it should be noted that this process of nominalization is thorough-going: no finite verbs have been found which cannot be nominalized in this way. Thus we have *bu-yi-* ‘hitting’, *gi-yi-* ‘putting’, *gaju-yi-* ‘arising’, *yo-yi-* ‘spearing’, and so on.

Second, finite verbs with final syllable *-ba* or *-ma* undergo vowel assimilation (and sometimes also contraction) when the nominalizer is added to the vowel-final stem. Thus, /*gurr-g-ba-yi-*/ from ‘sleep’ is realized as *gurr-g-bi-* or *gurr-g-bi-yi-* to which any non-zero suffixes are added; /*jabul-ma-yi-*/ from ‘smoke’ as *jabul-mi-* or *jabul-mi-yi-* and so on.

Third, the ‘mediopassive’ verbs, which have *-yi-* as part of the stem (e.g., /*jawe-yi-*/ ‘be cold’, do not add a further syllable of this shape, but have the nominalized stem of the same shape, to which non-zero suffixes are added, e.g., from mediopassive *lo-yi-* ‘dance’, the Allative-suffixed nominalized form *lo-yi-warr*.

Fourth, the syntactically most elaborate complement type that is formed with nominalized stems, in that there is greatest retention of argument structure within the complement clause, is the Purposive one (11.4.). For particles, Purposive complements are formed with the suffixation of Dative ending directly to the particle, without a formal mark of derivation. Finite verbs, however, have a Purposive complement stem of the shape *-yin*. There are many instances in which this ending is suffixed to the nominalizer *-yi-* with no modification, e.g. the Purposive complement of finite verb *yo-* ‘spear’ is *yo-yi-yin*. However, the sequence *-yi-yin* undergoes contraction in many cases to just [*yin*], although this sometimes leaves a mark elsewhere in altered stem-vocalism. For example, the verb *ginye-* ‘cook’ has Purposive form *ginyiyin* ‘for cooking’, and the change in final stem-vowel quality from *e* to *i* must be understood as the contraction of /*ginye-yi-yin*/ to the actually occurring form. A mark is also left in verb with final syllable *-ba* or *-ma*; e.g., in (671) below, the Purposive form of *lorrod-ba-* ‘grind’ occurs as *lorrod-bi-yin*, which must be understood as the contraction of /*lorrod-ba-yi-yin*/. Other *a*-final roots, however, do not undergo this change in vocalism, but may still exhibit surface contraction of the nominalizer and purposive suffix, e.g., [*jejbarla-yin*].

The complement type with Purposive-marked predicate verb can have a semantic object, which must be put in Dative case; thus the transitive case structure in these complement types is Absolutive-Dative, as described further and illustrated in 11.4.

11.3.1. Derivational suffix: *-gujban* ~ *-wujban*

The following two sub-sections briefly exemplify three adjectival derivatives possible with both particles and finite verbs. With particles, the derivational suffixes are added directly to the root, or to its particle-suffixed form without any additional mark of derivation. However, with finite verbs, these suffixes are added to the nominalized form in *-yi-*, that is, the usual one to which any overt case suffixes are added. The first suffix was already described briefly in 9.1.4.: the generally agentive ending *-gujban* ~ *-wujban*.

This occurs, not only with particles and finite verbs, but to a more limited extent also with nominal stems. In the latter case, the suffix is added to the final-syllable reduced stem. Examples follow, first of such forms from finite verbs, second from particles, and third from nominal stems, with nominal(ized) base form in the left-hand column and derivative in the right.

Base Form	Gloss	Derivative	Gloss
FINITE VERBS			
<i>bu-</i>	'hit'	<i>bu-yi-wujban</i>	'pugnacious person'
<i>gal-ma-</i>	'climb, ride'	<i>gal-mi-yi-wujban</i>	'climber'
<i>burla-ma-</i>	'lie to'	<i>burla-mi-yi-wujban</i>	'liar'
<i>gidig-ba-</i>	'tickle'	<i>gidig-bi-yi-wujban</i>	'tickler'
<i>golo-</i>	'laugh'	<i>golo-yi-wujban</i>	'laugher'
<i>gurr-g-ba-</i>	'sleep'	<i>gurr-g-bi-yi-wujban</i>	'sleepy-head'
<i>jarram-bu-</i>	'look for'	<i>jarram-bu-yi-wujban</i>	'seeker'
<i>gelinye-</i>	'gossip'	<i>gelinye-yi-wujban</i>	'gossip'
<i>jinjin-bu-</i>	'give tasks'	<i>jinjin-bu-yi-wujban</i>	'bossy person'
<i>warrang-ma-</i>	'swear'	<i>warrang-mi-yi-wujban</i>	'swearer'
<i>wo-</i>	'give'	<i>wo-yi-wujban</i>	'generous'
PARTICLES			
<i>dagurr-g-ba</i>	'stare'	<i>dagurr-g-ba-wujban</i>	'starer'
<i>dul-ma</i>	'lie down'	<i>dul-ma-wujban</i>	'one who lies down'
<i>galyurra</i>	'bother'	<i>galyurra-wujban</i>	'bother, humbug'
<i>gelngerre</i>	'bludge'	<i>gelngerre-wujban</i>	'bludger'
<i>wilywily-ma</i>	'whistle'	<i>wilywily-ma-wujban</i>	'whistler'
<i>wirriwirri-ma</i>	'shake head'	<i>wirriwirri-ma-wujban</i>	'nay-sayer'
<i>budurr</i>	'be angry'	<i>budurrbudurr-wujban</i>	'sulky'
<i>waring-ma</i>	'look askance'	<i>waring-ma-wujban</i>	'one who looks askance'
<i>nyerreng-ma</i>	'make noise'	<i>nyerreng-ma-wujban</i>	'noisy person'
<i>ngalyalya</i>	'weep'	<i>ngalyalya-wujban</i>	'crybaby, plaintive'
<i>lurle</i>	'cry'	<i>lurle-wujban</i>	'crybaby'
<i>giwurr-g-ba</i>	'sulky'	<i>giwurr-g-ba-wujban</i>	'sulky person'
<i>yarrbayl</i>	'disturb'	<i>yarrbaly-wujban</i>	'bother, nuisance'
<i>yiye</i>	'tease'	<i>yiye-wujban</i>	'tease'
NOMINALS AND OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH			
<i>warnarr-in</i>	'fat'	<i>warnarr-wujban</i>	'sorcerer'
<i>(yi-)menje-n</i>	'dangerous'	<i>(yi-)menje-wujban</i>	'bellicose'
<i>jajali</i>	'constantly'	<i>jajali-wujban</i>	'backer and forther'
<i>wiya-n</i>	'water, grog'	<i>wiya-wujban</i>	'drunkard'
<i>yirlarla-n</i>	'country'	<i>yirlarla-wujban</i>	'traveller'
<i>jordjord-in</i>	'mad, crazy'	<i>jordjord-gujban</i>	'mad person'
<i>warrang-gin</i>	'corroboree'	<i>warrang-gujban</i>	'singer'
<i>yinabam</i>	'cooked food'	<i>yinabam-gujban</i>	'cooked food bludger'

With respect to the finite verbs, note that before the nominalizing suffix *-yi-*, the vowel of any final suffix *-ba* or *-ma* becomes *i*. In normal speech, the sequence *-mi-yi-* often involves reduction of the semivowel, so the occurring form is more often [mi:] or [mi:ʔ].

With respect to the particles, in collected forms the particle suffix is present in slightly more than half, but for those in which it occurred, alternative forms without suffix were also considered normal usage.

With respect to other forms, most of these are nominal stems, and indeed most ordinarily argument nouns. The connotations of the term for “sorcerer” are that this is a kind of person believed to fell victims and remove (kidney) fat from their bodies, unknown to them, and thus to cause death within a matter of days. A sorcerer is thus presumably someone who acts on fat, but no determinate grammatical function can be assigned to “fat”. Likewise, *wiyan* may mean ‘water’, but today also ‘alcohol’; a *wiya-wujban* is someone who constantly drinks. *Yirlarlan* means ‘country, open country’ and thus *yirlarla-wujban* is someone who never stops moving around, someone always on the move. *Yinabam* is ‘cooked food’ (as opposed to unprepared or raw foods), and thus *yinabam-gujban* is a particularly opprobrious kind of person who comes around and cadges cooked food at someone else’s expense instead of preparing his or her own. It is notable the extent to which this suffix is used to form common terms of abuse and opprobrium.

The inflecting form of this suffix is *gujba- ~ -wujba*; thus, Ergative *barrg barrg-(g)ujba-yi* ‘wife-stealer’ (ERG.).

It should be noted that in some cases there is minor difference between the base and derived form semantically. For example, *(yi-)jordjordin* means ‘mad’ or ‘crazy-acting’ person, *(yi-)jordjord-gujban* something very similar. But the suffix seems to place in focus agency and activity, so that the latter gloss would probably be most appropriate for the derived form. Also, certain particles, especially some expressing dispositions and modes of acting, may be found to function as nominals without any mark of derivation. Thus, from *galyurra* ‘bother’ is formed *galyurra-wujban* ‘nuisance’; but note the following two examples of nominal function of formally underived instances:

(658) *galyurra-marla* *0-marn-bu-yi-rri-ya*
bother-INCH 3SG-make-RR-PST-NAR
‘He became/made himself a nuisance’.

(659) *galyurra-yi* *ngan-marn-bu-rri* *yi-warringun-marla*
bother-ERG 3SG/1SG-make-PST YI-bad-INCH
‘The nuisance [person] made me feel bad’.

11.3.2. Derivational suffixes: *-berreng ~ -werreng* and *-barrin ~ -warrin*

Two further suffixes, much rarer than that discussed in 11.3.1., are *-berreng ~ -werreng* and *-barrin ~ -warrin*.

The first gives the meaning “liable or prone to do/be X”, where X is what the particle or nominal designates, and where the usual implication is that the liability is unfortunate or might have undesired consequences. Examples of it are:

Base Form	Gloss	Derivative	Gloss
<i>gajigaji</i>	'walk'	<i>gajigaji-werreng</i>	'liable to walk around'
<i>derre-ma</i>	'crawl'	<i>derre-ma-werreng</i>	'liable to crawl'
<i>gayardung</i>	'run'	<i>gayardung-berreng</i>	'liable to run'
<i>mambang</i>	'chase'	<i>mambang-berreng</i>	'liable to chase after'
<i>dordo</i>	'shoot'	<i>dordo-werreng</i>	'liable to shoot'
<i>nyerreng-ma</i>	'make noise'	<i>nyerrengma-werreng</i>	'liable to make noise'
<i>bu-yi-</i>	'hit' (NOM)	<i>bu-yi-werreng</i>	'liable to fight'
<i>burla-mi-yi</i>	'lie' (NOM)	<i>burla-mi-yi-werreng</i>	'liable to lie, fib'
<i>gurrabi-yi-</i>	'sleep' (NOM)	<i>gurrabi-yi-werreng</i>	'liable to sleep'

Examples of usage of the above are:

- (660) *mambang-berreng* *yi-ngan.gun-bu* *mambang mambang*
 chase-liable-ABS IRR-3Sg/1EXNSG-AUX chase rdp
ngarr-ya *gunya* *ngarr-waja* *guguj* *warringun*
 1INPL-go 3SG-DISS 1INPL-leave brain-ABS bad-ABS
- 'He's liable to chase after [us], lest/he might chase us, let's go away from him and leave him, he's no good in the head'.

- (661) *dordo-werreng* *ngarr-ya* *gunya* *yi-ngan.gun-bu*
 shoot-liable-ABS 1INPL-go 3SG-DISS IRR-3SG/1EXNSG-hit
nu-gerne *ngarrugu* *birrg-ba*
 2NSG-AUX 1INPL-DAT take away-PS
- 'He's liable to shoot, let's go away from him lest he shoot us, you take it away for us'.

An example with suffix added to nominal stem is:

- (662) *wu-walbe-weng* *nu-gi* *wu-gid-berreng*
 WU-wide-SSPEC 2NSG-put WU-narrow-liable
- 'Put it in a wide place, it's bound to be too narrow'.

The second suffix, similarly distributed, has the meaning "unable, ought not to" or "not doing, constrained from doing X", and thus shares modal elements with the clausal negators *wonggo* and *warna* (12.2.5.), which with verbs express meanings including "does not" and "cannot" due to inability or some kind of constraint. This suffix was found to be often further suffixed with the article *-bi ~ -wi*.

The form *yi-wol-man* designates someone who goes around continuously, or is always 'in motion'; the suffixed form is someone constitutionally unlike that, who "does not go around every day", and/or doesn't feel inclined to do so, or ought not to do so. The sense of the last form was illustrated by an informant's adding: *wonggo yininyja gunya gayardung* 'you must not run away from him', i.e., you ought not get up, you must not run away.

Base Form	Gloss	Derivative	Gloss
<i>gajigaji</i>	'walk'	<i>gajigaji-warrin-bi</i>	'unable to walk'
<i>derre-ma</i>	'crawl'	<i>derre-ma-warrin-bi</i>	'unable to crawl'
<i>gayardung</i>	'run'	<i>gayardung-barrin-bi</i>	'one who is unable to, ought not to run'
<i>yi-mowuj-ban</i>	'thief'	<i>yi-mowuj-ban-barrin-bi</i>	'unable to steal'
<i>yi-wol-man</i>	'goer'	<i>yi-wolman-barrin-bi</i>	'one who doesn't go'
<i>bu-yi-</i>	'hit' (NOM)	<i>bu-yi-warrin</i>	'one who ought not hit'
<i>gaju-yi-</i>	'rise' (NOM)	<i>gaju-yi-warrin</i>	'one who ought not get up'

Note that finite verbs are nominalized before addition of these suffixes. Case-marked forms of these suffixes are permissible but were only elicited, not otherwise found in text material. Neither suffix undergoes reduction, but rather adds non-zero case-endings to the full suffix, e.g., *burla-mi-yi-warrin-(n)yi* 'the one who ought not tell lies-ERG'.

11.4. Purposive complements

Purposive adclausal complements are those which express the aim, reason, or purpose for which the action of the main clause predicate is undertaken. Several different syntactic types must be distinguished, on a number of grounds. First, there are purposive complements formed with particles, in which the particle and any major objective argument of the complement clause are Dative-marked. Second, there are purposive complements formed with nominalized forms of finite verbs, suffixed with *-yin* (11.3.), in which any major objective argument of the complement clause, once again, is Dative-marked. And third, although purposive complements of verbs of motion are not distinct for particles from the first type mentioned above, where the complement clause contains a (nominalized) finite verb, this and any major objective argument in the complement clause are Allative-marked. The following three sub-section illustrate these types.

11.4.1. Particle purposive complements

The particle of a purposive complement designates purpose or the reason for something in relation to a main clause. Particles occur both with and without the "particle suffix" in purpose complements. The particle cannot be inflected for person, but the argument structure is understood in terms of that of the main clause. Such clauses tend not to be syntactically elaborate, but to contain at most one major objective argument of the particle, which is Dative-marked like the particle itself.

- (663) *ya-0-nyangi-we* *mulurru* *nganu* *yirr-ma-wu*
 3-3SG-come-FUT old woman-ABS 1SG-DAT company-PS-DAT
 'The old lady has to come to keep me company'.

- (664) *ngan-gaygbarla-n* *ngorlog-ba-wu* *mad-gu*
 3SG/1SG-shout to-PRES talk-PS-DAT word-DAT
nga-lawu-wa *nge-jewu-wa* *madin*
 1SG-reach-FUT 1SG-show-FUT language-ABS
 ‘He’s shouting to me to talk language, I have to go to him and teach him language’.

In (664), the unexpressed subject of the complement “talk” is 1SG, the object of the main clause, and the objective argument of “talk” is “language”, Dative-marked.

- (665) *jelmerrin* *wurr-me-ndi* *lowaglowa-wu* *wurr-yo-yi-rri-ya*
 grass-ABS 3NSG-get-PST play-DAT 3NSG-spear-RR-PST-NAR
gewernima
 pretend
 ‘They got *jelmerrin* [grass] for playing, they pretended to spear each other’.

- (666) *ngana-nyanga-n* *jil-ma-wu* *nganu*
 3SGHT-come-PRES company-PS-DAT 1SG-DAT
yid-jijingi-we-wuya
 1EXNSG-sit rdp-FUT-DU
 ‘Let him come to keep me company, we two will have to stop together’.

- (667) *yirr-worlorl-ma-rri-ya* *wurrugu* *mernde-wu* *bornborn-gu*
 1EXNSG-fill-PST-NAR 3NSG-DAT white-DAT bathe-DAT
 ‘We filled it up [a tank] for Europeans to bathe’.

Especially (667) shows the flexibility of this kind of complement, for “Europeans” are clearly understood as subject in relation to the particle “bathe”. It is probable that *wurrugu mernde-wu* should be understood as a Dative-benefactive argument of the main clause predicate “fill”, and “bathe” as a minimal Purposive complement. Yet the example shows how a grammatical subject can be clearly specified in relation to a purposive particle complement, by use of Dative argument in the main clause.

11.4.2. Nominalized purpose complements (of finite verbs)

The purposive complement derived from a finite verb is built on the nominalized form of the stem with the suffix *-yin* (11.3.), and any major objective argument of the complement in Dative case. Nominalized forms of finite verbs, like particles, cannot inflect for person; and so here, as in particle purposive complements, subject-object relations of the complement are understood in terms of the relations in the main clause. The system of “control” from the main clause cannot, then, be viewed as a grammatically highly explicit one, for interpretation of the same complement clause could vary with the sense established in the main clause.

- (668) *ma-nga-nyanga-n* *yinggi* *ngorlog-ba-wu* *jewu-yin*
 HAB-1SG-come-PRES 2SG-DAT talk-PS-DAT show-NOM-PURP
wardama-wu *mad-gu*
 [name]-DAT word-DAT

'I always come to you to talk, [for you] to show [me] Wardaman language'.

(668) contains two purpose complements: the first, *ngorlogbawu* 'to talk'; the second, a purposive nominalization of the finite verb *jewu-* 'show, teach' (a ditransitive clausal predicate). Such a nominalized complementizer cannot, as already noted, be inflected for person, and so there are two ways in which the (intended) subject-object relations of the complement are understood: first, in relation to the sense conveyed by the grammatical structure of the main clause; and second (optionally, and not realized here in the complement) for the semantic object of the complement to be made explicit by a Dative free pronoun. In this example, since "I" always come to "you" for talk, the complement is understood to continue the same subject-object relations. The intended object "me", however, could also be realized by 1SG DAT pronoun *nganu*.

- (669) *ya-wud-janga-n* *jejbarla-yin* *wu-munburra-wu*
 3-3NSG-come-PRES ask-NOM-PURP WU-money-DAT

'They are coming to ask for money'.

In (669) the complement has nominalized form of *jejbarla-* 'ask', and object of the complement "money" in Dative case, as it would also normally be in a finite clause with this predicate, the person asked for money the direct object. The person being asked is not made explicit here, but could be a free Dative pronoun. Despite this possibility, Purposive complements tend to be infrequent in the text material gathered, and the few that occur are simple, usually having only one Dative-marked argument of the complement clause. These Purpose complements are distinct from the Allative-marked ones discussed in 12.4.3., however, in that the main clause predicate may be transitive.

- (670) *ngan-jewu-rrri* *ginyi-yin [ginye-yi-yin]* *mayi-wu*
 3SG/1SG-show-PST cook-NOM-PURP food-DAT

'He showed me how to cook [the] food'.

Just as in (669) where the main clause predicate was intransitive, in (670) the argument structure of the main clause ditransitive verb *jewu-* is understood to apply to the complement.

The main clause may overtly consist of just a nominal argument with zero copula verb of being or existence, as in the following two examples.

- (671) *gilidji* *lorrodbi-yin* *jimirndi-wu*
 sandstone-ABS grind-NOM-PURP knife-DAT

'Sandstone is for sharpening knives'.

- (672) *najin.ganung* *loyi-yin / ngeyi-yin* *warrang-gu*
 knowledgeable-ABS dance-NOM / sing-NOM corroborree-DAT
 ‘He’s knowledgeable about dancing / singing corroborree’.

Informants produced alternatives to (672) with Dative-marked predicate *loyi-wu*, and such “dativization” of the bare stem of finite verbs is occasionally found.

Some elicited purpose complements of this kind seemed to be used in relation to a general purpose, so that the construction could appear with no Dative-marked argument in the complement clause.

- (673) *yanja* *yo-yi-yin*
 3SG go-PRES spear-NOM-PURP
 ‘He is going to spear [something], spearing/hunting’.

Finally, mention needs to be made of a Purposive formation possible with finite verbs which, in terms of formal properties, makes them superficially similar to particles in that they add the particle suffix form *-ma*, following a textually rare Purposive suffix of the shape *-ye-*. The sole textual example of this construction that indicated its existence was the following, with some surrounding context:

- (674) *dan-beng* *wud-jingi-ndi-ya*
 this-SSPEC 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR
loye-ma
 dancing-PURP
ngamanda-gan-warda *murdu*
 what-Q-QQ line dance-ABS
wu-lo-yi-rri-ya
 3NSG-dance-MED-PST-NAR
 ‘They were here
 for dancing
 what kind of thing? *murdu* [name of a kind of women’s line dance]
 they danced’.

The larger context was a visit by a party of us women to a site mythologically associated with ancestral female figures, who were said to come here to hold line-dances. As the speaker spoke the first line she was indicating the place where the ancestral women sat, “for dancing”. Despite its textual rarity, informants were readily able to produce such forms in elicitation.

The form of this Purposive complement is *-ye-ma*, regardless of the final vowel of the finite stem. Especially following a stem-final *a*, there may be reduction of that vowel plus *-ye-* to *-e-*, as in *gurrgebe-ma* ‘for sleeping’, i.e., the mid-vowel quality remains unaltered. Also, as example (674) shows, following the mediopassive element *-yi-* we do not find **loyi-ye-ma*, but rather *loye-ma* ‘for dancing’.

Though the *-ye-ma* Purposive construction was exceedingly rare textually, it is important to repeat that the Purposive construction with *-yin* was rare, too. This may

reflect the general syntactic flexibility possible in this language within the limits of finite clause structure.

Comparatively, the Purposive construction in *-ye-ma* is reminiscent of a Purposive suffix recorded with Wakiman PARTICLES (Cook 1987: 235), which in that language precedes the Dative suffix *-gu*. This combination of Purposive suffix plus Dative is apparently of the form *-ay-gu-*, but there are problems in this segmentation. This Purposive suffix in Wakiman FOLLOWS the particle suffix *-ma* in many forms, and otherwise often occurs following an *a* which is the final segment of a particle root. Thus it may be that the Purposive suffix here ought to be segmented (if definitively at all) as *-y-* before *-gu*. However segmented, in the Wakiman Purposive sequence *-ay-* we have a form which may perhaps be compared with the Wardaman purposive ending *-ye-ma* (though the discrepancy in ordering of the Purposive suffix after *-ma* in Wakiman, and before it in Wardaman, requires further consideration). On the other hand, both the Wakiman form and Wardaman *-ye-* may be etymologically related to the Wardaman nominalizer *-yi-*, although the exact nature of such correspondences would need to be established. The form *-ye-ma* is unusual among Wardaman inflectional and derivational morphemes in having a clear mid-vowel. Thus it cannot be treated as a synchronic contraction, but must be regarded as a long-term morpho-syntactic retention in the language.

Purposive *-ye-ma* never occurred spontaneously with major complement objective argument, but informants in elicitation produced dative objective arguments in relation to the construction, as in (675), and (676).

(675)	<i>jomarna-ye-ma</i>	<i>ya-wud-janga-n</i>	<i>ngarrugu</i>
	finish-PURP	3-3NSG-come-PRES	1INPL

'They're coming to finish up ours/on us' [food].

(676)	<i>linyje-ye-ma</i>	<i>ya-wurr-ya</i>	<i>wuja-wu</i>
	cut-PURP	3-3NSG-go-PRES	wood-DAT

'They're going to cut wood'.

(677)	<i>gurr-g-be-ma</i>	<i>ngarr-ya</i>
	sleep-PURP	1INPL-go

'Let's go to sleep/in order to sleep'.

(678)	<i>bu-ye-ma</i>	<i>ngarr-ya</i>
	hit-PURP	1INPL-go

'Let's go kill [him]'.

The purposive forms are derived, respectively, from mediopassive *jomarna-* 'finish up', *linyje-* 'cut', *gurr-g-be-* 'sleep', and *bu-* 'hit, kill'.

It is interesting that often, informants would add overt Dative suffix to such Purposive forms, as in (679):

- (679) *bu-ye-ma-wu* *wud-janga-ndi*
 hit-PURP-DAT 3NSG-come-PST

‘They came to kill [him]’.

They also accepted as approximately equivalent in meaning such pairs as *nge-ye-ma* and *nge-yi-yin* ‘for singing, in order to sing’; *jabulma-ye-ma* and *jabulmi-yin* ‘in order to smoke’; *ngorlogba-ye-ma* and *ngorlogbi-yin* ‘in order to talk’; *barlirrgba-ye-ma* and *barlirrgbi-yin* ‘in order to sweep, clear’; *gardbu-ye-ma* and *gardbu-yin* ‘in order to wipe’. There were a number of verbs for which informants would produce or approve a *-yin* Purposive form, but not a *-ye-ma* one, including: *worlorl-mi-yin* ‘to fill’, but not **worlorlma-ye-ma* (or any variant thereof); *dagbarla-yin* ‘to have’ but not **dagbarla-ye-ma*. This would seem to suggest the *-ye-ma* construction is less current and productive.

11.4.3. Allative-marked complements of purpose, intention and goal

Both Allative and Source case categories have somewhat different syntactic distribution with complements built from finite verbs (nominalized), as compared to particle complements.

As complements of verbs of motion, particles typically occur either with no suffix, or with Dative suffix, to express “purpose for which”. A small number of particles and particle-like forms occur with no suffix in combination with verbs of motion, expressing purpose; and any objective argument is Dative-marked. Of this kind is the common form *jarrambu* ‘looking for, in search of’, etymologically related to the finite verb *jarram-bu-*:

- (680) *jarrambu* *ngarr-ya* *layi-wu*
 looking for 1INPL-go game-DAT

‘Let’s go look around for game’.

- (681) *ngayugu* *gala* *nganjiji* *jarrambu* *gunga*
 1SG-ABS try 1SG go FUT look for 3SG-DAT
yinyang *nonggo* *ya* *gunga* *jarrambu*
 2SG-ABS also go 3SG-DAT look for

‘I’ll try to go look for him
 you go look for him too’.

Another common particle of this sort is *gelngerre* ‘bludge, cadge’.

The usual Absolutive-Dative clause-structure with the finite verb related to particle *jarrambu* is illustrated by:

- (682) *0-jarram-bu-rri* *gunga* *dubuluj-(y)a* *ngawun*
 3SG-search-PST 3SG-DAT bag-LOC nothing
0-we-ndi *go* *dorlb-a*
 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT fall-PS

‘She looked for it in her bag, nothing, it had fallen out on her’.

Otherwise, purpose with verbs of motion is usually expressed for particles with Dative suffix:

(683) *ngarr-ya* *bornborn-gu*
1INPL-go bathe-DAT

‘Let’s go to wash/bathe’.

(684) *ngarr-ya* *worlog-ba-wu* *yiwarlng-gu*
1INPL-go wash-PS-DAT clothes-DAT

‘Let’s go wash clothes’.

For particles, complements of GOAL may be Allative-marked. A small number of textual examples show Allative-marked particles as goals of verbs of motion. The following extended example, with surrounding context, illustrates this.

(685a) *nga-nji* *lurrbu-ma* *wirlin.gunyang-garr* *lurrbu-yi* *0-nyanga-ndi*
1SG-go FUT back-PS [place]-ALL back-ADV 3SG-come-PST

(b) *lurrbu-yi* *0-nyanga-ndi* *na* *barlba-warr*
back-ADV 3SG-come-PST [now] go inside-ALL

(c) *wirlin.gunyang* *barlb* *0-we-ndi* *na*
[place] inside 3SG-AUX-PST [now]

(d) *jandangbi* *na* *buwarraja*
forever [now] dreaming-ABS

‘I must go back to Wirlin.gunyang, and she came back.
She came back to go inside/under [as dreaming].
She went down as dreaming at Wirlin.gunyang
and now is dreaming forever’.

In (b), *barlba-warr* is Allative-marked goal complement of the verb of motion “came” (the passage describes the self-location in the landscape of rainbow serpent, the “she” of the English translation). The particle *barlb* generally occurs with the finite verb *we-* in the meaning ‘go underneath, inside, become landform’, used in the latter sense of *buwarraja* ‘dreamings’, or creative mythic figures (as in line (c)). The Allative goal complement with particles contrasts with the Allative particle complement of objects of transitive main clauses (11.7.).

Nominalized forms of finite verbs can be purposive complements of verbs of motion, and they contrast with Purposive complement clauses in that they are suffixed with Allative, rather than Dative, case:

(686) *gurr-gi-warr* *nganja* *yiwarna-warr* *lagla-warr*
sleep-NOM-ALL 1SG-go-PRES other-ALL camp-ALL

‘I’m going to sleep in another place’.

The nominalized predicate has the segmentation /gurr-g-ba-yi-warr/. The entire motion complement, including the nominal specifying place where, may be regarded as syntactically subject to the Allative case-marking, as the following example also illustrates:

- (687) *jarrambu-yi-warr* *mayi-warr* *ngarr-ya*
 search-NOM-ALL food-ALL 1INPL-go
 ‘Let’s go looking for food’.

(687) is alternative to the construction type with particle *jarrambu*. The nominalization of the finite verb must be Allative-marked, and the objective argument of the complement clause must likewise be Allative-marked. Complement clauses tend to have sparse overt argument structure, in which all constituents must be case-marked according to complement type.

The function of Allative in marking purpose complements, derived from finite verbs, of verbs of motion, contrasts with its important and unusual function with particles, described in 11.7.

11.5. Source-marked causal complements

The Source case-suffix is differently distributed in adclausal complements with particles and nominalized forms of finite verbs. Both Source and Ablative case suffixes are regularly found with particles, and the semantics of the two are generally but not completely distinct. With particles, Source usually expresses cause or earlier condition compared to a subsequent one, and Ablative generally has a somewhat more concrete sense “from” whatever is designated by the particle.

Nominalizations of finite verbs are rarely found Ablative-suffixed. That is, even nominalized, finite verbs do not become susceptible of suffixation with what, in Wardaman, remains throughout its range of functions a rather concrete, spatial case form. Source is common with nominalizations of finite verbs, however, as a formative of causal complements. As with purposive complement types described above, major arguments of the complement clause are also Source-suffixed. (688) to (694) illustrate Source complements with nominalizations of finite verbs:

- (688) *jarrambu-yi-wunba* *mayi-wunba* *wud-janga-ndi* *lurrbu*
 search-NOM-SOU food-SOU 3NSG-come-PST home
 ‘They came back from looking for food’.

- (689) *lojbu-yi-wunba* *gangma-wunba* *ya-0-nyanga-n*
 stalk-NOM-SOU kangaroo-SOU 3-3SG-come-PRES
 ‘He’s coming back from stalking kangaroo’.

- (690) *gaju-yi-wunba* *ya-0-nyanga-n*
 arise-NOM-SOU 3-3SG-come-PRES
 ‘He’s coming from having gotten up’.
- (691) *ya-wud-janga-n* *jejbarla-yi-wunba* *wu-munburra-wunba*
 3-3NSG-come-PRES ask-NOM-SOU WU-money-SOU
 ‘They’re coming from having asked for money’.
- (692) *ngany-mi-yi-wunba* *wu-munburra-wunba* *ya-0-nyanga-n*
 spend-NOM-SOU WU-money-SOU 3-3SG-come-PRES
 ‘He’s coming from having wasted/spent his money’.
- (693) *gurr-g-bi-wunba* *ya-0-gaju-n-wan* *ya-0-jongorogba* *gorrondolmi*
 sleep-NOM-SOU 3-3SG-arise-PRES-DF 3-3SG-yawn-PRES rainbow-ABS
 ‘When he gets up from sleeping the rainbow serpent yawns/gapes’.
- (694) *yo-0-yo-wa* *yiwarna-gari* *ya-0-nyanga-n-wan* *gunya*
 3-3SG-spear-FUT other-other 3-3SG-come-PRES-DF 3SG-DISS
yo-yi-wunba *gangma-wunba*
 spear-NOM-SOU kangaroo-SOU
 ‘He’ll have to spear another when he comes back from it/that, from having speared the kangaroo’.

Occasional examples were recorded in which a finite verb form was Source suffixed, and the case ending could have a fairly concrete sense. This was particularly true of the Habitual category, which as observed in 8.10. often is used to establish background in terms of the typical action or conditions, and in this sense is a more stative than active category of the verb.

- (695) *ma-yi-0-jingi-n-ga-wunba* *ma-ngayi-nyanga-n*
 HAB-3-3SG-sit-PRES-SUB-SOU HAB-1INDU-come-PRES
 ‘We always come from where he always stays’.

Examples of Source-suffixed particles are:

- (696) *gurru-ya-wan* *wud-janga-ndi* *lurrbu* *bogogo-wunba* *yanin*
 later-LOC-DF 3NSG-come-PST home foraging-SOU like this
 ‘And later they came home from foraging like around this time’.
- (697) *mirrng-ma-wunba* *yi-man-marla* *nga-bu-yi-rri*
 headache-PS-SOU YI-good-INCH 1SG-AUX-RR-PST
 ‘From having [had] a headache, I got better’.

11.6. Ablative particle complements

As mentioned in 11.5., Ablative case suffixation of nominalized complements derived from finite verbs is rare. In textual material, Source was found with such complements. In elicitation, informants sometimes produced an Ablative-suffixed, nominalized complement, but then almost invariably changed it to Source. However, as also noted, both Source and Ablative case regularly occur with particles. An example of a sentence made up by an informant to illustrate the use of Allative-marked *gurr-g-bi-warr* (/gurr-g-ba-yi-warr/) was first given including an Ablative-marked complement using the same verb:

- (698) *gurr-g-bi-warr* *nganja* *yiwarna-warr* *lagla-warr*
 sleep-NOM-ALL 1SG go-PRES other-ALL camp-ALL
- wonggo* *mugurn* *yi-nganburr-marn-bu-n*
 neg sleep IRR-3NSG/1SG-make-PRES
- gurru* *gurr-g-bi-wa* *nga-nyanga-n* *lurrbu*
 later sleep-NOM-ABL 1SG-come-PRES home
- ‘I’m going to go sleep in another camp
 they don’t let me sleep
 later I’ll come home from having slept’.

Having said this, the informant then changed *gurr-g-bi-wa* to *gurr-g-bi-wunba*, and it was notable that this commonly occurred with a number of different informants.

Examples of particles with Source and Ablative were common enough, however, so that there can be no doubt of the normality of both types. Two examples which were produced in the course of sentence-by-sentence grammatical work were:

- (699) *nga-bu-ndi* *wumbang-ma* *bornborn-ba*
 1SG-AUX-PST emerge from water-PS bathe-ABL
- ‘I came out of the water, from bathing/washing’.

The informant accepted as fully normal-sounding, and of equivalent meaning, the same sentence with *bornborn-gunba*. The Source form is the usual one where the sense of the particle can be understood as causal:

- (700) *nga-jawe-yi-n* *gayardung-gunba*
 1SG-tired-MED-PRES run-SOU
- ‘I’m tired from having run’.
- (701) *yarral-ma* *0-gaju-rri* *mugurn-ba*
 get up-PS 3SG-arise-PST sleep-ABL
- ‘He got up from sleep/having slept’.

A text concerning the amorous exploits of *gandawag* ‘moon’ was particularly rich in the use of Ablative particle complements, and a few further examples will be taken from it. In this story, moon attempts to get his wives and children out of camp so he can be alone with his mother-in-law. Elsie Raymond told this story with repetitions of the following conceit: moon watches his departing wives and children from various postures (sitting, standing etc.), to be absolutely sure they have actually gone. All of these ‘positions from which’ were expressed by Ablative particle complements. An entire sequence of this text is given as (702).

- (702a) *wurr-anggi:* *wunggu-da-rrri* *led-ba mugurn-ba:* *gud* *0-gaju-rrri*
 3NSG-go-PST 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST look lie-ABL stand 3SG-AUX-PST
- (b) *duba-wa* *wunggu-darri*
 sit-ABL 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST
- (c) *baraj* *wurr-yanggi*
 far 3NSG-go-PST
- (d) *gud* *0-gaju-rrri* *bumburrijid*
 stand 3SG-AUX-PST kneel
- (e) *bumburrijid* *wunggu-da-rrri:*
 kneel 3SG/3NSG-see-PST
- (f) *baraj* *wurr-anggi* *gud*
 far 3NSG-go PST stand
- (g) *yurriba-wa* *wunggu-da-rrri*
 stand-ABL 3SG/3NSG-see-PST
- (h) *baraj* *wurr-anggi* *bowjbowoj-ba* *na*
 far 3NSG-go PST head out-PS [now]
- (i) *wabaja*
 disappear

‘They went, he looked from a lying position, he stood up
 he saw them from a sitting position
 they were gone far away
 he got on his knees
 he saw them [while] kneeling
 they’d gone far, he stood up
 he looked at them from a standing position
 they were long gone, he saw only their heads now
 [they were] out of sight’.

There are three Ablative-suffixed particles designating position here: *mugurn-ba* ‘from a lying position’ in (a); *duba-wa* ‘from a sitting position’ in (b); and *yurriba-wa* ‘from a standing position’ in (g). In (e) there is a position particle *bumburrijid* ‘kneeling’, in textually analogous position to all of the particles that are Ablative-marked; but this one

occurs without suffix. It is important to note from these examples that the action of the particle without suffix in (g) is attributed to the argument understood throughout to be the agent of all actions in this segment of the text, “moon”. This contrasts with the interpretation of the Allative-marked particle complement, to which we now turn.

11.7. Allative particle complements

In 11.4.3., the marking with Allative case of derived purpose, intention and goal complements of motion verbs was discussed. As noted, particle complements of goal are Allative-marked. There is, however, a syntactically distinct complement type with *Allative case-marked particle*. This is one in which the particle is understood to complement the object of a transitive clause. Such complements, like most other types, tend to be rather limited, usually to just the Allative-marked particle itself. Examples of this construction follow, with those drawn from texts so indicated, and with surrounding context to clarify participant structure.

- (703) *lerl-ma ngan-me-ndi mugurn-garr nga-lawu-rri borlgob*
 catch up-PS 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST sleep-ALL 3SG/1SG-reach-PST sneaking
 ‘He caught up to me, he reached me/caught up to me on the sly while I was asleep’.

(703) is the usual way of expressing that the 1SG object of both clauses was asleep (or lying down) when reached by the grammatical subject.

- (704) *mowoj 0-yanggi nganunya ngon-mowoj-ba-rri*
 sneak away 3SG-AUX-PST 1SG-DISS 3SG/1SG-sneak away-PST
mugurn-garr
 sleep-ALL
 ‘He snuck away from me, he sneaked away from me while I was asleep’.

- (705a) *wurr-(y)anggi marluga wirdiwirdirdban*
 3NSG-go PST old man-ABS [name]-ABS
- (b) *marluga gunga miki benet-gu yibiyi*
 old man-ABS 3SG-DAT [Mickie Bennett]-DAT father-ABS
- (c) *barlarra 0-jingi-ndi*
 hide 3SG-AUX-PST
- (d) *yirrgulu-ya barlarra*
 river-LOC hide
- (e) *0-na-rri nana mernden do-marla-warr*
 3SG-see-PST that-ABS white-ABS shoot-ITER-ALL
- (f) *marluga-yi 0-yo-rri na garn-yi*
 old man-ERG 3SG-spear-PST [now] spear-INST

- (g) *gunga* *nendo*
3SG-DAT horse-ABS

'They [Aborigines] went, old man Wiridiwirdirdban
Micky Bennett's old father
was hiding
hiding along the river
he saw that whitefella shooting
that old man speared [him] now with a spear
his horse'.

The protagonists in this portion of text are Aborigines, running from European fire; and generalized European or Europeans. The Allative complement occurs in (e), *do-marla-warr*, and modifies *nana mernden* 'the white man', object of the verb "see": 'he saw the whiteman shooting'. This complement cannot be understood to modify the grammatical subject: 'he, shooting, saw the whiteman'.

- (706a) *0-nyanga-ndi* *judjud-ba* *na* *mobonyi* *na* *gandawag-barra*
3SG-come-PST down-PS [now] night [now] moon-ADV
- (b) *0-wojbarna-rri* *ngenge-marla-warr* *a*
3SG-hear-PST cry rdp-ITER-ALL oh
- (c) *wurren* *nana* *wurren* *gila* *ya-0-lu-n*
child-ABS that-ABS child-ABS indeed 3-3SG-cry-PRES
- (d) *0-yanggi* *0-na-rri*
3SG-go-PST 3SG-see-PST
- 'He came down now at night when the moon was out
he heard crying, oh!
that's a child, it's really a child crying
he went and looked'.

The protagonists here are an old man, who went to examine the site of a shooting at night, after the Europeans had left; and a child, whom he finds amidst the bodies left there. *Ngenge-marla-warr* must be interpreted as the complement of the (at first indeterminate) object of the verb "hear".

- (707a) *walanja* *0-bu-ndi*
goanna-ABS 3SG-kill-PST
- (b) *juba-warr*
shut up-ALL
- (c) *0-buju-rri* *walanja* *mulurru-yi*
3SG-dig-PST goanna-ABS old woman-ERG
- (d) *mordorl* *yirr* *0-me-ndi*
tail-ABS pull 3SG-AUX-PST

- (e) *deb* *0-bu-ndi*
 hit 3SG-AUX-PST
- (f) *yirr-anggi* *0-na-rri* *yiwarna-gari* *walanja-gari*
 1EXNSG-go-PST 3SG-see-PST other-other-ABS goanna-other-ABS
- (g) *0-buju-rri* *mordorl* *0-me-ndi*
 3SG-dig-PST tail-ABS 3SG-get-PST

‘She killed a goanna
 shut up [in its lair]
 the old lady dug the goanna
 and pulled its tail
 she hit it
 we went and she saw another goanna
 she dug, got its tail ...’.

The Allative complement is in (b), *juba-warr*. The particle *jub(a)* may mean ‘shut’ or ‘be blocked, deaf’, depending on the finite verb. In the meaning “shut in”, “shut oneself in” (as a goanna may do), it usually occurs with finite verb *bu-*. Here it must be understood to complement *walanja* ‘goanna’, the object of “hit” or “kill” in (a).

Commonly, in Wardaman, a transitive clause may occur without independent nominal object: the object may be indicated only in the pronominal prefix (see 10.10. for discussion of its relative lexical frequency of occurrence). As we have seen, in Wardaman generally, case-marking of complement clauses should be regarded as applying to major constituents of the entire clause; thus, e.g., predicate and major argument nominal phrases are alike Source-marked (11.5.). A further indication of complement case-marking of major constituents “across the board” is the following. Often though there is no objective nominal argument of an Allative-marked, objective complement clause, there may nevertheless be what might most appropriately be regarded as an ‘adverb’ modifying (complementing) the main clause. Adverbs, as noted a number of different times (see e.g., Chapter 4) cannot be sharply distinguished from particles in Wardaman. Such adverbs by themselves may be Allative-marked, as if they were particles and/or occurred in the complement clause with a particle. Two examples follow:

- (708) *wonggo* *ya-yi-da-n* *baraj-garr*
 neg IRR-1EXNSG/3SG-see-PRES far-ALL

‘We cannot see it a long way off’.

- (709) *yi-da-n* *jewe-le-warr*
 1EXNSG/3SG-see-PRES close-ALL

‘We see it close up’.

Such instances seem to differ from modification with the unmarked adverb in that they specify that there is a determinate object, i.e., constitute the difference between the translations given above and, e.g., “We cannot see far”.

11.8. Locative particle complements

Particles may be suffixed with locative case to express “in the doing of/while doing” whatever is designated by the particle. Such constructions are not common in the recorded text material, perhaps partly because there exists a partially comparable construction with *-barra ~ -warra* (11.2.) “at the time that”.

The following textual passage illustrates the locative complement, and once again illustrates that interpretation of subject relations within the complement structure is in terms of the sense established in the text to that point, rather than being strictly grammaticalized.

(710)	<i>ngorlog-ba</i> talk-PS	<i>wud-jingi-ndi-ya-marla</i> 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR-ITER	<i>nganu</i> 1SG-DAT	<i>nan-guya</i> that-DU-ABS
	<i>mulurru-wuya</i> oldwoman-DU-ABS	<i>ngayugu</i> 1SG-ABS	<i>worlob-a</i> awake-PS	
	<i>ngorlog-ba-ya-wa:n</i> talk-PS-LOC-DF	<i>mugurn</i> sleep	<i>nganburr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya</i> 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU	<u><i>na</i></u> [now]
	<i>wonggo</i> neg	<i>nganburr-yana-rri-ya</i> 3NSG/1SG-say-PST-NAR	<i>yugurni</i> more	<i>wirrig-(g)u-min</i> tomorrow-DAT-ADV

‘They used to sit and talk to me, those
two old women I was awake
and as they talked those two put me to sleep
they didn’t talk any more to me [then] right up until the morning’.

The Locative-marked particle is *ngorlog-ba-ya-wan* ‘as (they) talked’, the subjecthood of 3NSG understood in terms of the situation established in the preceding two lines, and further in the third line: the two old ladies sat and talked, while the narrator of the story listened to them.

Chapter 12

Clausal particles, conjunctions, and interjections

12.1. Introduction

In this chapter are drawn together several functionally diverse categories of elements, most of them categorizable as “particles” in having independent word status, and not inflecting. However, some of the forms discussed in this chapter are clitics, and others (like *marrig*, 12.2.1.) are clitic-like in usually occupying a determinate position (following the first full word) of the clause. Beyond that, the forms are divisible into at least three functional sets, with a degree of overlap between any two, in that some forms may be assigned to more than one set.

The first set, called “clausal particles”, function to subcategorize the predicate in terms of modal semantics, and occur in construction with the entire clause. To an extent, some of these clausal particles tend to occur with certain tense-aspect-mood inflectional forms of the verb (as *gala* ‘try’ often occurs with future), but most are not as clearly restricted in this way. One, *bujun* ‘if’ etc., occurs frequently in the construction of conditional clauses, but this is not its sole function. Other members of this set, such as *yilama* ‘might be’ freely occur with a range of different verb forms, and generally introduce a meaning of speaker speculation or hypothesis “I suppose” etc.

The second set, “conjunctions”, generally function to specify “the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 227). Several different semantic sub-types of conjunctive relations are distinguished.

The third set, “interjections”, are forms which constitute a complete utterance by themselves. However, while they may do so formally, interjections are of course also cohesive, and express comment partly on elements of the communicative situation, rather than simply upon its propositional content. To the extent that they do the former, they are conjunctive in the general sense given above. We find therefore that one of the major conjunctions, *ngala* ‘but, however’, also occurs as interjection.

There is a small set of forms (two independent words, and one clitic) that combine text-cohesive and interjectional properties in a way that does not lend itself to neat labelling or classification; these are discussed as a sub-class of (most explicitly) “interpersonal elements”, a label not intended to suggest that other formal classes and elements do not have an interpersonal dimension.

12.2. Clausal particles

12.2.1. *Bajawinyin* and *marrig*

The particle *bajawinyin* is among the least attested, but has been found to mean something like ‘it’s all right that’, ‘OK that’ followed by clause, often seemingly with the implication

that there is some adversative sense, e.g., despite that, or nevertheless, something else must be done. The force might be glossed as slightly adversative “all right ... but”. With a non-past (irrealis) verb form, it occurs as a particle introducing the apodosis of a conditional construction (and thus partly overlaps functionally with *bujun*, see 12.2.2.). With a past form of the verb, it is attested in a meaning something like ‘although’, and thus is conjunctive. Examples are:

- (711) *bajawinyin* *yi-nga-ga-n* *lurle* *ya-yi-0-jingi*
 all right IRR-1SG-take-PRES cry IRR-3-3SG-AUX
 ‘It’s OK if I take him [but] he might cry’, ‘Even if I take him he may cry’.

- (712) *bajawinyin* *yi-nga-na-n-ga* *yiyalang* *yi-nga-marn-bu*
 all right IRR-1SG-see-PRES-SUB know IRR-1SG-make
 ‘In seeing him I may let him know’.

In (712), the verb of the protasis is formally subordinate, as is common enough in conditional constructions (see 8.15.). More unusually, the predicates of apodosis in both (711) and (712) are zero-stem irrealis, a formal type usually associated with admonitive meaning (8.9.1.), i.e., the clause as a whole expressing an unwanted consequence which is to be avoided. Here, however, zero-stem forms simply express a possible consequence of realization of the protasis.

An example of *bajawinyin* with past predicate was the following:

- (713) *wonggo* *nga-gurr-ga-rri* *burrjib* *ngawun* *yi-mum-bi*
 neg 1SG-sleep-PST soundly no YI-eye-ART
bajawinyin *nga-jingi-ndi* *mugurn*
 though 1SG-AUX-PST lie

‘I didn’t sleep soundly, not at all, only lightly, although/even though I was lying down’.

The article-suffixed “eye” conveys the sense “eyes open”, or “only lightly shut”.

A seemingly more ordinary, or at least better-attested, use is:

- (714) *bajawinyin* *ngarr-gurr-ga-rri* *dan-ya* *dan-ba-wan* *ngarranggan*
 OK 1INPL-sleep-PST here-LOC here-ABL-DF 1INPL-go-POT
lurrbu
 home

‘It’s fine we camped here [but] from here we’ll go home’ [or, ‘Though we camped here ...’].

It is possible the particle should be analyzed as *baja* with the “experiential” suffix *-wunyin* or *winyin* (see 5.8.).

A semantically partly similar and partly different particle is *marrig* ‘OK, it’s all right that’. This appears similar in that it is taken to express approval or acceptance of whatever

is within its scope, but different in that it is not taken to express an adversative nuance “but”. Examples are:

- (715) *madin* *marrig* *marnbu* *yinyang-nyi*
 word-ABS OK make 2SG-ERG
yi-yerden-ga *buwarraja* *yirrug* *wonggo*
 2SG-know-EMPH dreaming-ABS 1EXNSG-ABS not
yin.gunburr-yana-rri-ya *wurren-bi*
 3NSG/1EXNSG-say-PST-NAR child-ART

‘It’s good/OK that you decide what to say
 you know the dreamings, [but] us, they didn’t
 tell us [that information] when we were kids’.

- (716) *yinyang* *marrig* *yinyjagi* *wudu-wi*
 2SG-ABS OK 2SG-go PST little-ART
yimbud-jewu-rri-ya *buwarraja*
 3/2SG-show-PST-NAR dreaming-ABS

‘You are all right, you went as a small child
 they showed you the dreamings’.

These and other examples show that *marrig* typically occurs, clitic-like, immediately following the first word in the clause, and so apparently has the immediately preceding element, rather than the entire clause, must centrally within its scope: “you-OK”, or the like.

12.2.2. *Bujun* ‘if, lest’

The clausal particle *bujun* enters into two types of constructions. First, it may mark the protasis of a conditional clause, either non-past or past. The protasis of the non-past conditional clause is commonly constructed either with future or present irrealis tense form; and if the latter, it is commonly subordinate. Past conditionals are constructed with past irrealis predicate. Normally, *bujun* occurs in first position in conditional clauses, and later in the clause in its second function.

The second function of *bujun* is to express ‘lest’ or ‘it might be the case that’, where the anticipated outcome is usually unwelcome or negative in some way. In this meaning, the clause expressing unwelcome outcome may occur relatively independently; that is, unlike the conditional construction in which two clauses are closely linked both structurally and semantically, this construction type is realized by a single clause (which is, of course, cohesive with others, but not necessarily in a close structural relation to any other as in the conditional one). In this second function, *bujun* usually follows the predicate rather than being in first clausal position, but this is not invariably so: it may (rarely) occur in first position. Examples of both construction types follow.

- (717) *bujun birdij-ba nu-gi-we wonggo nunu-bu-n-guya*
 if find-PS 2NSG-AUX-FUT neg IRR2NSG-hit-PRES-DU
 ‘If you find it, you mustn’t kill it’.

- (718) *bujun ya-yi-0-jingi-n wardang-ba yi-dumul warlbag*
 if IRR-3-3SG-AUX-PRES belly up-PS YI-heart-ABS remove
ya-yi-0-me ya-0-nyanga-n jewele galul-wa
 IRR-3-3SG-AUX 3-3SG-come-PRES close up-ABL
ya-0-nyanga-n barrwa lurle-warr ya-wurr-wojbarna-n
 3-3SG-come-PRES down cry-ALL 3-3NSG-hear-PRES
 ‘If it lies belly up it [a “devil-bird”] may take out its heart, it comes close, it comes down from up high, they hear it [child] crying’.

- (719) *yi-meleman bujun yinyang milygbilyg-ba yi-ni-jingi-n*
 YI-black-ABS if 2SG-ABS beat-PS IRR-2SG-AUX-PRES
gunga mejern yi-ngawuju-wu wagayma ngayugu
 3SG-DAT belly YI-grandchild-DAT like 1SG-ABS
nga-jingi-n gunga
 1SG-COP-PRES 3SG-DAT
 ‘If you were black your heart would beat for your grandchild as mine is doing for him’.

(719) illustrates second clausal position for the particle in a conditional construction in which the predicative element is non-verbal *yimeleman*.

- (720) *bujun yi-niwu-la-n-ga yi-niwu-la digirrij-bi*
 if IRR-2SG/3NSG-bite-PRES-SUB IRR-2SG/3NSG-bite dead-ART
yi-gle-man-bi yi-niwu-la ngayig-ji wonggo
 YI-dead-NOM-ART IRR-2SG/3NSG-bite 1SG-ERG neg
yi-ngang-wo-n
 IRR-1SG/2SG-give-PRES
 ‘If you bite them, you might bite them to death, you might bite them until they’re dead, I can’t give you [any]’.

(720) is from a myth text in which two venomous snakes were arguing over who should have a store of poison, and one tells the other he cannot give him any, lest he become too poisonous.

- (721) *bujun ya-0-jingi-we yi-gelen ya-0-ngegba warlad*
 if 3-3SG-be-FUT YI-cold-ABS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES sick
 ‘If he’s cold, he’s sick’.

Examples of the second function are:

(722)	<i>yilama</i>	<i>ye-0-ngegba</i>	<i>yi-ngarr-gurlmi</i>	<i>bujun</i>
	maybe	3-3SG-die-PRES	IRR-1INPL-lose	lest

'I think he's dying, we may lose him'.

(723)	<i>yirrb-a</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yiwarling</i>	<i>wiya-warang</i>	<i>wu-boban</i>
	remove-PS	AUX	clothes-ABS	water-having-ABS	WU-dry-ABS
	<i>guwe</i>	<i>yi-ni-ngegbi</i>	<i>bujun</i>	<i>warlad</i>	
	don	IRR-2SG-AUX	lest	sick	

'Take off your clothes, they're wet, put on dry ones, lest you get sick'.

(722) and (723) are examples with predicate that have distinctive future stems (8.2.). These examples, compared with those in 8.9.1., show that the admonitive meaning may be understood as such with or without *bujun*. Though as noted *bujun* usually occurs following the predicate in such constructions, it may occur in first clausal position:

(724)	<i>bujun</i>	<i>nunu-jologbi</i>	<i>lagla-ya</i>	<i>warlgín-(n)ya</i>
	lest	IRR2NSG-urinate-FUT	camp-LOC	bed-LOC

'You might pee in your bed!'

In (724), the admonitive (future stem form) of the verb is sufficient to indicate that this is not a conditional construction.

The 'lest, it might be the (unwelcome) case that' usage of *bujun* is conveyed in Kriol by Wardaman speakers by the construction "by-and-by" plus subject plus predicate, e.g., "by and by you fall down". Like the Wardaman construction, this is not a simple statement of certain event, but a warning regarding possible consequence.

12.2.3. *Gala* 'try'

The particle *gala* has been found in construction with verbs in the following tense-aspect-mood forms: present, admonitive (marked by zero-stem form or distinctive future stem, depending on the verb), and imperative. With predicates in present tense, only first person forms, or pronominal adjuncts which include a first person, have been found to occur. That is, with present tense which expresses relative certainty or imminence of unfulfilled action, apparently only first persons (or first-plus-others) can have the appropriate intentional status as actors. In construction with *gala*, although formal admonitive and imperative forms have both been found to occur, the former are uncommon, and semantically not clearly distinct from the imperative, among other reasons because such forms have only been found with second person subjects. The only difference may be between admonitive and imperative that the former make the imperative force of the utterance slightly less, or more tentative. See discussion following the examples concerning why *gala* may occur with "admonitive" future-tense forms, and not with the ordinary future (8.6.). First, examples of *gala* with first person (plus) pronominal adjuncts, and present tense forms are:

- (725) *gala nga-gerle-n ngayig-ji yilama ma-warringun*
 try 1SG-taste-PRES 1SG-ERG maybe MA-bad-ABS
mayin yilama ma-man
 food-ABS maybe MA-good-ABS

'I'll try tasting it myself, maybe the food's good, maybe it's bad'.

- (726) *gala ngayi-lawu-n gej-ba-warra*
 try 1INDU-reach-PRES ask-PS-ADV

'Let's you and I try asking him'.

- (727) *gala ngarr-ya nga-da-n*
 try 1INPL-go-PRES 1INPL-see-PRES

'Let's try to go and see'.

Examples of *gala* with special future and admonitive forms of the verb are:

- (728) *gala nganjiji jarrambu wurre-wu yilama warduj-ba 0-yanggi*
 try 1SG go-FUT looking child-DAT maybe lost-PS 3SG-AUX-PST

'I must try going to look for the child, perhaps he's gotten lost'.

- (729) *ngamanda-warda-wunya nunu-wojbarna gala ngamanda-warda*
 what-INDEF-SOU IRR 2NSG-listen try what-INDEF
bambaya ya-wu-da-yi-n
 row 3-3NSG-AUX-RR-PRES

'You try hearing what in the world it's about, whatever are they arguing over?'

Examples of *gala* with the ordinary positive imperative construction, certainly the most common context in which the particle is found, include:

- (730) *gala nu-me yi-ngol*
 try 2NSG-get YI-well-ABS

'You try digging a well'.

- (731) *gala gej-ba gi gangga-rlan-gu*
 try ask-PS AUX upriver-ALL-DAT

'Try asking him to go to town'.

- (732) *gala menyje yilama ya-0-jingi-n ngarrab-a*
 try feel maybe 3-3SG-be-PRES hot-PS

'Try feeling him, maybe he's hot'.

- (733) *gala na yilama 0-gaju-rri*
 try look maybe 3SG-arise-PST

'Try looking, maybe he's gotten up'.

If *gala* were equivalent to English “try”, it should be possible to use it in the past tense. The fact that this is not possible shows that *gala* is not equivalent to English “try”, and that its core meaning is one of uncertainty concerning an as-yet unrealised state of affairs. Combined with the present tense, *gala* expresses intention of the first person (plus) subject.

Combined with first- or second-person subject future-admonitive forms, it expresses either the subject’s inner sense of necessity to do what the predicate designates (first persons), or the attribution (to second persons) of an intentional force. Notice then how such future-admonitive forms appear to differ from the ordinary future, e.g., *nganjigbe* ‘I will go, I must go’, in which no sense of indeterminacy or uncertainty is attributable to the subject, but rather only unmitigated volition, intention, or necessity to the subject-predicate combination as a whole. The ordinary future, in other words (see 8.6.) is a form of the verb which expresses all such meanings but without clearly distinguishing if, or the extent to which, they are to be attributed to the subject, or exactly where necessity and intentionality are to be located. The distinctive future-stem or admonitive construction differs from the ordinary future precisely in modality, in that it expresses uncertainty (and most generally, undesirability) of an as-yet unrealised state of affairs. It is thus possible for it (rather than the ordinary future) to co-occur with *gala*. With imperative forms, *gala* expresses the clearer attribution of uncertainty to the agency of the second person subject, i.e., “you try to do X” (but you may not succeed).

Seeing “uncertainty” as the core semantic dimension of *gala*, with different modulations of intentionality varying with tense-aspect-mood form of the verb, helps to understand the interjectional formation possible with this particle, *gala-warda*, best translated as either ‘I don’t know’, or more generally ‘who knows?’, ‘it’s not clear’, where the uncertainty is understood in relation to the speaker as a pragmatic effect of the usage of the expression. Here, *gala* is paired with the indefinite suffix *-warda* (7.5.8.), and is thus a regular member of the set of forms which may be so suffixed, expressing general uncertainty. Examples of usage of this form are shown in the following conversation-like sequences (invented by informants without suggestion as to content, to illustrate the meaning of *gala-warda*):

- (734) A: *guda-ni* *0-yanggi* *jangari* *yilama-gan* *0-yanggi*
 where-ART 3SG-go-PST [ss]-ABS maybe-Q 3SG-go-PST
 gorrong-lan
 south-ALL
 B: *gala-warda* *yilama* *yi-na-rri* *yinyang-nyi*
 uncertain-INDEF maybe 2SG-see-PST 2SG-ERG
 A: ‘Where has *jangari* gone, maybe he’s gone south’.
 B: ‘I don’t know, maybe/I think you saw [him]’.
- (735) A: *yilama-gan* *wurr-(y)anggi* *wiya-wu*
 maybe-Q 3NSG-go-PST water-DAT
 B: *gala-warda* *wonggo* *nga-na-rri*
 uncertain-INDEF neg 1SG-see-PST
 A: ‘Maybe/I reckon they’ve gone for *grog*’.
 B: ‘I don’t know, I didn’t see’.

12.2.4. *Yilama* ‘maybe, it might be that’

The particle *yilama* expresses a moderate degree of uncertainty concerning a predication, or sometimes concerning a nominal as the correct identification of an argument in relation to a predication. This particle is not limited in its possible occurrences with tense-aspect-mood forms of the verb; it seemingly may occur with all of them, though of course it is much less likely to occur where the “basic” predicate form by itself expresses uncertainty or hypotheticality, as does the future-admonitive. We saw above in discussion of *gala* that the ordinary future does not express uncertainty in this sense, and in accordance with that we find that *yilama* may freely subcategorize its modality.

The uncertainty expressed by *yilama* is understood to be attributable to the speaker whenever the subject of a predication is first person or includes a first person, i.e., whenever the speaker and grammatical subject coincide or partly overlap. Because of this, *yilama* in such contexts is often best translated as ‘I think’, ‘I suppose’ or the like, making clear the locus of uncertainty. When the grammatical subject is other than first person, i.e., there is not coincidence of speaker and subject, the uncertainty expressed by *yilama* is still clearly authored by the speaker, but is not understood to be as clearly attributable to him or her, but seems rather to be understood as a degree of uncertainty concerning the propositional content of the clause itself, best glossed as “maybe, perhaps” or the like.

As described in 7.5.7., *yilama* (which formally appears to contain a morph identifiable with the particle suffix, *-ma*, but inseparable here) commonly occurs with the indefinite suffix *-gan*. This was described as differing from *-warda* in “intensity” of query (cf. 7.5.8.), the latter being more externally directed and a stronger elicitation of response. *-gan* thus is often to be understood as expressing self-interrogation, with approximately the force of a “whatchamacallit” kind of expression. The frequency with which *-gan* is suffixed to *yilama* is in keeping with the extent to which the uncertainty expressed by *yilama* is attributable to the speaker, whether or not this role coincides with that of grammatical subject person. Examples of *yilama* (see also 715, 728, 732, 733, 734, 735) above are:

(736) *nga-jaba-rri wujaban darni nganinggin yilama*
 1SG-build-PST house-ABS yonder-ABS mine-ABS maybe
ya-0-nyangi-we mulurru nganu yirr-ma-wu
 3-3SG-come-FUT old woman-ABS 1SG-DAT company-PS-DAT
 ‘I built my house yonder, I think old woman will have to come live with me’.

(737) *borre ngeng-me-ndi yilama-gan ngani-werreny-bu-rri*
 dream 1SG/2SG-AUX-PST maybe-Q 2SG/1SG-sing-PST
mejern
 stomach-ABS
 ‘I dreamt of you, I think you have “sung” [ensorcelled] my stomach’.

- (738) *yijarlu* *yilama-gan* *ya-yi-wud-janga-n* *ya-yi-wurr-me*
 some-ABS maybe-Q IRR-3-3NSG-come-PRES IRR-3-3NSG-take
ngarrugu *laglan*
 1INPL-DAT-ABS things-ABS

‘I think some people may come and take our things’.

An interesting aspect of (738) is the extent to which *yilama-gan* apparently has within its scope both predicates, forming a conjoined “come and take” to both of which the speaker uncertainty applies.

- (739) *yilama* *wirrig* *ngerr-me-we* *lerl-ma* *laglan*
 maybe tomorrow 1INPL-AUX-FUT catch up-PS camp-ABS

‘I reckon tomorrow we’ll reach their camp’.

- (740) *yilama* *ya-yinyja* *ma-yinyja* *wurrugu* *ngarlg-ba*
 maybe IRR-3SG-go HAB-3SG-go 3NSG-DAT call-PS

‘Maybe he’ll go, he always goes to call them’.

(740) illustrates the somewhat uncommon occurrence of *yilama* with an irrealis verb form, which differs from present in meaning, not “maybe he’s going”, but something more uncertain, more fully “maybe/I suppose he might go”.

- (741) *jolyorrg-ba* *0-jingi-ndi* *burrugawi* *yinggiya-yi-warda*
 soak-PS 3-SG-AUX-PST long ago who-ERG-QQ
0-gi-ndi *jolyorrg-ba* *yilama* *0-gi-ndi* *dang-nyi*
 3SG-AUX-PST soak-PS maybe 3SG-AUX-PST yonder-ERG

‘It’s been soaking a long time, who in the world put it to soak? I suppose that [person] over there’.

- (742) *wonggo* *ngawun-yerde-n* *yi-warna-mulu* *ngawun*
 neg 1SG/3NSG-know-PRES YI-other-PL-ABS no
yilama *lege* *nga-yerde-n*
 maybe one-ABS 1SG-know-PRES

‘I don’t know some of them, no, I think I know one [of them]’.

An example illustrating the use of *yilama* to mark a nominal as the one to be identified in a particular context is the following sequence:

- (743) *dan-guya* *ngamanda-wu* *yawanyayn* *ya-wurr-(y)ana*
 this-DU-ABS what-DAT whisper 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES
yilama *yi-marnany-gu*
 maybe YI-husband-DAT

‘What are these two whispering about? I suppose about [their] husbands’.

Yilama must either have a clause within its scope, or as in (743) imply the existence of a clause; it does not function as an interjection.

12.2.5. Negative particles *wonggo* and *warna*

There are two negative particles *wonggo* and *warna*, which do not appear to differ in possibilities of syntactic distribution, but do differ in relative frequency. Of the two, *wonggo* is the most common in the speech of all from whom lengthy texts have been collected, with the exception of one person whose texts tend either to have approximately equal numbers of these particles, or a slight preponderance of *warna*. However, since this person was a minor contributor to the text collection overall, it is difficult to know what to make of his case. People from whom the greatest amounts of material were collected, including notably Elsie Raymond, her father, and Lily Gin.gina, used both particles, but showed a disproportion ranging as high as ten to one in any given text in favour of *wonggo*, but in some texts (those with the lowest number of negated clauses) occurring in equal proportions.

Both are clausal negators, and generally occur immediately preceding a finite verb, or before particle plus finite verb combination, or sometimes in between particle and finite verb (see below). Both may negate verbless predications, i.e. those in which the predicative constituent is a nominal (including pronoun), and the ‘missing verb’ to be understood as a copular one of being. Negations of existence of something in a place are generally made with *-wagbawun* suffixed to a nominal (5.3.2.). Although *warna* is overall less frequent and both negators may occur in all possible syntactic contexts, there nevertheless appears to be a slight preference for *warna* to be more frequent in verbless (zero copula) construction type rather than as negator of overt, finite predications, compared to the frequencies of *wonggo* in these two different contexts. This suggests there may formerly have been a clearer distributional difference between them, but if so, it has been eroded.

Both particles may occur with the range of tense-aspect-mood forms, i.e., with present, past, ordinary future, and potential. Because of the particular meaning of the ‘admonitive’ category, designating an as-yet unrealized situation as unwelcome (e.g., “lest he get sick”), the negative particles are not found, or at least have not been found in material collected, in that construction type.

As discussed in 8.9.2., functional negative imperatives are not distinct from negated, irrealis present forms of the verb, thus irrealis *yi-ni-marn-bu-n* ‘you (SG) may make it’ and negative imperative *wonggo yi-ni-marn-bu-n* ‘you ought not/cannot make it’, also functionally an imperative “do not make it!”. A basic distinction exists between negative predications which negate a predicate of indicative mood, versus those which negate a predicate of irrealis mood. For the present tense, the difference may be illustrated by the contrast between *wonggo* (or *warna*) *nganja* ‘I am not going’, the negative of the indicative form *nganja* ‘I am going’ (this instant, or imminently), versus *wonggo/warna yi-nganja* ‘I may not/cannot/ought not go’. All of the glossed non-indicative modalities are expressed formally with the irrealis markers (i.e., first position prefix/es and appropriate pronominal adjuncts (see 6.7.3.).

The same contrast may exist in the past, between negated indicative forms (“did not X”) and irrealis (“would/could not have”). Thus, *wonggo* and *warna* are simply negators, while modality is signalled by the (indicative or irrealis) form of the predicate. Examples of the negative particles — first *wonggo*, then *warna* — follow with commentary.

- (744) *yinyang* *wonggo* *yi-marnany-garang*
 2SG-ABS neg YI-husband-having-ABS
 ‘You do not have a husband’.

(744) illustrates a negative predication (with zero copula) of a “having” construction (5.3.1.).

- (745) *wiya-warra* *lurrbu* *yirr-(y)anggi* *wonggo*
 water-ADV home 1EXNSG-go-PST neg
yin.gun-ga-ndi-ya *lurrbu* *mernde-yi*
 3SG/1EXNSG-take-PST-NAR home white-ERG
 ‘In the wet season we went home, Europeans didn’t take us home’.

- (746) *wonggo* *nunu-bu-n*
 neg IRR-2NSG-hit-PRES
 ‘You must not kill it’/ ‘Do not kill it!’

(746) contrasts with the negation of an indicative predicate, *wonggo nu-bu-n* ‘you are not killing it’.

- (747) *dan-mulu* *wonggo* *mugurn* *yi-ngan-burr-marnbu-n*
 this-PL-ABS neg sleep IRR-3NSG/1SG-make-PRES
 ‘This lot can’t/is incapable of letting me sleep’.

- (748) *wonggo* *ma-ngawun-da-n-guya* *ngawun*
 neg HAB-1SG/3NSG-see-PRES-DU no
 ‘I don’t always/often see them two of them, no’.

(748) illustrates the negation of an habitual form, along with the interjection *ngawun* ‘no, nothing, none’, which is often used as complement to predications of negative import.

- (749) *wonggo* *ya-yi-ginye-n* *wonggo* *ya-yi-marn-bu-n*
 neg IRR-3-3SG-cook-PRES neg IRR-3-3SG-make-PRES
wuja *yinabam-gujban*
 fire-ABS cooked food-NOM-ABS

‘She is incapable of cooking/doesn’t cook, she doesn’t make a fire, she just comes looking for cooked food’.

Note that the formulation of the meaning of (749) is not by means of the negation of an indicative predication, but rather by use of an irrealis verb form which signals incapacity and/or habit of not doing something, and is thus more than the simple negation of an indicative assertion “she is making fire” etc.

(750) *wonggo* *ngawun-wo-ndi*
neg 1SG/3NSG-give-PST
‘I didn’t give them [any]’.

(751) *wonggo* *ngarrug* *ngarr-we-ndi*
neg 1INPL-ABS 1INPL-fall-PST
‘We were not born’.

(751) illustrates that an emphatic or contrastive independent pronoun may separate negator and predicate.

(752) *galgalba-ya* *nu-born-ma* *wonggo* *yi-dodba-ya*
shallow-LOC 2NSG-bathe-PRES neg YI-deep-LOC
‘You bathe in shallow water, not in deep water’.

(752) illustrates *wonggo* as negator of a nominal phrase (see 10.6.).

(753) *burrjib* *nga-gurrgba-rri* *wonggo* *ngawun-wojbarna-rri*
soundly 1SG-sleep-PST neg 1SG/3NSG-hear-PST
nganbu-lawu-ny-ga *jilig-ba-warr*
3NSG/1SG-reach-PST-SUB waken-PS-ALL
‘I slept soundly, I didn’t hear them when they came to me to awaken me’.

(754) *ngayugu* *wonggo* *ngani-warrang-ma* *wonggo* *ngayugu*
1SG-ABS neg 2SG/1SG-swear-PRES neg 1SG-ABS
yinggi *yi-ngawuyu* *ngayugu* *yinggi* *yi-geyu*
2SG-DAT YI-wife-ABS 1SG-ABS 2SG-DAT YI-BD-ABS
‘You mustn’t swear at me, I’m not your WIFE, I’m your niece’.

In (754), the second occurrence of *wonggo* negates the predication “I am your wife”, with zero copula of being. In such a construction, the independent pronoun cannot be seen as contrastive, for it is the only means by which person-number can be expressed in the absence of a finite verb.

(755) *wonggo* *ngayugu* *nganu-gomarla-n* *yibiwi*
neg 1SG-ABS 2NSG/1SG-follow-PRES father-ABS
nu-gomarla-wa
2NSG-follow-FUT
‘You must not/ought not follow me, you must follow the Lord’.

(756) *wonggo yang-ma ngan-bu-ndi ngawun*
 neg tell-PS 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST. no
 ‘He didn’t tell me, no’.

(757) *wonggo buwarraja ya-0-jingi-n*
 neg dreaming-ABS 3-3SG-be-PRES
 ‘There is no dreaming’.

(757) with *jingi-* in copular function exists as possible alternative to the “lacking” construction *buwarraja-wagbawun* ‘there’s no dreaming’.

(758) *jangang ma-nga-yana nurrugu wonggo ma-nganu-wojbarna-n*
 persist HAB-1SG-say 2NSG-DAT neg HAB-2NSG/1SG-listen-PRES
wonggo nunu-ngu-n wiyam
 neg IRR-2NSG-drink-PRES water-ABS
 ‘I keep on telling you, you don’t usually listen to me, you shouldn’t drink grog’.

(758) illustrates the possibility of negation of an habitual predicate; a more idiomatic English translation would be “you don’t ever listen to me”.

All the examples above have been of *wonggo*. The following provide a range of similar examples with *warna*.

(759) *warna yi-warna-gari yibiwan yanja*
 neg YI-other-other man-ABS 3SG-go-PRES
 ‘No other person goes’ [there].

(760) *warna yi-garlari yi-meleman yirr-ngu-ndi-ya wambarr*
 neg YI-clean-ABS YI-black-ABS 1EXNSG-drink-PST-NAR anyway
 ‘Not clean water, but black water we drank, any old way’.

(761) *warna injin 0-jingi-ndi-ya yaning-barra*
 neg [engine] 3SG-be-PST-NAR thus-ADV
 ‘There was no engine at that time’.

(762) *wurr-gi-ndi-ya jamam-gurne bakit-barra guyamin-barra*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR full-CAUS bucket -ADV two-ADV
warna legen-yi
 neg one-INST
 ‘They filled it up with two buckets, not with one’.

(763) *wurr-bu-ndi-ya wu-munburra-yi wonggo mundul-ma*
 3NSG-hit-PST-NAR WU-rock-INST neg cover-PS
wurr-gi-ndi-ya ngawun mundul-ma warna
 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR no cover-PS neg
wurr-gi-ndi wu-munburra-yi-biji nordnord wurr-gi-ndi
 3NSG-AUX-PST WU-rock-INST-only heap rdp. 3NSG-put-PST

‘They killed him with rocks, they didn’t cover
him up no they didn’t cover/bury
him they only heaped up stones’.

In (763), the very same particle plus finite verb expression is negated successively with *wonggo* and then *warna*.

(764) *warna yinggiya 0-jingi-ndi go ngawun*
neg who-ABS 3SG-be-PST 3SG-DAT no
‘Nobody remained for him’.

(765) *warna 0-nyanga-ndi yinyigben ngawun*
neg 3SG-come-PST police-ABS no
‘The police didn’t come, no’.

12.2.6. *Gewernima* ‘gammon’

The particle *gewernima* appears to exhibit the usual particle suffix *-ma*, here as in *yilama*, inseparable. Where the role of speaker coincides with grammatical subject, as for *yilama*, the particle is understood most clearly to express speaker estimation that the action is make-believe, an act of pretending, or otherwise dubitable; otherwise, the notion of make-believe is understood to inhere in the predication, as in the following example:

(766) *jelmerrin wurr-me-ndi lowaglowa-wu wurr-yo-yi-rri-ya*
grass-ABS 3NSG-get-PST play-DAT 3NSG-spear-RR-PST-NAR
gewernima garn-barra wurre-mulu-yi
pretend spear-ADV child-PL-ERG
‘They got *jelmerrin* for play, the children pretended to spear each other’.

This particle is translated by “gammon”, common in the Kriol of this part of the Northern Territory as a clause-level expression of (mild) disbelief or indication that one qualifies what one is saying as possibly untrue, or even impossible or unlikely - matter for disbelief: *olabat bin go yestide gamon* ‘[they say] they went yesterday’ (but I have my doubts). Further examples which illustrate the dubitative nuance of *gewernima*, i.e., one of doubt or disbelief, are:

(767) *gewernima nu-yana go gala*
gammon 2NSG-say 3SG-DAT try
‘You try to tell him’ [i.e., he may not listen, or it may not for some reason be possible to do this, perhaps because of shame or the like].

(768) *gala gewernima gej-ba nu-gi*
try gammon ask-PS 2NSG-AUX
‘You try to ask him!’

12.3. Conjunctions

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 227) give a general definition of the conjunctive function which is useful to begin our discussion of particular Wardaman conjunctions, as “specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before”. They suggest several different semantic kinds of conjunctive relations: additive, adversative, causal, and temporal. These, too, will be useful for our discussion of Wardaman, for there are conjunctions which correspond well to the first three categories. The fourth, however, seems relatively undeveloped in Wardaman, certainly in comparison to some other Aboriginal languages of the region.

They also propose a distinction between internal and external conjunctive relations, as those within the thesis or content of what is being said, and the logical relations within the speech situation, respectively. That is, “internal” and “external” are defined in relation to the text (see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 241). This distinction is also useful for our purposes here, because it suggests a way of characterizing the difference between the first two conjunctions to be discussed. These are of “additive” type, i.e., are different kinds of the conjunctive “and” relation.

12.3.1. *Gabarri* ‘also, further’

The most general function of *gabarri* is to signal that another point is being made in conjunction with a previous one. Its domain of function is thus essentially external, that is, has to do with the matter of signalling linkage between one point and another of the text, rather than signalling that a specific element of textual meaning is additional to and of the same kind as another (for which see 12.3.2.).

Externality and internality, however, are a bit difficult to distinguish here, in that one of the commonest contexts in which *gabarri* is used is to signal linkage of one point to another in the text, where the typically clause-level structures used to express both points have a great deal of common wording, and often differ only in such matters as pronominal adjuncts in one clause and the other. That is, *gabarri* is often part of a rhetorical strategy which uses the notion “further” or “also” not to express a radically different point from another one, but to express a high degree of similarity between the two points. It is as if, in English, we were to exhibit a tendency to restrict the usage of “further” and “also” to such contexts as the following: “Alex is a nice boy, and further/also Niko is a nice boy”. On the whole, *gabarri* is more similar to English “also”, which may be associated with a higher degree of similarity of content of such linked points than “further”, which by its very etymology suggests some additional and new development of textual content.

Although *gabarri* is often clause-initial, it need not be. It also may be used in the two clauses between which linkage is being effected, the first instance thus signalling anticipatorily that the linkage is being made. Examples of *gabarri* follow.

- (769) *nan-yi yibiyani-yi bura-yi 0-jala-rrri darni*
 that-ERG man-ERG boomerang-INST 3SG-boomerang-PST yonder-ABS
yibiyani-gari gabarri yurrimi 0-jala-rrri
 man-other-ABS also back 3SG-boomerang-PST

‘That man hit yonder other man with a boomerang, and also he boomeranged him back’.

Notice that the notion of the return of action is entirely signalled by *yurrimi* ‘back, in return’, and that the function of *gabarri* here is to signal ‘addition’ to the content of a previous clause, where that content is largely similar to that of the following clause. There is no clear equivalent of English “and”, which may be simply additive and is not necessarily restricted to such largely “mirror-image” contexts as the above.

- (770) *wonggo yinimburr-warrangma namaj-(j)i-wi yinyang-nyi*
 neg IRR-3NSG/2SG-swear self-ERG-ART 2SG-ERG
gabarri warrangma
 also swear

‘He oughtn’t swear at you by himself/unilaterally, you swear at him too!’

- (771) *nga-nginy-ma-rrri gunga nganinggin-gu yi-barnang-gu*
 1SG-take part-PST 3SG-DAT 1SG GEN-DAT YI-aunt-DAT
ngayugu nga-nginy-ma-rrri gabarri gunga
 1SG ABS 1SG-take part-PST also 3SG-DAT
nganinggin-gu yi-guyuwu
 1SG GEN-DAT YI-mother-DAT

‘I took my aunt’s part, and also I took my mother’s part’.

- (772) *yi-jurn ngen-yerde-rrri nga-yerde-rrri gabarri ngayug-ji*
 YI-face-ABS 3SG/1SG-know-PST 1SG-know-PST also 1SG-ERG

‘He recognized me, and also I recognized him’.

- (773) *yi-gorlorlogban yi-jili*
 YI-straight-ABS YI-hair-ABS
yi-jili gabarri dana wurren gorlorlogban
 YI-hair-ABS also this-ABS child-ABS straight-ABS

‘He has straight hair, and also this child has straight hair’.

- (774) *ngan.gun-warrang-ma ngarr(w)un-warrang-ma gabarri*
 3NSG/1INPL-swear-PRES 1INPL/3NSG-swear-PRES also

‘They’re swearing at us, and we too are swearing at them’.

- (775) *wonggo mo-ngon-wo-n gabarri wonggo ma-ngani-wo-n*
 neg HAB-3SG/1SG-give-PRES also neg HAB-2SG/1SG-give-PRES

‘She doesn’t give to me, and also you don’t give to me’.

- (776) *ngardurdug-ba* *0-bu-ndi* *nu-bu* *gabbarri* *gunya*
 double up-PS 3SG-hit-PST 2NSG-hit also 3SG-DISS

'He really belted him, you [NSG] hit him too for him/on his account'.

- (777) *yulun* *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *gorro-wa* *gabbarri* *jongon-ba*
 trade 3NSG-get-PST-NAR south-ABL also north-ABL
wunggunburr-wo-ndi-ya *dangindi* *ma-nyalugin*
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST-NAR paperbark-ABS MA-soft-ABS

'They got trade items from the south and also from the north they gave them soft paperbark'.

- (778) *bangbun* *wurr-wo-yi-rriya* *0-wo-ndi* *gabbarri dang-ba*
 woman-ABS 3NSG-give-RR-PST-NAR 3SG-give-PST also yonder-ABL
wangu *dang-ba* *wurr-wo-ndi* *gabbarri bangbu-gari*
 widow-ABS yonder-ABL 3NSG-give-PST also woman-other-ABS

'They used to give each other women, he gave a widow from that way, and they also gave [back] another woman from that way'.

A less usual use of *gabbarri* is illustrated in a final example, and the connotations as they were related by informants are given, followed by an attempt to link this use to others above. The example is a recapitulation of a short conversation. It may be divided into four parts, among which *gabbarri* is used to suggest cohesion.

- (779) *ngojgoj-ba* *nga-jingi-n* *banggin*
 stiff-PS 1SG-AUX-PRES back-ABS
banggin-gula *ya-wurr-(y)uju* *ngojgoj-ba*
 back-ABS-EMPH 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES stiff-PS
ngawun *gabbarri-ga*
 no also-EMPH
yilama *yi-dalbirrman* *banggin*
 maybe YI-tough-ABS back-ABS

'My back is stiff
 their backs are stiff
 no also!
 maybe they have tough backs'.

The third line is translated rather literally, and makes little sense in that form, but the force was to be understood in the following context. A number of people were sitting watching another group not far off, and waiting to see what they would do. One woman said the above, in some impatience: My back hurts, theirs do too (i.e., from continuing to sit here so long). Later, when asked to explain the third line further, she said it meant: "They can't take any notice", i.e., even though their backs hurt, they do nothing, they don't get up (and hence, fuelled the impatience of those waiting to see what they would do). (See 12.4.3. for discussion of *-ga*.)

Thus it seems that here, *gabarri* must, rather unusually, be interpreted as within the scope of *ngawun* ‘no, nothing’, which ordinarily occurs as an interjection, in isolation. The seeming relation between that proposed phrase structure and the sense may perhaps be approached by a freer gloss ‘nothing further’; that is, even though I and they are in equivalent, painful situations (which might easily be additively linked by the conjunction *gabarri*), they do nothing about it — and so, perhaps, “there is no additive equivalence”.

12.3.2. *Nonggo* ‘too, also’

While *gabarri* signals “additive” in a largely external mode, the conjunction *nonggo* does so internally. That is, with respect to some unit of propositional content (often but not necessarily a clause-level unit) it expresses the addition of something to something else — an additional referent, or an additional instance of whatever is designated by a clausal predicate. Following exemplification of *nonggo*, some contrasts will be made with another form which has some common elements of meaning.

- (780) *walig-(g)uya* *manymany-ma* *0-jingi-ndi* *mobonyi*
 around-DU lighten-PS 3SG-AUX-PST night
yilama-gan *gaya* *nonggo* *ya-0-jingi-yan*
 maybe-Q today also 3-3SG-AUX-POT

‘Last night there was lightning all around,
 maybe today there will be too’.

- (781) *yarlarrg* *nonggo* *0-we-ndi-ya* *wiya-warr*
 leaf-ABS also 3SG-fall-PST-NAR water-ALL
yi-meleman-marla *0-jingi-ndi-ya*
 YI-black-INCH 3SG-be-PST-NAR

‘Leaves too fell in the water, and it was/turned black’.

- (782) *banggin* *joj* *wurr-gi-ndi* *jandang-bi* *wiyan* *guda*
 back-ABS [George] 3NSG-put-PST for good-ART water-ABS where
ya-yi-lawu-ny-ga *nga-na-rri* *nonggo* *nana* well
 IRR-3SG-fetch-PST-SUB 1SG-see-PST also that-ABS [Eng].

‘They called him “Back-George” for good [from a shooting incident], where could he have been getting water, I’ve seen that well too’.

Here the force of *nonggo* within the context of a story of a man forced into hiding, is speaker’s addition of himself as a person who has seen a particular well where the man is supposed to have holed up.

- (783) *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *nganu* *buda* *ngayugu* *nonggo*
 3NSG-get-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT plum-ABS 1SG-ABS also
nga-me-ndi-ya
 1SG-get-PST-NAR

‘They got black plum for me, I also got it’.

Nonggo may be distinguished from the quantifier *yugurni*, which means ‘more, again, additional amount or times’, as in the following examples:

- (784) *burrugawi* *yirr-ngu-ndi* *yirr-waja-rri-wan* *jandang-bi*
 long ago 1EXNSG-consume-PST 1EXNSG-leave-PST-DF for good-ART
wonggo *yirr-gerle-n* *yugurni* *ngawun*
 neg 1EXNSG-taste-PRES more no
 ‘We drank for a long time and we gave it up for good
 we don’t touch it any more, no’.

- (785) *yana* *yugurni*
 say again
 ‘Say it again’.

12.3.3. *Ngala* ‘but’

The next two conjunctions to be discussed fall into the Halliday and Hasan category of “adversative”. That is, the kind of linkage they express is that something following is disjunct or different from something that has gone before. (In 12.2.1. we saw that the particle *bajawinyin* usually seems to have an adversative nuance.) The first conjunction of this kind to be discussed here is the stronger of the two, and is best glossed in most of its uses as “but”, but as examples will show, the disjunction need not be quite as radical as that ordinarily signalled by English “but”. It is usually clause-initial.

- (786) *ngan.gu-la-rri* *ngala* *yinyang* *yimbu-la-rri*
 3SG/1INPL-bite-PST but 2SG-ABS 3SG/2SG-bite-PST
 ‘It bit us, [but] how about you? Did it bite you?’

- (787) *wud-jornog-ba-rri* *0-jornogba-rri-wan* *nana* *wurren*
 3NSG-fill up-PST 3SG-fill up-PST-DF that-ABS child-ABS
yawe yilgbayi *0-ngu-ndi* *jornog* *ngala yinyang* *yi-jornogba-rri*
 yes all right 3SG-eat-PST full but 2SG-ABS 2SG-fill up-PST
yawe yilgbayi
 yes all right
 ‘They filled up, and did that child eat enough?’
 ‘Yes, he’s right, he ate enough; but what about you, are you full?’
 ‘Yes, [I’m] all right’.

- (788) *ngamanda-wu-warda* *ma-ni-jarram-bu-n-ga* *yilama* *wu-munburra-wu*
 what-DAT-INDEF HAB-2SG-look-PRES-SUB maybe WU-money-DAT
ngala-ga *ma-yi-0-dagbarla-n* *barlarra* *wu-munburra*
 but-EMPH HAB-3-3SG-have-PRES hide WU-money-ABS
 ‘What in the world are you always looking around for, I reckon money
 but she always keeps her money hidden’.

See 12.4.3. for the emphatic clitic *-ga*.

(789)	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>yang-ma</i>	<i>ngan-bu-ndi</i>	<i>ngawun</i>
	neg	say-PS	3SG/1SG-AUX-PST	no
	<i>ngala</i>	<i>guda</i>	<i>dangindi</i>	<i>gunga</i>
	but	where	paperbark-ABS	3SG-DAT

‘No, he didn’t let me know
but where’s his letter?’

(790)	<i>bujun</i>	<i>yi-ngan-wo-ndi</i>	<i>ma-jad</i>	<i>yi-ngong-wo-ndi</i>
	if	IRR-3SG/1SG-give-PST	MA-big-ABS	IRR-1SG/2SG-give-PST
	<i>ngala</i>	<i>ngon-wo-ndi</i>	<i>wudu</i>	
	but	3SG/1SG-give-PST	little-ABS	

‘If he’d given me a great deal, I would have given you some,
but he only gave me a little bit’.

A secondary function which *ngala* is able to have, based on its primary one of signalling a mild disjunction, is as emphatic confirmatory interjection, translatable as something like “and how!” See 12.5.7.

12.3.4. *Wangi* ‘only, except’

The more mildly “adversative” conjunction *wangi* expresses a lesser degree of contrary-to-expectation with respect to another full clause or constituent, in that it admits another point but expresses an exception to it. This conjunction seems adequately glossed ‘only, except’. Insofar as it expresses this notion with respect to a particular clausal constituent only, its function overlaps with that of *-biji* ‘only’ (5.12.), as in the first example:

(791)	<i>wu-luma-rrri</i>	<i>jimirndi-wagbawun</i>	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>wu-dagbarla-rrri-ya</i>
	3NSG-cut-PST	knife lacking-ABS	neg	3NSG-have-PST-NAR
	<i>jimirndi</i>	<i>wangi</i>	<i>ginydan</i>	
	knife-ABS	only	stone spear-ABS	

‘They used to cut without knives, they had no knives, only stone spear points’.

The meaning here could be alternatively expressed: *ginydan-biji wu-dagbarla-rrri* ‘they had only stone spear points’. The suffix *-biji*, however, is used only with respect to nominal constituency. When the exception or exclusion is expressed in relation to an entire clause, then *wangi* is used:

(792)	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>ngabulu</i>	<i>nga-dagbarla-rrri</i>	<i>ngawun</i>	<i>wangi</i>	<i>nganinggin</i>
	neg	milk-ABS	1SG-have-PST	no	only	1SG GEN-ABS
	<i>yi-yaja</i>	<i>ngabulu-warang</i>				
	YI-sister-ABS	milk-having-ABS				

‘I didn’t have breasts [yet], no, only my elder sister had breasts’.

(793) *ngananyin yilgbayi wonggo 0-bu-ndi wangi*
 [name]-ABS all right neg 3SG-hit-PST only
mejern-bulud 0-bu-ndi
 belly-[bullet]-ABS 3SG-hit-PST

‘Ngananyin was all right, he didn’t shoot him, he only hit “Bullet-Belly”’.

(794) *wonggo nganinggin yibiyi ngawun*
 neg 1SG-ABS father-ABS no
wangi nana marluga duwu-ma 0-bu-ndi
 only that-ABS old man-ABS raised 3SG-AUX-PST

‘She didn’t [give milk] to my father, no she only raised that old man’.

From an earlier portion of text, ellipsed in the first line of (794) is the ditransitive verb “give” (see 10.13.).

(795) *wonggo digirrij 0-bu-ndi wangi 0-bu-ndi wabirl-ma-gun*
 neg dead-ABS 3SG-hit-PST only 3SG-hit-PST graze-PS-?

‘He didn’t shoot him dead, he only grazed him’.

(796) *wurr-yana-rri-ya wurrugu gaba bega lawu*
 3NSG-say-PST-NAR 3NSG-DAT hey tobacco get
wangi mernden nana barlarra 0-jingi-ndi gunya
 only white-ABS that-ABS hide 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DISS

‘They said to them: “hey come get tobacco”, only that white man was hiding from him’.

(796) exemplifies a more clearly external usage of *wangi*, in that it does not except or exclude something previously raised or implicit within the flow of propositional content, but makes a linkage in terms of the contrary-to-expectation nature of the relation between meanings of the two lines: they told Aborigines to come and get things, but/except that/only [what they did not know was] a white man was lying in wait for them.

12.3.5. *Wunyjug* ‘because’

There is a sole, explicitly “causal” conjunction which expresses “because, for the reason that”. This appears in the data in two forms, as *wuwunyjug* and as *wunyjug*, from which one may suppose that the initial *wu-* is etymologically relatable to the noun class prefix of the same shape, and perhaps is to be understood as “because of *wu-* class thing”, one of the possible fields of denotation being *madin* ‘word’, or ‘language’ generally. In other words, it may be that the form *wu-wunyjug* is to be understood as anaphoric to a constituent or stretch of text, indexing it as “cause”. This seems especially plausible in that the few occurring types of instances of this particle were ones in which it was preceded by *nana* functioning as a sort of resumptive pronoun, “because of that”, where “that” could be read as a previous stretch of text.

Interestingly, not a single instance of this particle showed up in collected texts. For this search, 87 pages of computerized text, and a further 60 pages of handwritten, glossed and analyzed text, were used as the searched corpus, the material ranging from life-history monologue, to requested myth narrative, to recorded night-time fire-side conversation.

Attempts to elicit an explicit causal linkage were answered with examples using *(wu)wunyjug*, of the following sort:

- (797) *nimbirrima ya gunya worromon-bi yi-nimburr-bu*
 backwards go 3SG-DISS fast-ART IRR-3SG/2SG-hit
dan-nguguwun-man nana wuwunyjug 0-wojbarna-rri
 this-place-ABS that-ABS cause 3SG-listen-PST

“‘Back away from him quick, he might hit you!’”

He’s from this place, that’s the reason he listened to him’ [i.e., did as he was told].

- (798) *nan-yi wurre-yi weg-ba 0-gi-ndi bega yi-mum*
 that-ERG child-ERG swallow 3SG-AUX-PST tobacco-ABS YI-eye-ABS
wirrin-yi-ma yanja me-menjen wuwunyjug
 spin-PS 3SG-AUX-PRES MA-cheeky-ABS cause

‘That kid swallowed tobacco, and he’s dizzy [his eyes are going around] because it’s cheeky/toxic’.

- (799) *mad-gu wuwunyjug ngarra yirr-(y)ani-we gunga*
 word-DAT cause 1INPL-go 1EXNSG-say-FUT 3SG-DAT

‘Let’s go because of language [lit.], we must tell it to him’.

This element has a clitic-like status: it appears to follow immediately the main constituent with respect to which “cause” or reason is being expressed. Constructions of this kind seem to be formulated in such a way that it generally has a nominal constituent within its scope; but see example (849).

12.3.6. *Gija* ‘just as, as’

There is a conjunction *gija* which allows statement of the comparability of the content of two clauses, and is best glossed ‘as’, ‘just as’, or ‘in the same way that’. *Wagayma* (see 5.10.) may be used to express comparability at the clause level, as well as at the constituent level, and so partly overlaps functionally with *gija*, examples of which follow.

- (800) *ligirri gi bujun warlbag ya-yi-0-me*
 lean AUX lest remove IRR-3-3SG-AUX
gija 0-me-ndi burrugawi
 as 3SG-take-PST long ago

‘Put it sideways lest he take it the way he took it before’.

- (801) *wonggo yi-nga-na-n* *gurlurr* *gija* *namaj*
 neg IRR-1SG-AUX-PRES sorry as self-ABS
gurlurr-marla-wagbawun
 sorry-INCH-lacking-ABS

'I can't be sorry for him just as he isn't compassionate'.

- (802) *ngana-yu* *wiyan* *nu-waja* *gija* *yirrug-ji*
 HT-lie water-ABS 2NSG-leave as 1EXNSG-ERG
ma-yirr-me-n *mayin* *wurrugu* *wurre-wu*
 HAB-1EXNSG-get-PRES food-ABS 3NSG-DAT child-DAT

'Let grog be, leave it, in the same way that/just as we always get food for the children ...' [etc.].

12.3.7. *-wan* 'defocusser'

The most pervasive, and in some ways most difficult to define, Wardaman conjunctive element, is *-wan*, labelled throughout DF, or "defocusser". This is a suffix, rather than an independent word, and we may begin discussion of the rather subtle cohesive functioning of this element by considering some regularities of positioning that relate to its formal dependence.

Most common positional occurrences of *-wan* are: suffixed to the first word in the tone group; or suffixed to what may be defined as the first word in a non-initial clause-unit within a tone group. That is, the occurrence of *-wan* is most simply described first, in terms of prosodic rather than grammatical units; but secondly, in terms of its function in linking clause-level grammatical units within a tone group. These, however, are only tendencies, and *-wan* may be found in non-initial position both with respect to tone group and/or grammatical group; and also, may be suffixed to seemingly the entire range of different word-level parts of speech. Before we proceed to examine what contribution it makes, these statements of occurrence require some further explanation.

It may be useful to expand briefly here on what has been said (10.14.) about the relationship between tone group and clause-level unit.

The general tendency towards coincidence of tone group and clause-level unit may be illustrated by text extract, divided into prosodic lines:

- (803) *wurr-me-ndi* *warlbag* *wuja-wa*
 3NSG-AUX-PST remove fire-ABL
wurr-gi-ndi-ya *gawarla-ya*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR coolamon-LOC
yi-warna-gari *buwud* *wurr-bu-ndi*
 YI-other-other-ABS put under coals 3NSG-AUX-PST
wurr-gi-ndi-ya *duy-ma yanima*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR heap-PS thus
mayin-gunba *nan-ganung-gunba* *ma-nandum-gunba*
 food-SOU that-COL-SOU MA-seed-SOU

<i>wunggunburr-wo-ndi-ya</i>	<i>legelege</i>
3NSG/3NSG-give-PST-NAR	one rdp-ABS

‘They removed it from the fire
they put it in the coolamon
they put another under the coals
they put it in a heap, thus
from the food, from those seeds
they gave it out to them one-by-one [severally]’.

In this passage, the tendency for tone group and clause to coincide is realized almost completely, with the exception of the second-to-last line, which consists only of a nominal phrase (or series of closely linked and commonly case-marked phrases), making explicit what is being referred to in the next line, as being given out, and cohering over a much longer textual stretch with earlier occurrences of the word *mayin* ‘vegetable food’.

Another common tendency is for the tone group to coincide with two clauses, i.e., for close textual coherence between two clauses to be signalled and confirmed by their inclusion within a single tone group, such as:

(804)	<i>nu-lawu</i>	<i>wirrb</i>	<i>nu-me</i>		
	2NSG-reach	wipe	2NSG-AUX		
	<i>warnarr-warra</i>	<i>yi-lawu-rri-wuya</i>		<i>wirrb</i>	<i>yirr-me-ndi</i>
	fat-ADV	1EXNSG-reach-PST-DU		wipe	1EXNSG-AUX-PST

‘You go to him and wipe him
we went to him and wiped him with fat’.

Types of constructions involving particles which make the coincidence of tone group with clause less complete, and create more structurally variable text units, were described in 10.14.

The single most clearly identifiable contribution that *-wan* makes is that it signals linkage to, or general textual cohesion of, a sequence in relation to a preceding one. The “scope” of such retrospective cohesive relations cannot be neatly structurally defined, but is influenced by the nature of the grammatical unit or constituent to which *-wan* may be seen as suffixed. For example, it becomes relevant to observe here that while there is relatively little use of an element of the “then, next, after that” type, there is some use in that function of the Ablative form of the demonstrative *nana* ‘that’, i.e., *nan-ba* ‘from there, then’ etc. Very commonly where this occurs, *-wan* is suffixed to it, and thus while the conjunction itself expresses forward textual movement, *-wan* expresses what has been called a retrospective cohesion, or an explicit indication of a textual link with what has gone before. The entire sequence would thus best be glossed “and then, and from there”, i.e., where *-wan* has a rather purely structural, linking function, the semantics of which however is highly coloured by the nature of that to which it is suffixed. An example is:

(805)	<i>yurrb-a</i>	<i>wurr-me-ndi</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>warlbagwarlbag</i>
	stand-PS	3NSG-AUX-PST	3SG-DAT	remove rdp
	<i>warlbagwarlbag</i>	<i>wurr-me-ndi</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>girdibun</i>
	remove rdp	3NSG-AUX-PST	3SG-DAT	finish

<i>nan-ba-wan</i>	<i>wu-lu-rri</i>	<i>gunga</i>	<i>yi-guyu</i>	<i>yi-namun</i>
that-ABL-DF	3NSG-cry-PST	3SG-DAT	YI-mother-ABS	YI-sister-ABS
<i>murrgun</i>	<i>mulurru-mulu</i>			
three	old woman-PL-ABS			

'They made it stand and took it [saddle] off it
they took it off it, finished
and then his mother and sisters, three of them, cried
for him, three old ladies'.

The reason for which *-wan* has been labelled "Defocusser" throughout remains to be clarified, and is related to the seemingly very broad kind of cohesion-signalling device that it is. Insofar as its central function is that of signalling linkage, its occurrence appears to have the overall textual effect of a kind of de-emphasis of that to which it is suffixed and/or which it appears to be relating to preceding text. In other words, this effect of de-emphasis is best understood as a consequence of its function, that of signalling that something is to be related to what has gone before. This downplays the textual novelty and independence of that which *-wan* introduces, and treats it as topical in the sense of presupposable, whether or not it has been previously introduced. "Given" and "new" cannot be treated as an axis independent of the construction of text, and *-wan* appears to constitute information as presupposable.

Following with comment are instances of the occurrence of *-wan*, variably positioned and always illustrated with sufficient surrounding text material to try to give some sense of its textual placement.

(806)	<i>durd</i>	<i>0-me-ndi-ya</i>	<i>garnin</i>
	grab	3SG-AUX-PST-NAR	spear-ABS
	<i>wiyan-wan</i>	<i>0-nyanga-ndi</i>	
	water-ABS-DF	3SG-come-PST	

'He grabbed his spear
and the water came ...'.

Suffixation of *-wan* to *wiyan* creates a textual linkage, that is, signalling not explicitly the simultaneity of the two events, but their textual relation to each other.

(807)	<i>birdij</i>	<i>0-gi-ndi</i>	<i>dana</i>	<i>mawuya-ya</i>
	find	3SG-AUX-PST	this-ABS	poison-LOC
	<i>luwu-warang</i>			
	cave-having-ABS			
	<i>nan-beng-wan</i>	<i>0-jingi-ndi</i>		
	that-SSPEC-DF	3SG-be-PST		

'He found it here at "the poison place"
where there is a cave
it was just there/and that is just where it was'.

The English cleft gloss is a way of attempting to approximate the cohesive effect.

- (808) *ngayugu* *nga-nyanga-n*
 1SG-ABS 1SG-come-PRES
mawuya *nge-me-we*
 poison-ABS 1SG-get-FUT
nganjigbe-wan *lurrbu*
 1SG go FUT-DF home
lagla-warr
 camp-ALL

'It is I coming
 I shall get poison
 and then I shall go back
 to camp ...'.

- (809) *yibiwan* *ngawun-bu-wa*
 man-ABS 1SG/3NSG-hit-FUT
lege
 one-ABS
numbulan-min *yanjigbe*
 that way-ADV 3SG go FUT
guda *ngamanda-yi* *birdij* *ngan-gi-we*
 where what-ERG find 3SG/1SG-AUX-FUT
yilgbayi-wan
 all right-DF

'I shall strike people [with poison]
 one [man]
 he will go that way
 and where shall anyone find me? [i.e., I will be undiscoverable]
 and so all right'.

- (810) *wurrmug* *wurr-we-ny-ga*
 fall 3NSG-AUX-PST-SUB
delimiya
 [Delamere]
lege-biji-wan *warawad* *yanja*
 one-only-DF go about 3SG go-PRES
mulurru *yidawun*
 old woman-ABS [name]

'... where they all passed away
 at Delamere
 and only one is still going about
 old woman Yidawun'.

An illustration of *-wan* suffixed to a verb particle in tone group-initial position is found in the following first five lines of a text:

- (811) *wurr-yo-rri* *garn-yi*
 3NSG-spear-PST spear-INST
gayardung-wan *wu-lawu-rri* *deyn* *0-we-ny-ga*
 run-DF 3NSG-reach-PST fall 3SG-AUX-PST-SUB
garn-yi *wurr-yo-ny-ga*
 spear-INST 3NSG-spear-PST-SUB
deyn *0-we-ndi*
 fall 3SG-AUX-PST
wu-lawu-rri-wan *yi-munburra-warang*
 3NSG-reach-PST-DF YI-stone-having-ABS

‘They speared him/threw a spear at him
 and they caught up to him running [after] he had fallen down
 they had [having] speared him
 he fell down
 and they caught up to him, holding rocks’.

The story concerns a policeman who was speared by Aborigines on Willeroo Station for having taken away from their husbands a number of Aboriginal women. The man was speared and then stoned to death. It is not clear, in the second line, that there would be any great difference between the passage as it actually occurred, above, and the other kind of frequently realized possibility of *-wan* suffixed to the finite verb, and thus positioned between clause-level units: *gayardung wu-lawu-rri-wan deyn we-ny-ga*. The chief effect of *-wan* here is to signal a link between the episode of spearing, and the running to catch up to, the victim. The second instance of *-wan* is also suffixed to the first word in the tone group, in this instance a finite verb. From this same narrative, further examples of *-wan* are in this sequence:

- (812) *bangbun* *dang-ganung* *wunggunburr-ga-ndi* *gunya* *lurrbu*
 woman-ABS that-COL-ABS 3NSG/3NSG-take-PST 3SG-DISS back
lurrbu *wunggunburr-ga-ndi-wan* *nan-ganung-nyi* *yibiyani-yi*
 back 3NSG/3NSG-take-PST-DF that-COL-ERG man-ERG
bangbun *wunggunburr-ga-ndi* *yibiyani-yi*
 woman-ABS 3NSG/3NSG-take-PST man-ERG
yi-birrbag-birrba *wurr-ngegba-ny-ga*
 YI-old rdp-ABS 3NSG-die-PST-SUB
marluga *nirlan.giyag* *dan-yi* *yimij* *bla* *jurnjurnung*
 old man-ABS [name]-ABS this-ERG [ss] [Eng.] [name]-ABS
0-ga-ndi-wan *gunya* *lurrbu* *garramawun*
 3SG-take-PST-DF 3SG-DISS home [place]

‘They took those women from him back home
 so/and those men took them
 the men took the women
 old timers who have died
 old man Nirlan.giyag, this yimij of Jurnjurnung’s
 he took [them] from him back to Garramawun’.

An example of *-wan* suffixed to (normally) interjectional and/or resumptive *ngawun* ‘no, nothing’ (see 12.5.4.) is the following:

- (813) *wirrig-bi* *0-na-rri* *wurrugu* *ngawun*
 morning-ART 3SG-see-PST 3NSG-DAT nothing
ngawun *laglan-biji* *0-na-rri* *wurrugu*
 nothing camp-only-ABS 3SG-see-PST 3NSG-DAT
ngawun-wan *wengman* *wurr-(y)a-ny-ga* *mulba* *galung-lan*
 nothing-DF empty-ABS 3NSG-go-PST-SUB lot up-ALL
julu-warr
 hill-ALL

‘In the morning he looked around for them, nothing, nothing, only camp [was there], he looked for them so nothing, [the place was] empty [since] the whole lot of them had gone up on top of the hill’.

The text tells of a station worker who threatened Aborigines and shot up their camp. He did this at night, and returned in the morning evidently to harrass them further. But they had all gone uphill and out of reach. The cohesive effect of *ngawun-wan* here is to link with the preceding description of an abandoned camp. Here again, *-wan* appears to be a very broad and basic textual linking device.

The following textual selection exemplifies the possibility of a bit of apparently unrecoverable information being suffixed with *-wan* in a way that signals cohesion with preceding text, and thus has the overall effect of de-emphasizing its newness.

- (814) *jarrug* *nga-ngu-ndi-ya* *worroman*
 egg-ABS 1SG-eat-PST-NAR fast
jugjug *wagayma* *go* *jarrug*
 chook like 3SG-DAT egg-ABS
yaniman
 thus-ABS
nga-ngu-ndi-ya *girdibun*
 1SG-eat-PST-NAR finish
goyin-wan *nga-ngu-ndi-ya* *girdibun*
 honey-ABS-DF 1SG-eat-PST-NAR finish
mejern *jornog* *nga-yana-rri-ya*
 stomach-ABS full 1SG-AUX-PST-NAR

‘I ate eggs quickly
 like chicken [chook] eggs
 like this
 I ate them up
 and I ate up honey
 I filled my stomach’.

-wan is suffixed to “honey”, signalling linkage with other kinds of things eaten, despite the fact that this is the first mention of “honey”.

A final example is of *-wan* suffixed to negative particle *wonggo*:

(815)	<i>marluga</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>mugurn</i>	<i>0-jingi-ndi</i>	<i>gunga</i>
	old man	that-ABS	lie	3SG-AUX-PST	3SG-DAT
	<i>wonggo-wan</i>	<i>yi-mirr</i>	<i>ngab</i>	<i>0-gi-ndi</i>	<i>dana wangi</i>
	not-DF	YI-forehead-ABS	miss	3SG-AUX-PST	this-ABS only
	<i>yi-jili</i>	<i>mod mod</i>	<i>0-luma-rri</i>		
	hair-ABS	cut cut	3SG-AUX-PST		
	<i>marluga</i>	<i>wardabarrb</i>	<i>0-gaju-rri-ya</i>		
	old man-ABS	start	3SG-AUX-PST-NAR		

‘The old man lay down for him
and he didn’t mistake his forehead, only his hair,
he cut it
the old man started up now’.

Here too a cleft translation may render the sense of cohesive linkage: “and it wasn’t that he mistook/missed his forehead, only his hair here, he cut it”.

The considerable tendency for *-wan* to occur suffixed to the first word in the tone group is a strong indication of its generalized cohesive function, which as (815) suggests, extends well beyond that word itself, sometimes effecting a linkage between entire tone groups.

12.4. Interpersonal and emphatic elements

The small set of elements described under this heading do not fit neatly under any of the other headings in this chapter. They are even rather diverse among themselves. The inference should not be made from the heading given here that these are the only elements that have an “interpersonal” dimension (see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 26 who use this term for the “social, expressive and conative functions of language”), but rather that these elements have functions which are more centrally definable in those terms than others.

12.4.1. (Tag) question: *Ale*

There is a question element *ale* (see Cook 1987: 93 for the form *ngale* in Wakiman) which is usually final in relation to what is questioned, and thus usually a “tag” question marker. In general, it follows a statement of some kind, and, in the same speaking “turn”, directs the addressee to confirm or deny the correctness of the speaker’s statement. However, it may be used not by the original speaker, but in a different turn, to question whether what the speaker said is correct, and in this usage it is thus not a “tag”, but a more independent question element (see example (828) in 12.5.3.). It may follow a positive or negative statement, but tends to occur after the former; positive statements followed by request for confirmation are more common than negative ones. It may be glossed ‘is that right?’ or ‘is that so’?

In the first example below, *ale* is used text-internally. That is, it is not a request for confirmation directed by the speaker to another person sitting with us in the immediate

speech situation at the time the material was recorded, but rather a question directed by the speaker of the narrated speech situation, a European policeman, to an Aboriginal woman, the speaker's sister. The story being told to me by the speaker and another woman, in turns, was about how European policeman used to come check up whether there were any part-Aboriginal children living in camps, and if there were, they used to remove them to institutions. A policeman came to check up, and found a part-Aboriginal child in the speaker's family.

- (816) *yinyigben* *0-nyanga-ndi* *0-na-rri*
 police-ABS 3SG-come-PST 3SG-see-PST
a nana *go* *yi-belyangman* *ale*
 oh that-ABS 3SG-DAT YI-red-ABS TAG
0-yana-rri *go*
 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
nan-gu
 that-DAT
nganinggin-gu *yi-namun-gu* *gila*
 1SG GEN-DAT YI-sister-DAT indeed
warrguj *0-me-ndi*
 pick up 3SG-AUX-PST
 'A policeman came and looked
 "Oh! hers is light-skinned [red], isn't that right?"
 he said to her
 that one
 [of] my big sister.
 He picked it up'.

The second example illustrates the use of *ale* within the immediate speech situation. A woman narrating a story relating to a place we were visiting was perhaps somewhat intimidated by the presence of a man she thought might know more than she, and so she directed confirmatory *ale* to him throughout her narration.

- (817) *gudang-ba-gula* *baraj-ba-gula* *0-nyanga-ndi* *ale* *marluga*
 where-ABL-EMPH far-ABL-EMPH 3SG-come-PST right old man
 'Where from, it really came from a long way, isn't that right, old man?'

12.4.2. *Bago* 'that's it'

A second interpersonal element appears to be similar to *ale* in that it frequently occurs in interaction, and constitutes it as a joint effort. But in this case, *bago* is used to signal that that which was sought within the speech situation (whether an element of language, word or the like, or something else) has been found; hence the gloss 'that's it', or perhaps 'this is it' (and the abbreviation CF "confirmatory").

(818) A: *guda yi-gi-ndi*
 where 2SG-put-PST

B: *nana-warda*
 that-ABS-EMPH

A: *nana bago birdij ngarr-gi-ndi*
 that-ABS CF find 1INPL-AUX-PST

A: 'Where did you put it?'

B: 'There somewhere or other'.

A: 'That's the one, we've found it'.

This element also seems to be used in a more strictly emphatic, rather than confirmatory sense. For instance, asked 'What's your dreaming?', the person addressed replied *dilygun bago* 'possum, for sure!'

In the text in which the speaker describes where she walked about as a young person, she said, "I didn't go to Munurrying, only to Weliyn, *galulul bago*" 'right up on top'. *Bago* here seems to have the value of "fixing" the location, after the two sites have previously been mentioned. In this particular example, then, the "interpersonal" value of *bago* lies within the development of the speaker's own text, as she narrows down and specifies more exactly the location she wishes to convey.

Once as we came upon a camp-site a speaker said:

(819) *dana bago yimiyan-barra ngarr-gurrnga-ny-ga*
 this CF same-ADV 1INPL-sleep-PST-SUB

'This here is it, the same place we slept (before)!'

12.4.3. -ga, emphatic suffix

In 7.5.6. an emphatic suffix *-gula* was discussed which is attested with nominals, often interrogatives, and which itself is interrogative in force, or even more strongly, demanding of reply.

There is a different emphatic suffix *-ga*, which is assertive rather than interrogative in perlocutionary force, and which has been found suffixed to a wider range of parts of speech, including nominals, clause particles, and predicators. Like *-gula*, *-ga* has a strongly interpersonal mode of meaning.

The suffix *-ga* with adversative clause particle *ngala* 'but, but what about?' was illustrated in (788), and with *gabbarri* in (779), above. In the following example, the speaker had been talking about the force of a whirlwind, which had brought hail.

(820) *burrugawi 0-we-ndi*
 long ago 3SG-fall-PST
barrunin-ga worrb-a 0-we-ndi
 fish-ABS-EMPH many 3SG-fall-PST

'It fell a long time ago
 even many fish fell!'

- (821) *wonggo* *luyurr* *yi-ni-yana* *wurrugu-wuya*
 neg sorry IRR-2SG-AUX-PRES 3NSG-DAT-DU
ngana-wurr-nge-yi-n *yanima-yi* *yi-menje-wuya-ga*
 HT-3NSG-argue-PRES thus-ADV YI-cheeky-DU-EMPH

‘You mustn’t feel sorry for the two of them
 let them argue like that, they’re a cheeky pair!’.

- (822) *warlad* *nunu-ngegbi-ga*
 sick IRR 2NSG-AUX-EMPH

‘You might get sick!’

- (823) *mumngarra-ma* *nga-na-rri* *wirriny-ma* *nganjagi* *yanan-ga-yi*
 dizzy-PS 1SG-AUX-PST spin-PS 1SG-go-PST thus-EMPH-ADV

‘I got dizzy, I was going round and round, really like that!’.

The possibility suggests itself that emphatic *-ga* might be related to the subordinating suffix *-ga* (8.15.). It might be suggested that the two functions (subordination and emphasis) have in common, or achieve their variable effects by, something like a process of rankshifting at different structural levels: as subordinator, *-ga* deemphasizes or expresses the dependent status of the clause in which it occurs to another; and as emphatic marker, *-ga* signals that that to which it is suffixed is highly salient. This remains a tentative proposal, for the nature of the commonality suggested is very general.

12.4.4. *Gila* ‘indeed’, ‘for indeed’

A further emphatic element, very difficult to distinguish in meaning contribution from *-ga*, is the (usually tone-group and clause-final) particle *gila*. Though this may often appropriately be glossed ‘really, indeed’, it often is clumsy and somewhat distorting to give it a lexical gloss at all. It expresses the speaker’s perspective that what precedes is noteworthy. It often corresponds fairly well to a Kriol element *tumaji* (Sandefur 1979), but at least sometimes without the causal nuance of meaning which the Kriol element may convey.

- (824) *wonggo* *yayinun-wo-n* *yinyang* *yi-welen* *gila*
 neg IRR1EXNSG-2SG-give-PRES 2SG-ABS YI-jealous-ABS EMPH

‘We can’t give her [a wife] to you, you’re too jealous!’.

- (825) *barrangardba* *wu-warringun* *ngo-ngorlogba-ny-ga* *gila*
 throat-ABS WU-bad-ABS 1SG-talk-PST-SUB EMPH

‘My throat was bad when I talked!’.

- (826) *nganinggin* *yibiwi* *yi-bujgun* *0-yana-rri* *ngayugu* *gila*
 1SG-ABS father-ABS YI-wild-ABS 3SG-say-PST 1SG-ABS EMPH

‘My father said “wild thing!” [of] me’.

- (827) *damin ngawun* *darang wurr-ga-ndi-ya* *jaburru-wu*
 here nothing rump-ABS 3NSG-wear-PST-NAR in front-DAT
yi-wad-biji *juba gila*
 YI-pubis-only-ABS shut EMPH
 ‘Here nothing on the rear they wore it in front
 only covered their pubes!’

12.5. Interjections and related forms

All of the forms described in this section can be used as interjections, that is, as independent utterances. A small number, however (see *ngawun* and *ngala* below) also occur in other speech functions.

12.5.1. *Gayawun* ‘wait, just a minute’

Etymologically, *gayawun* may be analyzed as composed of the root *gaya* ‘today, now’, and an adjectival, noun-forming ending *-wun* (~ *-gun*, see 9.4.). Literally glossed according to its etymology, the form means “relating to today, now”.

This word (which often occurs as *gayawun-bi*, with article suffix) fills the function of adverbial “still, yet, for awhile”, or “now” in relation to the clausal time-frame, as in the following two examples:

- (828) *nga-gaju-rri* *ngayugu* *nurrug-bulu*
 1SG-arise-PST 1SG-ABS 2NSG-PL-ABS
nurr-gurrgha-rri *nganunya* *gayawun-bi*
 2NSG-sleep-PST 1SG-DISS still-ART

‘Me, I’d [already] gotten up as for you,
 you were still sleeping on me’.

- (829) *yi-wad-wagbawun* *yi-wangany-wagbawun* *ngana-yu* *gayawun-bi*
 YI-pubis-lacking-ABS YI-armpit-lacking-ABS HT-3SG-be still-ART

‘She has no pubic [hair], no axillary [hair], let her be yet/for awhile’.

However, the implementation of the adverbial notion of “still” within the immediate speech situation — that is, “now” in relation to the moment of speaking — is realized with *gayawun* (or *gayawun-bi*), which here means ‘wait!, hang on!’, or the like, and may be used as an interjection.

- (830) A: *ngayin.gun-yonga-rri*
 3NSG/1INDU-farewell-PST
 B: *gayawun* *ngawun-yongi-we*
 wait 1SG/3NSG-farewell-FUT
 A: ‘They’ve said good-bye to the two of us’.
 B: ‘Hang on! I have to say goodbye to them!’

12.5.2. *Yilgbayi* ‘all right, enough’

Yilgbayi ‘all right, enough’, may be used as nominal quantifier, as adverb, and as interjection. As quantifier, it occurs in clausal “absolutive” case functions:

(831) *yilgbayi* *0-ngu-ndi* *jornog*
 enough 3SG-eat-PST full
 ‘He ate enough, right full’.

(832) *yilgbayi* *ya-0-jingi-n*
 enough 3-3SG-be-PRES
 ‘There is enough’.

(833) illustrates *yilgbayi* in adverbial function:

(833) *dily-ma* *0-ba-ndi* *yilgbayi*
 light-PS 3SG-AUX-PST all right
 ‘It burned/lit all right/successfully’.

(834) illustrates *yilgbayi* as interjection:

(834) *ngala* *yinyang* *yi-jornogba-rri*
 but 2SG-ABS 2SG-full up-PST
yilgbayi
 OK
 ‘But what about you, are you full?’
 ‘[I’m] OK’.

12.5.3. *Yawe* ‘yes’

The affirmative *yawe* is used either to answer a question posed by someone else, or (as also in English) to create a cohesive link within the text of a single speaker, by signalling that the text is about to proceed. Examples of both kinds follow. In the first, *yawe* is used within the text of a single speaker to represent a response in a narrated speech situation. In this segment of text, narrated by Elsie Raymond, she represents her grandmother as telling her a story of an early massacre; and herself, as listener many years ago, asking “Is that right?”, to which her grandmother replies, “Yes”.

(835) *yin.gun-bu-ndi-ya* *dan-ganung-ba* *galul*
 3NSG/1EXNSG-hit-PST-NAR this-COL-ABL up
wunggun-bu-ndi-ya *julugjulu-yi*
 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR hill rdp-ADV
ale
 is that right?

<i>yawe</i>			
yes			
<i>gurrū-ya</i>	<i>yi-jad</i>	<i>yi-naying-be</i>	<i>yiwun-yana-wan</i>
later-LOC	YI-big-ABS	2SG-AUX-RR-FUT	2SG/3NSG-say-DF
<i>wurrugu</i>	<i>madin</i>	<u><i>na</i></u>	
3NSG-DAT	word-ABS	[now]	

- G: “They shot us from this way, up, they shot along the hills”.
 E: “Is that right?”
 G: “Yes. Later, when you get big you tell them the story now”.

The second kind of function is not “response” either in the immediate speech situation or in a narrated one, but is a way in which the speaker carries the narrative flow forward and creates cohesion within the text.

(836)	<i>0-yanggi</i>	<i>lurrbu</i>	<i>bordordob</i>	<i>0-gengmū-yi-rrī</i>	<u><i>na</i></u>
	3SG-go-PST	home	gallop rdp	3SG-fear-RR-PST	[now]
	<i>jolbord-garr</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>mernden</i>	<i>yawe</i>	
	station-ALL	that-ABS	whitefella-ABS	yes	
	<i>wurr-(y)anggi</i>	<i>gunya</i>	<u><i>na</i></u>	<i>numbulan-min</i>	<u><i>na</i></u> <i>warduj-bi</i>
	3NSG-go-PST	3SG-DISS	[now]	that way-ADV	[now] vanish-ART

‘He went galloping back home, he was afraid, to the station, that white man. Yes, they went away from him now that way, and disappeared’.

12.5.4. *Ngawun* ‘no, nothing’

Ngawun means ‘nothing, none, no’. It is the interjection equivalent to “no”, or negative response.

(837)	<i>ngabulu</i>	<i>0-dagbarla-rrī</i>
	1SG-ABS	3SG-have-PST
	<i>ngayugu</i>	<i>ngawun</i> <i>gayawun-bi</i>
	1SG-ABS	nothing still-ART

‘She had breasts
 I still [had] none’.

Ngawun is often used as complement to the negator(s) *wonggo* (and *warna*), in the following sort of construction:

(838)	<i>nganinggin</i>	<i>yibiwi</i>	<i>wonggo</i>	<i>0-jarranbu-rrī-ya</i>
	1SG GEN-ABS	father-ABS	neg	3SG-look for-PST-NAR
	<i>nganu</i>	<i>ngawun</i>		
	1SG-DAT	no		

‘My father didn’t look for me, no’.

- (839) *birdij* *yi-gi-ndi*
 find 2SG-AUX-PST
ngawun
 no
 ‘Did you find it?’
 ‘No’.

12.5.5. *Nganayu* ‘let it be, no’

The word *nganayu* consists of Hortative prefix *ngana-* (8.8.), and the copula root *yu-*; thus, literally ‘let it be’. It is used in that etymological sense, that is, as predicator:

- (840) *gila* *wiya-yi* *merleng* *minyardin-biji* *ngana-yu*
 douse water-INST flame-ABS charcoal-ABS-only HT-3SG-be
 ‘Douse the flame with water, let only charcoal be [there]’.

Nganayu is also used in a way that is more loosely linked to its etymology, i.e. as interjection expressing dislike, disapproval or otherwise negation on the part of the speaker, and better glossed simply as ‘No [I won’t]’ or ‘No [I don’t like it]’, as in the following sort of exchange:

- (841) A: *ngarr-ya* *gangga-rlan*
 1INPL-go upriver-ALL
 B: *nganayu* (*wu-munburra-wagbawun*)
 no WU-money-lacking-ABS
 A: ‘Let’s go to town’ [upriver].
 B: ‘No [I won’t, I don’t want to] (no money/I have no money)’.

Thus *nganayu* may be a negative response to a predication, often as above a proposal, and may be taken to express ‘let it be’ concerning what is predicated. The person “not liking” is assumed to be the speaker, unless otherwise indicated. There is an explicit means for placing person in relation to this form, by means of the dative pronoun series: *nganayu nganu* ‘I don’t like it’, *nganayu yinggi* ‘you don’t like it’, *nganayu wurrugu* ‘they don’t like it’, and so forth. It is possible to form a complement in which the person “not liking” is also the agent of the action, with particle or nominalized verb form and the case suffix *-warr*:

- (842) *nganayu* *nganu* *ya-yi-warr*
 let it be 1SG-DAT go-NOM-ALL
 ‘I don’t want to go’.

If, however, another person is agent of the action, a negative irrealis verb form is used in a distinct clause:

- (843) *nganayu* *wonggo* *ya-yi-0-nyja*
 let it be neg IRR-3-3SG-go
 ‘No, he mayn’t go’ = ‘I don’t want him to go’.

12.5.6. *Gala-warda* ‘who knows? I don’t know’

The particle *gala* ‘try’ (12.2.3.) expresses uncertainty concerning an as-yet unrealized event, with different modulations of intentionality depending upon the “basic” paradigmatic form of the predicate. It was illustrated in examples (734) and (735) that the particle suffixed with indefinite *-warda* (7.5.8.) is used as response meaning “it’s uncertain”, or “I don’t know”. It may be clearly interjectional in that such a response may stand on its own, in relation of course to a previous conversational turn.

12.5.7. *Ngala*, emphatic confirmation

The conjunction *ngala* (12.3.3.) signals a break in relation to previous text. It may be either strongly adversative, equivalent to English “but”; or less strongly so, and often understood as a topic-changing “but what about?”.

There is a further interjectional use of *ngala*, as emphatic confirmation in response to a question. In the instances attested the polarity of such questions has been positive, as in the following exchange in which a woman speaker was recounting the taking away of her sister’s child by a welfare officer to the writer and another woman, B:

- (844) A: *wurr-gelewu-rri* *wurren* *nganinggin* *jongon* *gila*
 3NSG-send-PST child-ABS 1SG GEN-ABS north EMPH
0-yana-rri
 3SG-say-PST
- B: *lurle* *0-jingi-ndi* *go*
 cry 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
- A: *ngala*
 and how
- A: ‘“They’ve sent my child north!” she said.’
 B: ‘Did she cry for him?’
 A: ‘And how!’/‘Yes indeed!’

The break normally signalled by *ngala* applies interpersonally, within the speech situation, to create the most emphatic kind of confirmatory response. There is no necessary implication on the part of the respondent A that B thought the sister did NOT cry; rather, the sense is simply one of forceful confirmation.

12.5.8. *Gogo::*, *ngardiyi*, *juju:y* ‘good job!’

Three interjections which appear to be equivalent or approximately so are *gogo::*, *ngardiyi*, and *juju:y*, celebratory ‘good job!’, ‘good going’, and the like. All usually are said with lengthened vowel (:) which gives additional expressive force.

- (845) *birdij-ba* *yi-gi-ndi* *ngardiyi / gogo:*
 find-PS 2SG-AUX-PST hurrah hurrah
 ‘You’ve found it, hurray!’

An informant observed that either of the above could be expressed in other words as follows:

- (846) *birdij-ba* *yi-gi-ndi* *wu-man*
 find-PS 2SG-AUX-PST WU-good-ABS
 ‘You’ve found it, that’s good’.

An interjection which is also celebratory, but which has sometimes been found to be ironic, is *juju:y*. Used in this way, it would be best glossed as ‘good thing’ in the sense “serves you right!”:

- (847) *juju:y* *yi-we-ndi-ya* *yi-gulan-wagbawun*
 good 2SG-fall-PST-NAR YI-ear-lacking-ABS
 ‘Serves you right you fell down, [you have] no sense’.

However, it apparently need not be ironic, and may thus be very similar to *gogo:* and *ngardiyi*. At least the latter and *juju:y* have been found with particle suffix, and used in a particle plus AUX kind of construction:

- (848) *ya-0-na-n* *layin* *wurr-me-ndi* *ngarrugu*
 3-3SG-see-PRES meat-ABS 3NSG-get-PST 1INPL-DAT
duy-ma *ngardiyi-ma* *yi-da-n*
 heap-PS celebrate-PS 1EXNSG-see-PRES
 ‘He sees meat is cooking, they got a lot for us, we see it joyfully/with praise!’

- (849) *0-me-ndi* *ngarrugu* *layin*
 3SG-get-PST 1INPL-DAT meat-ABS
0-me-ndi *ngarrugu* *nga-dewerrma-warra*
 3SG-get-PST 1INPL-DAT 1INPL-hungry-PRES-ADV
wuwunyjug *ngarr-(y)ana* *go* *jujuy-ma*
 cause 1INPPL-AUX 3SG-DAT celebrate-PS
 ‘He got meat for us
 he got it for us just when we’re hungry
 so we’re saying “good on you” to him’.

12.5.9. *Baway* ‘come’ and *gaba* ‘come on’

The unanalyzable interjection *baway* means ‘over here, come on’. In the text where people out looking for water in a dry area come upon a supply, they shout to others as follows:

(850) *baway* *dan-bi-wi* *yi-jad*
 come on this-ART-ART YI-big-ABS

‘Come on, right here there is a lot [of water]!’.

While *baway* may thus be equivalent to an imperative verb, the particle *gaba* always precedes one, and seems to be a verbal gesture, having a hailing and beckoning sense. See (796) above for an illustration, with *gaba bega lawu* ‘hey come and get tobacco!’ It is most common followed by an imperative form of *nyanga-* ‘come’: *gaba nyanga* ‘hey come on!’, ‘hey come here!’ ‘come on over here’.

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9. *yi-na-rri* *nana* *julu*
 2SG-see-PST that-ABS hill-ABS
 you've seen that hill?
10. *brom* *mardird-ja* *jade*
 [from] [place] [Eng.]
 that way from Mardird-ja?
11. *dawu-rlan* *yi-jingi-n*
 that way-ALL 2SG-sit-PRES
 you are that way
12. *darni* *wurrugu* *galul*
 yonder-ABS 3NSG-DAT up
 yonder on top from them
13. *dawu-rlan*
 that way-ALL
 that way
14. *julu* *darni*
 hill-ABS yonder-ABS
 the hill yonder
15. *gal-ma* *ngarranggi*
 climb-PS 1INPL-go-PST
 we climbed up
16. *gaya*
 now
 today
17. *nan-ba-wan* *barrwa-rlan* *nga-da-rri* *dawu-rlan* *na*
 that-ABL-DF down-ALL 1INPL-see-PST that way-ALL [now]
 from there we looked down that way now
18. *nan-ba-wan* *na*
 that-ABL-DF [now]
 from that way now
19. *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-wuya* *mulurru-wuya-yi*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-DU old woman-DU-ERG
 the two old women used to take me

20. *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *nganu* *buda*
 3NSG-get-PST 1SG-DAT black plum-ABS
 they used to get black plum for me
21. *goyin*
 honey-ABS
 and honey
22. *mayi-wagbawun*
 vegetable food-lacking-ABS
 there was no tucker [i.e., no rations]
23. *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-wuya* *baraj*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-DU far
 the two of them used to take me far
24. *wudu-wan*
 little-DF
 when I was little
25. *yanima-n* [INTERJECTION]
 thus-ABS
 like that
26. *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-wuya::* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-DU
 they used to take me
27. *nganbu-dagbarla-rri-ya* *lege-ya*
 3NSG/1SG-have-PST-NAR one-LOC
 they used to keep me in one place
28. *buda* *wangi*
 black plum-ABS only
 only black plum
29. *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *nganu* *buda* *ngayugu* *du*
 3NSG-get-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT black plum-ABS 1SG-ABS [too]
 they used to get black plum for me. Me too ...
30. [*ngayugu* *nonggo* *nga-me-ndi-ya*]
 1SG-ABS also 1SG-get-PST-NAR
 I too used to get it

41. *wurr-ginye-rriya* *na:* *ma-jungang*
 3NSG-cook-PST-NAR [now] MA-cooked-ABS
 they cooked it now thoroughly
42. *mog-ba* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *na*
 smell-PS 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR [now]
 it was good-smelling
43. *nana* *buda* *yingilga* *na*
 that-ABS black plum-ABS juice-ABS [now]
 that black plum juice
44. *gig* *nganbu-da-rriya-wiya* *gig* *yiwangayn-garr*
 rub 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU rub armpit-ALL
 they put it on me, rubbed it on my armpits
45. [*yiwad-gu*]
 pubis-DAT
 for [my] pubis
46. *gig* *nganburr-wo-ndi-ya-wiya* [INTERJECTION]
 rub? 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU
 the two of them rubbed it on me
47. *yi-meleman-gu*
 YI-black-DAT
 to blacken it
48. *mulurru-wuya-yi*
 old woman-DU-ERG
 the two old women
49. *gig gig ngamandaga-warra mayi-warra buda-warra yingilga-warra*
 rub rub what-ADV vegetable-ADV plum-ADV juice-ADV
 rubbed and rubbed with what, with the juice of black plum
50. *nganbu-dagbarla-rriya:*
 3NSG/1SG-have-PST-NAR
 they kept me
51. *nganinggin* *yibiwi* *wonggo* *0-jarrambu-rriya* *nganu*
 mine-ABS father-ABS neg 3SG-search-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT
 my father didn't look for me

52. *ngawun*
no
no
53. *ngan-gelewu-rri-ya*
3SG/1SG-send-PST-NAR
he sent me
54. *yiwun-gomarla* *mulurru-wuya*
2SG/3NSG-follow old woman-DU
you follow the two old women
55. *madin* *wurr-yana-rri-ya* *nganu* *na*
word-ABS 3NSG-say-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT [now]
they talked to me / gave me knowledge
56. *nawurla*
[ss]
nawurla?
57. *e*
what
huh?
58. *dan-ganung-ba* *mernde-yi* *wunggun-bu-ndi-ya*
this-COL-ABL white-ERG 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR
from around here white men shot them
59. *yin.gun-bu-ndi-ya:*
3NSG/1EXNSG-hit-PST-NAR
they shot us
60. *muyirr-ma*
muster-PS
mustered [us]
61. *dawu-rlan* *beye-rlen*
that way-ALL downriver-ALL
from that way downriver
62. *yuluy-wa*
[place]-ABL
from Yuluy

63. *dan-ya* *na* *wunggun-bu-ndi* *mernde-yi*
 this-LOC [now] 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST white-ERG
 here now white men shot them
64. *yuluy*
 [place]
 at Yuluy
65. *guyamin*
 two-ABS
 two
66. *ngabobu* *nganinggin*
 FM-ABS mine-ABS
 my father's mothers
67. *ngorlog-ba-wu* *wud-jingi-ndi-ya-marla* *nganu*
 talk-PS-DAT 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR-ITER 1SG-DAT
 they used to talk to me
68. *nangala*
 [ss]
 nangala [i.e., the recorder]
69. *ngorlog-ba* *wud-jingi-ndi-ya-marla* *nganu* *nan-guya*
 talk-PS 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR-ITER 1SG-DAT that-DU-ABS
mulurru-wuya:
 old woman-DU-ABS
 they used to talk to me, those two old women
70. *ngayugu* *worloba*
 1SG-ABS awake
 and I awake
71. *ngorlogba* *yu no*
 talk-PS [you know]
 talking you know
72. *ngorlogba-ya-wa:n* *mugurn* *nganburr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya* *na*
 talk-LOC-DF sleep 2NSG/1SG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU [now]
 in talking the two of them put me to sleep now

73. *bujgun* *nganburr-yana-rri-ya* *yugurni* *wirrig-(g)u-min*
 wild-ABS 3NSG/1SG-talk-PST-NAR more tomorrow-DAT-ADV
yi-bujgun
 YI-wild-ABS
 wild people, they didn't talk more to me, until tomorrow, wild people
74. *wunggun-bu-ndi-yawu*
 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR
 they shot them
75. *burrugawi* *mernde-yi*
 long ago white-ERG
 long ago the white men
76. *dang-ganung*
 yonder-COL-ABS
 those over yonder
77. *wonggo* *nganburr-yana-rri-ya-wuya* *nga-gurrgba-rri-ya* *na*
 not 3NSG/1SG-say-PST-NAR-DU 1SG-sleep-PST-NAR [now]
 they didn't talk to me, I slept now
78. *mugurn* *ngayugu*
 sleep 1SG-ABS
 I was asleep
79. *jilig* *nganburr-me-ndi-ya* *jilig* *nawurla* *nawurla* *ngawun*
 wake 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST-NAR wake [ss] [ss] no
na *mugurn* *na*
 [now] sleep [now]
 they shook me, shook me, 'Nawurla, nawurla', nothing, I was asleep now
80. *alibala* *nga-gaju-rri-ya*
 [early] 1SG-rise-PST-NAR
 early in the morning I got up
81. *gej* *ngawun-gi-ndi-ya* [INTERJECTION]
 ask 1SG/3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 I asked them
82. *nganburr-yana-wuya* *madin*
 3NSG/1SG-say-DU language-ABS
 you tell me

83. *nganburr-yana-rri-ya-wuya* *madin* *na*
 3NSG/1SG-say-PST-NAR-DU word-ABS [now]
 they talked to me now
84. *yo yin.gun-bu-ndi-ya* *mernde-yi* *yin.gun-bu-ndi-ya*
 yes 3SG/1EXNSG-hit-PST-NAR white-ERG 3SG/1EXNSG-hit-PST-NAR
dan-ganung-ba *galul* *wunggun-bu-ndi-ya* *julugjuluyin*
 this-COL-ABL up 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR hill rdp
 yes, white men shot us, they shot us from here, they shot us up along the hills
85. *ale*
 is that so
 is that so?
86. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
87. *gurru-ya* *yi-jad* *yi-naying-be* *yiwun-yana-wan*
 later-LOC YI-big-ABS 2SG-AUX-RR-FUT 2SG/3NSG-say-DF
wurrugu *madin* *na*
 3NSG-DAT word-ABS [now]
 later on when you get big you tell them the story now
88. *buj* *ngan-ga-ndi-ya* *nganinggin-yi* *ngabobu-yi*
 [bush] 3SG/1SG-take-PST-NAR mine-ERG FM-ERG
 my father's mother took me camping out
89. *guyamin* *jadede* *nganinggin* *yibiwi* *0-lu-rri-ya*
 two-ABS [Saturday] mine-ABS father-ABS 3SG-cry-PST-NAR
nganu *na*
 1SG-DAT [now]
 for two Saturdays, my father was crying for me now
90. *mejern* *moyin-ma* *0-jingi-ndi* *luyurr-ma* *na*
 stomach-ABS worry-PS 3SG-AUX-PST cry-PS [now]
 [INTERJECTION]
 he was worrying and grieving for me now
91. *marluga* *gagung*
 old man-ABS FF-ABS
 old man grandfather

92. *berru*
[name]
Berru
93. *nana* *mulurru* *0-dagbarla-ny-ga* *nganinggin* *ngabobu*
that-ABS old woman-ABS 3SG-have-PST-SUB mine-ABS FM-ABS
who had that old woman, my father's mother [i.e. was married to her]
94. *0-gelewu-rri-ya* *na* *nana* *marluga*
3SG-send-PST-NAR [now] that-ABS old man-ABS
he sent that old man now
95. *nawurla* *lurrbu* *yiwun-di-mulu*
[ss]-ABS home 2SG/3NSG-bring-NSG
you bring them all home including Nawurla
96. *jarrambu* *0-nyanga-ndi-ya* *marluga* *mayi-warra-yi* *gila*
look for 3SG-come-PST-NAR old man-ABS food-ADV-ADV indeed
so the old man came with food
97. *mayin* *layin* *kon bif juga* *marranyin*
food-ABS meat-ABS [corned beef, sugar] sand-ABS
yarlarrg *0-ni-rri-ya* *yirrigu*
tealeaf-ABS 3SG-bring-PST-NAR 1EXRG-DAT
he brought food, meat, corned beef , sugar and tealeaf for us
98. *jarrambu* *layin* *wayana*
look for meat-ABS and all
[came] searching, with meat and all
99. *yirrug-bulu* *yirr-ngu-ndi-ya* *buda-biji* *goyin*
1EXNSG-PL-ABS 1EXNSG-cat-PST-NAR plum-ABS-only honey-ABS
as for us, we were eating only plum and honey
100. *jarrug*
egg-ABS
and eggs
101. *ngamandaga-wu*
what-INDEF-DAT
of what's it

111. *yi-jad-wan* *yi-na-ying-be*
 YI-big-ABS-DF 2SG-AUX-RR-FUT
 and when you get big
112. *wonggo* *yigulan* *yini-we-n*
 neg ear-ABS 2SGIRR-AUX-PRES
 you mustn't forget
113. *ngorlog-ba* *jingi* *wurrugu*
 talk-PS AUX 3NSG-DAT
 talk to them
114. *nganinggin* *mulurru* *yibarnang*
 mine-ABS old woman-ABS aunt-ABS
 old woman my aunt
115. *ngabobu* *nganinggin*
 FM-ABS mine-ABS
 [and] my father's mother
116. *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya-marla* *wabaja* *guyamin-yi*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR-ITER vanish two-ERG
mulurru-wuya-yi [INTERJECTION]
 old woman-DU-ERG
 used to take me right away, the two old women
117. *wonggo* *lege* *miwinin*
 not one-ABS sleep-ABS
 not [just] for one night's camp
118. *guyamin* *jadede-wuya*
 two [Saturday]-DU
 for two Saturdays
119. *yijarlu-warr*
 some-ALL
 sometimes
120. *nganburr-ga-ndi-ya* *murrgun* *jadede* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-NAR three [Saturday]
 they took me [for] three Saturdays

121. *murrgun* *jadede-mulu*
 three-ABS [Saturday]-PL-ABS
 three Saturdays
122. *yid-jingi-ndi-ya::* *jarrug-wan* *yirr-me-ndi-ya* *jamam*
 1EXNSG-sit-PST-NAR egg-ABS-DF 1EXNSG-get-PST-NAR full
jamam *yibumbu-gari* *yibumbu-gari* [INTERJECTION]
 full-ABS billy-other-ABS billy-other-ABS
 we stayed and got eggs full up, one billy can after the other
123. *jarrug* *go* *na* *galawarra-wu*
 egg-ABS 3SG-DAT [now] pigeon-DAT
 the eggs of the spinifex pigeon
124. *na-man* *gabbarri* *jarrug* *go* *bawl eg* *marrajbi*
 MA-good-ABS too egg-ABS 3SG-DAT [fowl egg] like
 it's good too, like fowl eggs
125. *wurr-ginye-rri-ya* *nganu* *burrngburrng-ma* *na*
 3NSG-cook-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT boil-PS [now]
 they boiled them for me
126. *boilim* *na* *wurr-ginye-rri-ya* *nganu*
 [boiled them] [now] 3NSG-cook-PST-NAR 1SG-DAT
 they boiled them for me
127. *yibumbu-ya*
 billy-LOC
 in the billy
128. *nga-ginye-rri-ya* *ma-jungang* *nga-ngu-ndi-ya* *na*
 1SG-cook-PST-NAR MA-cooked-ABS 1SG-eat-PST-NAR [now]
 I cooked them thoroughly and ate them
129. *magulu* *mandagan* *nga-yana*
 yam-ABS what-INDEF 1SG-say-PRES
 what sort of yam {am I saying?}
130. *buda* *nga-ngu-ndi-yawu* *girdibun*
 plum-ABS 1SG-eat-PST-NAR finish
 I ate up the plums

131. *nga-ngu-ndi-ya* *nana* *jarrug* *na*
 1SG-eat-PST-NAR that-ABS egg-ABS [now]
 and I ate the eggs now
132. *jarrug* *nga-ngu-ndi-ya:* *worroman*
 egg-ABS 1SG-eat-PST-NAR fast
 I ate the eggs up quickly
133. *jugjug* *wagayma* *go* *jarrug*
 [chook] like 3SG-DAT egg-ABS
 like chook [chicken] eggs
134. *yanima-n*
 thus-ABS
 like that
135. *nga-ngu-ndi-ya:* *girdibun*
 1SG-eat-PSR-NAR finish
 I ate it up
136. *goyin-wan* *nga-ngu-ndi-ya* *girdibun*
 honey-ABS-DF 1SG-eat-PST-NAR finish
 and I ate up the honey
137. *mugurn* *nga-gurrgba-rri-ya*
 lie 1SG-AUX-PST-NAR
 and lay down to sleep
138. *alibala* *mulurru-yi* *ngan-ga-ndi-ya*
 [early] old woman-ERG 3SG/1SG-take-PST-NAR
 early in the morning the old woman took me
139. *barnag-barnang-nyi*
 aunt rdp-ERG
 my auntie
140. *ngabobu* *nganinggin* *duba* *0-jingi-ndi-ya*
 FM-ABS mine-ABS sit 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR
 my grandmother stayed put
141. *ga* *ga* *nana* *wurren* *nu-jarrambu-wuya* *magulu-wu*
 take take that-ABS child-ABS 2NSG-look-DU yam-DAT
 take the child, you two go look for cheeky yam

142. *magulu-wan yirr-anggi-ya-wuya jarrambu na*
 yam-DAT 1EXNSG-go PST-NAR-DU search [now]
 and the two of us went around looking for cheeky yam now
143. *yirrgulu*
 river
 riverine [yam]
144. *gej-ba nga-gi-ndi nulurru*
 ask-PS 1SG-AUX-PST old woman-ABS
 I asked the old lady
145. *barnag barnang*
 aunt rdp-ABS
 ‘auntie?’
146. *gun.garr-warri magulu*
 what kind of-NOM yam-ABS
 ‘what sort of thing is *magulu*?’
147. *gaba gaba nyanga jurd nga-bu-wa yinggi*
 hey hey come show 1SG-AUX-FUT 2SG-DAT
 ‘hey, come on, I’ll show you’
148. *ngan-ga-ndi 0-na-rri magulu dibid-ba*
 3SG/1SG-take-PST 3SG-see-PST yam-ABS entwine-PS
0-bu-ny-ga yumin
 3SG-AUX-PST-SUB tree-ABS
 she took me and spotted a yam wrapped around a tree
149. *dana-ni-wan 0-yana-rri nganu*
 this-ART-DF 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT
 ‘it’s this one’, she said to me
150. *buju na*
 dig [now]
 ‘dig it now’
151. *nga-buju-rri na*
 1SG-dig-PST [now]
 I dug now

162. *lurrbu* *yirr-ga-ndi-wuya*
back 1EXNSG-take-PST-DU
and we took them back home
163. *jerr-ya* *wurr-ginye-rri-ya* *mulurru-wuya-yi* [INTERJECTION]
oven-LOC 3NSG-cook-PST-NAR old woman-DU-ERG
the two old ladies cooked them in a ground oven
164. *wonggo* *yijarlu* *wurren* *wunggunburr-ga-ndi-ya*
not some-ABS child-ABS 3NSG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR
oni *ngayugu-biji* *wurren* *lege-yi*
[only] 1SG-only child-ABS one-ADV
they didn't take other children, only me, one child
165. *jerr-ya* *mun-guya* *wurr-ginye-rri:* *girdibun*
oven-LOC cover-DU 3NSG-cook-PST finish
in the oven the two of them covered and cooked it
166. *ma-jungang*
MA-cooked-ABS
til it was done
167. *wurr-ga-ndi-wuya* *yirrgulu-warr*
3NSG-take-PST-DU river-ALL
the two of them took it to the river
168. *low-ma* na *wurr-me-ndi-ya-wuya* *ma-warlam* *wiya-ya*
strip-PS [now] 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU MA-skin-ABS water-LOC
they stripped off the skins in the water now
169. *ma-warlam* *low-ma* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya* *lijarri-ya*
MA-skin-ABS strip-PS 3NSG-put-PST-NAR-DU corkwood-LOC
they stripped and put the skins in corkwood [coolamon]
170. *gawarla-ya*
coolamon-LOC
in a carrying dish
171. *gulimon*
[coolamon]
a coolamon

172. *wurr-gi-ndi-ya* *lijarri-ya* *girdibun*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR corkwood-LOC finish
 they put all of it in a carrying dish
173. *yi-nebel*
 YI-shoulder bone-ABS
 a shoulder bone
174. *gangma-wunba* *yi-nebel*
 kangaroo-SOU YI-shoulder bone-ABS
 the shoulder bone of a kangaroo
175. *wu-dagbarla-rri-ya* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-have-PST-NAR
 they had
176. *wurr-belwu-rri* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-slice-PST
 they sliced it
177. *wurr-belwu-rri-ya:* *girdibun*
 3NSG-slice-PST-NAR finish
 they sliced it all
178. *wolon* *barlbarlb* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya* *gunga*
 grass-ABS inside 3NSG-put-PST-NAR-DU 3SG-DAT
 and they put grass underneath it
179. *yi-munburra* *nordno:rd* *wolon* *barlba:lrb*
 YI-stone-ABS heap rdp grass-ABS under
 heaped up stones, and put grass underneath
180. *wurr-ga-ndi-ya* *nana* *magulu* *na* *dun* *wiya-ya*
 3NSG-take-PST-NAR that-ABS yam-ABS [now] tip water-LOC
 they carried the yam now and tipped it into the water
181. *ni:dni:dni:d* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya* *na*
 [noise] 3NSG-put-PST-NAR-DU [now]
 ‘nidni:d’, they put it now [i.e., made sound of cicada, allusion is to myth of
 how *gumurlurlun* ‘cockroach’ spoiled *magulu* ‘cheeky yam’ for *nidban*
 ‘cicada’ q.v.]

182. *ni:dni:d* *wurr-yana-rri* *na*
 [noise] 3NSG-say-PST [now].
 'nidni:d', they said now
183. *wurr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya* *wiya-ya* *girdibun*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR-DU water-LOC finish
 they put it all in the water
184. *dij-bi* *0-jingi-ndi* *na*
 one day-ART 3SG-be-PST [now]
 it stayed for one day now
185. *alibala-yi* *na*
 [early]-ADV [now]
 and early the next morning
186. *yibumbu* *yanima-n* *joy* *nganburr-wo-ndi-ya-wuya*
 billy-ABS thus-ABS give 3NSG/1SG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU
wu-jad
 WU-big-ABS
 they gave me a big billycan like this
187. *wu-garlarl*
 WU-clean-ABS
 a clean one
188. *raun* *na* *mayin* *na* *yinggi*
 [round] [now] food-ABS [now] 2SG-DAT
 round food now, that food of yours
189. *ngamanda-gan* *na*
 what's-it-INDEF [now]
 what's-it now
190. *megerrin* *na*
 MA-mild-ABS [now]
 it is mild now
191. *mayin* *yinggi*
 food-ABS 2SG-DAT
 your food

192. *yirr-anggi* *yirrgulu-warr* *yani* *nga-na-rri-ya* *yawe*
 1EXNSG-go-PST river-ALL thus 1SG-see-PST-NAR yes
 we went to the river, I saw it like that, yes
193. *nga-ngu-ndi-ya* *yani*
 1SG-eat-PST-NAR thus
 I ate it that way
194. *ngawun* *na* *me-menje-wagbawun*
 nothing [now] MA-bitter-lacking-ABS
 it wasn't bitter
195. *nga-gi-ndi-ya* *wiyan* *bog* *nga-me-ndi-ya*
 1SG-put-PST-NAR water-ABS dip 1SG-get-PST-NAR
 I put water, I dipped up water
196. *nga-gi-ndi-ya::* *jarrgarl*
 1SG-put-PST-NAR full-ABS
 I filled it up
197. *jamam*
 full-ABS
 right full
198. *yibumbu-gari* *jamam*
 billy-other-ABS full-ABS
 and another billy, full
199. *yibumbu-gari* *jamam*
 billy-other-ABS full-ABS
 and another billy, full
200. *mulurru-wuya* *wurrugu* *ngajbang-guya-yi*
 old woman-DU-ABS 3NSG-DAT self-DU-ADV
 the old women, theirs separately
201. *nganinggin* *nganu* *ngajbang-bi*
 mine-ABS 1SG-DAT self-ART
 and mine by itself
202. *wudu-ya-yi* *yibumbu-ya*
 little-LOC-ADV billy-LOC
 in a little billy

203. *wurr-ngu-ndi-ya:-wiya* *wurr-waja-rri* *nganu* *na* *ap*
 3NSG-eat-PST-NAR-DU 3NSG-leave-PST 1SG-DAT [now] [half]
nganinggin *badbad* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya*
 mine-ABS cover 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 the two of them ate and left me a little bit, they covered up mine
204. *badbad*
 cover
 covered it up
205. *nga-ngu-ndi-ya* *wonggo* *bred* *wonggo* *damba* *ngawun*
 1SG-eat-PST-NAR not [bread] not [damper] no
 I ate, there was no bread and no damper, no
206. *dan-ganung* *goyin* [INTERJECTION]
 this-COL-ABS honey-ABS
 these things, honey
207. *magulu-biji*
 yam-only
 and cheeky yam only
208. *buda*
 plum-ABS
 black plum
209. *en* *jarrug* *go* *nan-gu* *galawarra-wu* *lany-gu*
 [and] egg-ABS 3SG-DAT that-DAT pigeon-DAT meat-DAT
 and the eggs of the spinifex pigeon
210. *nana-wunyin*
 that-ABS-SPEC
 just that
211. *mayi-wagbawun*
 food-lacking-ABS
 there was no food/rations
212. *ngayugu* *yi-jad* *nga-jingi-ndi-ya* *wagayma* *livia*
 1SG-only YI-big-ABS 1SG-be-PST-NARR like [Livia]
 I was like Livia

213. *ngarra lurrbu gagung 0-nyanga-ndi-ya yirrigu*
 1INPL-go back FF-ABS 3SG-come-PST-NAR 1EXNSG-DAT
mayi-warang
 food-having-ABS
 let's go home, grandfather came back to us with food
214. *marluga*
 old man-ABS
 old man
215. *berru*
 [name]-ABS
 Berru
216. *0-nyanga-ndi-ya yirrigu: dami*
 3SG-come-PST-NAR 1EXNSG-DAT yonder-ABS
 came to us over yonder
217. *nganun-ga-wa lurrbu-wan na jabarda ya-0-lun*
 1SG/2NSG-take-FUT home-DF [now] [ss] 3-3SG-cry-PRES
gunga wurre-wu
 3SG-DAT child-DAT
 I'll have to take you back now, jabarda [i.e., Elsie's father] is crying for the child
218. *0-yana-rri go mulurru-wu*
 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT old woman-DAT
 he said to the old woman
219. *yingawuyu go*
 spouse-ABS 3SG-DAT
 her 'wife' [i.e., sister-in-law, in English terms]
220. *ngabobu-wu nganinggin-gu*
 FM-DAT mine-DAT
 of my father's mother
221. *jweg ga ga yirrigu den jaburru*
 [swag] take take 1EXNSG-DAT hang ahead
 you take our swags ahead and hang them up
222. *jweg 0-ga-ndi yirrigu peghoj-barra na*
 [swag] 3SG-take-PST 1EXNSG-DAT [packhorse]-ADV [now]
 he took our swags with the packhorse

223. *marluga* *peghoj-barra* *0-ga-ndi* *yirrigu* *jweg*
 old man-ABS [packhorse]-ADV 3SG-take-PST 1EXNSG-DAT [swag]
girdibun
 finish
 the old man took all our swags with the packhorse
224. *buy* *0-ga-ndi*
 away 3SG-take-PST
 he took it
225. *yirrig-bulu* *buda-warang* *gajigaji* *yirr-anggi-ya*
 1EXNSG-PL-ABS plum-having-ABS walk 1EXNSG-go-PST
go *jumbamba*
 3SG-DAT behind rdp.
 as for us, we walked behind him with the plums
226. *yirr-anggi* *wu-da-rri-wuya* *walanja*
 1EXNSTG-go-PST 3NSG-see-PST-DU goanna-ABS
 we went, and the two of them saw a goanna
227. *mulurru*
 old woman-ABS
 old woman
228. *andi*
 [auntie]
 auntie
229. *yibarnang* *nganu*
 aunt-ABS 1SG-DAT
 my aunt
230. *walanja* *0-bu-ndi*
 goanna-ABS 3SG-hit-PST
 she killed the goanna
231. *juba-warr*
 shut-ALL
 shut inside [its hole]
232. *0-buju-rri* *walanja* *mulurru-yi* *mordorl*
 3SG-dig-PST goanna-ABS old woman-ERG tail-ABS
 the old woman dug the goanna, the tail

233. *yirr* *0-me-ndi*
 pull 3SG-AUX-PST
 she pulled it
234. *deb* *0-bu-ndi*
 knock 3SG-hit-PST
 and bashed it
235. *yirr-anggi* *yugurni* *na*
 1EXNSG-go-PST again [now]
 we went again now
236. *0-na-rri* *yiwarna-gari* *walanja-gari*
 3SG-see-PST other-other-ABS goanna-other-ABS
 and she saw another goanna
237. *0-buju-rri* *mordorl* *0-me-ndi*
 3SG-dig-PST tail-ABS 3SG-take-PST
 she dug and pulled the tail
238. *yirr*
 pull
 pulled it
239. *deb*
 knock
 whack!
240. *0-bu-ndi*
 3SG-hit-PST
 she hit it
241. *bo* *yanima* *na* *bobala*
 [four] thus [now] [four]
 four like that, four
242. *yi-jad*
 YI-big-ABS
 big ones
243. *ngawurnen* *guyamin-bi* *guyamin-bi*
 many two-ART two-ART
 two and two

244. *ngawurnen*
many
a lot of them
245. *yirr-ga-ndi* *dina* *na* *yirr-ngu-ndi*
1EXNSG-take-PST [dinner] [now] 1EXNSG-eat-PST
we took them and ate dinner now
246. *yirr-ngu-ndi-wan* *mayin* *gila*
1EXNSG-eat-PST-DF food-ABS indeed
and we ate vegetable food
247. *ngamanda* *layin* *nana* *walanja*
what-ABS meat-ABS that-ABS goanna-ABS
what kind of game, the goanna
248. *lege* *walanja* *nga-ga-ndi* *go* *yidinen-bi*
one-ABS goanna-ABS 1SG-take-PST 3SG-DAT whole-ART
nganinggin-gu *yibiwi-wu*
mine-DAT father-DAT
one goanna I took for him whole, for my father
249. *wa:rnarrin*
fat-ABS
and fat!
250. *o* *ngawun-juunyn*
oh nothing-really
oh, really none! [i.e., a great deal]
251. *yirr-ga-ndi* *na*
1EXNSG-take-PST [now]
we took it
252. *yirr-anggi-ya* *gila*
1EXNSG-go-PST-NAR indeed
and we kept going
253. *laglan* *lurrbu* *lagla-warr*
camp home camp-ALL
home to camp

254. *galul na* [INTERJECTION]
 up [now]
 up now
255. *yerriyin*
 [place]
 to Yerriyin [name of Old Delamere]
256. *nganburr-ga-ndi-wuya*
 3NSG/1SG-take-PST-DU
 the two of them took me
257. *lurrbu* [INTERJECTION]
 home
 home
258. *ngamanda nana laglan* [INTERJECTION]
 what-ABS that-ABS camp-ABS
 what's that place
259. *alibala nge-nge-ndi yinggi ngilg-ba* [INTERJECTION]
 [early] 1SG-call-PST 2SG-DAT name-PS
 that I named for you this morning
260. *wonggo yerriyin*
 not [place]
 not Yerriyin
261. *yerriyin-ba*
 [place]-ABL
 from Yerriyin
262. *buj-ba na* [INTERJECTION]
 [bush]-ABL [now]
 from the bush...
263. *yawe wonggo yirr-anggi* [INTERJECTION]
 yes not 1EXNSG-go-PST
 we didn't go
264. *lurrbu-wan yirr-anggi yerriyin-garr*
 back-DF 1EXNSG-go-PST [place]-ALL
 and we went back to Yerriyin

265. *lagla-warr*
camp-ALL
to camp
266. *lurrbu* *yirr-anggi*
home 1EXNSG-go-PST
we went back
267. *a* *nawurla* *wu-di-rri-wuya* *nulurru-wuya-yi*
oh [ss]-ABS 3NSG-bring-PST-DU old woman-DU-ERG
oh, the two old women have brought Nawurla back!
268. *0-yana-rri* *wurrugu* *marluga*
3SG-say-PST 3NSG-DAT old man-ABS
the old man said to them
269. *alo im rekan*
[hello him reckon]
'Hello!' he said
270. *nganinggin* *yibiwi*
mine-ABS father-ABS
my father
271. *yibujgun* *im rekan* [INTERJECTION]
wild-ABS [him reckon]
'[you] wild thing', he said
272. *ngayugu* *gila*
1SG-ABS indeed
about me, that is
273. *yi-meleman* *na* *gonjo-warang*
YI-black-ABS [now] dirt-having-ABS
I was black now, covered with dirt
274. *yi-meleman* [INTERJECTION]
YI-black-ABS
black
275. *dati baga*
[dirty bugger]
dirty bugger

287. *yawe* [INTERJECTION]
yes
'Yes'.
288. *yi-jad-junuyn nga-na-yi-rri yi-jad gunga wagayma jesin*
YI-big-really 1SG-AUX-RR-PST YI-big 3SG-DAT like [Jason]
I had really grown, bigger than him, like Jason
289. *ngabulu-wagbawun ngawun* [INTERJECTION]
milk-lacking-ABS no
I didn't have breasts, no
290. *wonggo ngabulu nga-dagbarla-rri ngawun*
not breast-ABS 1SG-have-PST no
I didn't have breasts, no
291. *wangi nganinggin yiyaja ngabulu-warang*
only mine-ABS sister-ABS breast-having-ABS
only my elder sister had breasts
292. *yi-jad wurren*
YI-big-ABS child-ABS
[she was] a big child
293. *ngabulu 0-dagbarla-rri*
breast-ABS 3SG-have-PST
she had breasts
294. *ngayugu ngawun gayawun-bi*
1SG-ABS no still-ART
I still did not
295. *ngarr-ga-wa na*
1INPL-take-FUT [now]
'let's take her now'
296. *yimarnany-garr*
husband-ALL
'to her husband'
297. *0-yana-rri*
3SG-say-PST
he said

298. *nganinggin* *yibiwi*
mine-ABS father-ABS
my father
299. *nganburr-ga-ndi* *go* *nan-gu* *marluga-wu*
3NSG/1SG-take-PST 3SG-DAT that-DAT old man-DAT
they took me to that old man
300. *0-ngegba-ny-ga* *delimiya*
3SG-die-PST-SUB [Delamere]
who died at Delamere
301. *nganburr-ga-ndi*
3NSG/1SG-take-PST
they took me
302. *weleru-warr*
[Willeroo]-ALL
to Willeroo
303. *ngen-nge-ny-ga* *gin.gina-yi* *yinggi*
3SG/2SG-call-PST-SUB [name]-ERG 2SG-DAT
the one Gin.gina named to you
304. *mobonyi* *yinggiya-gula*
evening who-ABS-EMP
last night. Who is that now?
305. *bili mak* [INTERJECTION]
[Billy Muck]
Billy Muck
306. *nan-garr*
that-ALL
to him
307. *nganburr-ga-ndi::* *marrit*
3NSG/1SG-take-PST [married]
they took me [to be] married
308. *nganburr-wo-ndi* *na*
3NSG/1SG-give-PST [now]
they gave me to him now

309. *ngayugu* *nganburr-gi-ndi*
 1SG-ABS 3NSG/1SG-put-PST
 they put me
310. *yi-jeyeman* *nganu*
 YI-promise-ABS 1SG-DAT
 [with] my promised husband
311. *ngayugu* *nganburr-gi-ndi* *go* *nan-gu* *marluga-wu*
 1SG-ABS 3NSG/1SG-put-PST 3SG-DAT that-DAT old man-DAT
 they put me [there] for that old man
312. *gijigban*
 [name]
 Gijigban [i.e., his Aboriginal name]
313. *nganburr-gi-ndi* *go* *na*
 3NSG/1SG-put-PST 3SG-DAT [now]
 they put me for him now
314. *wangi* *yi-welen*
 only YI-jealous-ABS
 but was he jealous!
315. *nganinggin* *yiwarlng* *dan-ganung* *barlarra* *0-gi-ndi*
 mine-ABS clothes-ABS this-ABS-COL hide 3SG-AUX-PST
nganu *gonjon* *0-buju-rri*
 1SG-DAT ground-ABS 3SG-dig-PST
 he hid my clothes on me, he dug a hole
316. *barlarra* *0-gi-ndi*
 hide 3SG-AUX-PST
 and hid them
317. *gonjo-ya* *mun*
 ground-LOC cover
 covered up in the ground
318. *ngamanda-gan* [INTERJECTION]
 what-INDEF
 and what's it

319. *gonjo-ya* *yiwarlng*
ground-LOC dress
he hid my dress in the ground
320. *nganinggin-yi* *yibiwi-yi* *0-bu-ndi* *deb-garra* *na*
mine-ERG father-ERG 3SG-hit-PST bash [now]
my father really knocked him about
321. *nganburr-ga-ndi* *na* *gunya*
3NSG/1SG-take-PST [now] 3SG-DISS
and they took me away from him
322. *wonggo* *yayinun-wo-n* *na*
not 1EXNSG/2SGIRR-give-PRES [now]
'we can't give her to you'
323. *yinyang* *tumaji* *yi-welen*
2SG-ABS [because] YI-jealous-ABS
'because you're jealous'
324. *nganburr-ga-ndi* *weleru*
3NSG/1SG-take-PST [Willeroo]
they took me to Willeroo
325. *nana* *marluga* *jumbamba* *0-nyanga-ndi*
that-ABS old man-ABS behind-rdp 3SG-come-PST
and the old man came after
326. *ngamanda-wu* *nganu-gerne-rri* *0-yana-rri* *wurrugu*
what-DAT 2NSG/1SG-take from-PST 3SG-say-PST 3NSG-DAT
'Why did you take her from me?', he said to them
327. *a a* *yinyang*
oh oh 2SG-ABS
'oh you'
328. *yi-menjen-ga*
YI-cheeky-EMPH
'are cheeky!'
329. *nganinggin* *ngabobu* *0-digirrijba-rri* *na*
mine-ABS FM-ABS 3SG-die-PST [now]
my father's mother died now

330. *nan-beng-bi* *ya-0-jingi-n*
 that-SSPEC-ART 3-3SG-be-PRES
 she is right there
331. *gonjon* *delimiya*
 earth-ABS [Delamere]
 her grave is at Delamere
332. *barrwa*
 down
 down below
333. *ya-wurr-yu*
 3-3NSG-lie
 they lie
334. *lege-biji* *mulurru* *0-dagbarla-rri* *wuluwari*
 one-ABS-only old woman 3SG-have-PST [name]
 he only had one old woman Wuluwari
335. *yinggiya*
 who-ABS
 who?
336. *jigurra*
 [name]-ABS
 Jigurra
337. *jigurra* *na* *yi-dagbarla-rri*
 [name]-ABS [now] 1EXNSG-have-PST
 we had Jigurra
338. *jigurra* *yingyi* *go* *mernde-wunba* *poli*
 [name]-ABS name-ABS 3SG-DAT whiteman-SOU [Polly]
 Jigurra, her English name was Polly
339. *yinggiya-gan* *wuluwari*
 who-INDEF [name]
 and who's that, Wuluwari
340. *jini*
 [Jinny]
 Jinny

341. *jini*
[Jinny]
Jinny
342. *yinggiya-gan*
who-ABS-INDEF
and who's that?
343. *ngurluman*
[name]
Ngurluman
344. *modi* [INTERJECTION]
[Maudie]
[was] Maudie
345. *ngan-werrenybu-rri yarrirndi-yi*
3SG/1SG-sing-PST [song]-INST
he sang [ensorcelled] me with yarrirndi now [i.e., her ex-husband, Billy Muck]
346. *barrangardba wu-warringun ngo-ngorlogba-ny-ga gila*
throat-ABS WU-bad-ABS 1SG-talk-PST-SUB indeed
when I talked my throat was bad
347. *ngan-werrenybu-rri yarramdi-yi*
3SG/1SG-sing-PST [song]-INST
he sang me with yarrirndi
348. *nan-gunya-wunyin wurr-bu-ndi digirrij-bi na*
that-DISS-SPEC 3NSG-hit-PST dead-ART [now]
and on account of exactly that they gave him a real beating
349. *marluga-mulu-yi*
old man-PL-ERG
the old men
350. *wurr-bu-ndi digirrij 0-yanggi* [INTERJECTION]
3NSG-hit-PST dead 3SG-go-PST
they belted him properly and he went away
351. *0-ngegba-rri*
3SG-die-PST
he died

352. *wangi* *yigeyu-mulu* *go*
 only nephew-PL-ABS 3SG-DAT
 only his nephews
353. *yigeyu-mulu* *go*
 nephew-PL-ABS 3SG-DAT
 his nephews
354. *nganburr-gi-ndi* *barn-garang*
 3NSG/1SG-put-PST sorcery-having
 called me a sorceress
355. *ngayugu* [INTERJECTION]
 1SG-ABS
 me
356. *0-yana-rri* *nganu* *yawarlmiyn*
 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT [name]
 Yawarlmiyn said to me
357. *mawuya-warang* *yi-wo-ndi:* *mawuya-warang* *yi-wo-ndi:*
 poison-having-ABS 2SG-give-PST poison-having-ABS 2SG-give-PST
 ‘you gave him food with poison in it, you gave him food with poison in it’
358. *boisinim* *yi-yana-rri*
 [poison] 2SG-AUX-PST
 ‘you poisoned him’
359. *0-yana-rri* *nganu*
 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT
 she said to me
360. *ngayugu* *nga-yana-rri* *wongo* *boisinim* *nga-wo-ndi*
 1SG-ABS 1SG-say-PST not [poison] 1SG-give-PST
 and I said, ‘I didn’t poison him’
361. *nga-yana-rri* *go*
 1SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 I said to her
362. *layin* *nga-ginye-rri* *go*
 meat-ABS 1SG-cook-PST 3SG-DAT
 ‘I cooked meat for him’

363. *nana* *layin* *yirr-ngu-ndi-wuya* *lege-wi* *layin*
 that-ABS meat-ABS 1EXNSG-eat-PST one-ART meat-ABS
yirr-ngu-ndi-wuya
 1EXNSG-eat-PST-DU
 ‘that meat we ate together, at the same time, we two ate meat together’
364. *ngayugu* *ngan-werrenybu-rri* *wardirrg-bi*
 1SG-ABS 3SG/1SG-sing-PST girl-ART
 he sang me when I was a young girl
365. *barrangardba* *nga-la-rri*
 throat-ABS 3SG/1SG-bite-PST
 it affected my throat
366. *yawarri-yi* *ngan-wo-ndi*
 corrosion-INST 3SG/1SG-give-PST
 it ate at it
367. *gayawarr* *nge-ngegba-rri*
 nearly 1SG-die-PST
 I nearly died.

Text II

Jalibang 'moon dreaming'

Told by Elsie Raymond, at Yingalarri Waterhole, June 1989

1. *yiwalyarri* [INTERJECTION]
[ss]
yiwalyarri
2. *yawe*
yes
yes
3. *0-yanggi bogogo:: gangman 0-yo-rrri*
3SG-go-PST foraging kangaroo-ABS 3SG-spear-PST
he went hunting, he speared a kangaroo
4. *mangali*
female-ABS
a female
5. *wurre-warang*
child-having-ABS
with a joey
6. *0-yo-rrri nana gangman wurre-warang*
3SG-spear-PST that-ABS kangaroo-ABS child-having-ABS
he speared that kangaroo with a joey
7. *arayt*
[OK]
all right
8. *deb-garra 0-bu-ndi-ya wudu-wunba*
belt 3SG-hit-PST little-SOU
he killed it on account of the little one

9. *wudu-wunba* *yi-jad-marla* *0-bu-yi-rri* *nana*
 little-SOU YI-big-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST that-ABS
gangma:n *digirrij-junuyn* *0-bu-ndi*
 kangaroo-ABS dead-really 3SG-hit-PST
 the little one got big, that kangaroo, he belted it dead
10. *jawarrga*
 liver-ABS
 the liver
11. *yidarra-wuya*
 kidney-DU-ABS
 the two kidneys
12. *mordorl*
 tail-ABS
 the tail
13. *wayana* *0-ginye-rri* *jerr-ya*
 all 3SG-cook-PST oven-LOC
 he roasted the lot in a ground oven
14. *jerr-ya* *mun*
 oven-LOC cover
 covered in a ground oven
15. *0-waja-rri* *waj*
 3SG-leave-PST leave
 he left it
16. *jumba julu-ya* *baraj*
 behind hill-LOC far
 far away behind a hill
17. *nana* *gangman* *0-bu-ny-ge-weng*
 that-ABS kangaroo-ABS 3SG-kill-PST-SUB-SSPEC
 where he killed that kangaroo
18. *gangman* *0-bu-ny-ge-weng*
 kangaroo-ABS 3SG-kill-PST-SUB-SSPEC
 where he killed the kangaroo

19. stiwat
[Stewart]
Stewart
20. *gaya*
today
today
21. *nan-ya*
that-LOC
there
22. *0-yanggi* na *lurrbu*
3SG-go-PST [now] back
he went back now
23. *0-yanggi:* *lurrbu:* *lagla-warr*
3SG-go-PST back camp-ALL
he went back to camp
24. *wunggun-yana-rri* *yinyganymirra-mulu*
3SG/3NSG-say-PST [ss]-PL-ABS
he told all the yiyngaynmirra [i.e., women, his wives]
25. *gangman* *nu-lawu* *darni*
kangaroo-ABS 2NSG-get yonder-ABS
you fetch that kangaroo yonder
26. *nga-yo-rri* *gangman*
1SG/3SG-spear-PST kangaroo-ABS
I speared a kangaroo
27. *layin*
animal-ABS
game
28. andi
[aunty]
aunty [i.e., mother-in-law]
29. *darni* *dagbarla* *wudu* *wurr-yana-rri* *go*
yonder-ABS have little-ABS 3NSG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
keep that little one, they said to him [i.e., his wives said]

30. *ngabida* *wudu* *yanima*
 [ss]-ABS little-ABS thus
 little ngabida, like that
31. *dagbarla* *yi-jornord* *dana*
 keep heavy this-ABS
 keep this heavy one
32. *buy* *nu-ga*
 go on 2NSG-take
 go on, you take her [i.e., says the moon]
33. *yidarra-wu*
 kidney-DAT
 for the kidney
34. *nga-dagbarlan* *nana* *bula*
 1SG/3SG-have that-ABS boy-ABS
 'I have that boy'
35. *jugurday* *wurr-yana-rri* *go*
 [ss] 3NSG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 'jugurday', they said to him
36. *buy* *nu-ga* *jawarrga-wu*
 go on 2NSG-take liver-DAT
 go on, you take him, for liver [i.e., says the moon]
37. *marla-wi* *gila* *nimbuj-ba* *wunggun-bu-ndi* *girdibun-ma-yi*
 repeatedly-ART indeed away-PS 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST finish-PS-ADV
 he drove them away, all of them
38. *wurr-anggi* *na*
 3NSG-go-PST [now]
 they went now
39. *wurr-anggi:* *wunggu-da-rri* *led-ba* *mugurn-ba:* *gud*
 3NSG-go-PST 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST look-PS lie-ABL stand
0-gaju-rri
 3SG-AUX-PST
 they went, he looked from a lying position, he stood up

40. *duba-wa* *wunggu-da-rri* *baraj* *wurr-yanggi*
 sit-ABL 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST far 3NSG-go-PST
 he saw them from a sitting position, they were gone far away
41. *wurr-yanggi* *na*
 3NSG-go-PST [now]
 they were gone now
42. *gud* *0-gaju-rri* *bumburrijid* *na*
 stand 3SG-AUX-PST kneel [now]
 he got on his knees
43. *bumburrijid-ba* *wunggu-da-rri:* *baraj* *wurr-anggi*
 kneel-PS 3SG/3NSG-see-PST far 3NSG-go-PST
 he saw them [while] kneeling, they'd gone far
44. *gud*
 stand
 he stood up
45. *yurrba-wa* *wunggu-da-rri*
 stand-ABL 3SG/3NSG-see-PST
 he looked at them from a standing position
46. *baraj* *wurr-anggi* *bowojbowoj-ba* *na*
 far 3NSG-go-PST head out-PS [now]
 they were long gone, he saw only their heads now
47. *wabaja* *na*
 out of sight [now]
 [they were] out of sight
48. *gal* *0-yanggi* *wumunburra-ya* *nana* *galul*
 climb 3SG-go-PST rock-LOC that-ABS up
 he climbed up on top of a rock
49. *wunggu-da-rri* *baraj*
 3SG/3NSG-see-PST far
 he saw them far away
50. *baraj-junuyn* *yawurr-ya* *na* *0-yana-rri*
 far-really 3NSG-go-PRES [now] 3SG-say-PST
 'they've well and truly gone', he said

51. *dana-ni-wan* *wonggo* *nga-yana* *wurr-me-ndi*
 this-ART-DF not 1SG-say-PRES 3NSG-AUX-PST
 this one, I won't say it, they took it
52. *gabarani* *na*
 oops [now]
 oops
53. *wudu*
 little-ABS
 little
54. *warlbag* *wurr-me-ndi*
 remove 3NSG-AUX-PST
 he took off his unmentionable
55. *wagayma* *toy* [INTERJECTION]
 like [toy]
 like a toy
56. *gabarani* *wudu*
 oops little-ABS
 his little unmentionable
57. *warlbag* *o-me-ndi*
 out 3SG-take-PST
 he removed it
58. *mirrij* *o-bu-ndi* *gurlinga-ya*
 wrap 3SG-AUX-PST paperbark-LOC
 he wrapped it up in paperbark
59. *mirrij-ba* *o-bu-ndi* *gurlinga-ya*
 wrap 3SG-AUX-PST paperbark-LOC
 he wrapped it in paperbark
60. *yurr* *o-gi-ndi*
 hide 3SG-AUX-PST
 he hid it
61. *gonjon* *o-buju-rii* *go* *badbad* *o-gi-ndi*
 ground 3SG-dig-PST 3SG-DAT cover 3SG-AUX-PST
 he dug the ground and covered it

62. *0-me-ndi* *ma-jad-junuyn* *yaniman* [INTERJECTION]
 3SG-take-PST MA-big-really thus-ABS
 he took out a really big one like this
63. *ya-dagbarla-n* *na* *jambard-ba*
 3SG-have-PRES [now] stuck in-PS
 he has it stuck on now
64. *jambard* *0-gi-ndi-wan*
 stick on 3SG-AUX-PST-DF
 he fastened it on
65. *0-yanggi* *na*
 3SG-go-PST [now]
 he went now
66. *nana* *mulurru* *gila* *0-lawu-rri* *walig-ba*
 that-ABS old lady-ABS indeed 3SG-reach-PST around-PS
 he came around and reached that old lady
67. *yimbanay* *yidugal* *go*
 [ss]-ABS mother-in-law 3SG-DAT
 yimbanay, his mother-in-law
68. *0-lawu-rri-ya*
 3SG-reach-PST-NAR
 he reached her
69. *mulurru* *0-wojbarna-rri* *yi-mum-wagbawun*
 old lady 3SG-listen-PST eye-lacking-ABS
 the old lady listened, she had no eyes
70. *yimumungarr*
 eye-rdp
 [she was] blind
71. *o marla-wi* *0-wojbarna-rri*
 oh rep-ART 3SG-listen-PST
 'oh', she kept on listening
72. *yilama* *ya-nyanga-n* *nganinggin* *yidugal*
 perhaps 3SG-come-PRES my-ABS son-in-law-ABS
 maybe my son-in-law is coming

73. *o o marla 0-yanggi-ya go:*
 oh oh again 3SG-go-PST-NAR 3SG-DAT
 'oh, oh' she kept on, he went up to her
74. *jewe*
 close
 right up close
75. *new 0-me-ndi na mulurru gila nungguru*
 grab 3SG-AUX-PST [now] old lady-ABS indeed hand-ABS
 he grabbed that old lady right by the hand
76. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
77. *durd 0-me-ndi*
 seize 3SG-AUX-PST
 he grabbed her
78. *o o marla gila*
 oh oh again indeed
 'oh, oh' she kept on
79. *wardarl 0-yana-rri ngawun*
 struggle 3SG-AUX-PST nothing
 she struggled, to no avail
80. *new wardang 0-wudba-rri na*
 grab belly up 3SG-throw-PST [now]
 he grabbed her and threw her belly up
81. *binis*
 [finished]
 finished
82. *0-ga-ndi gila: luwu-warr nan-garr*
 3SG-take-PST indeed cave-ALL that-ALL
 he took her to that cave of his
83. *gandawag ya-jingi-n yibayin-barra-yi*
 moon-ABS 3-3SG-sit-PRES mother-in-law-ADV-ADV
 the moon lives with his mother-in-law

84. *dang-mulu* *yinyganymirra* *ya-wurr-yu*
 yonder-PL-ABS [ss] 3NSG-sleep-PRES
 those yinyganymirra live there
85. *ngajbang*
 self
 by themselves
86. *ngajbang-bi*
 themselves-ART
 by themselves
87. *yanymirra-mulu*
 [ss]-PL-ABS
 the yanymirra women
88. *ngajbang-bi* *ya-wurr-yu*
 themselves 3NSG-sleep-PRES
 they live/sleep by themselves
89. *gurru-ya-wan* *na*
 later-LOC-DF [now]
 later on
90. *wud-janga-ndi* *lurrbu* *bogogo-wunba* *yanin*
 3NSG-come-PST back foraging-SOU like now
 they came back from foraging, like this time
91. *layin-garang*
 meat-having-ABS
 with game
92. *wud-jarrambu-rri* *na* *go*
 3NSG-look around-PST [now] 3SG-DAT
 they looked around for her
93. *mulurru-wu* *nan-gu*
 old lady-DAT that-DAT
 for that old lady
94. *wurr-gaygba-rri* *go:* *ngawun*
 3NSG-sing out-PST 3SG-DAT nothing
 they called to her, nothing

95. *guda mulurru 0-yanggi*
 where old lady-ABS 3SG-go-PST
 where did the old lady go
96. *guda mulurru 0-yanggi marla gila*
 where old lady-ABS 3SG-go-PST ITER EMPH
 where did the old lady go, they kept on like that
97. *ngawun*
 nothing
 nothing
98. *girrb wud-jingi-ndi-wuya na*
 quiet 3NSG-sit-PST-DU [now]
 the two of them kept quiet
99. *bayin-gurlang*
 mother-in-law-DY-ABS
 mother- and son-in-law
100. *wurr-gaygba-rri go: girdibun*
 3NSG-sing out-PST 3SG-DAT finish
 they called out to her, nothing
101. *wonggo gay wurr-yana-rri*
 not answer 3NSG-AUX-PST
 they did not answer
102. *wurr-anggi walig o dana marluga-yi ya-dagbarlag-barla-n*
 3NSG-go-PST around oh this-ABS old man-ERG 3-3SG-have rdp-PRES
yibayin go
 mother-in-law-ABS 3SG-DAT
 they went around oh! this old man has his mother-in-law
103. *lurrbu-yi wurr-anggi nan-garr na*
 home-ADV 3NSG-go-PST that-ALL [now]
 they went back home
104. *walig-bari gabarri*
 around-NOM again
 back around

Text III

Story of *Mejern-bulud* and other incidents of European-Aboriginal clash

Told by Elsie Raymond, July 1989

1. *mernde-yi* *wunggun-wo-ndi* *ngamanda*
white-ERG 3SG/3NSG-give-PST what-ABS
the whiteman gave what's it to her
2. *mulurru*
old woman-ABS
the old woman
3. *mulurru-wuya*
old woman-DU-ABS
the two old women
4. *wunggun-wo-ndi* *mayin*
3SG/3NSG-give-PST food-ABS
he gave them food
5. *dij -barra*
[dish]-ADV
in a dish
6. *rais*
[rice]
rice
7. *nan-guya* *mulurru-wuya-yi* *wurr -ga-ndi* *ken-garr*
that-DU-ABS old woman-DU-ERG 3NSG-take-PST [camp]-ALL
those two old women took it to the camp
8. *galul*
up
on top

9. *wunggiunburr-wo-ndi* *na*
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST [now]
 they gave it to them now
10. *mayin* *nana*
 food-ABS that-ABS
 that food
11. *mawuya-warang*
 poison-having-ABS
 with poison in it
12. *mawuya* *yi-yerde-n* *intit* *nangala*
 poison 2SG-know-PRES [isn't it] [ss]
 you know [the word] *mawuya*, don't you nangala?
- [F.M. assents]
13. *wunggiunburr -wo-ndi*
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST
 they gave it to them
14. *wurr -ngu-ndi* *na* *yi -warna-mulu-yi*
 3NSG-eat-PST [now] YI-some-PL-ERG
 some of them ate it now
15. *marluga* *gegeyenman*
 old man-ABS [name]-ABS
 old man Gegeyenman
16. *mulurru* *gimiyn -gu* *go* *yibiyi*
 old woman-ABS [name]-DAT 3SG-DAT father-ABS
 Gimiyn's father
17. *marluga* *gegeyenman* [INTERJECTION]
 old man-ABS [name]-ABS
 old man Gegeyenman
18. *ngawurnen-yi*
 many-ERG
 lots of them

19. *dulu*
[name]-ABS
Dulu
20. *marluga* *yurrwarla* *dulu*
old man-ABS [ss]-ABS [name]-ABS
old yurrwarla man Dulu
21. *nan-ganung-nyi* *wurr-ngu-ndi*
those-COL-ERG 3NSG-eat -PST
these ones ate it
22. *mayin*
food-ABS
the food
23. *wurr -ngu-ndi* *na:* *ngamanda-gan* *na* *wud-jingi-ndi*
3NSG-eat -PST [now] what-Q [now] 3NSG-sit-PST
they ate it now, and they were what's it
24. *mawuya-warang*
poison-having-ABS
it had poison in it
25. *gonjon* *wurr-bewe-rrri* *ngabngab*
dirt-ABS 3NSG-AUX-PST wobble
they were flopping around
26. *wurr-bewe-rrri*
3NSG-AUX-PST
they were flopping around
27. *wurr-we-ndi* *gila* *ban.garrg-garra*
3NSG-fall-PST indeed fall
they were falling down
28. *gayardung* *wurr-(y)anggi:* *yirrgulu-warr*
run 3NSG-go-PST river-ALL
they ran to the river
29. *wurr-ngu-ndi* *gonjon*
3NSG-eat-PST dirt-ABS
and they ate dirt

30. *belgin*
mud-ABS
mud
31. *belgin* *wurr-ngu-ndi* *wurr -wemiyi-rri*
mud-ABS 3NSG-eat-PST 3NSG-vomit-MED-PST
they ate mud and vomited
32. *wurr -me -ndi* *jubung*
3NSG-AUX-PST grind
they ground it up
33. *minyardin*
charcoal-ABS
charcoal
34. *minyardin* *jubung* *wurr -me-ndi* *wurr-me-ndi* *wiya-warra ngay*
charcoal-ABS grind 3NSG-get-PST 3NSG-get-PST water-having stir
they ground charcoal and mixed it with water
35. *wurr-ngu-ndi* *na*
3NSG-eat-PST [now]
they ate it now
36. *wurr-wemiyi-rri*
3SG-vomit-MED-PST
they vomited
37. *wurr-wemiyi-rri::* *yilgbayi* *na*
3SG-vomit-MED-PST all right [now]
they vomited and were OK now
38. *gayardung* *wurr-(y)anggi* *gila* *galung-lan* *numbulan*
run 3NSG-AUX-PST indeed up-ALL that way
they really ran up, that way
39. *gayardung* *wurr-(y)anggi* *yijarlu* *dawu* *galung-lan*
run 3NSG-AUX-PST some-ABS this way up-ALL
some ran up this way
40. *walig*
around
around

41. *wurr-(y)anggi* *dawu*
 3NSG-go-PST this way
 they went this way
42. *yerrerdabay-warr*
 [place]-ALL
 to Yerrerdabay
43. *yijarlū* *gayardung* *wurr-(y)anggi* *yirrgulun-bi*
 some-ABS run 3NSG-AUX-PST river-ABS-ART
 some ran this way along the river
44. *yirrgulu:n* *beye* *darni*
 river-ABS downstream yonder-ABS
 there down river
45. *trimail*
 [Three Mile]
 to Three Mile
46. *werrwerr* *wurr-bu -ndi* *na*
 out rdp 3NSG-AUX-PST [now]
 they came out now
47. *mernde-yi -wan* *Ō -na-rri* *lege* *werr*
 white-ERG-DF 3SG-see-PST one-ABS out
wurr-bu-ny-ga *beye*
 3NSG-AUX-PST-SUB downriver
 and one whitefella saw where they came out downriver
48. *a darni* *yibiwan* *ya-wurr-ya* *yibiwan* *wonggo*
 oh yonder-ABS man-ABS 3-3NSG-go man-ABS not
wurr-ngegba-rri
 3NSG-die-PST
 oh! Aborigines are going over there, the Aborigines didn't die
49. *wurr -(y)anggi* *mernde-mulu* *galul*
 3NSG-go-PST white-PL-ABS up
 the whites went up on top
50. *gajigaji*
 walk
 on foot

51. *wu-da-rrī* *wurrugu* *ngawun*
 3NSG-see-PST 3NSG-DAT nothing
 they looked for them, nothing
52. *wonggo* *wurr-ngegba-rrī* *lege* *ngawun*
 not 3NSG-die-PST one-ABS nothing
 not a one of them died, nothing
53. *yibi-wi* *ya-wurr-ya* *dawu*
 live-ART 3-3NSG-go-PRES that way
 they're going that way alive
54. *wurr-(y)anggi* *lurrbu*
 3NSG-go-PST home
 they went home
55. *wurr-galma-rrī* *na* *nendo*
 3NSG-climb-PST [now] horse-ABS
 they got on their horses now
56. *ojjī*
 [horses]
 horses
57. *wurr-galma-rrī*
 3NSG-climb-PST
 they mounted up
58. *wurr-(y)anggi* *wunggunburr-gomarla-rrī*
 3NSG-go-PST 3NSG/3NSG-follow-PST
 they went, they followed them
59. *dimana-warra*
 horse-having
 on horseback
60. *wunggunburr-gomarla-rrī::* *beye*
 3NSG/3NSG-follow-PST downriver-ABS
 they followed them downriver
61. *trimail-warr*
 [Three Mile]-ALL
 to Three Mile

62. *guda-rlan-warda* *wunggunburr-gomarla-rri* *dami-rlan* *na*
 where-ALL-INDEF 3NSG/3NSG-follow-PST this way-ALL [now]
 which way now did they follow them, this way
63. *beye-rlen* *langa* *trimail*
 downriver-ALL [to] [Three Mile]
 downstream to the Three Mile
64. *wunggunburr-gomarla-rri::* *beye*
 3NSG/3NSG-follow-PST downriver-ABS
 they followed them downriver
65. *wunggu-da-rri* *na* *a* *darni darni* *ya-wurr-ya* [INTERJECTION]
 3SG/3NSG-see-PST [now] oh! yonder-ABS 3-3NSG-go-PRES
 he saw them now, oh! there there they're going
66. *lerl-ma* *wurr-me-ndi* *nana* *yirrgulun* *na*
 reach-PS 3NSG-AUX-PST that-ABS river-ABS [now]
 they got as far as the river now
67. *marluga-mulu-yi*
 old man-PL-ERG
 the old men
68. *gal*
 up
 up
69. *wurr-(y)anggi* *julu-ya* *na* *galung-lan*
 3NSG-go-PST hill-LOC [now] up-ALL
 they went up now on top of the hill
70. *julu-ya* *galul*
 hill-LOC up
 on top of the hill
71. *wunggun-bu-ndi* *galung-lan* *do do*
 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST up-ALL pow pow
 he shot upwards now pow! pow!
72. *do do*
 pow pow
 pow! pow!

73. *marluga-wan* *0-bu-ndi-ya* *waramburr-wu* *go*
 old man-ABS-DF 3SG-hit-PST-NAR [name]-DAT 3SG-DAT
yibiyi
 father-ABS
 he hit the old man, Waramburr's father
74. *banggin* *jon*
 back [John]
 'Back-John' [so called from this incident]
75. *do*
 pow
 pow
76. *0-bu-ndi* *marluga* *gila* . [INTERJECTION]
 3SG-hit-PST old man-ABS indeed
 he really shot the old man
77. *ngawun* *wonggo* *digirrij* *0-bu-ndi* *wangi* *0-bu-ndi*
 no not dead 3SG-hit-PST only 3SG-hit-PST
 no, he didn't shoot him dead, just hit him
78. *wabirlmagun*
 take skin
 grazed him
79. *marluga-gari* *yi-warna-gari* *marluga* *0-bu-ndi*
 old man-other-ABS I-other-other-ABS old man-ABS 3SG-hit-PST
mejern-bulud
 belly-[bullet]
 another old man, he shot a different old man 'Bullet-Belly'
80. *mejern* *gila* *do*
 belly-ABS indeed pow
 he really shot him in the belly
81. *0-yanggi* *marluga* *nana* *mejern* *durd*
 3SG-go-PST old man-ABS that-ABS belly-ABS hold
 that old man went [away] holding his belly

82. *marluga-wu* *gojorlo-wu* *go* *yibiyi* *yi-warna-gari*
 old man-DAT [name]-DAT 3SG-DAT father-ABS YI-other-other-ABS
yangpelawan
 [young fellow]
 another father of old man Gojorlo, the younger one
83. *yibiyi* *gungan.gin* *gunga* *ngananyin*
 father-ABS his-ABS 3SG-DAT [name]
 his father Ngananyin
84. *marluga-wu* *gojorlo-wu*
 old man-DAT [name]-DAT
 of old Gojorlo
85. *brada* *gunga* *ngananyin* *go*
 [brother] 3SG-DAT [name]-ABS 3SG-DAT
 Ngananyin's younger brother
86. *mejern-bulud*
 belly-[bullet]
 'Bullet-Belly'
87. *nan-guya* *marluga-wuya*
 that-DU old man-DU-ABS
 those two old men
88. *ngananyin* *yilgbayi* *wonggo* *0-bu-ndi*
 [name] all right not 3SG-hit-PST
 Ngananyin was OK, he didn't get shot
89. *wangi* *mejern-bulud* *0-bu-ndi* *na*
 only belly-[bullet] 3SG-hit-PST [now]
 only 'Bullet-Belly' got shot
90. *gayardu:ng* *wurr-(y)anggi* *na*
 run 3NSG-go-PST [now]
 they ran away now
91. *julu-ya* *galul*
 hill-LOC up
 up on top of the hill

92. *gayardung* *gayardung*
run run
they ran and ran
93. *wunggun-bu-ndi* *galung-lan* *ngawun*
3SG/3NSG-hit-PST up-ALL no
they shot at them upwards, nothing [i.e., didn't hit any others]
94. *banggin* *jon-biji* *gila*
back-ABS [John]-only indeed
he only shot 'Back-John'
95. *modgo* *0-bu-ndi*
half-dead 3SG-hit-PST
half-dead
96. *banggin*
back-ABS
[in the] back
97. *wurr-(y)anggi:* *marluga* *wirdiwirdirdban*
3NSG-go-PST old man-ABS [name]-ABS
they went, old man Wirdiwirdirdban
98. *marluga-gari*
old man-other
the other old man
99. *marluga* *gunga* *miki benet-gu* *yibiyi*
old man-ABS 3SG-DAT [Micky Bennett]-DAT father-ABS
Micky Bennett's old father
100. *barlarra* *0-jingi-ndi*
hide 3SG-AUX-PST
was hiding
101. *yirrgulu-ya* *barlarra*
river-LOC hide
hiding along the river
102. *0-na-rri* *nana* *mernden* *do-marla-warr*
3SG-see-PST that-ABS white-ABS shoot-ITER-ALL
he saw that whitefella as he was shooting

103. *marluga-yi* *0-yo-rri* *na* *gam-yi*
 old man-ERG 3SG-spear-PST [now] spear-ERG
 that old man speared him now with a spear
104. *gunga*
 3SG-DAT
 his
105. *nendo*
 horse-ABS
 [the] horse
106. *dimana*
 horse-ABS
 [the] horse
107. *0-yo-rri* *gunga* *ban.garrg*
 3SG-spear-PST 3SG-DAT fall
 he speared it on him and it fell
108. *0-we-ndi*
 3SG-AUX-PST
 fell down
109. *mernden* *nana* *dimana-warra-yi* *0-we-ndi*
 white-ABS that-ABS horse-having-ADV 3SG-fall-PST
 that whitefella fell down with his horse
110. *marluga* *gayardung* *0-lawu-rri* *deb* *0-bu-ndi*
 old man-ABS run 3SG-AUX-PST stab 3SG-AUX-PST
na *bidamarla*
 [now] neck-ABS
 the old man ran, caught up to him and stabbed him in the neck
111. *barnda-warra*
 axe-ADV
 with a tommyhawk
112. *deb*
 stab
 stabbed him

113. *marluga* *0-yanggi* *gunya* *na* *galung-lan* *gayardung*
 old man-ABS 3SG-go-PST 3SG-DISS [now] up-ALL run
 the old man went away from him now, ran up
114. *galung-lan*
 up-ALL
 on top
115. *mernden* *nana* *gud* *0-gaju-rri*
 white-ABS that-ABS stand 3SG-AUX-PST
 that whitefella stood up
116. *gayardung* *ya-0-ny-ga* *galul*
 run 3SG-go-PST-SUB up
 after he'd run up top
117. *dordo-marla* *ngab-garra* *0-bu-ndi* *na*
 shoot-ITER miss-having 3SG-hit-PST [now]
 he kept on shooting, missing him
118. *ngabngab* *0-bu-ndi-ya* *gila:* *0-yanggi* *gunya* *baraj*
 miss rdp 3SG-hit-PST-NAR indeed 3SG-go-PST 3SG-DISS far
 he shot and missed, he really went far away from him
119. *galul* *na*
 up [now]
 up on top now
120. *galul*
 up
 up
121. *julu-warr*
 hill-ALL
 on the hill
122. *galul* *wunggunburr-gomarla-rri* *yi-warna-mulu*
 up 3NSG/3NSG-follow-PST YI-other-PL
 they followed some of them up top
123. *kijimap* *wunggun-me-ndi*
 [catch up] 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST
 he caught up to them

135. *dabel rokol-wan*
[Double Rockhole]-DF
at Double Rockhole
136. *wunggun-gi-ndi* *nurdurd-ba*
3SG/3NSG-put-PST heap
he put them in a heap
137. *yibiyan*
man-ABS
Aborigines
138. *marlarluga* *nurdurd*
old man-ABS rdp heap rdp
the old people in a heap
139. *wunggun-gi-ndi* *nurdurd*
3SG/3NSG-put-PST heap rdp
he put them in a heap
140. *wunggun-bu-ndi* *gila* *dordo:* *duy-ma*
3SG/3NSG-hit-PST indeed shoot rdp heap
he really shot them and heaped them up
141. *wunggun-bu-ndi* *wurre-wayana* *wudu wudu-wayana* *wurren*
3SG/3NSG-hit-PST child-and all little rdp-together child-ABS
he shot them children and all, even the little little children
142. *nana* *wurren* *na*
that-ABS child-ABS [now]
that child
143. *yidumduma-wu* *go* *yijamuyn* [INTERJECTION]
[name]-DAT 3SG-DAT MF-ABS
Yidumduma's grandfather
144. *yawe*
yes
yes
145. *nana* *wuju* *wuyen**
that-ABS little-ABS child-ABS
that little child *[baby-talk: normal form *wudu wurren*]

146. *marluga* *na*
 old man-ABS [now]
 the old man
147. *lun* *0-gi-ndi* *gunga* *ngabulu-ya* *gila*
 outside 3SG-put-PST 3SG-DAT milk-LOC indeed
yiguyu-ya
 mother-LOC
 put him outside and put him to the mother's breast
148. *mugurn*
 sleep
 asleep
149. *nana* *marluga* *nganinggin-gu* *go* *yibiyi -wu*
 that-ABS old man-ABS mine-DAT 3SG-DAT father-DAT
 that old man of my father's
150. *yibiyi*
 father-ABS
 father
151. *0-nyanga-ndi* *judjud-ba* *na* *mobonyi* *na*
 3SG-come-PST down rdp [now] night [now]
 came down now at night
152. *gandawag-barra*
 moon-having
 when the moon was out
153. *0-wojbarna-rri* *nge:nge:-marla-warr*
 3SG-hear-PST cry rdp-ITER-ALL
 he heard it crying
154. *a*
 oh
 oh!
155. *wurren* *gila* *ya-0-lu-n*
 child-ABS indeed 3-3SG-cry-PRES
 it's a child, it's really a child crying

156. *0-yanggi:: 0-na-rri*
 3SG-go-PST 3SG-see-PST
 he went and looked
157. *wirriyn 0-bu-ndi na yijurn walayn 0-na-rri*
 turn 3SG-AUX-PST [now] face-ABS recognize 3SG-AUX-PST
 he turned it over and recognized it
158. *yi-yerden*
 2SG-know-PRES
 you know him
159. *nganinggin ngamanda-gan gila*
 mine-ABS what-Q indeed
 it's my waddayacallit
160. *nganinggin go brada yiyaja-wu yingawuyu*
 mine-ABS 3SG-DAT [brother] yB-DAT spouse-ABS
 my younger brother's wife
161. *nganinggin go brada yiyaja-wu yingawuyu na*
 mine-ABS 3SG-DAT [brother] yB-DAT spouse-ABS [now]
 my younger brother's wife
162. *0-na-rri*
 3SG-see-PST
 he looked
163. *a nganinggin yiyaja dana*
 oh mine-ABS yB-ABS this-ABS
 oh! this is my younger brother
164. *0-bu-my-ga do-ma*
 3SG-hit-PST-SUB shoot-PS
 he's been shot
165. *nana marluga warrguj 0-me-ndi*
 that-ABS old man-ABS pick up 3SG-AUX-PST
 that old man picked him up
166. *yilunja-barndin* [INTERJECTION]
 chest-sore
 'sore-chest'

167. *yilunja-barndin* *barndin* *0-ba-ndi* *yilunja*
chest-sore sore-ABS 3SG-burn-PST chest-ABS
sore-chest, a sore was burned on his chest
168. *yinggiya-gan-gu* *go*
who-Q-DAT 3SG-DAT
whose-is it
169. *yinggiya* *nana* *marluga* *yibadaba*
who-ABS that-ABS old man-ABS [name]-ABS
who is that old man, Yibadaba
170. *0-ga-ndi* *galul*
3SG-take-PST up
he took him up
171. *julu-warr*
hill-ALL
on top of the hill
172. *yerrerdby* *na* *0-ga-ndi* *galul*
[place] [now] 3SG-take-PST up
he took him up to Yerrerdby
173. *gurru-wan* *joy* *0-wo-ndi*
later-DF give 3SG-give-PST
and later he gave him
174. *ngabobu* *nganinggin*
FM-ABS mine-ABS
[to] my father's mother
175. *joy* *0-wo-ndi* *na*
give 3SG-AUX-PST [now]
he gave it to her
176. *ngabulu* *0-wo-ndi* *nganinggin-yi* *ngabobu-yi* *na*
milk-ABS 3SG-give-PST mine-ERG FM-ERG [now]
my father's mother gave it milk
177. *wonggo* *nganinggin* *yibiyi* *ngawun*
not mine-ABS father-ABS no
not to my father, no

178. *wangi nana marluga na growimap O-me-ndi*
 only that-ABS old man-ABS [now] [grow him up] 3SG-AUX-PST
duwu-ma O-bu-ndi
 raise-PS 3SG-AUX-PST
 just raised that old man
179. *duwu-ma O-bu-ndi*
 raise-PS 3SG-AUX-PST
 she raised him
180. *ngabulu O-wo-ndi O-ginye-rri go ngabulu wuja-ya*
 milk-ABS 3SG-give-PST 3SG-cook-PST 3SG-DAT milk-ABS fire-LOC
 she gave him milk, and 'cooked' her breasts for him in the fire
181. *ma-man O-bu-ndi*
 MA-good-ABS 3SG-AUX-PST
 she made it good [her milk supply]
182. *ma-garlarl*
 MA-clean-ABS
 clean
183. *O-wo-ndi-ya na*
 3SG-give-PST-NAR [now]
 she gave him clean food [milk]
184. *yi-jad-wan O-na-yi-rri y i-jad-junuyn*
 YI-big-DF 3SG-AUX-RR-PST YI-big-really
 and so he grew big, really big
185. *marluga na*
 old man-ABS [now]
 the old man now
186. *yi-jad O-na-yi-rri-wan*
 YI-big-ABS 3SG-AUX-RR-PST-DF
 and when he got really big
187. *nganinggin-wan yibiyi O-yanggi go mejern*
 mine-DF father-ABS 3SG-go-PST 3SG-DAT belly-ABS
 and when she got pregnant with my father

188. *nganinggin-gu* *yibiyi-wu*
mine-DAT father-DAT
for my father [i.e., pregnant with my father]
189. *gagung* *go* *dan-gu*
FF-ABS 3SG-DAT this-DAT
for this one's father's father
190. *jabarda-wu*
[ss]-DAT
for Jabarda
191. *0-yanggi* *go* *mějern* *na*
3SG-go-PST 3SG-DAT belly-ABS [now]
she got pregnant now with him [i.e., with speaker's father]
192. *mulurru-wu*
old lady-DAT
that old lady
193. *alipela*
[early]
early in the morning
194. *judjud* *wurr-(y)anggi* *na* *galul* *0-yanggi* *marluga::* *julu-ya*
down 3NSG-go-PST [now] up 3SG-go-PST old man-ABS hill-LOC
they went down, the old man went up top on the hill
195. *led-ba* *0-na-rri* *barrwa-rlan* *na*
look-PS 3SG-AUX-PST down-ALL [now]
he looked down now
196. *wunggun-gi-ndi::* *nurdurd*
3SG/3NSG-put-PST heap rdp
he was putting them in a heap
197. *rokhoh-ya* *nan-ya-wunyin*
[rockhole]-LOC that-LOC-SPEC
right by that rockhole
198. *wunggun-gi-ndi::* *diy-ma*
3SG/3NSG-put-PST heap-PS
he put them in a heap

199. *wuja* *wurr-me-ndi* *majirim ap* *wuja:* *girdibun*
 wood-ABS 3NSG-get-PST [muster up] wood-ABS finish
 they got wood, heaped it up, that's all
200. *diyl* *wunggun-bu-ndi*
 light 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST
 he lit them on fire
201. *wunggun-ginye-rrri* *wuja-yi*
 3SG/3NSG-cook -PST fire-ERG
 the fire cooked/burned them
202. *wuja* *0-wudba-rrri* *wurrugu* *yugurni* *wurr-ba-ndi*
 wood-ABS 3SG-throw-PST 3NSG-DAT again 3NSG-burn-PST
na *wuja-yi* *gila*
 [now] fire-ERG indeed
 he threw more wood on them, the fire really burned them now
203. *wurr-ba-ndi* *na* *girdibun* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-burn-PST [now] finish
 they were incinerated
204. *nana* *wurne-biji*
 that-ABS bone-only
 there was nothing but bones
205. *minyardin-marla*
 charcoal-CAUS
 all turned to charcoal
206. *wurr-ba-ndi* *gila* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-burn-PST indeed
 they were really burned up
207. *nan-mulu* *mernde-mulu* *wurr-(y)anggi* *lurrbu*
 that-PL-ABS white-PL-ABS 3NSG-go-PST back
wud-janga-ndi *dami-rlan* *lurrbu* *ol weleru-warr*
 3NSG-come -PST this way-ALL back [Old Willeroo]-ALL
 those whitefellas went back, they came back this way to Old Willeroo

208. *lurrbu lurrbu wud-janga-ndi yugurni jarrambu*
 back back 3NSG-come -PST again look about
0-yanggi wurrugu
 3SG-go-PST 3NSG-DAT
 they came back again and looked around for them
209. *julugjulu-yi 0-na-rri wurrugu ngawun*
 hill rdg -ADV 3SG-see-PST 3NSG-DAT no
 along the hill he looked around for them, nothing
210. *yilama-gan lege lege wud-jingi-ndi gila*
 maybe-QA one one-ABS 3NSG-sit-PST really
 maybe there were really only a few
211. *gayawun-bi*
 while-ART
 wait a while
212. *wunggun-bu-ndi lege lege gayawun na*
 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST one one-ABS while [now]
 he shot them, [there were] just a few now
213. *wunggun-bu-ndi:: ngawun*
 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST no
 he shot them no [there were none]
214. *wonggo wunggun-bu-ndi*
 not 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST
 he didn't shoot them [there were none]
215. *lege ngawun*
 one-ABS no
 there wasn't any
216. *wud-jingi-ndi gila lege-mulu na*
 3NSG-sit-PST indeed one-PL-ABS [now]
 there were just a few now
217. *lege-mulu laik lil map*
 one-PL-ABS [like little mob]
 there were just a few now

218. *lege-mulu* *na*
 one-PL-ABS [now]
 there were just a few
219. *mululurru* *marlarluga* *gila*
 old woman rdp -ABS old man rdp-ABS really
 really a few old women and men [left]
220. *wunggun-waja-rri-wan*
 3SG/3NSG-leave-PST-DF
 the ones that were left
221. *nana* *na* *marlarluga* *gila* [INTERJECTION]
 that-ABS [now] old man rdp-ABS really
 really a few old men [left]
222. *marluga-gari* *lege* *O-bu-ndi* *nan-beng* *delimiya*
 old man-other-ABS one-ABS 3SG-hit-PST that-SSPEC [Delamere]
 another old man was shot there at Delamere
223. *yinggiya-gan*
 who-INDEF-Q
 who was it
224. *warna* *nyiwgarri*
 not [name]-ABS
 not Nyiwgarri
225. *yinggiya-gan-warda* *yirdirdiman-warda-gan* [INTERJECTION]
 who-INDEF-Q-EMPH [name]-QQ-INDEF
 who in the world, Yirdirdiman or something like that
226. *ya* *yirdirdiman*
 yeah [name]
 Yirdirdiman
227. *nana* *na* *O-bu-ndi*
 that-ABS [now] 3SG-hit-PST
 that one now was shot
228. *yerriyn*
 [place]
 at Delamere

229. *do* *0-bu-ndi* *nan-ya* *wu-warli-ya* *gila*
 shoot 3SG-AUX-PST that-LOC WU-breakaway-LOC really
 he was shot there in the breakaway
230. *marluga* *0-yanggi* *word-marla* *bega-wu* *jejbarla*
 old man-ABS 3SG-go-PST head out-ITER tobacco-DAT ask
 that old man went with his head out asking for tobacco [i.e., with his head visible out of the long grass]
231. *a* *0-na-rri* *marluga* *lege*
 oh 3SG-see-PST old man-ABS one-ABS
 oh! he saw one old man
232. *do*
 pow
 pow
233. *0-bu-ndi*
 3SG-hit-PST
 he shot him
234. *mulurru-wuya* *nan-guya* *wurr-gaygba-rri-ya-marla*
 old woman-DU-ABS that-DU-ABS 3NSG-call out-PST-NAR-ITER
wurrugu
 3NSG-DAT
 those two old women used to call out to them
235. *bangbu-wuya* *guyamin*
 woman-DU-ABS two-ABS
 two women
236. *wok* *wur -yana-rri-wuya* *wurrugu* *nan-ganung*
 [work] 3NSG-do-PST-DU 3NSG-DAT that-COL-ABS
go *mernde-wu* [INTERJECTION]
 3SG-DAT white-DAT
 those two used to work for the whites
237. *ginybanana* [INTERJECTION]
 [name]-ABS
 Ginybanana
238. *yawe*
 yes
 yes

239. *0-ga-ndi-wan*
3SG-take-PST-DF
used to take them
240. *wunggun-ga-ndi-ya* *mernden* *darni* *ya-wurr-ya*
3SG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR white-ABS yonder-ABS 3-3NSG-go-PRES
he took the whitefellas, oh! there they go [i.e., Ginybanana pointed out
Aborigines to whites]
241. *julu-ya*
hill-LOC
on the hill
242. *jerrba-wi*
straight-ART
straight ahead
243. *wunggun-ga-ndi-ya-marla* *jurd*
3SG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR-ITER show
he would take them and show them
244. *mernde-yi* *wunggun-bu-ndi-ya* *na* *dordo*
white-ERG 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR [now] shoot rdp
the whites would shoot them now
245. *yugurni* *wunggun-ga-ndi-ya* *julu-gari-warr*
again 3SG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR hill-other-ALL
again he'd take them to another hill
246. *dana* *ya-wurr-ya* *galul*
this-ABS 3-3NSG-go-PRES up
here they're going on top
247. *wunggunbu-lawu-rri-ya* *mernde-yi* *wunggun-bu-ndi-ya*
3SG/3NSG-follow-PST-NAR white-ERG 3SG/3NSG-hit-PST-NAR
dordo
shoot
the whites used to follow them up and shoot them
248. *marla* *gila*
ITER indeed
it was like that all the time [over and over]

249. *girdibun-bari* *na* *0-yana-rri* *wurrugu* *na*
 finish-NOM [now] 3SG-do-PST 3NSG-DAT [now]
 they're finished he told them now
250. *girdibun* *na* *nuwun-bu-ndi*
 finish [now] 2NSG/3NSG-hit-PST
 you've finished them off now
251. *ngarr-ya-wan*
 1INPL-go-DF
 so let's go
252. *wurr-(y)anggi* *na*
 3NSG-go-PST [now]
 they went now
253. *wurr-ga-ndi*
 3NSG-take-PST
 took him
254. *lurrbu* *ol weleru-warr*
 back [Old Willeroo]-ALL
 back to Old Willeroo
255. *wurr-ga-ndi* *lurrbu* *wu-dagbarla-rri:*
 3NSG-take-PST back 3NSG-have-PST
 they took him back and kept him there
256. *arayt* *nan-ganung* *yi-menjegmenjen-wan* *mernden*
 [OK] that-COL-ABS YI-cheeky rdp-ABS-DF white-ABS
wurr-(y)anggi
 3NSG-go-PST
 OK, and those really cheeky/dangerous whites went
257. *0-nyanga-ndi* *go-wan* *yibiyi* *yidumduma-wu* *marluga*
 3SG-come-PST 3SG-DAT-DF father-ABS [name]-DAT old man-ABS
 and he came, the old man, the father of Yidumduma
258. *yidumduma-wu* *go* *yibiyi*
 [name]-DAT 3SG-DAT father-ABS
 Yidumduma's father

259. *0-nyanga-ndi* *nana* *marluga*
 3SG-come-PST that-ABS old man-ABS
 that old man came
260. *muyirr-ma* *wunggun-bu-ndi*
 gather-PS 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST
 he gathered them together
261. *muyirr-ma* *wunggun-bu-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
 gather-PS 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST
 he gathered them together
262. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
263. *muyirr-ma* *wunggun-bu-ndi:* *gila* *wunggun-ga-ndi*
 gather-PS 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST really 3SG/3NSG-take-PST
weleru-warr *na*
 [Willeroo]-ALL [now]
 he gathered them together, he took them to Willeroo
264. *jalbord-garr*
 station-ALL
 to the station
265. *wunggun-ga-ndi* *jalbord-garr* *weleru-warr*
 3SG/3NSG-take-PST station-ALL [Willeroo]-ALL
 he took them to Willeroo Station
266. *wunggu-dagbarla-rri-ya*
 3SG/3NSG-have-PST-NAR
 he kept them
267. *jalbord-ja* *na*
 station-LOC [now]
 at the station
268. *ngabobu* *go* *nganinggin-gu*
 FM-ABS 3SG-DAT mine-DAT
 the father's mother of my

269. brada
[brother]
brother
270. yang brada
[young brother]
young brother
271. arəyt
[all right]
alright
272. *dimana* na *0-galma-rri* [INTERJECTION]
horse-ABS [now] 3SG-climb-PST
he got up on his horse
273. kolt
[colt]
a colt
274. *0-wo-ndi* *nan-yi* *mernde-yi*
3SG-give-PST that-ERG white-ERG
that whitefella gave him it
275. *majirrg* *0-me-ndi* *dan-guya* *wurne-wuya*
tie 3SG-AUX-PST this-DU-ABS bone-DU-ABS
he tied up these two bones [i.e., tied his legs together around the saddle]
276. jedil-ya *majirrg* *0-me-ndi*
[saddle]-LOC tie 3SG-AUX-PST
he tied him in the saddle

[Tape change to side B]

277. *lorlorrma* *0-ga-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
drag 3SG-AUX-PST
it dragged him
278. jedil-warra-yi
[saddle]-having-ADV
with the saddle

279. *jolbord-ba*
station-ABL
from the station
280. *0-ga-ndi* *galul*
3SG-take-PST up
it took him up
281. *julu-warr*
hill-ALL
on the hill
282. *nana* *julu* *ya-0-jingi-n* *japela*
that-ABS hill-ABS 3-3SG-be-PRES [sharp]
that pointed hill is there
283. *nan-garr* [INTERJECTION]
that-ALL
to there
284. *jolbord-ba* *0-ga-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
station-ABL 3SG-take-PST
it took him from the station
285. *0-ni-rri* *dami-rlan* *galma* *julu-warr*
3SG-bring-PST this way-ALL up hill-ALL
it brought him this way up on the hill
286. *julu-warr* *0-ni-rri* *galma*
hill-ALL 3SG-bring-PST up
it brought him up on the hill
287. *nan-ya-wan* *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ndi* *wurrugu*
that-LOC-DF stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST 3NSG-DAT
and there it stood for them
288. *yurriba* *wurr-me-ndi* *go* *warlbawarlbag* *na*
stand 3NSG-get-PST 3SG-DAT take off [now]
they made it stand and unsaddled it now
289. *warlbawarlbag* *wurr-me-ndi* *go* *girdibun*
take off rdp. 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT finish
they took it off him, finished

290. *nan-ba-wan*
that-ABL-DF
and then
291. *wu-lu-rri* *gunga* *yiguyu:* *yinamun*
3NSG-cry-PST 3SG-DAT mother-ABS sister-ABS
and then they cried for him, mother, sister
292. *murrgun*
three
three [of them]
293. *mulurru-mulu*
old woman-PL-ABS
old women
294. *yinamun* *go*
sister-ABS 3SG-DAT
his sisters
295. *ngabobu-mulu*
FM-PL-ABS
[my] grandmothers
296. *wu-lu-rri* *go::* *lurrbu lurrbu* *wurr-(y)anggi*
3NSG-cry-PST 3SG-DAT back back 3NSG-go-PST
they cried for him and went back home
297. *lagla-warr*
camp-ALL
to camp
298. *wurr-(y)anggi* *lurrbu* *na*
3NSG-go-PST back [now]
they went back now
299. *dana* *na*
this-ABS [now]
this time [i.e., episode]
300. *yaning-barra* *nana-yi* *marluga-yi* *marrb* *0-me-ndi* *go*
thus-ADV that-ERG old man-ERG tie 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
that's the time that old man tied him up for him

301. *ginybanana-yi* [name]-ERG [INTERJECTION]
 Giynbanana [i.e., was the one who got the young man, Nugalalaj, tied onto the horse, allegedly for trifling with his wife]
302. *nan-yi marrb 0-me-ndi gunga*
 that-ERG tie 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
 that [European] tied him up for him [i.e., for Giynbanana. That is, the tying on the horse of Nugalalaj is presented as a favour done by the whites for Ginybanana]
303. *wurr-ga-ndi na*
 3NSG-take-PST [now]
 they took him [away] now
304. *dawu*
 that way
 that way
305. *0-ngegba-rri-wan dawu* [INTERJECTION]
 3SG-die-PST-DF that way
 and he died over that way
306. *namanya* [INTERJECTION]
 west
 in the west
307. *windim*
 [Wyndham]
 at Wyndham [in Western Australia]
308. *0-ngegba-rri*
 3SG-die-PST
 he died
309. *nungguru mod wu-luma-rri*
 hand-ABS cut 3NSG-cut -PST
 they cut off his hand
310. *muruwun-ya barnam wurr-gi-ndi*
 baobab-LOC fasten 3NSG-AUX-PST
 they fastened it onto a baobab tree

311. *nil-warra bamdal wurr-bu-ndi na*
 [nail]-ADV hammer 3NSG-AUX-PST [now]
 they hammered it on, using a nail
312. *nil-warra bamdal wurr-bu-ndi girdibun* [INTERJECTION]
 [nail]-ADV hammer 3NSG-AUX-PST finish
 they hammered it on, using a nail, finished
313. *led-ba ngayunggunbu-da-n mad-gu*
 look-PS 3NSG/1INDU-see-PRES language-DAT
 they're looking at us for this story [refers to other people in camp hearing this story, and looking at us]
314. *bamdal wurr-bu-ndi nungguru*
 hammer 3NSG-AUX-PST hand-ABS
 and so they hammered his hand on
315. *mernde-yi -wan* [INTERJECTION]
 white-ERG-DF
 whites did it
316. *yilama wurrugu yi-man yibiwan*
 maybe 3NSG-DAT YI-good-ABS man-ABS
 supposedly he was good to them
317. *wunggun-ga-ndi-yawu jurd-ba*
 3SG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR show-PS
 he took them around and showed them
318. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
319. *julu-ya* [INTERJECTION]
 hill-LOC
 on the hill
320. *wud-jingi-ndi-ya julu-ya*
 3NSG-be-PST-NAR hill-LOC
 they were on the hill
321. *yerrerdabay*
 [place]
 at Yerrerdabay

322. *nana*
that-ABS
that
323. *guda* *nana* *laglan*
where that-ABS camp-ABS
where's that camp
324. *trimail* *beye*
[Three Mile] downriver
Three Mile is downriver
325. *langgay* *wayana* *dan-ganung* *borri-rlan* *dana-ni*
[place] and all this-COL-ABS this way-ALL this-ART
Victoria River crossing and all these are this way, here
326. *jaliban krik*
[Sullivan Creek]
Sullivan Creek
327. *barnangga-ya* [INTERJECTION]
[place]
Mt. Gregory
328. *barnangga-ya* *yi-yerde-n* *laglan* [INTERJECTION]
[place] 2SG-know-PRES camp-ABS
Mt. Gregory, do you know that place?
329. *marluga-wu* *dan-gu*
old man-DAT this-DAT
this old man's
330. *kantri*
[country]
country
331. *nangala*
[ss]
Nangala [i.e., F.M.]
332. *wud-jingi-ndi-ya* *yijarlu*
3NSG-be-PST-NAR some-ABS
some were living [there]

333. *jurdba* *wunggun-ga-ndi-ya* *nan-yi*
 show-PS 3SG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR that-ERG
marluga-yi
 old man-ERG [INTERJECTION]
 that old man took them around and showed them
334. *nan-guya* *mulurru -wuya* *du* [INTERJECTION]
 that-DU-ABS old woman-DU-ABS [two]
 the two old ladies [i.e., Ginybanana's wives]
335. *wurr-yana-rri* *wok* *gunga* *gila* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-do-PST [work] 3SG-DAT really
 they were working for him [for whites]
336. *gulirdang* [INTERJECTION]
 [name]
 Gulirdang
337. *yibuluyma* [INTERJECTION]
 [name]
 Yibuluyma
338. *yibarnang*
 FZ-ABS
 aunties
339. *nganinggin-gu* *yibiyi-wu* [INTERJECTION]
 mine-DAT father-DAT
 my father's [aunties]
340. *wok* *wurr -yana-rri -ya*
 [work] 3NSG-do-PST-NAR
 they worked [for whites]
341. *wunggun-gerne-rri-ya* *marlarluga* *yibiwan*
 3SG/3NSG-take-PST-NAR old man rdp-ABS Aborigine-ABS
 they took them from the old Aboriginal men
342. *wunggunburr-jejbarla-rri -ya* *bega-wu*
 3NSG/3NSG-ask-PST-NAR tobacco-DAT
 they would ask them for tobacco

343. *gaba gaba*
 hey hey
 come on
344. *bega lawu gaba*
 tobacco-ABS get hey
 come on and get tobacco
345. *wangi mernden lege barlarra wurr-gi-ndi-ya-wuya*
 only white-ABS one-ABS hide 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR-DU
 only they used to hide one white man
346. *luwu-ya*
 cave-LOC
 in a cave
347. *warljub*
 inside
 inside
348. *wurr-yana-rrri gunga*
 2NSG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 they would say to him
349. *mernde-wu nan-gu*
 white-DAT that-DAT
 to that whitefella
350. *yibiyani-nulu ol weleru dana*
 man-PL-ABS [Old Willeroo]-ABS this-ABS
 the people at Old Willeroo here
351. *yibiwani-guya darni gyanin bega-wu ya-wud-janga-n*
 man-DU-ABS yonder two-ABS tobacco-DAT 3-3NSG-come-PRES
jejbarla
 ask
 two men there are coming to ask for tobacco
352. *o-yana-rrri gunga*
 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 he'd say to him

353. *nan-gu mernde-wu*
that-DAT white-DAT
to that white man
354. *a nu-gaygba wurrugu-wuya*
oh 2NSG-call 3NSG-DAT-DU
'Oh! You call out to the two of them!'
355. *0-yana-rri*
3SG-say-PST
he'd say
356. *nu-gaygba*
2NSG-call
you call out to them
357. *wurr-gaygba-rri na nan-guya mulurru-wuya*
3NSG-call-PST [now] that-DU-ABS old woman-DU-ABS
and the two old women called out now
358. *gaba nu-nyanga bega nu-lawu*
hey 2NSG-come tobacco-ABS 2NSG-get
'Hey! come and get tobacco'
359. *wurr-yana-rri wurrugu* [INTERJECTION]
3NSG-say-PST 3NSG-DAT
they'd say to them
360. *gaba bega lawu*
hey tobacco-ABS get
'Hey, get some tobacco'
361. *wangi mernden nana barlarra 0-jingi-ndi gunya*
only white-ABS that-ABS hide 3SG-be-PST 3SG-DISS
only the white man was hidden from him
362. *0-nyanga-ndi-wan nana marluga:: ngabobu gila*
3SG-come-PST-DF that-ABS old man-ABS FM-ABS indeed
and along came the old man, my father's mother's brother
363. *0-nyanga-ndi marluga: yurrb-a*
3SG-come-PST old man-ABS stand-PS
the old man came along and stood

364. *yiwanay*
[ss]
Yiwanay skin
365. *0-nyanga-ndi* *yurrb-a* *nungguru* *new* *0-me-ndi*
3SG-come-PST' stand-PS hand-ABS grab 3SG-AUX-PST
mernde-yi *na*
white-ERG [now]
he came along and stood, and the whitefella grabbed his hand now
366. *durd* *0-me-ndi* *gila* *nungguru*
hold 3SG-AUX-PST indeed hand-ABS
he hung onto his hand
367. *ngamanda* *yu wantim* *marluga* *0-yana-rri*
what-ABS [you want] old man-ABS 3SG-say-PST
'what do you want, old man?' he said to him
368. *wonggo* *yayi-0-yerde-rri* *madin* *mernde-wu* *gunga*
not IRR-3SG-know-PST language-ABS white-DAT 3SG-DAT
he couldn't have known the white man's language
369. *ngawun* [INTERJECTION]
no
not at all
370. *ngawun*
no
not at all
371. *wardagwardag* *0-yana-rri*
shake head 3SG-AUX-PST
he shook his head
372. *na* *mugurn* *jingi* *y i-bam* *y i-warnwarnin* [INTERJECTION]
[now] lie AUX YI-head-ABS YI-long-ABS
'You lie down', he had a long head
373. *yi-jili* *gumurdunga* *marrajbi* [INTERJECTION]
YI-hair-ABS headdress-ABS like
his hair was like a headdress

374. *mugurn* *0-jingi* *na* *0-gi-ndi*
 lie 3SG-AUX [now] 3SG-AUX-PST
 ‘lie down’, he put him down
375. *mugurn* *jingi* *dan-ya* *yum-nya* *0 -yana-rri*
 lie AUX this-LOC tree -LOC 3SG-say -PST
 ‘lie down on this log’, he said
376. *marluga* *nana* *mugurn* *0 -jingi-ndi* *na*
 old man-ABS that-ABS lie 3SG-AUX-PST [now]
 the old man lay down
377. *marluga*
 old man-ABS
 the old man
378. *wonggo-wan* *yi-mirr* *ngab* *0-gi-ndi* *dana*
 not-DF YI-forehead-ABS miss 3SG-AUX-PST this-ABS
wangi *yi-jili* *na*
 only YI-hair-ABS [now]
 and he didn’t mistake his forehead, only his hair now
379. *mod mod* *0-luma-rri*
 cut cut 3SG-AUX-PST
 he cut it
380. *marluga* *wardabarrb* *0-gaju-rri-ya*
 old man-ABS start 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR
 the old man started up now
381. *0-yanggi* *gayardung*
 3SG-go-PST run
 he ran away now
382. *wurr-bu-ndi* *gila* *dordo* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-hit-PST indeed shoot
- they shot after him
383. *gud* *0-gaju-rri* *worroman-bi* *wardabarrb*
 stand 3SG-AUX-PST fast-ART start
 he got up really fast

384. *gayardung* *0-yanggi* *yirrgulun* *judjud* [INTERJECTION]
run 3SG-go-PST river-ABS descend
he ran down to the river
385. *ngayugu* *y i-bam* *yi-warnwarnin* *0-yana-rri-yawu* *gunga*
1SG-ABS YI-head-ABS YI-long-ABS 3SG-say-PST-NAR 3SG-DAT
yilama-gan
maybe-Q
he reckoned I had a long head [i.e., the white man reckoned Ginybanana had a long head]
386. *wangi* *yi-jili*
only YI-hair-ABS
but it was only his hair [in old Aboriginal style]
387. *mod* *0-gi-ndi* *jonbong* *yi-jili* *gungan.gin*
cut 3SG-AUX-PST chop YI-hair-ABS his-ABS
he chopped his hair off
388. *japela* *barnda-warra*
[sharp] axe-ADV
using a sharp axe
389. *jonbong* *nana* *marluga* *wardabarrb*
chop that-ABS old man-ABS start
he chopped and that old man started up
390. *gayardung* *0-yanggi* *gunya* *yirrgulu-warr* *barrwa* *judjud*
run 3SG-go-PST 3SG-DISS river-ALL down descend
he ran away from him to the river and went down
391. *yirrgulun* *yirrgulun* *yirrgulun* *galul* *werr*
river-ABS river-ABS river-ABS up out
he ran along the river and came up and out
392. *0-bu-ndi* *berngij-(j)a*
3SG-AUX-PST black soil-LOC
out onto the black soil
393. *galul* *wurr-(y)anggi* *worroman-bi* *gayardung* *julu-ya* *duba*
up 3NSG-go-PST fast-ART run hill-LOC sit
they went up quickly, [and he] ran to the hill and sat down

394. *0-ngewba-rr-i-ya* *julu-ya* *galul* *gila*
 3SG-puff -PST-NAR hill-LOC up indeed
 he was really shortwinded up on the hill
395. *nana* *mernde-nulu* *je bin jedilimap*
 that-ABS white -PL-ABS [they saddled up]
 those whitefellas saddled up
396. *dimana* *gunya*
 horse-ABS 3SG-DISS
 horses, on him [i.e., to his disadvantage]
397. *yurrba* *na* *wurr-gomarla-rr-i* *jumbam-ba* *gila*
 stand [now] 3NSG-follow PST behind rdp-ABL indeed
 they stood now and followed after him
398. *guda* *nana* *marluga* *gayardung* *0-yanggi* *barlarra*
 where that-ABS old man-ABS run 3SG-go-PST hide
0-jingi-ndi
 3SG-be-PST
 where did that old man run? he was hiding
399. *yi-munburra-ya* *wurrugunya*
 YI-rock-LOC 3NSG-DISS
 from them in the rock
400. *wud-jarrambu-rr-i* *gunga* *wonggo* *wunggun-da-rr-i*
 3NSG-search-PST 3SG-DAT not 3SG/3NSG-see-PST
 they looked around for him, they didn't see him
401. *girrb* *0-jingi-ndi* *barlarra*
 mute 3SG-be-PST hide
 he was hiding quietly
402. *wud-jarrambu-rr-i* *mernde-nulu-yi* *ngawun*
 3NSG-search-PST white-PL-ERG nothing
 the whitefellas looked around, nothing
403. *lurrbu lurrbu* *wud-janga-ndi* *gunya*
 back back 3NSG-come-PST 3SG-DISS
 they came back from him

404. *nan-ba-wan* *0-yanggi* *wurrugunya* *raytap*
 that-ABL-DF 3SG-go-PST 3NSG-DISS [right up]
 and after that he went away from them right up
405. *yerrerdabay-warr-min* *galgal* [INTERJECTION]
 [place]-ALL-ADV climb
 up to Yerrerdabay
406. *galgal* *0-yanggi*
 climb 3SG-go-PST
 he climbed up
407. *mernde-yi* *nan-yi* *ngan-linyje-rri* *yi-jili*
 white-ERG that-ERG 3SG/1SG-cut-PST YI-hair-ABS
 that whitefella cut my hair
408. *mod-ba* [INTERJECTION]
 cut-PS
 cut it off
409. *yingyi* *0-nge-ndi* *nganu-marla*
 name-ABS 3SG-call-PST 1SG-DAT-ITER
 [she] used to tell me his name
410. *ngabobu-yi* *nganinggin-yi*
 FM-ERG mine-ERG
 my grandmother
411. *wonggo* *nga-yerde-n*
 not 1SG-know-PRES
 I don't know
412. *yi-gulan* *nga-we-n* *tumaji*
 YI-ear-ABS 1SG-AUX-PRES [because]
 because I've forgotten
413. *wurr-ga-ndi* *na*
 3NSG-take-PST [now]
 they took him now

414. *ngamanda-warang* *yinyang* *wurr-yana-rri* *go*
 what-having-ABS 2SG-ABS 3NSG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 ‘what’s the matter with you?’, they’d say to him
415. *mernde-yi* *ngan-luma-rri* *barnda-warra*
 white-ERG 3SG/1SG-cut-PST axe-ADV
 a whitefella cut me with an axe
416. *yilama* *yi-bam* *yi-warnwarnin*
 maybe YI-head-ABS YI-long-ABS
 he reckoned I had a long head [speaker laughter].

Text IV

Stopping the grog

Told by Elsie Raymond, June 1990

1. *nganinggin-yi yingawa-yi 0-gin-di wu-boban wiya-wu*
 my-ERG child-ERG 3SG-put-PST WU-dry-ABS water-DAT
wunggun-bu-ndi dawag-ba
 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST stop-PS
 my child made it a dry area, he stopped them

2. *wonggo munu-ni-n dan-garr lagla-warr*
 not 2NSG-IRR-bring-PRES this-ALL camp-ALL
wu-boban-marla nga-gi-ndi
 WU-dry-CAUS 1SG-put-PST
 you can't bring it here to this camp, I made it a dry area

3. *nu-ngu-wa nu-ngu dawung-beng gangga-wi wonggo*
 2NSG-drink-FUT 2NSG-drink that way-SPEC upstream-ART not
munu-nyanga-n hurrbulurrbu wiya-warang ngawun
 2NSG-IRR-come-PRES back rdp water-having no
 you must drink your drink that way, you can't come back with grog

4. *nu-gurrgba dawung-beng gangga-wi nu-nyanga hurrbu*
 2NSG-sleep that way-SSPEC upstream-ART 2NSG-come back
wiya-wagbawun
 water-lacking-ABS
 you sleep there upstream [in town] you come back without grog

5. *wiya-yi yimburr-marnbu-n warlad*
 water-ERG 3SG/2SG-make-PRES sick-ABS
 grog makes you sick

6. *warlad nu-jingi-n nunja ojpital nu-ngegba*
 sick 2NSG-be-PRES 2NSG-go-PRES [hospital] 2NSG-die
wiya-wunba
 water-SOU
 you're sick, you go to hospital and die of grog

7. *yirr-ga-n* *nurrugu* *gundul* *wiyawujba-wu*
 1EXNSG-take-PRES 2NSG-DAT peace drunkard-DAT
 ma-nu-ngu-n-ga *yi-gulan-wagbawun*
 HAB-2NSG-consume-PRES-SUB YI-ear lacking-ABS
 we keep the place peaceful, you always drink and don't listen
8. *wonggo* *yunggunu-wojbarna-n* *lanygaj*
 not 3NSG-AUX-PRES recognize
 they don't realize
9. *yin.gun-wojbarna-rri* *legen-yi* *marluga-yi* *yijamun-yi*
 3SG-1EXNSG-listen-PST one-ERG old man-ERG MF-ERG
 yirrugu
 1EXNSG-DAT
 one old man, our grandfather, listened to us.

Text V

Wurrugu 'devils'

Told by Elsie Raymond, July 1989

1. *wujaba-wagbawun*
house-lacking-ABS
[We had] no house
2. *owij* *wagbawun*
[house] lacking-ABS
there was no house
3. *yid-jingi-ndi-ya* *ngorrogorro*
1EXNSG-sit-PST-NAR afternoon
he and I were sitting in the afternoon
4. *0-nyanga-ndi* *lurrbu*
3SG-come-PST home
he came home
5. *nganinggin* *yi-marnayn* *wok-gunba*
mine-ABS YI-husband-ABS [work]-SOU
from his work, my husband
6. *na*
[now]
now
7. *buja jap-ja*
[butcher shop]-LOC
in the butcher shop
8. *birrg* *0-gerne* *du klifod*
take from 3SG-AUX [to Clifford]
take it away from Clifford
9. *nganinggin-garang* *yi-wol-warang* *a bai n bai*
mine-having-ABS YI-picture-having-ABS ah [by and by]
got my picture [rebuking child]

10. *yirr-gurrgba-rrri* *layin-wan* *yirr-ginye-rrri*
 1EXNSG-sleep-PST meat-ABS-DF 1EXNSG-cook-PST
 we lay down and were cooking meat
11. *layin* *yirr-ginye-rrri-ya* *mobonyi* *na*
 meat-ABS 1EXNSG-cook-PST-NAR night [now]
 we were cooking meat at night now
12. *girdibun*
 finish
 [it was] done
13. *mog* *wurr-me-ndi* *yirrigu* *na*
 small 3NSG-AUX-PST 1EXNSG-DAT [now]
 they smelled us now
14. *wurrguru-yi*
 devil-ERG
 the devils
15. *mog* *wurr-me-ndi* *layin* *dan-ganung*
 smell 3NSG-AUX-PST meat-ABS this-COL-ABS
 they smelled the meat
16. *wud-janga-ndi* *na*
 3NSG-come-PST [now]
 they came
17. *gordo-gordog* *pastaim*
 [noise] [first time]
 [making the noise] gordo-gordog at first
18. *ed*
 [head]
 head
19. *yi-berr-wagbawun* *oni* *yi-bam* *0-nyanga-ndi* *digidigil-ma*
 YI-leg-lacking-ABS [only] YI-head-ABS 3SG-come-PST roll rdp-PS
 [they had] no legs, only the heads came, rolling along
20. *yi-bam* *ya-0-nyanga-n*
 YI-head-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES
 the heads are coming

21. *yi-bam-biji*
YI-head-ABS-only
only the heads
22. *yu bin he*
[you were here]
you been [unclear]
23. *gordo-gordo-gordo-gordog* *yanima-n* *ma-jad*
[noise] thus-ABS MA-big-ABS
gordo-gordog like that, a big thing
24. *ma-durrudban*
MA-round-ABS
a big round [thing]
25. *digidigil-ma* *ya-0-nyanga-n*
roll rdp-PS 3-3SG-come-PRES
it comes rolling along
26. *gordo-gordo-gordog* *0-nyanga-ndi* *yirrugu* *gordo-gordo::*
[noise] 3SG-come-PST 1EXNSG-DAT [noise]
wonggo *lege* *nangala*
neg one-ABS [ss]
it came along gordogordog towards us, gordogordog, not only one, Nangala!
27. *ngawurnen* *dan-bi* *yarlarrg*
many-ABS this-ART leaf
as many as these leaves [on the tree]
28. *mog-ba* *0-nyanga-ndi* *layin-gu*
smell-PS 3SG-come-PST meat-DAT
they came for the meat smell
29. *mog* *wurr-me-ny-ga*
smell 3NSG-AUX-PST-SUB
having smelled it
30. *nga-wojbarna-rri-ya* *na* *mugurn-ba*
1SG-hear-PST-NAR [now] sleep-ABL
I heard now from [where I was] lying down

31. *nga-wojbarna-rri* *gordo-gordo-gordog-marla-warr*
 1SG-hear-PST [noise]-ITER-ALL
 I heard gordogordog, it kept on
32. *gud*
 stand
 [I] stood up
33. *wudu-wan* *nga-dagbarla-rri-ya* *gongodjang* [INTERJECTION]
 little-ABS-DF 1SG-have-PST-NAR [name]
- I had a little one, Gongodjang
34. *jilig* *nga-me-ndi*
 touch 1SG-AUX-PST
 I touched him
35. *nganinggin* *yi-marmayn*
 mine-ABS YI-husband-ABS
 my husband
36. *ngamanda* *nana* *gordo-gordog-wan* *ya-0-nyanga-n*
 what that-ABS [noise]-DF 3-3SG-come-PRES
wurrguru *wurrguru* *wurrguru* *wa: wa: wa:*
 devil-ABS devil-ABS devil-ABS [noise]
 what's that coming [going] gordogordog? devils [went] wa: wa: wa:
37. *nimbuj-ba* *wurr-bu-ndi*
 chase-PS 3NSG-AUX-PST
 they chased them away
38. *wurr-(y)anggi* *na* *gordogordogordo* *wurr-(y)anggi* *baraj* *na*
 3NSG-go-PST [now] [noise] 3NSG-go-PST far [now]
 [INTERJECTION]
 they went away now gordogordog, they went far away now
39. *gangga-rlan* *galung-lan*
 upriver-ALL up-ALL
 way upriver on top
40. *gorrong-lan-ma*
 south-ALL-PS
 southerly

41. *gurru jurd-ba nga-bu-wa yinggi*
 after show-PS 1SG-AUX-FUT 2SG-DAT
 after I'll show you
42. *nan-ya yi-dagbarla-rrri laglan* [INTERJECTION]
 that-LOC 1EXNSG-have-PST camp-ABS
 where we had our camp
43. *laglan yi-dagbarla-rrri*
 camp-ABS 1EXNSG-have-PST
 we had our camp
44. *yid-jingi-ndi-ya nan-ya-wunyin*
 1EXNSG-sit-PST-NAR that-LOC-SPEC
 we lived right there
45. *yid-jingi-ndi-ya::*
 1EXNSG-sit-PST-NAR
 we camped
46. *gurru-ya-wan*
 later-LOC-DF
 and later
47. *yirr-gurrnga-rrri na*
 1EXNSG-sleep-PST [now]
 we went to sleep now
48. *nimbu-j-ba yirr-bu-ny-ga gordogordogordog wonggo*
 hunt away-PS 1EXNSG-AUX-PST-SUB [noise] not
wud-janga-ndi yugurni ngawun
 3NSG-come-PST more no
 after we'd hunted them away they didn't come back again
49. *nan-ba-wan wud-janga-ndi wurrguru-wuya guyamin*
 that-ABS-DF 3NSG-come-PST devil-ABS-DU two
 after that there came two devils, two of them
50. *mordol-warang-guya*
 tail-having-DU-ABS
 two of them with tails

51. *wagayma* *wudu wudu* *manggi* [INTERJECTION]
 like small rdp [monkey]
 like little monkeys
52. *girdibun-ma* *0-ya-ny-ga* *ngamanda* *gordogordog*
 finish-PS 3SG-PST-SUB what [noise]
 after they'd gone, the gordogordog
53. *lurrbu* *lurrbu* *wurr-(y)anggi*
 home home 3NSG-go-PST
 they went back
54. *wurrguru-wuya* *werr* *wurr-bu-ndi*
 devil-DU-ABS out 3NSG-AUX-PST
 the two devils emerged
55. *yum-nya* *galgal*
 tree-LOC up
 climbed up a tree
56. *yin.gu-da-rri-ya*
 3NSG/1EXNSG-see-PST-NAR
 they looked at us
57. *dulwad-marla* *yin.gun-bu-ndi* *jurdjurd*
 count-ITER 3NSG/1EXNSG-AUX-PST show
 and counted us, pointing
58. *nganinggin-yi* *yi-marnany-yi* *gidij* *ngan-me-ndi* *nana*
 mine-ERG YI-husband-ERG touch 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST that-ABS
galul *mordorl-warang*
 up tail-having-ABS
 my husband touched me, 'That up there with a tail'
59. *ngamanda* *nana* *layin* *nga-yana-rri* *gunga*
 what that-ABS game-ABS 1SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 what's that animal, I said to him
60. *manggi*
 [monkey]
 is it a monkey?

61. *wurruru* *yi-wungij-gun* *0-yana-rri* *na* *nganu*
 devil YI-darkness-NOM 3SG-say-PST [now] 1SG-DAT
 it's a devil of the night he said to me
62. *ale*
 is that so?
 'Is that right?'
63. *a*
 oh
 'Oh!'
64. *wungun-jala-rri* *yum-nyi* *galung-lan*
 3SG/3NSG-throw-PST tree-INST up-ALL
 he threw a stick at them upwards
65. *wuja-warang-nyi*
 fire-having-INST
 one on fire
66. *diw* *ya-wurr-ya*
 fly 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES
 they fly away
67. *wagayma* *jigjig*
 like bird-ABS
 like birds
68. *maw* *wurr-(y)anggi*
 take off 3NSG-go-PST
 they flew off
69. *wuma-ya* [INTERJECTION]
 track-LOC
 on their traces [like a trail that the devils leave]
70. *wurr-(y)anggi* *wabaja* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-go-PST disappear
 they disappeared
71. *momorr* *ya-wurr-gomarla-n*
 string-ABS 3-3NSG-follow-PRES
 they follow a 'string'

72. *wuma* [INTERJECTION]
 trace
 [called] *wuma*
73. *momorr* *ya-wurr-gomarla-n*
 string-ABS 3-3NSG-follow-PRES
 they follow a trace
74. *wabaja* *wurr-(y)anggi-wuya*
 disappear 3NSG-go-PST-DU
 the two of them disappeared
75. *wonggo* *nga-na-n-wan* *mo na* *ngawun*
 not 1SG-see-PRES-DF [more now] no
 and I don't see [them] any more.

10. *dangindi-warra* *0-yanggi-ya* *muri-ma*
 paperbark-ADV 3SG-go PST-NAR conceal-PST
 they went around covered up with paperbark
11. *0-gengmi-yi-rri-ya*
 3SG-fear-MED-PST-NAR
 they were afraid
12. *wurren* *wonggo* *worromon* *ya-yi-we-n*
 child-ABS neg fast IRR-3SG-fall-PRES
 the child couldn't be born quickly
13. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
14. *maytbi* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *murrgun* *gandawag*
 [might be] 3SG-be-PST-NAR three month-ABS
 she would stay maybe for three months
15. *yani-ma*
 thus-PS
 like that
16. *yi-birrba* *bangbun* *nana*
 YI-old-ABS woman-ABS that-ABS
 that's an 'old' [long-term] woman
17. *burrugawun-bari*
 long time-NOM
 from a long time
18. *wel* *gayawun-bi*
 [well] still-ART
 but still [some time to go]
19. *maytbi* *yilama-gan* *wiyan* *lege*
 [might be] perhaps-INDEF rain-ABS one-ABS
ya-yi-jingi-ndi
 3-3SG-IRR-be-PST
 maybe she would've had to stop one rainy season
20. *yarluba*
 pregnant-ABS
 pregnant

21. *nana-wan* *led-ba-wunba* *tumaji*
 that-DF look-PS-SOU [because]
 from [people] looking [at her]
22. *yibiyān-yi* *led-ba* *wu-da-rri-yawu* [INTERJECTION]
 man-ERG look-PS 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 men would look at her
23. *laik* *yumin* *bag* *ya-wurr-me-n*
 [like] tree-ABS break 3-3NSG-AUX-PRES
 just like they snap a branch
24. *beng beng beng* *laiki jat* [INTERJECTION]
 snap snap snap [like that]
 snap snap snap like that
25. *beng* *nga-bu-ndi*
 snap 1SG-AUX-PST
 I snapped it [a man would say, of the 'string']
26. *maytbe* *nana* *wurren* *ye-0-we-yen* *yi-gle*
 [might be] that-ABS child-ABS 3-3SG-fall-POT YI-rotten
warda-gan *gayawun-bi*
 QQ-INDEF still-ART
 might be the child will be born dead, I don't know, wait and see
27. *bangbu-yi* *wurren* *0-marnbu-rri-ya* *i bin wanna stat*
 woman-ERG child-ABS 3SG-make-PST-NAR [it was about to start]
 the woman had the child
28. *ya-0-garrayma* *i bin wanta sidaun*
 3-3SG-hurt-PRES [she would be]
 she would be there in [labour] pain
29. *ya-0-garrayma* *0-jingi-ndi-ya*
 3-3SG-hurt-PRES 3SG-sit-PST-NAR
 she would be there in [labour] pain
30. *wurren* *ya-0-marnbu-n* *nu-nyanga* *worroman*
 child-ABS 3-3SG-make-PRES 2NSG-come quick
 she's having the child, come quickly

31. *guyamin-yi* *bangbu-yi* *yi-berr-wuya* *durd-ba*
 two-ERG woman-ERG YI-leg-DU-ABS grab-PS
wurr-me-ndi-ya *dan.guyugun* *dan.guyugun*
 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR this side this side
 two women clasped her two legs from this side, and this side
32. *durd-barra* *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *yani-ma-wuya*
 grab-ADV 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR thus-PS-DU-ABS
 they held them like this [showing legs]
33. *yani-ma*
 thus-PS
 like this
34. *yani-ma* *0-jingi-ndi-ya-wan*
 thus-PS 3SG-be-PST-NAR-DF
 and she would be there like this
35. *yani-ma*
 thus-PS
 like this
36. *banggin-ya* *na* *mugurn*
 back-LOC [now] lie
 lying on her back
37. *jem we igin im jidaun la im*
 [and she would sit in the same way]
 and she would sit with her in the same way
38. *banggin-ya* *dana go* *yi-warna* *bangbun* *yani-ma*
 back-LOC this 3SG-DAT YI-other-ABS woman-ABS thus-PS
 on her back this way and another woman like this
39. *mejern* *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *dana* *durd-ba* *na*
 belly-ABS 3NSG-get-PST-NAR this-ABS grab-PS [now]
 they held her belly here now
40. *yani-ma*
 thus-PS
 like this

41. *jerrb jerrb wurr-gi-ndi-ya*
 push push 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 they put pressure upon her
42. *jerrb jerrb*
 push push
 push push
43. *jerrb jerrb wurr-gi-ndi-wan*
 push push 3NSG-AUX-PST-DF
 and as they put pressure on her
44. *jerrb jerrb wurr-gi-ndi-ya wurren nana*
 push push 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR child-ABS that-ABS
wirriny-ma 0-bu-yi-rri-ya na
 turn-PS 3SG-AUX-RR-PST-NAR [now]
 they put pressure upon her, the child turned itself
45. *wirriny-ma-wan 0-bu-yi-rri-ya*
 turn-PS-DF 3SG-AUX-RR-PST-NAR
 and so it turned itself
46. *yi-bam-bi ya-0-nyanga-n yi-warna-gari bangbun*
 YI-head-ART 3-3SG-come-PRES YI-other-other-ABS woman-ABS
0-yana-rri-ya na dawung-ba
 3SG-say-PST-NAR [now] this way-ABL
 it's coming head-first, another woman would say, from this way
47. *yi-bam-bi ya-0-nyanga-n nana wurren-wan*
 YI-head-ART 3-3SG-come-PRES that-ABS child-ABS-DF
 the child is coming head-first
48. *marmungurru jurlg-ba nu-gi go*
 hard push-PS 2NSG-AUX 3SG-DAT
 you push hard for her
49. *jurlg-ba gi*
 push-PS AUX
 push
50. *gin-ma yana go*
 push-PS AUX 3SG-DAT
 push for her

51. *gin-ma*
push-PS
push
53. *yana*
AUX
do
54. *marnungurru*
hard
hard.

Text VII

Warnaba ‘spirits of the grass’

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *wiyan*
water-ABS
water
2. *yirr-ga-ndi-ya-wiya*
1EXNSG-take-PST-NAR-DU
the two of us were taking it
3. *nga-na-rri-wan* *gunya*
1SG-see-PST-DF 3SG-DISS
I looked away
4. *wolon* *0-nyanga-ndi* *na*
grass-ABS 3SG-come-PST [now]
the grass was coming now
5. *gajigaji* *0-nyanga-ndi* *wolon* *nan-ganung*
walk 3SG-come-PST grass-ABS that-COL-ABS
the grass came walking
6. *e*
hey
Hey!
7. *ganbangarri* *nga-yana-rri* *go*
[name] 1SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
Ganbangarri! I said to her
8. *dorij*
[Doris]
Doris
9. *ganbangarri* *gaba*
[name] hey
Ganbangarri, hey

10. *wolon* *wolon* *gajigaji* *yanja* *yawe*
 grass-ABS grass-ABS walk 3SG-go-PRES yes
 the grass, the grass is going walking, yes
11. *gala* *ngayi-na-n-guya* *led-ba* [INTERJECTION]
 try 1INDU-see-PRES-DU see-PS
 let's you and I try to have a look
12. *gajigaji* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya* *dawu-rlan*
 walk 3NSG-go-PST-NAR that way-ALL
 they went walking that way
13. *wurr-(y)anggi-ya::* *walbalbarnda* *na* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-go-PST-NAR plain rdp [now]
 they were going along the plain
14. *wurr-(y)anggi-wuya* *gajigaji* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya* *ngawurnen*
 3NSG-go-PST-DU walk 3NSG-go-PST-NAR many-ABS
 the two of them went, many went walking
15. *wolon*
 grass-ABS
 the grass
16. *led-ba* *yi-da-rri-ya-wuya*
 look-PS 1EXNSG-see-PST-NAR-DU
 we two looked
17. *ya-yirr-gomarla-rri* *na* *ya-yirr-gomarla-rri*
 IRR-1EXNSG-follow-PST [now] IRR-1EXNSG-followed-PST
ya-yi-da-ny-ga
 IRR-1EXNSG-see-PST-SUB
 we should have followed, had we followed we would have seen
18. *bujun* *ya-yirr-gomarla-rri* *wabaja*
 if IRR-1EXNSG-follow-PST disappear
 if we'd followed it out of sight
19. *nana* *gudgud* *ya-yi-wurr-gaju-rri-ya* *yin.gunburr-bu-ndi-wan*
 that-ABS arise 3-IRR-3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG/1EXNSG-hit-PST-DF
 if we'd gotten up it would've struck us

20. *yilama-gan*
maybe-Q
maybe
21. *yibiwi* *gunga* *dorij-gu* *yirr-gaygba-rri-wuya*
father-ABS 3SG-DAT [Doris]-DAT 1EXNSG-call to-PST-DU
the two of us called to Doris' father
22. *nga-gaygba-rri* *go* *ngayugu* *juga::* *nga-yana-rri*
1SG-call to-PST 3SG-DAT 1SG-ABS child 1SG-say-PST
go [INTERJECTION]
3SG-DAT
me, I called to him, 'child!' I said to him
23. *gay*
what
what
24. *ngamanda*
what-ABS
what is it?
26. *wolon* *nana* *gajigaji* *yanja*
grass-ABS that-ABS walk 3SG-go-PRES
the grass is walking!
27. *e* *wonggo* *nunu-na-n-guya* *led-ba*
hey not IRR2NSG-see-PRES-DU look-PS
hey, you two mustn't look
28. *yibiyān* *yanan-ga* *ya-wurr-ya*
man-ABS thus-EMPH 3-3NSG-go-PRES
[it's] men [that] are going along like that
29. *barrwa* *ya-wurr-ya* *gonjo-ya*
under 3-3NSG-go-PRES ground-LOC
they are going along under ground
30. *warnaba* *o-yana-rri*
[name] 3SG-say-PST
it's *warnaba*, he said

31. *a*
oh
Oh!
32. *lurrbu* *yirr-(y)anggi-wuya* *na*
back 1EXNSG-go PST-DU [now]
the two of us went back home now
33. *lurrbu* *yirr-(y)anggi::* *nan-garr* *marluga-warr*
home 1EXNSG-go-PST that-ALL old man-ALL
yi-warna-gari-warr *go*
YI-other-other-ALL 3SG-DAT
we went home to the other old man
34. *yibiwi* *go* *dorij-gu*
father 3SG-DAT [Doris]-DAT
Doris' father
35. *nan-ba* *na* *jurđ* *yirr-bu-ndi* *go*
that-ABL [now] show 1EXNSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
from there we showed him now
36. *darni* *na* *yanjaja* *wolon* *gajigaji*
yonder [now] 3SG-go rdp-PRES grass-ABS walk
yonder now the grass is walking along!
37. *yawe* *yawe*
yes yes
yes, yes
38. *led-ba* *yi-da-rri* *0-yanggi::* *buy*
look-PS 1EXNSG-see-PST 3SG-go-PST whoosh
we looked and it went whoosh!
39. *barrwa* *judjud*
down descend
went down
40. *yirrgulu-warr*
river-ALL
to the river

41. *yibiyan-marla* *wurr-gaju-rri* *na* *yibiyan*
 man-INCH 3NSG-arise-PST [now] man-ABS
 and became men now
42. *barrwarrwa* *gonjo-wa*
 under rdp ground-ABL
 underneath from the ground
43. *yirrgulu-wa-wan*
 river-ABL-DF
 and from the river
44. *werrwerr* *wurr-bu-ndi* *na*
 emerge rdp 3NSG-AUX-PST [now]
 they burst out
45. *wurr-(y)anggi*
 3NSG-go-PST
 and went
46. *wurr-gaju-rri-wan* *yibiyan*
 3NSG-arise-PST-DF man-ABS
 and arose as men
47. *wolon* *nan-ganung* *ya-0-yu* *nan-beng* *na* *yurrbyurrb*
 grass-ABS that-COL-ABS 3-3SG-be-PRES that-SPEC [now] stand
 the grass stands right there now
48. *nan-yi* *wolo-yi* *yanggun-gomarla-n*
 that-ERG grass-ERG 3SG/3NSG-follow-PRES
 that grass follows them
49. *ya-wurr-(y)a-n-ga* *barrwa* *gonjo-ya*
 3-3NSG-go-PRES-SUB under ground-LOC
 as they go under the ground
50. *wolon* *yanja* *gunga* *galulul*
 grass-ABS 3SG-go-PRES 3SG-DAT up rdp
 and the grass goes along up above [i.e., below ground there move the spirits
 called *warnaba*; and the grass moves and waves above ground, marking their
 passage].

Text VIII

Child spirits

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *yi-ngawuyu dan.guyugun*
YI-wife-ABS this side
his wife is on this side
2. *yi-marnayn ya-0-gurrgba go dan-ba*
YI-husband-ABS 3-3SG-sleep-PRES 3SG-DAT this-ABL
her husband sleeps on this side of her
3. *duba ya-0-jingi-n yi-bam-nya na* [INTERJECTION]
sit 3-3SG-sit-PRES YI-head-LOC [now]
it sits at their heads now
4. *warlarrgu-warda*
outside-QQ
outside
5. *ya-0-gurrgba-n-ga-wan damin-ba ya-0-gurrgba*
3-3SG-sleep-PRES-SUB-DF this-ABL 3-3SG-sleep-PRES
go na
3SG-DAT [now]
where he's sleeping this way to her
6. *mugurn-garr-wan duba-ya-wan*
sleep-ALL-DF sit-LOC-DF
and while they're sleeping it's sitting
7. *ye-0-me-n*
3-3SG-AUX-PRES
it does it
8. *gidij ye-0-me-n*
touch 3-3SG-AUX-PRES
it touches him

9. *guda nganu yi -guyu ya-0-yana go*
 where 1SG-DAT YI-mother-ABS 3-3SG-say-PRES 3SG-DAT
 where is my mother, it says to him
10. *yi-guyu nganu guda*
 YI-mother-ABS 1SG-DAT where
 where is my mother
11. *yi-guyu yinggi dan-bi-wi*
 YI-mother-ABS 2SG-DAT this-ART-ART
 your mother is this one here
12. *jurlg ya-0-wudba na yani-ma*
 push 3-3SG-AUX-PRES [now] thus-PS
 it pushes her now like this
13. *ya-0-lawu-n-wan na*
 3-3SG-reach-PRES-DF [now]
 as it goes to her now
14. *mugurn ya-0-gurrba nana bangbun*
 sleep 3-3SG-sleep-PRES that-ABS woman-ABS
 the woman is sleeping
15. *yi-ngawuyu go*
 YI-mother-ABS 3SG-DAT
 its mother
16. *wonggo ya-0-wojbarna-n*
 not 3-3SG-hear-PRES
 she doesn't hear
17. *wurren nana jurlg ya-0-wudba yani-ma*
 child-ABS that-ABS push 3-3SG-AUX-PRES thus-PS
mugurn-ba-yi-wan
 sleep-PS-ADV-DF
 and like this the child pushes her as she's sleeping
18. *yurrb ya-0-wudba*
 stand 3-3SG-AUX-PRES
 it makes her get up

19. *ya-0-lawu-n* *na*
 3-3SG-reach-PRES [now]
 it finds her now
20. *mejern-garang* *yanja* *go* *warljub* *na*
 belly-having-ABS 3-3SG-go-PRES 3SG-DAT inside [now]
 it goes inside and impregnates her
21. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
22. *yani-ma-wan*
 thus-PS-DF
 that's how it is.

Text IX
***Galapin* ‘Galloping Jack’s’, a place on the**
Katherine River

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *galgalba-ya*
shallow-LOC
in the shallows
2. *galgalba-ya darni wiya-ya* [INTERJECTION]
shallow-LOC yonder water-LOC
there in the shallows
3. *darni beye galapin-ya*
yonder-ABS downstream [Galloping]-LOC
yonder downstream at Galloping Jack’s
4. *beye dawu*
downstream that way
downstream that way
5. *galapin* [INTERJECTION]
[Galloping]
at Galloping Jack’s
6. *beye darni*
downstream-ABS yonder-ABS
downstream yonder
7. *nan-ya nganinggin yibiwi*
that-LOC mine-ABS father-ABS
my father was there
8. *wok 0-yana-rri-ya binatang pam-nya*
[work] 3SG-AUX-PST [peanut farm]-LOC
working on the peanut farm

9. *burrugawi ngayugu wudu*
 long ago 1SG-ABS little-ABS
 a long time ago when I was little
10. *O-jingi-ndi-ya::*
 3SG-be-PST-NAR
 he was there
11. *nana yirr-(y)anggi na yirlarlan lurrbu* [INTERJECTION]
 that-ABS 1EXNSG-go-PST [now] country home
 we went back home through the bush
12. *weleru-warr*
 [Willeroo]-ALL
 to Willeroo
13. *gajigaji borleborle yirr-(y)anggi* [INTERJECTION]
 walk across rdp 1EXNSG-go-PST
 on foot, we went across
14. *borleborle yirr-(y)anggi:: girdibun yirrug guji*
 across rdp 1EXNSG-go-PST finish 1EXNSG-ABS first
 we went across, all of us first
15. *yin.gun-ga-ndi*
 3SG/1EXNSG-take-PST
 he took us
16. *nganinggin-yi yibiyi-yi borle borle*
 mine-ERG father-ERG across rdp
 my father, right across
17. *borle galul yin.gun-waja-rri*
 across up 3SG/1EXNSG-leave-PST
 he left us across on top
18. *galul-yunuyn*
 up-really
 right on top
19. *marluga-wan yi-warna-gari*
 old man-ABS-DF YI-other-other-ABS
 and another old man

20. *gegeyenman*
[name]-ABS
Gegeyenman
21. *giminy-gu* *go* *yibiyi*
[name]-DAT 3SG-DAT father-ABS
Gimiyn's father
22. *liw-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi* *jumba* *na* *nana* [INTERJECTION]
swim-PS 3SG-come-PST behind [now] that-ABS
came swimming along behind, that one
23. *barn-garang*
sorcery-having-ABS
a sorcerer
24. *yibiyan* *0-bu-ny-ga*
man-ABS 3SG-hit-PST-SUB
who had killed a man
25. *yawe*
yes
yes
26. *liw*
swim
swim
27. *liw-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
swim-PS 3SG-come-PST
came swimming
28. *barragbarrag-garang* *yibiyan*
sorcerer-having-ABS man-ABS
a sorcerer
29. *0-yo-rri*
3SG-spear-PST
he speared him
30. *garn-yi* [INTERJECTION]
spear-INST
with a spear

31. *buda-ya*
black plum-LOC
in a black plum tree
32. *nan-yi marluga-yi 0-me-ndi-ya buda::*
that-ERG old man-ERG 3SG-get-PST-NAR black plum-ABS
0-banybu-rri-ya
3SG-put in container-PST-NAR
the old man was getting black plum and putting it in a container
33. *0-na-rri-wan yi-wol na barrwa-rlan* [INTERJECTION]
3SG-see-PST-DF YI-shadow-ABS [now] down-ALL
when he saw a shadow down below
34. *yi-wol 0-na-rri*
YI-shadow-ABS 3SG-see-PST
he saw a shadow
35. *dalgan marluga nana buda 0-ngu-ndi-ya*
daytime old man-ABS that-ABS plum-ABS 3SG-eat-PST-NAR
gila
indeed
in the daytime that old man was eating plums
36. *gegeyenma-yi*
[name]-ERG
Gegeyenman [was]
37. *yi-wol 0-na-rri nangarrij-marla*
YI-shadow-ABS 3SG-see-PST shift-ITER
he saw the shadow moving
38. *wara::b 0-na-rri-ya yanima galung-lan*
watch 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR thus up-ALL
he watched upwards like this
39. *yibiyman ya-0-yuju galgal nana*
man-ABS 3-3SG-be-PRES up that-ABS
a man was up there
40. *wan 0-me-ndi gunya guyang-nyi na*
hook 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DISS woomera-INST [now]
he hooked up his woomera now

41. *garmin*
spear-ABS
[his] spear
42. *wan* *0-me-ndi* *gunya*
hook 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DISS
he hooked it on him
43. *galung-lan* *0-yo-rri* *na*
up-ALL 3SG-spear-PST [now]
speared upwards now
44. *gegeyenma-yi*
[name]-ERG
Gegeyenman [did]
45. *galung-lan* *ban.garrg* *barrwa-rlan*
up-ALL fall down-ALL
upwards, and he fell downwards
46. *0-we-ndi* *ban.garrg*
3SG-AUX-PST fall
he fell down
47. *digirrij*
dead
dead
48. *barragbarrag-garang* *deli riba-wunba*
sorcerer-having-ABS [Daly River]-SOU
a sorcerer from Daly River
49. *wonggo* *0-yerde-rri* [INTERJECTION]
not 3SG-know-PST
he did not know him
50. *yimurlng* *yi-boyn*
stranger-ABS foreigner-ABS
stranger, from elsewhere
51. *warnarrin* *ya-yi-me-ndi-wan*
fat-ABS 3SG-IRR-take-PST-DF
he would've taken his [kidney] fat

52. *ya-yi-yo-ny-ga* *bujun*
3SG-IRR-spear-PST-SUB if
he might've speared him
53. *nan-yi* *yibiyany-i* *nana* *marluga*
that-ERG man-ERG that-ABS old man-ABS
that man, the old man [Gegeyenman] [i.e., that man might have speared Gegeyenman]
54. *warnarrin* *ya-yi-me-ndi* *0-na-rri* *led-ba* *go*
fat-ABS 3-IRR-take-PST 3SG-AUX-PST look-PS 3SG-DAT
narnaj-baywa [INTERJECTION]
self-first
he might've taken his [kidney] fat, he saw him first
55. *galung-lan* *0-yo-rri-wan*
up-ALL 3SG-spear-PST
and speared upwards
56. *garn-yi* [INTERJECTION]
spear-INST
with a spear
57. *galapin-ya* *beye-rlen*
[Galloping]-LOC downriver-ALL
at Galloping Jack's, downriver
58. *liw liw yirr-(y)anggi wiya-warra yanin*
swim swim 1EXNSG-go-PST water-ADV this
we swam like this time [of day]
59. *yanin*
this
this time
60. *liw liw yirr-(y)anggi borle borle na galul-wi*
swim swim 1EXNSG-go-PST across rdp [now] up-ART
yiwin-ga 0-yana-rri go
2SG/3NSG-take 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
we swam across now, you take them up, he said to her
61. *nganinggin yibiyi*
mine-ABS father-ABS
my father

62. *nganinggin* *yi-guyu*
mine-ABS YI-mother-ABS
my mother
63. *galul* *nuwun-ga* *galul* *nu-jingi*
up 2NSG/3NSG-take up 2NSG-sit
you take them up, and stay up there
64. *yilama* *mog-ba* *ye-0-me-we* *dana*
maybe smell-PS 3-3SG-AUX-FUT this-ABS
it might smell [us]
65. *marluga* *yi-warna-gari*
old man-ABS YI-other-other-ABS
the other old man
66. *lin-yi* *0-yana-rri*
snake-ERG 3SG-say-PST
said the snake [might smell us]
67. *gurryu* *0-nyanga-ndi* *na* *gila*
swim 3SG-come-PST [now] indeed
and he was coming swimming now
68. *nana* *na* *marluga* *juga*
that-ABS [now] old man-ABS child-ABS
the old man, [my] child
69. *0-gaju-rri* *na*
3SG-arise-PST [now]
there arose now
70. *gorrondolmi* *guyamin*
rainbow-ABS two-ABS
two rainbow serpents
71. *gangga-wa*
upriver-ABL
from upriver
72. *beye-wa* [INTERJECTION]
downriver-ABL
from downriver

73. *dawung-ba beye-wa*
that way-ABL downriver-ABL
from that way from downriver
74. *gangga-wa*
upriver-ABL
and from upriver
75. *wud-janga-ndi-wuya go na*
3NSG-come-PST-DU 3SG-DAT [now]
the two of them came towards him now
76. *nganinggin yibiyi yi-guyu 0-we-ndi gila*
mine-ABS father-ABS YI-mother-ABS 3SG-fall-PST indeed
go na
3SG-DAT [now]
my father and mother jumped in for him now
77. *gurru:: wurr-(y)anggi go liw tumaji yu no*
swim 3NSG-go-PST 3SG-DAT swim [because you know]
mad-barra mernde-wun-barra
word-ADV European-NOM-ADV
and they went swimming for him, you know, from English
78. *renbol drimin*
[rainbow dreaming]
[because] rainbow dreaming
79. *mog 0-me-ndi tumaji yibiyi go ganben*
smell 3SG-AUX-PST [because] man-ABS 3SG-DAT flying fox-ABS
because he smelled men of flying fox
80. *ganben* [INTERJECTION]
flying fox-ABS
flying fox
81. *ngurlu* [INTERJECTION]
[maternally inherited totem]
of that 'skin' [i.e., rainbows arose because the old man swimming, the speaker's father, belonged to *ganben ngurlu*, and so his smell attracted them]
82. *marluga nganinggin-gu yibiyi-wu*
old man-ABS mine-DAT father-DAT
the old man, my father's...

94. *wud-janga-ndi-ya* *yirrgulu-ya* *wu-jad-ja-warda* *nana*
 3NSG-come-PST-NAR river-LOC WU-big-LOC-QQ that-ABS
kajaran riba
 [Katherine River]
 the two of them came along in the big river [i.e., where the Katherine River
 is wide]
95. *liw-ma-wuya* *bowoj-ba* *yi-bam-bi* *wud-janga-ndi*
 swim-PS-DU head out-PS YI-head-ART 3NSG-come-PST
go *yi-bam-bi* *na*
 3SG-DAT YI-head-ART [now]
 swimming, they came towards him with heads out
96. *marluga* *nana* *new* *wurr-me-di* *gila*
 old man-ABS that-ABS grab 3NSG-AUX-PST indeed
 and they grabbed the old man
97. *nganinggin-yi* *yibiyi-yi* *new-ma-gun* *0-me-ndi* *na*
 mine-ERG father-ERG grab-PS-NOM 3SG-AUX-PST [now]
 and so my father grabbed him
98. *gila*
 indeed
 indeed
99. *ngabulg-barra* *0-ngu-ndi-ya* *gila* *na*
 submerge-ADV 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR indeed [now]
 and he [old man] went under
100. *ngabulg*
 submerge
 went under
101. *werr* *wumbang* *0-nyanga-n* *werr* *gila*
 out emerge from water 3SG-come-PRES out indeed
 and is coming out from the water
102. *wumbang* *0-nyanga-ndi-ya* *gila*
 emerge 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR indeed
 he came out
103. *wumbang-marla* *wurr-bu-ndi-ya* [INTERJECTION]
 emerge-ITER 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 and they emerged head-out again and again

104. *O-bu-ndi-ya* *ngabulg* *gila*
 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR submerge indeed
 he submerged
105. *ngabulg-marla* *gayawarr* *dingard* *O-ngu-ndi* *wiyan* *na*
 submerge-ITER nearly go up nose 3SG-AUX-PST water-ABS [now]
 submerged over and over, and the water nearly went up his nose now
106. *gayawarr*
 nearly
 nearly
107. *nganinggin* *yibiyi* *gurryu-ma-gun*
 mine-ABS father-ABS dive in-PS-NOM
 my father nearly jumped in
108. *O-we-ndi* *go*
 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
 for him
109. *yirr* *O-me-ndi* *nungguru-wa*
 pull 3SG-AUX-PST hand-ABL
 he got him by the hand
110. *yirr-ma* *O-ga-ndi* *galul* *na*
 pull-PS 3SG-AUX-PST up [now]
 he pulled him up now
111. *galul* *gila* *digirrij*
 up indeed dead
 up, he fell 'dead'
112. *garlay* *O-we-ndi* *na*
 faint 3SG-AUX-PST [now]
 he fell in a faint now
113. *dul-ma* *O-gi-ndi*
 lay down-PS 3SG-AUX-PST
 he laid him down
114. *wiyan* *wu-da-rri-ya-wuya*
 water-ABS 3NSG-look-PST-NAR-DU
 the two of them watched the water

115. *nating* [INTERJECTION]
[nothing]
nothing
116. *ngawun* *wu-da-rri-ya-wuya* *ngamanda* *nana*
nothing 3NSG-look-PST-NAR-DU what-ABS that-ABS
mengmeng *ya-0-nyanga-n* *yi-jad*
expansive 3-3SG-come-PRES YI-big-ABS
nothing, the two of them watched, what's that big thing coming?
117. *jilig* *0-me-ndi* *worromon-bi*
shake 3SG-AUX-PST fast-ART
he quickly shook him/roused him
118. *gud* *gaju* *marluga* *ngayinyja* *gayardung* *galung-lan*
arise AUX old man-ABS IINDU-go run up-ALL
get up, old man, let's run up top
119. *galung-lan* *gayardung* *wurr-(y)anggi-wuya*
up-ALL run 3NSG-go-PST-DU
the two of them ran up top
120. *gamuya* *gud*
cyclone arise
a cyclone rose
121. *0-gaju-rri* *wurrugu* *wiya-ya* *wijirr-ma* *na*
3SG-AUX-PST 3NSG-DAT water-LOC whirl [now]
rose to them on the water, whirling now
122. *nana* *marluga* *ya-yi-wudba-ny-ga* *wiya-warr*
that-ABS old man-ABS 3-IRR-throw-PST-SUB water-ALL
gurryu-ma *gorrondolmi-wuya-warr* *ya-yi-wurr-me-ny-ga*
dive-PS rainbow-DU-ALL 3-IRR-3NSG-get-PST-SUB
it would have throw the old man into the water to the two rainbows, they would have got him
123. *nganinggin-yi* *yibiyi-yi* *durd-ba* *0-me-ndi*
mine-ERG father-ERG hug-PS 3SG-AUX-PST
marnungurru *gila* [INTERJECTION]
hard indeed
my father held onto him hard

Text X

Godjogodjog 'peaceful dove'

Told by Lily Gin.gina and Elsie Raymond, June 1989

L.

1. *guyamin-bi* *godjogodjog*
two-ART peaceful doves-ABS
two peaceful doves

2. *wud-jejbarla-rriya* *gun.garr-ma* *wurr-yana-rri* *go*
3NSG-ask-PST-NAR how-PS 3NSG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
asked him how? They said to him

E.

3. *gilirringa*
yellow clay-ABS
yellow clay

L.

4. *garnin* *yirr-me-we* *wirrba*
spear-ABS 1EXNSG-AUX-FUT rub
we need to paint the spears

E.

5. *yawe*
yes
yes

L.

6. *garnin* *yirr-me-we* *wirrba*
spear-ABS 1EXNSG-AUX-FUT rub
we need to paint the spears

7. *wurr-yana-rri-wuya* *go*
3NSG-say-PST-DU 3SG-DAT
they said to him

8. *warna nganun-wo-n go wurre-wuya-wu*
 not 1SG/2SG-give-PRES 3SG-DAT child-DU-DAT
nga-dagbarla-wa wurrugu wurre-wu dan-gu
 1SG-have-FUT 3NSG-DAT child-DAT this-DAT
 I won't give any to you, I have to have it for painting up these kids

E.

9. *bingmarla-wu*
 yellow paint-DAT
 for decorative painting

L.

10. *bingmarla nga-bu-wa go yi-bam-bam-marla*
 yellow paint-ABS 2SG-do-FUT 3SG-DAT YI-head-head-ITER
nga-gi-we go
 1SG-put-FUT 3SG-DAT
 I have to paint up their heads

11. *garlambang-gu*
 headband-DAT
 for headbands

12. *0-yana-rri-ya wurrugu*
 3SG-say-PST-NAR 3NSG-DAT
 he said to them

13. *godjogodjog*
 peaceful dove-ABS
 peaceful dove

14. *mabirling*
 hare wallaby-ABS
 hare wallaby

E.

15. *mabirling na*
 hare wallaby-ABS [now]
 hare wallaby

16. *nginngin 0-bu-ndi-ya mabirling*
 shake head 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR hare wallaby-ABS
 hare wallaby refused

L.

17. *wurre-wu-wan* *nginngin* *0- bu-ndi-ya* *wurre-wu*
 child-DAT-DF shake head 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR child-DAT
 he was refused regarding the kids

E.

18. *godjogodjog-guya-yi* *waray* *wurr-ga-ndi-ya:*
 peaceful doves-DU-ERG ask 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 the two peaceful doves asked him

19. *jarnbab* *wurr-yana-rri* *go*
 hard work 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
 they asked him over and over

L.

20. *yawe* *jarnbab* *wurr-yana-rri* *go*
 yes hard work 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
 yes, they asked him over and over

E.

21. *jarnbab-guya* *wurr-yana-rri* *go* *na*
 hard work-DU 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT [now]
 those two asked him over and over

22. *garnin* *nana* *yarrb* *wurr-me-ndi*
 spear-ABS that-ABS bunch 3NSG-take-PST
wurr-wudba-rri-wuya *gunya* *na*
 3NSG-throw-PST-DU 3SG-DISS [now]
 they took a bunch of spears, they threw them from him now

23. *ngalagambe*
 [name]
 to Ngalagambe

L.

24. *jarnaye*
 [name]
 to Jarnaye

E.

25. *jarnaye* [name] [INTERJECTION]
to Jarnaye

26. *ngawurnen* *wurr-wudba-rri...*
a lot-ABS 3NSG-throw-PST
they threw lots

L.

27. *bambu krik*
[Bamboo Creek]
to Bamboo Creek

E.

28. *plorina*
[Florina]
on the Florina [river]

L.

29. *bambu krik*
[Bamboo Creek]
at Bamboo Creek

30. *ebriwe la dawin we*
[everywhere towards Darwin]
Bamboo Creek everywhere towards Darwin way

E.

31. *bambu krik*
[Bamboo Creek]
at Bamboo Creek

L.

32. *worrba* *wurr-wudba-rri*
throw down 3NSG-AUX-PST
they threw bunches

33. *ejij krik*
[Hayes Creek]
at Hayes Creek

E.

34. *lal-ma* *wurr-wudba-rri* *na*
 scattered-PS 3NSG-AUX-PST [now]
 they scattered them
35. *yirrgulu-gari* *yirrgulu-gari* *lalma* *bla*
 river-other-ABS river-other-ABS scattered [for]
ediled riba-warr-min
 [Adelaide River]-ALL-ADV
 all around the rivers, up to Adelaide River
36. *gamin*
 spear-ABS
 spear
37. *bujun* *yayi-ngun-wo-ny-ga* *yayi-wudba-rri*
 if IRR-3SG-3NSG-give-PST-SUB IRR-3SG-throw-PST
dami-rlan *raytap*
 this way [right up]
 if he'd given it to them, he'd have thrown this way
38. *dami-rlan* *yayi-jingi-n*
 this way IRR-3SG-be-PRES
 they might be this way

L.

39. *buwarraja* *yayi-jingi-n*
 dreaming-ABS IRR-3SG-be-PRES
 dreaming might be [here]

E.

40. *bujun* [INTERJECTION]
 if
 if

L.

41. *buwurraja-wunba*
 dreaming-SOU
 from dreaming

42. *buwarraja-yi* *0-wudba-rri* *dawu-rlan,* *wel*
dreaming-ERG 3SG-throw-PST that way-ALL [well]
dawu-rlan-bari *ya-0-jingi-n* *garmin*
that way-NOM 3-3SG-be-PRES spear-ABS
the dreaming threw that way, well there are spears that way
43. *warna* *borri-rlan*
not here-ALL
not this way
44. *dan-guya* *na* *godjogodjog-guya-yi.*
this-NU [now] peaceful doves-DU-ERG
the two peaceful doves.

Text XI

Onion

Told by Elsie Raymond, January 1990

1. *baraj* *yilama* *0-yanggi*
far maybe 3SG-go-PST
He'd gone far away
2. *yirr-ginye-rrri-ya-wuya*
1EXNSg-cook-PST-NAR-DU
and the two of us were cooking
3. *layin*
meat-ABS
meat
4. *ngorrogorro*
afternoon
in the afternoon
5. *yirr-ginye-rrri-ya-wuya:::*
1EXNSG-cook-PST-NAR-DU
we were cooking
6. *anyin-barra* *ngarr-ginye-n* *lagu*
[onion]-ADV 1INPL-cook-PRES fry
we were frying onion
7. *warnarr-warra* *ngarr-ginye-ny-ga* *layin*
fat-ADV 1INPL-cook-PST-SUB meat-ABS
and as we were cooking meat
8. *warnarr-warra* *ngarr-ginye-n*
fat-ADV 1INPL-cook-PRES
we cook with fat
9. *nga-luma* *anyin* *galuhul* *na*
1SG-cut-PRES [onion] up rdp [now]
I cut onion on top now

10. *yani-ma*
thus-PS
like this
11. *ngayugu* *nga-dagbarla-rri-ya* *anyin*
1SG-ABS 1SG-have-PST-NAR [onion]
I was the one who had the onion
12. *dorij-ji* *0-ginye-rri-ya* *layin*
[Doris]-ERG 3SG-cook-PST-NAR meat-ABS
Doris was cooking the meat
13. *ngayugu* *gunga* *yurrb-a* *nga-jingi-ndi-ya*
1SG-ABS 3SG-DAT stand-PS 1SG-be-PST-NAR
and I was standing by her
14. *nganinggin* *yi-marmayn* *ya-0-nyanga-n* *dawung-ba*
mine-ABS YI-husband-ABS 3-3SG-come-PRES that way-ABL
and my husband comes from that way
15. *bawjed-ba*
[boughshade]-ABL
from the boughshade
16. *nganinggin* *yi-guyu* *duba* *0-jingi-ndi*
mine-ABS YI-mother-ABS sit 3SG-be-PST
my mother was sitting down
17. *0-nyanga-ndi* *nana*
3SG-come-PST that-ABS
and that one came
18. *nganu-wo-n-guya* *layin* *0-yana-rri*
2NSG/1SG-give-PRES-DU meat-ABS 3SG-say-PST
the two of you give me meat, he said
19. *layin* *0-wo-ndi* *dorij-ji*
meat-ABS 3SG-give-PST [Doris]-ERG
Doris gave him meat
20. *0-gi-ndi* *gunga* *pled-ja* *0-gi-ndi* *go* *mayin*
3SG-put-PST 3SG-DAT [plate]-LOC 3SG-put-PST 3SG-DAT bread-ABS
she put it on a plate for him, and she put bread for him

21. *yin.gun-jejbarla-rri-ya* *anyin-gu* *na*
 3SG/1EXNSG-ask-PST-NAR [onion]-DAT [now]
 he asked us for onion now
22. *a* *ngana-yu* *wonggo* *yi-ngong-wo-n* *nga-yana-rri*
 oh 3SG-HT-COP not IRR-1SG/2SG-give-PRES 1SG-say-PST
go *ngayugu*
 3SG-DAT 1SG-ABS
 ‘Oh no, I can’t give it to you’, I said to him
23. *dorij-wan* *0-yana-rri* *nganu*
 [Doris]-DF 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT
 and Doris said to me
24. *wo* *gila*
 give indeed
 ‘give it to him!’
25. *wo-ga*
 give-EMPH
 ‘come on, give him it’
26. *ngana-yu*
 3SG-HT-be
 ‘no’
27. *nga-yana-rri* *go* *ngana-yu*
 1SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT 3SG-HT-be
 I said to her, ‘no’
28. *joy* *nga-wo-ndi* *na*
 give 1SG-AUX-PST [now]
 I gave it now
29. *dogdog* *0-luma-rri* *0-ngu-ndi*
 cut rdp 3SG-cut-PST 3SG-eat-PST
 he cut it and ate it now
30. *anyin-barra* *layin-barra* *0-ngu-ndi* *girdibun*
 [onion]-ADV meat-ADV 3SG-eat-PST finish
 he ate all the meat with the onion now

31. *lurrbu* *0-yanggi* *bawjed-garr*
back 3SG-go-PST [boughshade]-ALL
he went back to the boughshade now
32. *alibala-wan* *wirrig* *na*
[early]-DF tomorrow [now]
and early the next day
33. *0-galma-rri* *na*
3SG-mount-PST [now]
he got on a horse
34. *nendo* *0-galma-rri*
horse-ABS 3SG-mount-PST
he got on a horse
35. *wonggo* *manda-gan* *kolt* *ngawun* *kwayit wan*
not what-Q [colt] nothing [quiet one]
not a what'sit, colt, a quiet one
36. *nan-yi* *0-marnbu-rri* *go* *manda-gan-gurne*
that-ERG 3SG-make-PST 3SG-DAT what-Q-CAUS
bak la im hay wan
[buck him high one]
and that made him what's it, buck really high
37. *0-ga-ndi*
3SG-take-PST
took him
38. *rudimat* *wurr-we-ndi-wuya* *badik*
[rooted out] 3NSG-AUX-PST-DU [paddock]
the two of them rooted out the paddock
39. *dolog dolog*
uproot rdp
uprooted it
40. *0-me-ndi* *nan-yi* *nendo-yi*
3SG-AUX-PST that-ERG horse-ERG
that horse did

41. *0-ngu-ndi* *na* *0-we-ndi* *dimana-warra-yi*
 3SG-eat-PST [now] 3SG-fall-PST horse-ADV-ADV
 he ate it now, he fell with the horse
42. *bard* *langgan-(n)ya*
 fall billabong-LOC
 fell into the billabong
43. *digirrij-bi*
 dead-ART
 really dead
44. *wiyan* *yirr-ga-ndi* *go* *na* *gayardung* *gayardung*
 water-ABS 1EXNSG-take-PST 3SG-DAT [now] run run
 we took water to him now on the run
45. *bakit-barra*
 [bucket]-ADV
 with a bucket
46. *yirr-gila-rri*
 1EXNSG-water-PST
 we doused him
47. *gayawun-bi* *wonggo* *ngewba* *0-yana-rri*
 still-ART not breathe 3SG-AUX-PST
 he still wasn't breathing
48. *yirr-gila-rri::* *ngew* *wurr-ga-ndi* *na*
 1EXNSG-water-PST breathe 3NSG-AUX-PST [now]
 we watered him, and made him breathe now
49. *bawjed* *mugurn*
 [boughshade] lie
 lie in the boughshade
50. *mugurn* *wurr-waja-rri*
 lie 3NSG-leave-PST
 they left him lying

51. *yirriguya* *yirr-geng-mi-yi-rri* *dorij-guya*
 1EXNSG-DU 1EXNSG-fear-MED-PST [Doris]-DU-ABS
 the two of us were afraid, Doris and I
52. *yirr-wo-ny-ga* *anyin* *gila*
 1EXNSG-give-PST-SUB [onion] indeed
 having given him onion
53. *yirr-geng-mi-yi-rri-wuya*
 1EXNSG-fear-MED-PST-DU
 we were afraid
54. *yirr-werrenybu-rri*
 1EXNSG-ensorcell-PST
 we'd worked sorcery on him
55. *yawe* *wuduju-warang*
 yes love magic-having-ABS
 yes, with love magic
56. *yirr-geng-mi-yi-rri-wuya*
 1EXNSG-fear-MED-PST-DU
 we were afraid
57. *wonggo* *yirr-(y)anggi* *na*
 not 1EXNSG-go-PST [now]
 we didn't go [around] now
58. *gurru-wan* *lege* *marluga* *0-yana-rri* *go*
 later-DF one-ABS old man-ABS 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 and later one old man said to him
59. *gej* *gej* *0-gi-ndi*
 ask ask 3SG-AUX-PST
 asked him
60. *maybe* *wuduju* *yimburr-yana-rri* *nan-guya-yi*
 [might be] love magic-ABS 3NSG/2SG-do-PST that-DU-ERG
 maybe those two have done love magic to you

61. duit wurr-yana-rri yinggi nan-guya ngabida-warrma nawurla
 [do it] 3NSG-do-PST 2SG-DAT that-DU-ABS [ss]-PR [ss]-ABS
 those two have done it to you, the pair of ngabida and nawurla
62. yawe 0-yana-rri
 yes 3SG-say-PST
 yes, he said
63. ngawun-me-ndi-wuya borre
 1SG/3NSG-AUX-PST-DU dream
 I dreamt the two of them
64. nganburr-wo-ny-ga anyin 0-yana-rri
 3NSG/1SG-give-PST-SUB [onion] 3SG-say-PST
 that the two of them gave me onion, he said
65. a marluga nana 0-gaygba-rri gunga
 oh old man-ABS that-ABS 3SG-call out-PST 3SG-DAT
 oh, the old man called out to him
66. nu-lawu wirrb nu-me
 2NSG-reach wipe 2NSG-AUX
 you go to him and wipe him
67. warnarr-warra
 fat-ADV
 with fat
68. yirr-lawu-rri-wuya wirrb yirr-me-ndi na warnarr-warra
 1EXNSG-reach-PST-DU wipe 1EXNSG-AUX-PST [now] fat-ADV
 the two of us caught up to him now and wiped him with fat
69. gud 0-gaju-rri-wan
 arise 3SG-AUX-PST-DF
 and he got up
70. yilgbayi na
 OK [now]
 and was all right now

71. *yi-man-marla* *0-bu-yi-rrri*
 YI-good-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST
 he got all better
72. *wirrb* *yirr-me-ndi* *buligi-warra* *warnarr-warra* *girdibun*
 wipe 1EXNSG-AUX-PST cow-ADV fat-ADV finish
 we wiped him with cow fat, and that was all
73. *gud* *0-gaju-rrri*
 arise 3SG-AUX-PST
 he got up
74. *yi-man-marla* *0-bu-yi-rrri* *na*
 YI-good-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST [now]
 he got all better now.

Text XII

Naribu ‘pearlshell’, a trade item

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *naribu nana*
mussel-ABS that-ABS
that pearlshell
2. *yi-wanguwarlawun*
YI-western-ABS
the western one
3. *manda-gan*
what-Q
what’s it
4. *wurr-wudba-rri-ya dawung-ba yulun*
3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR that way-ABL trade
they used to trade it from that way
5. *jongon-ba*
north-ABL
from the north
6. *jongon-ba*
north-ABL
from the north
7. *wunggunburr-wo-ndi-ya*
3NSG/3NSG-give-PST
they gave them to them
8. *wu-wardaman*
WU-[name]-ABS
the Wardaman
9. *yawe*
yes
yes

10. *wu-wardama-yi* *wurr-gelewu-rri-ya* *wurrugu* *gorrong-lan*
 WU-[name]-ERG 3NSG-send-PST-NAR 3NSG-DAT south-ALL
 the Wardaman used to send them south to them
11. *ngamanda-ga-wu-wan*
 what-Q-DAT-DF
 for what?
12. *dunggululu-wu*
 pubic apron-DAT
 for pubic aprons
13. *yawe* [INTERJECTION]
 yes
 yes
14. *wonggo* *ngayiwun-yerde-n*
 not 1INDU/3NSG-know-PRES
 we don't know them
15. *burrugawi*
 long ago
 [that's] long ago
16. *wunggunburr-wo-ndi* *gorrong-lan*
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST south-ALL
 they gave them to them in the south
17. *wangi* *ngan-yana-rri-ya* *nganinggin-yi* *ngabobu-yi*
 only 3SG/1SG-say-PST-NAR mine-ERG FM-ERG
 only my grandmother told me
18. *mulurru-yi*
 old woman-ERG
 old woman
19. *yawe* [INTERJECTION]
 yes
 yes
20. *dunggululu*
 pubic apron-ABS
 pubic apron

21. *nana-wan* *ngamanda-gan*
 that-ABS-DF what-Q
 that what'sit
22. *naribu* *yi-wangguwarlawun* *galulul* *jub*
 pearlshell-ABS YI-western-ABS up rdp shut
 [they used to] cover up [with] the western pearlshell
23. *ma-jornod*
 MA-heavy-ABS
 it was heavy
24. *bulu-yi* *bilyb* *ya-yi-0-bu-n* *yi-ngan.gunbu-da*
 wind-ERG blow IRR-3-3SG-AUX-PRES IRR-3NSG/1INPL-see
wurr-yana-rri-ya
 3NSG-say-PST-NAR
 lest the wind blow and they see us, they used to say
25. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
26. *marlarluga* *wayana*
 old man rdp-ABS and all
 the old people and everybody
27. *wurr-ga-ndi* *na*
 3NSG-take-PST [now]
 they took it [them] now
30. *dan-ganung* *juba* [INTERJECTION]
 this-COL-ABS shut-PS
 these shut it up [i.e., kept pubis covered]
31. *wonggo* *weyi-ma* *0-me-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
 not lift-PS 3SG-AUX-PST
 and it couldn't lift it
32. *ngawun* [INTERJECTION]
 nothing
 no

33. *ma-jomod* [INTERJECTION]
MA-heavy-ABS
it was heavy
34. *ma-warlam*
MA-shell-ABS
the shell
35. *ma-warlam* [INTERJECTION]
MA-shell-ABS
the shell
36. *yawe*
yes
yes
37. *ma-warlam*
MA-shell-ABS
the shell.

Text XIII

Jarlarla-ya and *Nimji*, places on Willeroo Station

Told by Lily Gin.gina, July 1989

1. *lalma-warra*
scatter-ADV
scattering
2. *mernde-yi* *wunggung-gelewu-rri-ya-marla* [INTERJECTION]
white-ERG 3NSG/3NSG-send-PST-NAR-ITER
the whiteman used to send them [away from the station]
3. *wud-janga-ndi-ya-marla* *dang-ganung-ba* *gurrge-ma*
3NSG-sit-PST-NAR-ITER that side-ABL camp-PURP-PS
warrgban
everywhere [INTERJECTION]
they [Aborigines] used to come from that way to camp everywhere
4. *warrgban* *wud-janga-ndi-ya* *dan-ganung-ba-wunyin*
everywhere 3NSG-come-PST-NAR this side-ABL-SPEC
gurrge-ma *na*
camp-PURP-PS [now]
they came right from this side to camp
5. *0-nyanga-ndi* *na*
3SG-come-PST [now]
he [the devil-devil] came now
6. *dawung-ba* *jongon-ba*
this way-ABL west-ABL
from this way, from the west
7. *dana* *0-jingindi-ya* *gulirrida*
here 3SG-sit-PST-NAR peewee-ABS
the peewee was here
8. *0-buju-rri-ya* *mayin*
3SG-dig-PST-NAR food-ABS
digging vegetable food

9. *garlwarrg* *0-buju-rri-ya:* *nan-beng* *borle*
 lily-PST 3SG-dig-PST-NAR that-SSPEC across
 he was digging water lily there on the other side
10. *mayarral-wi*
 [place]-ART
 at Mayarral
11. *0-buju-rri-ya* *langgan-(n)ya* *0-buju-rri-ya* *nurdu-nurdurd*
 3SG-dig-PST-NAR billabong-LOC 3SG-dig-PST-NAR heap rdp
barlarra barlag-barlarra *0-gin-di-ya* *gata* *dangindi* *na*
 hide hide rdp 3SG-put-PST-NARR [with] paperbark [now]
 he was digging in the billabong, he dug it and heaped it up and hid it, he hid it [in] paperbark
12. *gulbinji-warra* *0-gi-ndi-ya* *barlag-barlarra*
 paperbark-having 3SG-put-PST-NAR hide rdp
 he hid it in soft paperbark
13. *barlag-barlarra* *0-gi-ndi-ya* *yu no* *majag-majad*
 hide rdp 3SG-put-PST-NAR [you know] big rdp-ABS
mayin [INTERJECTION]
 food-ABS
 he hid it, you know, the great big vegetables
14. *barlag-barlarra*
 hide rdp
 hid
15. *barlag-barlarra* *0-gi-ndi-ya* *wurruru-wan* *dawung-ba*
 hide rdp 3SG-put-PST-NAR devil-DF this way-ABL
0-nyanga-ndi *jongon-ba*
 3SG-come-PST west-ABL
 he hid it and the devil came from this way from the west
16. *mernden gerrejban*
 devil-ABS
 the devil-devil
17. *yani* *0-na-rri* *a*
 thus 3SG-see-PST oh
 he looked like that, 'oh!'
18. *dana* *ya-gigin* *barlag-barlarra* *birrg* *0-gerne-rri*
 here 3SG-put rdp-PRES hide rdp take away 3SG-AUX-PST

gata *dangindi* [INTERJECTION]
 [with] paperbark

here he keeps on hiding [food], he took it away in the paperbark

19. *dangindi-warra* *murlmurl* *gila* *0-gindi-yawu* *birrg*
 paperbark-having hide indeed 3SG-put-PST-NAR take away
0-gerne-rii *na* *gerrej* *0-nyanga-ndi* *gunya* *yijeng-wan*
 3SG-AUX-PST [now] flying 3SG-come-PST 3SG-DISS foot-DF
barlb
 down

he covered it up in the paperbark and took it away, he took it [appropriated, stole it], he came away leaving his foot as dreaming

20. *0-we-ndi-ya* *jabalawarna-ya* *yimunburra-ya*
 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR flat stone-LOC stone-LOC
 it went in as dreaming to the flat stone [that used to be at Jarlarla-ya]

21. *borri-rlan* *na* *0-nyanga-ndi* *borle*
 this way [now] 3SG-come PST across
 he [devil] came across this way

22. *dawung-ba*
 this way-ABL
 from this way

23. *malang-ba* [INTERJECTION]
 other side-ABL
 the other side

24. *langgan-ba*
 billabong-ABL
 from the billabong [Jarlarla-ya]

25. *langganin-ba* [INTERJECTION]
 billabong-ABL
 from the billabong [Jarlarla-ya]

26. *gulirrida-wan* *0-gerne-rii* *gila*
 peewee-DF 3SG-take away-PST indeed
 he took it right away from the peewee

27. *nan-ba-wan* *0-nyanga-ndi* *na* *gulirrida*
 there-ABL-DF 3SG-come-PST [now] peewee-ABS
 from there the peewee came

28. *0-ni-rri-wan* *gunya* *mayin* *hiya* *nimji*
 3SG-bring-PST-DF 3SG-DISS food [here] [place]
 he brought the food from there to here, to Nimji
29. *0-ngu-ndi-ya* *gunya*
 3SG-eat-PST-NAR 3SG-DISS
 he [devil] ate it up on him [peewee]
30. *0-nyanga-ndi-wan* *barlb* *0-we-ndi* *gulirrida* *na*
 3SG-come-PST-DF down 3SG-AUX-PST .peewee-ABS [now]
 [INTERJECTION]
 and the peewee came and sat down as dreaming [F. asks about stone]
31. *mowe* *0-ga-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
 steal 3SG-AUX-PST
 it was stolen
32. *yowe* *yijeng* *0-jingi-ny-ga* *jabalawarna-ya*
 yes foot-ABS 3SG-sit-PST-SUB flat stone-LOC
barlag-barlarra-wan *marnden gerrejba*
 hide rdp-DF flying devil-ABS
 yes, where that foot was in the flat rock
33. *0-ga-ndi* *mernde-yi* *new* *0-ga-ndi* *na*
 3SG-take-PST white-ERG grab 3SG-AUX-PST [now]
 Europeans took it, grabbed it and took it
34. *gudani* *0-wudba-rri* [INTERJECTION]
 where 3SG-throw-PST
 where did they chuck it?
35. *mernden* *wud-jingi-ndi* *weleru manija*
 white-ABS 3NSG-sit-PST [Willeroo manager]
 the Europeans living at Willeroo, the manager
36. *o mayti* *tokman laiki jat*
 [or maybe] [stockman like that]
 or maybe a stockman
37. *wud-jingi-ndi ...*
 3NSG-sit-PST
 they were living [there].

Text XIV

Geberrung, a permanent water on Willeroo Station

Told by - E. =Elsie Raymond, L. =Lily Gin.gina (Ah Wan), T. =Tarpot,
F.M. = Francesca Merlan, June 1990

- E.
1. *dan-ya-wunyin* *lagla-ya* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *barrwa*
this-LOC-SPEC [place]-LOC 3SG-be-PST-NAR below
it was right here down below
 2. *jamagarra*
[tree]-ABS
there was a Leichhardt tree
 3. *yawe*
yes
yes
 4. *ngurruwun* *ngayal* *werr* *werr* *0-bu-ndi-ya* *barrwarrwa*
wet-ABS leaf-ABS out out 3SG-AUX-PST below rdp
and in the rainy season the leaves used to sprout downwards
 5. *0-ngegba-rri-wan*
3SG-die-PST-DF
and then it died
 6. *nana* *jamagarra*
that-ABS [tree]-ABS
that Leichhardt
 7. *golorog* *buwarraja* [INTERJECTION]
dove-ABS dreaming-ABS
[it is] a dove dreaming
 8. *yawe*
yes
yes

9. *nana* *na* [INTERJECTION]
 that [now]
 that one
10. *dan-beng* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *wonggo* *yanja* *warrgban*
 this-SSPEC 3SG-sit-PST-NAR not 3SG-go-PRES everywhere
ngawun
 no
 it was here, it doesn't go everywhere, no [i.e., the dove dreaming is at this place only]
11. *dan-beng-bi* [INTERJECTION]
 this-SSPEC-ART
 this place
12. *ngawun*
 no
 no
13. *bandimi-wan* *wurr-ga-ndi-ya-marla* [INTERJECTION]
 [song]-ABS-DF 3NSG-take-PST-NAR-ITER
 they used to run bandimi song-line
14. *bandimi* *wurr-ga-ndi-ya*
 [song]-ABS 3NSG-take-PST-NAR
 they used to run bandimi
- L.
15. *warna* *buwarraja* *0-jingi-ndi*
 not dreaming-ABS 3SG-be PST
 there was no dreaming [here, in the specific sense of no dreaming painting, i.e. no painting here]
16. *warna* *buwarraja* *0-jingi-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
 not dreaming-ABS 3SG-be-PST
 there was no dreaming
17. *ngawun*
 no
18. *warna* *buwarraja* *0-jingi-ndi* *dan-ya* *bandimi-biji* *0-loyi-rri*
 not dreaming-ABS 3SG-sit-PST here-LOC [song]-only 3SG-dance-PST
 there was no painting, they only danced bandimi here

19. *manda-gan* *golorog* *layin* [INTERJECTION]
 what's it-Q dove-ABS animal-ABS
 what's it, that dove

20. *lege*
 one-ABS
 one

21. *lege* *golorog*
 one-ABS dove-ABS
 one dove

22. *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *dan-ya* *na*
 3SG-sit-PST-NAR this-LOC [now]
 was here

E.

23. *wonggo* *lege* *ngawurnen*
 not one-ABS a lot-ABS
 not one, many

L.

24. *ngawurnen* *yijarlu* *wunggu-dagbarla-rri-ya* *yana go*
 many-ABS some-ABS 3NSG/3NSG-have-PST-NAR say 3SG-DAT
 [INTERJECTION]
 many, some had [others], tell her [i.e., dreamings here invited others for the bandimi]

25. *bandimi* *wurr-ga-ndi-yawu*
 [song]-ABS 3NSG-take-PST-NAR
 they ran bandimi song-line

E.

26. *bandimi* *wurr-ga-ndi-yawu*
 [song]-ABS 3NSG-take-PST-NAR
 they ran bandimi song-line

27. *bangbun* *yibiwan*
 woman-ABS man-ABS
 women, men

28. *marlarluga* *wud-jingi-ndi-ya*
old man rdp-ABS 3NSG-sit-PST-NAR
old men, they sat
29. *warna* *pending* *0-jingi-ndi* *dan-ya* *ngawun* *na*
not [painting] 3SG-be-PST this-LOC no [now]
there was no painting here, no
30. *manda-gan* *biji* *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ndi* *0-gi-yi-rri*
what's it-Q only stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-put-RR-PST
yurrb-a *0-jingi-ndi* *na*
stand-PS 3SG-be-PST [now]
only what's it, it stood up, it put itself, it stood
31. *jamagarra*
[tree]-ABS
the Leichhardt tree
32. *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ndi* *bulgej*
stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST middle water
it stood in the middle of the water
33. *ya-jingi-n-ga* *barrwa* [INTERJECTION]
3SG-be-PRES-SUB below
where it is down below

L.

34. *yurriba-wan* *0-jingi-ndi* *0-we-ndi* *na* [INTERJECTION]
stand-DF 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-fall-PST [now]
it used to be standing, it's fallen

E.

35. *gudani-warda* *werr-ma* *ya-0-bu-n*
where-QQ out-PS 3-3SG-AUX-PRES
where does it sprout from?

L.

36. *danani-wan* *0-ngegegba-ny-ga-wung* *dana*
here-DF 3SG-die rdp-PST-SUB-PERF this-ABS
where it died here

37. *ya-0-jingi-n-ga-wung* *muruwun* *yanima* *ya-0-yu*
 3-3SG-be-SUB-IMPERF bottle tree-ABS thus-ABS 3SG-lie-PRES
 where it is, a bottle tree is lying like this [it seems possible the speaker meant to name another tree, I noted no other mention of bottle tree here]

38. *wiyan*
 water-ABS
 water

39. *ngardun*
 rockhole-ABS
 rockhole

[Segment of tape omitted where there is discussion of a certain manager at Willeroo and Innesvale stations]

L.

40. *darni* *yi-na-n*
 yonder-ABS 2SG-see-PRES
 you see that?

41. *bulgej*
 middle water
 in the middle of the water?

42. *nan-beng-wan* *ya-0-yu* *jamagarra* [INTERJECTION]
 that-SSPEC-DF 3-3SG-lie-PRES [tree]-ABS
 where that Leichhardt is lying

43. *bandimi* *0-loyi-rri-ya* *golorog* *nu-yana* *go*
 [song]-ABS 3SG-dance-PST-NAR dove-ABS 2NSG-say 3SG-DAT
 the dove danced bandimi, you all tell her

44. *bandimi* *golorog* [INTERJECTION]
 [song]-ABS dove-ABS
 the dove bandimi

T.

45. *jamagarra* *yumin* *nana* *bulgu* [INTERJECTION]
 [tree]-ABS tree-ABS that-ABS middle
 that's a Leichhardt in the middle

46. *numbulan*
that way
that way
47. *bulgej*
middle
in the middle of the water
48. *buwarraja*
dreaming-ABS
[is the] dreaming
49. *bik tri*
[big tree]
big tree
50. *jamagarra* *ya-0-yu* *bulgej*
[tree]-ABS 3SG-lie-PRES middle water.
the Leichhardt is in the middle of the water
51. *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ny-ga* *golorog* [INTERJECTION]
stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST-SUB Dove-ABS
where the dove stood
- L.**
52. *warna* *yinga-yinyja* *bornborn* *buwarraja*
not IRR-1INDU-go bathe dreaming-ABS
we may not bathe [here], it is dreaming
53. *yingayin.gun-bu* *buwarraja-yi*
IRR-3NSG/1 INDU-hit dreaming-ERG
the dreamings might strike us
54. *bornborn* *warna* *yirr-born-ma-rri-ya* *ngawun* [INTERJECTION]
bathe not 1EX-NSG-bathe-PST-NAR no
we did not bathe here
55. *bulgej* *barrwa*
middle below
below in the middle of the water

66. *0-marnbu-ny-ga*
3SG-make-PST-SUB
having made it
67. *wanpela* *mernde-yi* *0-dagbarla-ny-ga* *dik pagijan-yi*
[one] white-ERG 3SG-have-PST-SUB [Dick Ferguson]-ERG
one whitefella was 'holding' him, Dick Ferguson [i.e., was her father's boss]
68. *nganinggin* *dadi*
mine-ABS [daddy]-ABS
my father
69. *ngayugu* *wudu* *ngan-dagbarla-rri*
1SG-ABS small-ABS 3SG/1SG-have-PST
he was 'holding' me, little [I was small]
70. *warna* *ngabij* [INTERJECTION]
not [ss]-ABS
not ngabij
71. *warna* *ngabij* *nganinggin* *yinamun*
not [ss] mine-ABS eZ-ABS
not ngabij my older sister
72. *ngayugu* *biji* *lege* *wudu* *nga-jingi-ndi-ya* [INTERJECTION]
1SG-ABS only one-ABS small-ABS 1SG-sit-PST-NAR
only I, one little one, was [here]
73. *dan-ganung* *wud-janga-ndi-ya* *wokabat* [INTERJECTION]
this-COL-ABS 3NSG-come-PST-NAR [walkabout]
they used to come walkabout
74. *bogogo-marla* *wunggu-di-rri-ya* *mernde-yi* *gila*
forage-ITER 3NSG/3NSG-bring-PST-NAR white-ERG indeed
the whites brought them out foraging/camping too
75. *lany-ba*
meat-ABL
[sense unclear]
76. *marla*
ITER
all the time

87. *dana* *yirrgulun* *yanja* *wudu* *wu-warli* *tasol*
 this-ABS river-ABS 3SG-go small-ABS WU-arm-ABS [that's all]
 this river is a small tributary, that's all

88. *warna* *yi-jad*
 not YI-big-ABS
 not a big one

F.M.

89. *gudani* *yanja*
 where 3SG-go-PRES
 where does it go?

L.

90. *yanja* *numbulan-min* [INTERJECTION]
 3SG-go-PRES that way-ALL-ADV
 it goes that way.

10. *mod yirr-me-ndi-ya-wan* na
cut 1EXNSG-AUX-PST-NAR-DF [now]
and we cut it now
11. *mod-ba yirr-me-ndi-ya:: ban.garrg*
cut-PS 1INPL-AUX-PST-NAR fall
we cut it and it fell
12. *0-we-ndi-ya nana yumin*
3SG-fall-PST that-ABS tree-ABS
the tree fell
13. *lerrulerru 0-we-ndi-ya yumin* [INTERJECTION]
crash 3SG-fall-PST-NAR tree-ABS
the tree fell with a crash
14. *yi-linyje-rri dogdog na*
1EXNSG-cut-PST cut [now]
we cut it up now
15. *dogdog yirr-gi-ndi-ya:: gajarrang-garr-min* [INTERJECTION]
cut 1EXNSG-put-PST-NAR wax-ALL-ADV
we cut and put it, right up to the wax
16. *yirr-gomo-rri-ya*
1EXNSG-fill-PST-NAR
we filled it up
17. *yirr-gomo-rri-ya*
1EXNSG-fill-PST-NAR
we filled it up
18. *yibumbu-ya*
billy-LOC
the billy
19. *yibumbu yirr-gi-ndi-ya::*
billy 1EXNSG-put-PST-NAR
we put the billy
20. *yirr-worlorlma-rri-ya jamam*
1EXNSG-fill-PST-NAR full-ABS
we filled it up full

21. *yirr-worlorlma-rri* *yibumbu-ya*
 1EXNSG-fill-PST billy-LOC
 we filled up the billy
22. *yirr-gorno-rri-ya* *yirr-worlorlma-rri-ya*
 1EXNSG-fill-PST-NAR 1EXNSG-fill-PST-NAR
 we filled it up
23. *a gala yum-gari-warr ngarr-ya ngarr-ya jarrambu yugurni*
 oh try tree-other-ALL 1INPL-go 1INPL-go look more
 ‘Oh! let’s try going to another tree, go and look around more’
24. *yirr-()anggi yugurni jarrambu:: birdij yi-da-rri-ya*
 1EXNSG-go-PST more look find 1EXNSG-AUX-PST-NAR
yum-nya yi-warna-gari
 tree-LOC YI-other-other-ABS
 we went again looking around, we found another in a tree
25. *led-ba yi-da-rri go*
 look-PS 1EXNSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
 we looked for it
26. *lege diw ya-0-nyanga-n yurrb-a 0-jingi-ndi-ya*
 one-ABS fly 3-3SG-come-PRES stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR
dang-beng led-ba yi-da-rri-ya marnungurru
 yonder-SSPEC look-PS 1EXNSG-AUX-PST-NAR hard
 one comes flying and lands right there yonder, we looked hard
27. *yi-da-rri-ya ngawurnen na werr werr wurr-bu-ndi-ya*
 1EXNSG-look-PST-NAR many-ABS [now] out out 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 we looked, many now were coming out
28. *yigawarl*
 bee-ABS
 bees
29. *goyin goyin dan-bi-wi*
 honey-ABS honey-ABS that-ART-ART
 ‘Honey, honey right there’
30. *na nga-linyje-n*
 [now] 1SG-cut-PRES
 ‘I’m cutting it’

42. *galung-lan* *ya-0-jingi-n* *jarrug* [INTERJECTION]
 up-ALL 3-3SG-be-PRES egg-ABS
- up to the top are the eggs
43. *jarrug*
 egg-ABS
 eggs
44. *yi-nyeyn* *yi-jurn-garr-min*
 YI-body-ABS YI-nose-ALL-ADV
- the honey body right up to the nose
45. *yi-jurn-garr* *nan-garr* *goyi-warr*
 YI-nose-ALL that-ALL honey-ALL
- up to the nose of the honey [body]
46. *yawe*
 yes
 yes.

Text X VI

Mardirdguya 'two sparrow hawks'

Told by Elsie Raymond at Willeroo, 1989

1. *mardird-guya* *wud -jingi-ndi-ya-wuya* *nan-ya* *na*
hawk-DU-ABS 3NSG-be-PST-NAR-DU that-LOC [now]
two hawks were there
2. *guyamin* *mardird-guya* [INTERJECTION]
two-ABS hawk-DU-ABS
two hawks
3. *nana* *ngarrajjaj*
that-ABS [name]-ABS
Nightjar
4. *0-loyi-rrri-ya*
3SG-dance-PST-NAR
was dancing
5. *ngajbang-bi*
himself-ART
by himself
6. *wonggo* *wunggun-dagbarla-rrri* *yijjarlu*
not 3SG/3NSG-have-PST some-ABS
he had no others with him
7. *ngawun*
no
no
8. *0-loyi-rrri* *wujujurlma-ya* *0-yanggi-ya* *lurrbu* *dawung-ba*
3SG-dance-PST pocket rdp-LOC 3SG-go-PST-NAR home that way-ABL
gaba gaba *nu-nyanga* *ngarrugu* *nu-loyi-ngbe*
hey hey 2NSG-come 1INPL-DAT 2NSG-dance-FUT
he danced in the pocket, he went back from there, hey hey come, you two must dance for us

29. *ngawurnen* *wud-jingi-ndi* *nyerrreng-ma* *lege-yi*
 many-ABS 3NSG-sit-PST noise-PS one-ADV
nyerrreng-ma *0-jingi-ndi*
 noise-PS 3SG-sit-PST
 many were there making noise, he was there making noise by himself
30. *wurr-anggi* *wu-da-rri-wuya* *na*
 3NSG-go-PST 3NSG-see-PST-DU [now]
 they went and looked now
31. *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *nyerrenyerreng-ma* *lege-wi*
 3SG-sit-PST-NAR noise rdp-PS one-ART
 he was making noise by himself
32. *wu-da-rri-wuya* *a* *yani-ma*
 3NSG-see-PST-DU oh thus-PS
 they looked, oh! like that
33. *darni* *ya-wud -janga-n-guya* *ngawurlug-guya*
 yonder-ABS 3-3NSG-come-PRES-DU father-in-law-DU-ABS
 [my] the two in-laws are coming yonder
34. *wurr-anggi-wuya* *gunga* *duba*
 3NSG-go-PST-DU 3SG-DAT sit
 they went and sat
35. *duba* *wud-jingi-ndi* *gunga* *na*
 sit 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT [now]
 they were sitting down for him
36. *0-loyi-rri* *wurruguya* *na* *jewelejewe*
 3SG-dance-PST 3NSG-DU DAT [now] close rdp
dan-bi-wi *yijurn-ba* *yijurn-garr-min*
 this-ART-ART nose-ABL nose-ALL-ADV
 he danced for them now closer and closer from the nose, right up to their noses
37. *jewelejewe* *0-loyi-rri-ya* *wurruguya* *na*
 close rdp 3SG-dance-PST-NAR 3NSG-DU [now]
dan-bi *yijurn-ba* *yinim* *bidbarra* *wurruguya*
 this-ART nose-ABL anus-ABS arse up 3NSG-DU-DAT
 he danced closer to them now and put his arse up in the air for them

38. *ngarrajjaj* *ngarrajjaj* *0-yanggi*
 [name]-ABS [name]-ABS 3SG-go-PST
 Nightjar, Nightjar went
39. *jarlarla-ya* *warljub*
 hollow log-LOC inside
 inside a hollow log
40. *0-yanggi* *na* [INTERJECTION]
 3SG-go-PST [now]
 he went now
41. *lege-yi* *na* *wujuda* *madin* *gunga*
 one-ADV [now] short-ABS word-ABS 3SG-DAT
 only a short story about him.

Text XVII

Narru, learning to dodge

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *ngayugu*
1SG-ABS
me
2. *wardirrg-bi*
young girl-ART
as a young girl
3. *yin.gun-yo-rrri* *nan-yi*
3SG/1EXNSG-spear-PST that-ERG
he used to spear us
4. *yi-ngaba-yi* *yirrigu*
YI-brother-ERG 1EXNSG-DAT
our brother
5. *garn-barra*
spear-ADV
[he having] a spear
6. *jumba* *jingi* *nganunya* *banggin-(n)ya* *nana*
behind sit 1SG-DISS back-LOC that-ABS
sit behind me, he said to me
7. *0-yana-rrri* *nganu*
3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT
he'd say to me
8. *jumba* *nga-jingi-ndi* *go* *banggin-(n)ya*
behind 1SG-sit-PST 3SG-DAT back-LOC
I used to sit behind his back

9. *led-ba* *yi-ngayi-na-n-guya* *nana* *ya-nyangi-we-wan*
 look-PS IRR-1INDU-see-PRES-DU that-ABS 3-3SG-come-FUT-DF
dami-rlan
 this way-ALL
 you and I look, and when it comes this way
10. *dami-rlan* *ya-0-nyangi-we*
 this-ALL 3-3SG-come-FUT
 when it comes this way
11. *dami-rlan* *narru* *ngayi-waja* *gunya*
 this way-ALL dodge 1INDU-AUX-PRES 3SG-DISS
 we dodge it this way
12. *0-yana-rri* *nganu*
 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT
 he'd say to me
13. *yibuluyma* [INTERJECTION]
 [name]-ABS
 Yibuluyma
14. *gunga* *yidumduma-wu* *yi-guyu*
 3SG-DAT [name]-DAT YI-mother-ABS
 Yidumduma's mother
15. *yi-yerde-n* *yidumduma* [INTERJECTION]
 2SG-know-PRES [name]-ABS
 you know Yidumduma?
16. *yibuluyma* *go* *jaburru* *ngayugu* *go* *jumba*
 [name]-ABS 3SG-DAT ahead 1SG-ABS 3SG-DAT behind
banggin-(n)ya
 back-LOC
 Yibuluyma in front of him and I behind his back
17. *0-yana-rri* *nganu* *wonggo* *mun-ma* *yi-ni-jingi-n*
 3SG-say-PST 1SG-DAT not conceal-PS IRR-2SG-AUX-PRES
 he'd say to me, 'you mustn't conceal yourself'
18. *ngayi-na-n-guya* *warrab*
 1INDU-see-PRES watch
 let's you and I watch

19. *warrab*
watch
watch
20. *yi-da-rri-wuya* *warrab* *na*
1EXNSG-see-PST-DU watch [now]
and the two of us watched now
21. *wagayma* *dang-ba* *wujaba-wa*
like yonder-ABL house-ABL
like from yonder, from the house
22. *mayn* *yin.gun-me-ndi-wuya*
aim 3SG/1EXNSG-AUX-PST-DU
he aimed at the two of us
23. *yi-warna-mulu* *wud-jingi-ndi-ya* *go* *dalala-ma*
YI-some-PL-ABS 3NSG-be-PST-NAR 3SG-DAT line up-PS
he aimed at the two of us, some others sat lined up for him
24. *dan.guyugun*
this side
this way
25. *dan.guyugun*
this side
and this way
26. *led-ba* *nu-na-wuya* *gunya*
look-PS 2NSG-see-DU 3SG-DISS
you two look out for it
27. *yawe*
yes
yes
28. *led-ba-wi*
look-PS-ART
looking out
29. *wardirrg-marlang* *ya-yi-yo* *yinyang* *gila*
girl-ANA 3-3SG-IRR-spear 2SG-ABS indeed
that same girl, he might spear her, you!

30. *yana go*
say 3SG-DAT
you tell him
31. *led-ba-yi ngayi-na-n*
look-PS-ADV 1INDU-see-PRES
let's you and I look
32. *nga-yana-rri go*
1SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
I said to her
33. *led-ba-wi*
look-PS-ART
watching
34. *ya-0-nyangi-we-wan dami-rlan*
3-3SG-come-FUT-DF this way-ALL
it might come this way
35. *nana dawu-rlan ngayi-waja*
that-ABS that way-ALL 1INDU-AUX
let's dodge that way
36. *gunya*
3SG-DISS
away
37. *narru*
dodge
dodge
38. *dami-rlan ya-0-nyangi-we*
this way-ALL 3-3SG-come-FUT
when it comes this way
39. *dawu-rlan ngayi-nyja-wuya*
that way-ALL 1INDU-go-DU
the two of us'll go that way
40. *0-wudba-rri yirrigu dawung-ba garmin*
3SG-throw-PST 1EXNSG-DAT that way-ABL spear-ABS
he threw a spear at us from that way

41. *yi-da-rri* *led-ba-wi*
 1EXNSG-see-PST look-PS-ART
 we looked
42. *dawu-rlan* *0-yanggi* *garnin*
 that way-ALL 3SG-go-PST spear-ABS
 the spear went that way
43. *0-nyanga-ndi* *dami-rlan*
 3SG-come-PST this way-ALL
 it came this way
44. *dawu-rlan*
 that way-ALL
 that way
45. *dirrwog*
 jump
 jump
46. *yirr-we-ndi* *gunya* *yani-ma*
 1EXNSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DISS thus-PS
 we jumped away from it, like this.

Text XVIII

Welfare days, taking away children

Told by Ruby Gomnyang (Allison), with Elsie Raymond, January 1990

R.G.

1. *yid-jingi-ndi-ya::* *mami* *yin.gwi-dagbarla-rri-ya*
 1EXNSG-be-PST-NAR [mother] 3SG/1EXNSG-have-PST-NAR
yi-guyu *yirrigu* [INTERJECTION]
 YI-mother-ABS 1EXNSG-DAT
 we were there, my mother was keeping us

2. *0-nyanga-ndi* *na*
 3SG-come-PST [now]
 and he came now

3. *yinyigben* *int it*
 police-ABS [isn't it]
 a policeman, isn't that right?

4. *yinyigben* *0-nyanga-ndi*
 police-ABS 3SG-come-PST
 a policeman came

5. *0-na-rri*
 3SG-look-PST
 and looked

6. *a nana* *go* *yi-belyengman* *ale* *0-yana-rri* *go*
 oh that-ABS 3SG-DAT YI-red-ABS isn't it 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 'oh, that's a half-caste of hers, isn't it?', he said to her

7. *nan-gu* *na*
 that-DAT [now]
 hers now

8. *nganinggin-gu* *yi-nanun-gu* *gila*
 mine-DAT YI-sister-DAT indeed
 my sister's

9. *warrguj* *0-me-ndi* *na*
 pick up 3SG-AUX-PST [now]
 he picked it [child] up
10. *nga-ga-n* *na* *yinyang* *0-yana-rri*
 1SG-take-PRES [now] 2SG-ABS 3SG-say-PST
 'I'll take her [child] now, you', he said
11. *nganinggin-gu* *yi-guyu-wu*
 mine-DAT YI-mother-DAT
 to my mother
12. *0-ga-ndi* *na*
 3SG-take-PST [now]
 he took her away
13. *0-ga-ndi-wan* *welfeya-warr*
 3SG-take-PST-DF [welfare]-ALL
 he took her away to Welfare
14. *0-ga-ndi::* *lagla-warr* *gungan.gin-garr*
 3SG-take-PST camp-ALL his-ALL
 he took her away to his camp
15. *nga-gelewu-n* *na* *dawu* *jongon*
 1SG-send-PRES [now] that way north
 'I'll take her that way, north'
16. *0-yana-rri* *go*
 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 he said to her
17. *yo*
 yes
 yes

E.R.

18. *wurr-gelewu-rri-wan* *jongon* *gunya* *gila*
 3NSG-send-PST-DF north 3SG-DISS indeed
 and so they did send her away north

R.G.

19. *wurr-gelewu-rri* *jongon* *gunya*
 3NSG-send-PST north 3SG-DISS
 they sent her away north
20. *gila*
 indeed
 indeed
21. *yanja* *lurrbu*
 3SG-go-PRES back
 she goes back
22. *wurr-gelewu-rri*
 3NSG-send-PST
 'they've sent her'
23. *wurren* *nganinggin* *jongon* *gila* *0-yana-rri*
 child-ABS mine-ABS north indeed 3SG-say-PST
 'my child away north', she said
24. *lurle* *yid-jingi-ndi* *go* *na*
 cry 1EXNSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT [now]
 we cried for her now

E.R.

25. *ngayugu* *nga-lu-rri* *go* *wuduwuju* *gila*
 1SG-ABS 1SG-cry-PST 3SG-DAT little rdp indeed
 I cried for that little tiny thing

R.G.

26. *yawe* *gila* *ay bin kray*
 yes indeed [I been cry]
 yes indeed, I cried
27. *nga-lu-rri* *gila* *go* *yuwarrin* *guda-warda*
 1SG-cry-PST indeed 3SG-DAT poor thing where-QQ
0-yanggi *gila*
 3SG-go-PST indeed
 I cried for her, poor thing, where in the world has she gone?

28. *mitupela mam bin kambak*
[me two fella mom been come back]
Mom and I came back
29. *0-jingi-ndi jandang-bi na*
3SG-sit-PST forever-ART [now]
she stayed for good now
30. *yid-jingi-ndi-ya:: yi-jad yi-da-yi-rri* [INTERJECTION]
1EXNSG-sit-PST-NAR YI-big-ABS 1EXNSG-AUX-RR-PST
we stayed and got big
31. *lagla-warr ngan-gi-ndi-ya na lagla-warr* [INTERJECTION]
camp-ALL 3SG/1SG-put-PST-NAR [now] camp-ALL
they put me in camp
32. *ngong-jorro-rri yinyang*
1SG/2SG-follow-PST 2SG-ABS
I followed you [to E.R.]
33. *yawe*
yes
yes
34. *dawin ngo-jorro-n nganinggin yi-namun*
[Darwin] 1SG-gollow-PRES mine-ABS YI-sister-ABS
nga-yana-rri go
1SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
I'll follow my big sister to Darwin, I said to him
35. *ngarlg ngan-ga-ndi na*
take away 3SG/1SG-AUX-PST [now]
they took me away now
36. *yi-guyu nga-waja-rri dan-beng*
YI-mother-ABS 1SG-leave-PST this-SSPEC
I left mother right here
37. *ngan-ga-ndi*
3SG/1SG-AUX-PST
he took me

38. *nganinggin-yi yinggiya-yi*
mine-ERG [name]-ERG
my what took me away [trying to name a relative]
39. *yid-jingi-ndi na dawu*
1EXNSG-be-PST [now] that way
we were living that way now
40. *delimiya* [INTERJECTION]
[Delamere]
at Delamere
41. *yid-jingi-ndi-ya nan-ya yi-jad*
1EXNSG-be-PST-NAR that-LOC YI-big-ABS
yi-da-yi-rrri-ya-wiya [INTERJECTION]
1EXNSG-AUX-RR-PST-NAR-DU
we stayed there and the two of us grew up

E.R.

42. *marluga go niki benet-gu dadi*
old man-ABS 3SG-DAT [Micky Bennett]-DAT [daddy]
Micky Bennett's old man

R.G.

43. *ale*
is that right
is that so?

E.R.

44. *marluga-wu niki benet-gu go dadi nurrugu-wiya*
old man-DAT [Micky Bennett]-DAT 3SG-DAT [daddy] 2NSG-DU-DAT
marluga
old man-ABS
Micky Bennett's old man, old man daddy of the two of you

R.G.

45. *yinggiya-gula nana marluga*
who-ABS-EMPH that-ABS old man-ABS
which old man?

E.R.

46. *jim benet* [INTERJECTION]
 [Jim Bennett]
 Jim Bennett
47. *jim benet* *olpela*
 [Jim Bennett] [old fella]
 Old Jim Bennett
48. *mulurru-wan* *0-dagbarla-rri-ya* *marrit* *nan-yi*
 old woman-ABS-DF 3SG-have-PST-NAR [married] that-ERG
mernde-yi
 white-ERG
 that whitefella was married to that old woman.

Text XIX

Menngen ‘white cockatoo’

Told by Elsie Raymond, June 1989

1. *menngen* *0-jingi-ndi* *wurrugu* *marluga* *winybarr*
white cockatoo-ABS 3SG-be-PST 3NSG-DAT old man-ABS [place]
old man white cockatoo was there for them at Winybarr

2. *dan-ba* *wurr-yanggi-ya* *bogogo:*, *geberrung* *wanim*
this-ABL 3NSG-go-PST-NAR walkabout [place] [whannim]
they went walkabout from there to Geberrung and what’s it?

3. *ol weleru*
[Old Willeroo]
Old Willeroo

4. *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *dibdib* *galijba*
3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR pull out *cochlospermum*
they pulled up kapok

5. *ngorrogorro-wan* *lurrbu* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya-wuya,* *winybarr*
afternoon-DF home 3NSG-go-PST-NAR-DU [place]
wurr-wo-ndi-ya *mayin*
3NSG-give-PST-NAR food-ABS
and in the afternoon the two went home to Winybarr, they gave him food

6. *lurrbu-yi* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya* *gunya* *mennge-warr*
home-ADV 3NSG-go-PST-NAR 3SG-DISS white cockatoo-ALL
they went back to white cockatoo place

7. *wurr-gurrba-rrri-ya*
3NSG-sleep-PST-NAR
they slept

8. *alibala* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya* *dang-ba*
[early] 3NSG-go-PST-NAR yonder-ABL
early they went from there

9. *wirrig-bi* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya*
morning-ART 3NSG-go-PST-NAR
they went in the morning

10. *wurr-(y)anggi-ya* *ol weleru-warr*
 3NSG-go-PST-NAR [Old Willeroo]-ALL
 they went to Old Willeroo
11. *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *galijba*
 3NSG-get-PST-NAR *cochlospernum*-ABS
 they got kapok
12. *mayin*
 food-ABS
 food
13. *wurr-buju-rri-ya:* *ngorrogorro-wan* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya* *lurrbu*
 3NSG-dig-PST-NAR afternoon-DF 3NSG-go-PST-NAR home
 they dug and in the afternoon went home
14. *mala-warda* [INTERJECTION]
 again-QQ
 all the time like that
15. *lurrbu* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya* *winybarr* *wurr-wo-ndi-ya*
 home 3NSG-go-PST-NAR [place] 3NSG-give-PST-NAR
marluga
 old man-ABS
 they went back to Winybarr and gave it to the old man
16. *mayin*
 food-ABS
 food
17. *wurr-(y)anggi-ya-wuya* *gunya* *mennge-ya-warr* *na*
 3NSG-go-PST-NAR-DU 3SG-DISS white cockatoo-LOC-ALL [now]
 they went from him to the white cockatoo place
18. *barlba-warr*
 under-ABL-ALL
 to go in/under as dreaming
19. *barlb* *wurr-we-ndi-wan*
 go in 3NSG-AUX-PST-DF
 they went in as dreaming.

Text XX
Gadi 'lily root'

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *mululurru-yi*
old woman rdp-ERG
old ladies
2. *wurr-me-ndi* *gadi* *langgan-(n)ya*
3NSG-get-PST lily-ABS billabong-LOC
they used to get lily in the billabong
3. *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *ma-nyeyn* *barrwa*
3NSG-get-PST MA-body-ABS down
they got its flesh down below
4. *mayin*
vegetable food-ABS
the tucker
5. *ma-nyeyn* *barrwa*
MA-body-ABS down
its flesh down below
6. *ngayal-wunba* *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *manda-gan* *na*
flower-SOU 3NSG-get-PST-NAR what-Q [now]
from the flower they got the what's-it now
7. *gujung*
lily-ABS
the lily
8. *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *ning* *ning* *galuhul*
3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR snap snap up rdp
they snapped off the tops
9. *ngayal-wunba* *na*
flower-SOU [now]
from the flower

10. *manda-gan-marla* *0-bu-yi-rri-ya-wan*
 what-Q-INCH 3SG-AUX-RR-PST-NAR-DF
 and it became what's-it now
11. *ma-nandum*
 MA-seed-ABS
 seed
12. *ning ning* *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *wurr-ga-ndi-ya*
 snap snap 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR 3NSG-take-PST-NAR
gawarla-warr *lurrbu*
 coolamon-ALL home
 they snapped it off and took it back to the coolamon
13. *lagla-warr* [INTERJECTION]
 camp-ALL
 to camp
14. *murag-(g)arr* [INTERJECTION]
 shade-ALL
 to the shade
15. *wurr-ga-ndi-ya* *murag-(g)arr*
 3NSG-take-PST-NAR shade-ALL
 they took it into the shade
16. *wurr-ginye-rri-ya*
 3NSG-cook-PST-NAR
 and cooked it
17. *wurr-ginye-rri-ya::* *0-ba-ndi-ya* *nana* *mayin*
 3NSG-cook-PST-NAR 3SG-cook-PST-NAR that-ABS food-ABS
girdibun *ma-jungang*
 end MA-cooked-ABS
 they cooked it, the food cooked completely
18. *wurr-gi-ndi-ya* *gawarla-ya*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR coolamon-LOC
 they put it in the coolamon
19. *ma-warlam* *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *wabirl wabirl*
 MA-skin-ABS 3NSG-take-PST-NAR peel
 they peeled the skin

20. *wabirl wabirl*
peel peel
peel peel
21. *wurr-me-ndi-ya ma-warlam*
3NSG-get-PST-NAR MA-skin-ABS
they got the skin
22. *nana mayin wurr-ngorrma-rri-ya na*
that-ABS food-ABS 3NSG-grind-PST-NAR [now]
they ground the food now
23. *ma-nandum*
MA-seed-ABS
the seed
24. *wurr-ngorrma-rri-ya:: yani*
3NSG-grind-PST-NAR thus
they ground it like this
25. *wurr-wardaba-rri-ya-wan*
3NSG-sift-PST-NAR-DF
and they winnowed it
26. *gawarla-warra*
coolamon-ADV
with the coolamon
27. *wurr-wardaba-rri-ya:: girdibun*
3NSG-winnow-PST-NAR finish
they winnowed it, finished
28. *ma-garlarl 0-we-ndi-ya ma-nyeyn*
MA-clean-ABS 3SG-fall-PST-NAR MA-body-ABS
the body/flesh part fell down clean
29. *ma-warlam dawu-rlan*
MA-skin-ABS that way-ALL
the skin that way
30. *ngij*
side
to one side

31. *ngij-ba* *wurr-wudba-rri-ya* *ma-warlam* [INTERJECTION]
 side-PS 3NSG-throw-PST-NAR MA-skin-ABS
 they threw the skin to one side
32. *ngij*
 side
 side
33. *nana* *na* *ngamanda-gan*
 that-ABS [now] what-INDEF
 the what's-it now
34. *ma-nyeyn*
 MA-body-ABS
 the flesh
35. *wurr-ginye-rri-ya* *na*
 3NSG-cook-PST-NAR [now]
 they cooked it
36. *ma-dewoman* *o-jingi-ndi-ya* *wagayma* *lawa*
 MA-white-ABS 3SG-be-PST-NAR like [flour]
 it was white like flour
37. *ma-mernde-wun* *mayin* *wagayma*
 MA-white-NOM food-ABS like
 like the white man's food/flour
38. *wiya-yi-wan* *ngay* *wurr-me-ndi-ya* *ngunynguyn*
 water-INST-DF mix 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR sprinkle
wurr-bu-ndi-ya
 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
 they mixed it with water, they sprinkled it
39. *ngunynguyn*
 sprinkle
 they sprinkled it
40. *jalaj*
 paste-ABS
 and made a paste

41. *jalaj*
paste-ABS
a paste
42. *jalaj-ba* *wurr-marnbu-rri-ya::* *yani*
paste-ABS 3NSG-make-PST-NAR thus
from the paste they made like this
43. *ma-jad* *wurr-marnbu-rri-ya* *mayin* *yaniman*
MA-big-ABS 3NSG-make-PST-NAR food-ABS thus-ABS
they made a big loaf of it thus
44. *mayin*
food-ABS
food
45. *me-belbelin*
MA-flat-ABS
flat
46. *wuja-ya-wan* *buwud* *wurr-bu-ndi-ya* *na*
fire-LOC-DF under 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR [now]
and they cooked it beneath the coals
47. *wuja-ya-wan* *buwud* *wurr-bu-ndi-ya*
fire-LOC-DF under 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
and they cooked it beneath the coals
48. *0-ba-ndi-ya*
3SG-cook-PST-NAR
it cooked
49. *miwu*
swell
and swelled up
50. *0-ba-ndi-ya* *wagayma*
3SG-cook-PST-NAR like
it cooked like
51. *manda-gan* [INTERJECTION]
what-INDEF
a what's-it

52. *wurr-me-ndi* *warlbag* *wuja-wa*
 3NSG-AUX-PST remove fire-ABL
 they removed it from the fire
53. *wurr-gi-ndi-ya* *gawarla-ya*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR coolamon-LOC
 they put it in the coolamon
54. *yi-warna-gari* *buwud* *wurr-bu-ndi*
 YI-other-other under 3NSG-AUX-PST
 they put another under the coals
55. *wurr-gi-ndi-ya* *duy-ma* *yani-ma*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR heap-PS thus-PS
 they put it in a heap like this
56. *mayin-gunba* *dan-ganung-gunba* *ma-nandum-gunba*
 food-SOU this-COL-SOU MA-seed-SOU
 from these seeds
57. *wunggunburr-wo-ndi-ya* *lege* *lege*
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST-NAR one-ABS one-ABS
wunggunburr-wo-ndi-ya-wan
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST-NAR-DF
 they distributed them to people
58. *mayin* *nan-ganung*
 food-ABS that-COL.-ABS
 that food
59. *lege* *lege*
 one-ABS one-ABS
 one each.

Text XXI

Story of Mr Court

Told by Lily Gin.gina, July 1989

1. *wurr-yo-rri* *garn-yi* *pastaim*
3NSG-spear-PST spear-INST [first]
they speared him
2. *gayardung-wan* *wu-lawu-rri* *deyn* *0-we-yn-ga*
run-DF 3NSG-reach-PST collapse 3SG-AUX-PST-SUB
they reached him as he fell
3. *garn-yi* *wurr-yo-ny-ga* *yu no*
spear-INST 3NSG-spear-PST-SUB [you know]
as they speared him
4. *deyn* *0-we-ndi*
collapse 3SG-AUX-PST
he fell
5. *wu-lawu-rri-wan* *gata* *yi-munburra* *na*
3NSG-reach-PST-DF [with] YI-rock-ABS [now]
they caught up to him with stones
6. *wu-linyje-rri* *gila* *ebriwe*
3NSG-cut-PST indeed [everywhere]
they cut him all over
7. *led-garra*

?
8. *jubung* *wurr-me-ndi::* *wu-munburra-yi* *badbad*
heap 3NSG-AUX-PST WU-rock-INST cover
they heaped stones on and covered him
9. *badbad* *wurr-gi-ndi* *ngawun*
cover 3NSG-AUX-PST nothing
they covered him, nothing

10. *mulngbi waj wurr-waja-rri yi-munburra-yi-biji*
 many leave 3NSG-leave-PST YI-rock-INST-only
nordnord wurr-gi-ndi
 heap 3NSG-AUX-PST
 the lot of them left him, heaped only with stones
11. *nordnord wurr-gi-ndi-gari*
 heap 3NSG-AUX-PST-?
 they heaped over him
12. *gata yi-munburra*
 [with] YI-rock-ABS
 with stones
13. *wurr-yo-rri-wan yibiyani-yi borlgob wu-lawu-rri*
 3NSG-spear-PST-DF man-ERG sneak 3NSG-reach-PST
i bin abim tumaji
 [because he had]
 and the Aborigines speared him, they snuck up on him, because he had
14. *bangbun jurarri wunggu-dagbarla-rri*
 woman-ABS many-ABS 3SG/3NSG-have-PST
 he had many women
15. *murrgun*
 three-ABS
 three
16. *i bin abim tripela* *bangbun*
 [he had three] woman-ABS
 he had three women
17. *bla raili granmada*
 [of] [Riley grandmother]
 Riley's grandmother
18. *wurr-yo-rri na*
 3NSG-spear-PST [now]
 they speared him now
19. *borlgob wu-lawu-rri yibiyani-yi mayalwa*
 sneak 3NSG-reach-PST man-ERG [place]
 the Aborigines snuck up on him at Mayalwa

20. *dawung-ba* *jongon-ba*
that way-ABL west-ABL
from the west that way
21. *garrarnawun* *dawu* *wu-lawu-rrri*
[place] that way 3NSG-reach-PST
Garrarnawun, that way, they caught up to him
22. *dan-garr* *na*
this-ALL [now]
this way now
23. *wunggu-dagbarla-rrri* *bangbun* *biji laglan*
3SG/3NSG-have-PST woman-ABS only place-ABS
he had the women only at camp (?)
24. *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *dan-ya-wunyin*
3SG-sit-PST-NAR this-LOC-SPEC
he was right here
25. *0-yanggi* *0-yanggi-ya-marla* *dimana-warra* *dimana-warra*
3SG-go PST 3SG-go-PST-NAR-ITER horse-ADV horse-ADV
dimana-warra
horse-ADV
he went, he used to go on horseback
26. *nendo-warra*
horse-ADV
on horseback
27. *0-yanggi-ya-marla*
3SG-go-PST-NAR-ITER
he went
28. *borlgob* *wu-lawu-rrri* *mayalwa* *borlgob-wan* *yibiwani-yi*
sneak 3NSG-reach-PST [place] sneak-DF man-ERG
[INTERJECTION]
the Aborigines snuck up on him at Mayalwa
29. *mayalwa* [INTERJECTION]
[place]
Mayalwa
30. *mernden* *wu-lawu-rrri*
white-ABS 3NSG-reach-PST
they caught up to the whiteman

31. *mayalwa* *wu-lawu-rri* *dan-garr*
 [place] 3NSG-reach-PST this-ALL
 at Mayalwa, they caught up to him this way
32. *wurr-yo-rri* *garr-yi*
 3NSG-spear-PST spear-INST
 they speared him
33. *wurr-yo-rri*
 3NSG-spear-PST
 they speared him
34. *garrin* *wurr-gi-ndi* *go* *yi-garr.gal-wa* *dan-ba*
 spear-ABS 3NSG-put-PST 3SG-DAT YI-rib-ABL this-ABL
 they put the spear from his ribs here
35. *damin-ba* *jurru*
 here-ABL [through]
 from here, out
36. *digirrij* *go* *deyn* *o-we-ndi*
 dead 3SG-DAT fall 3SG-AUX-PST
 he fell dead
37. *yi-munburra-warra* *gaya-gayardung* *wu-lawu-rri*
 YI-rock-ADV run rdp 3NSG-reach-PST
wu-munburra-warra *na*
 WU-stone-ADV [now]
 with rocks, they caught up to him running with stones
38. *gaya-gayardung* *wu-lawu-rri*
 run rdp 3NSG-reach-PST
 and as he fell dead they reached him running
39. *wurr-bu-ndi* *wu-munburra-yi* *wonggo* *mundul-ma*
 3NSG-hit-PST WU-rock-INST neg cover-PS
wurr-gi-ndi *ngawun* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-AUX-PST no
 they stoned him, they didn't cover him up, no
40. *mundul-ma*
 cover-PS
 cover

41. *warna* *wurr-gi-ndi*
not 3NSG-AUX-PST
they didn't cover him
42. *wu-munburra-yi* *biji* *nord*
WU-rock-INST only heap
only with a rock heap
43. *nordnord* *wurr-gi-ndi*
heap 3NSG-put-PST
they heaped over him
44. *waj* *wurr-waja-rri* *yanima-yi*
leave 3NSG-leave-PST thus-ADV
and they left him thus
45. *bangbun* *dang-ganung* *wunggunburr-ga-ndi* *gunya*
woman-ABS those-COL-ABS 3NSG/3SG-take-PST 3SG-DISS
and they took those women from him
46. *lurrbu* *lurrbu* [INTERJECTION]
back back
back
47. *wunggunburr-ga-ndi-wan* *nan-ganung-yi* *yibiyani-yi*
3NSG/3SG-take-PST-DF that-COL-ERG man-ERG
those Aborigines took them from him
48. *bangbun* *wunggunburr-ga-ndi* *yibiyani-yi* [INTERJECTION]
woman-ABS 3NSG/3NSG-take-PST man-ERG
the men took the women
49. *ol pipul alabat* *wurr-ngegba-ny-ga*
[old people] 3NSG-die-PST-SUB
old people who have died
50. *marluga* *nirlan.giyag* [INTERJECTION]
old man-ABS [name]
old man Nirlan.giyag
51. *dan-yi* *na* *yimij*
this-ERG [now] [ss]-ABS
this yimij now

52. *bla* *jurnjurnung*
[of] [name]
Jurnjurnung's
53. *0-ga-ndi-wan* *gwiya* *lurrbu* *garrarnawun* [INTERJECTION]
3SG-take-PST 3SG-DISS back [place]
took [them] back home to Garrarnawun
54. *yi-warna-gari* *dawung-jila* *gorro-wunba* *bangbun* [INTERJECTION]
YI-other-other this way-ORIG south-SOU woman-ABS
another one from this way, a woman from south
55. *walyiburra*
[gentilic]
a Warlpiri
56. *gorro-wunba-wiya* *guyamin* *intit*
south-SOU-DU-ABS two [isn't it]
two of them from south, right?
57. *lege* *grani* *yinggiya-gan*
one-ABS [granny] who-ABS-Q
and one granny, who is that?
58. *jurnjurnung*
[name]
Jurnjurnung
59. *grani bla this raili hia*
[granny of this Riley here]
Riley here, his grandmother
60. *oni tripela i bin abim*
[only three he been have im]
he had just three
61. *bangbu-wiya* *gorro-wunba*
woman-DU-ABS south-SOU
two women from south
62. *nana-ni-wunyin*
that-ART-SPEC
that's the way now.

Text XXII

Story of Roy Bartlam

Told by Daisy Gimiyn, June 1989

1. *ngan-da-rri-wan* *birdijba* *jea igin* *weleru* [INTERJECTION]
3SG/1SG-see PST-DF find [there again] [Willeroo]
where he 'found' me [i.e., where my father 'found' me]
2. *yaning-barra* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *gadin-ya* *nganinggin* *dadi*
then-having 3SG-sit-PST-NAR [garden]-LOC mine [daddy]
at that time he was sitting down in the garden, my father [i.e., her father was working as gardener at Willeroo]
3. *nok of apinun* *ngorrogorro-warrma*
[knock off afternoon] afternoon-ADV
[he'd] knock of in the afternoon
4. *yawe* *0-nyanga-ndi-ya* *lurrbu* *kem-garr* *na*
yes 3SG-come-PST-NAR back [camp]-ALL [now]
yes, he'd come back to camp
5. *roy batlin* *gelengma-ga* *0-na-rri-ya*
[Roy Bartlam] dislike-EMPH 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR
Roy Bartlam disliked it
6. *wangga* *eniting*
song style [anything]
wangga [dance style] or anything like that [i.e., disliked hearing any Aboriginal music coming from the camp]
7. *yawe*
yes
yes
8. *ngamanda-gan*
what-Q
what's it

9. *bandimi*
[style]
bandimi style
10. *yi-menjen* *nana* *mernden*
YI-cheeky that-ABS whitefella-ABS
he was cheeky, that whitefella
11. *yawe*
yes
yes
12. *0-nyanga-ndi* *na*
3SG-come-PST [now]
he came now
13. *mobonyi*
night
at night
14. *marlugbarr* *wurr-gi-ndi*
didgeeridoo-ABS 3NSG-AUX-PST
they were playing the didgeridoo
15. *0-gi-ndi* *dijongdijong-ma* *na*
3SG-AUX-PST play didgeridoo rdp-PS [now]
he was playing the didgeridoo
16. *legen-yi* *jabarda-yi*
one-ERG [ss]-ERG
a certain jabarda man
17. *0-gi-ndi* *dijorrong-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi* *na*
3SG-AUX-PST play didgeridoo rdp-PS 3SG-come-PST [now]
he was playing the didgeridoo and he [Roy Bartlam] came now
18. *kent-garr* *gajigaji* *na* *nana* *mernden*
[camp]-ALL walk [now] that-ABS whitefella-ABS
that whitefella came walking to the camp
19. *0-gerne-rri-wan* *marlugbarr* *birrg*
3SG-AUX-PST-DF didgeridoo-ABS away
and he took that didgeridoo away

20. *ban.garrg* *0-wudba-rrri* na *marlugbarr*
down 3SG-AUX-throw-PST [now] didgeridoo
he threw down the didgeridoo now
21. *wunggin-bu-ndi* *0-bu-ndi* na *jabarda*
3SG/3NSG-hit-PST 3SG-hit-PST [now] [ss]-ABS
he belted them, he hit that jabarda
22. *yanina-yi* na
thus-ADV [now]
like that now
23. *mobonyi* na *mirrij* rolim rolimap *wurr-yana-rrri* *gunya*
night [now] roll up [roll it up] 3NSG-AUX-PST 3SG-DISS
jweg na
[swag] [now]
at night they rolled up their swags on him
24. *wurr-(y)anggi* *galul* na
3NSG-go-PST high [now]
they went up on top
25. *wu-munburra-warr*
WU-rock-ALL
of the cliff
26. *bijbarnang* na [INTERJECTION]
[place] [now]
to Bijbarnang now [a site in high scarp behind and east of Willeroo Station
homestead]
27. *wurr-(y)anggi* *wurr-waja-rrri* *girdibun* na
3NSG-go-PST 3NSG-leave-PST finish [now]
they went and left him, the whole lot [i.e., the whole camp]
28. *warna* *yinggiya* *0-jingi-ndi* *go* *ngawun* na
neg who-ABS 3SG-sit-PST 3SG-DAT nothing [now]
nobody remained for him
29. *ngawun*
nothing
not at all

30. pinisimap *marlarluga* *mululurru*
 [finishim up] old men rdp-ABS old women rdp-ABS
 the old men and women had all gone
31. alibala *0-na-rri* *wurrugu* *ngawun* na kem
 [early] 3SG-see-PST 3NSG-DAT nothing [now] [camp]
 in the morning he looked for them at the camp
32. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
33. *ngawun* *0-na-rri* *0-lawu-rri* *nendo* *0-me-ndi* na
 nothing 3SG-see-PST 3SG-fetch-PST horse-ABS 3SG-get-PST [now]
 [INTERJECTION]
 nothing, [when] he looked around for them he fetched it, he got his horse
34. *nendo* *0-me-ndi*
 horse-ABS 3SG-get-PST
 he got his horse
35. *lege* *go* *0-me-ndi* *gari* kuk
 one-ABS 3SG-DAT 3SG-get-PST other [cook]
 he got one other [fellow], the cook
36. *wurr-me-ndi-wuya* *nendo* lebel
 3NSG-get-PST-DU horse-ABS [level]
 both of them got their horses
37. *gal-wuya* *wurr-yana-rri*
 up-DU 3NSG-do-PST
 both of them mounted
38. *bordordob* na
 gallop [now]
 they galloped now
39. *galung-lan* na
 up-ALL [now]
 uphill now
40. *dang-garr* *bijbarnang-garr* na
 that-ALL [place]-ALL [now]
 there to Bijbarnang now

41. *dilyg-ba* *wud-jingi-ndi* *go*
wait-PS 3NSG-sit-PST 3SG-DAT
they were waiting/ready for him
42. *wunggun-yo-rrri* *galung-lan* *na* *guji* *do*
3SG/3NSG-spear-PST up-ALL [now] first bang
he shot upwards towards them first
43. *wunggun-yo-rrri* *ngone* *wurr-wudba-rrri* *gabbarri*
3SG/3NSG-spear-PST spear-ABS 3NSG-throw-PST back/also
go *ngone*
3SG-DAT spear-ABS
he shot [at] them and they threw spears back at him
44. *garnin*
spear-ABS
spears
45. *garnin-guji* *wurr-wudba-rrri* *go* *na*
spear first-ABS 3NSG-throw-PST 3SG-DAT [now]
first they threw spears at him
46. *wurr-yo-rrri* *na* *jed* *dog* *dog*
3NSG-spear-PST [now] hit bang bang
they speared him now, a hit, bang bang
47. *wurr-yo-rrri:* *girdibun* *na*
3NSG-spear-PST finish [now]
they speared him now, finish [means, they continued to throw spears at him, not necessarily that they hit him each time; above it is indicated there was one hit]
48. *bordordob* *yanggi* *hurrbu* *0-gengni-yi-rrri* *na*
gallop rdp 3SG-go-PST home 3SG fear-RR-PST [now]
jalbord-garr
station-ALL
he went galloping back home, he was afraid, to the station
49. *nana* *mernden*
that-ABS whitefella-ABS
that whitefella
50. *yawe*
yes
yes

51. *wurr-(y)anggi* *gunya* *na* *numbu-lan-min* *na*
 3NSG-go-PST 3SG-DISS [now] that way [now]
 they went away from him now that way
52. *warduj-bi*
 vanish-ART
 [they] vanish[ed]
53. *wud-janga-ndi* *borri-rlan* *na* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-come-PST this way-ALL [now]
- they came this way
54. *wud-janga-ndi* *gunya* *borri-rlan*
 3NSG-come-PST 3SG-DISS this way-ALL
 they came away from him now this way
55. *gajigaji* *na*
 walk [now]
 walking now
56. *nana mernden* *0-jingi-ndi* *dawu* *jalbord-beng* *weleru*
 that whitefella-ABS 3SG-sit-PST this way station-SSPEC [Willeroo]
 that whitefella was this way at Willeroo Station
57. *yawe*
 yes
 yes [F.M. asks: 'did any police come about this matter?']
58. *ngawun*
 no
 no
59. *warna* *0-nyanga-ndi* *yinyigban* *ngawun*
 neg 3SG-come-PST police-ABS no
 the police didn't come, no
60. *wud-janga-ndi* *gunya* *menbalu-warr-min* *na*
 3NSG-come-PST 3SG-DISS [Manbulloo]-ALL [now]
 they came away from him to Manbulloo now
61. *menbalu-warr*
 [Manbulloo]-ALL
 to Manbulloo.

Text XXIII

Skins and marriage

Told by Elsie Raymond, January 1990

1. *yimid-gu* *gunga* *yinggangala*
[ss]-DAT 3SG-DAT [ss]-ABS
yimid's is an yinggangala woman
2. *yi-ngawiyu*
YI-wife-ABS
wife [i.e., yimid marries yinggangala]
3. *yiwanay-wu* *yimburrwarla* [INTERJECTION]
[ss]-DAT [ss]-ABS
yiwanay's is an yimburrwarla woman
4. *wagayma* *ngayugu* *wagayma* *yinyeng*
like 1SG-ABS like 2SG-ABS
like me, and like you
5. *yurrwarla-wu* *yimbanay*
[ss]-DAT [ss]-ABS
yimbanay is yurrwarla's
6. *yi-ngawiyu* *go*
YI-wife-ABS 3SG-DAT
wife
7. *ngamanda-ga-wu*
what-Q-DAT
and which one's
8. *jangala-wu* *yimidani*
[ss]-DAT [ss]-ABS
for jangala is a yimidani woman
9. *jabij-gu* *yimbangari*
[ss]-DAT [ss]-ABS
and for jabij is an yimbangari woman

10. *yanymirra-wu yimbalyarri* [INTERJECTION]
 [ss]-DAT [ss]-ABS
 for yanymirra is an yimbalyarri woman
11. *yiwangari-wu jabiday*
 [ss]-DAT [ss]-ABS
 for an yiwangari a jabiday woman
12. *gunga*
 3SG-DAT
 his
13. *wurren-wan go jabiday-wunba yimbanay yiwana*
 child-ABS-DF 3SG-DAT [ss]-SOU [ss]-ABS [ss]-ABS
 and the child from a jabiday woman is yimbanay or yiwana
14. *yanymirra-wunba yurrwarla yimburrwarla*
 [ss]-SOU [ss]-ABS [ss]-ABS
 and from a yanymirra man is a yurrwarla or yimburrwarla [child]
15. *ngamanda-ga-wunba yimidani-wunba jabiday jabijin*
 what-Q-SOU [ss]-SOU [ss]-ABS [ss]-ABS
 and from a what, a yimidani [woman] is a jabiday [child] or jabijin [child]
16. *yinggangala-wunba yiwalyarri yimbalyarri*
 [ss]-SOU [ss]-ABS [ss]-ABS
 from an yinggangala woman is an yiwalyarri or yimbalyarri [child]
17. *wurren wurrugu*
 child-ABS 3NSG-DAT
 their child
18. *yinggangala-wunba*
 [ss]-SOU
 from an yinggangala
19. *ngamanda yi-warna-gari* [INTERJECTION]
 what-ABS YI-other-other-ABS
 what is another one
20. *yiwalyarri-wuya*
 [ss]-DU-ABS
 two yiwalyarri

32. *yi-yunjun*
YI-full-ABS
a full one
33. *yi-yunjun*
YI-full-ABS
a full one
34. *yinggangala-yi* *yanima-yi*
[ss]-ERG thus-ADV
yinggangala [calls them] like that
35. *yi-ngawa* *yanggun-gi-n* *manda-gan*
YI-child-ABS 3SG/3NSG-put-PRES what-Q
calls child what'sit
36. *yimbanay-wunba*
[ss]-SOU
from yimbanay
37. *yimbalyarri*
[ss]-ABS
yimbalyarri
38. *ngamanda* *dana*
what-ABS this-ABS
and what's this
39. *ngamanda-gula* *go*
what-EMPH 3SG-DAT
his whats'it
40. *yimbanay-wunba* *yinyganymirra*
[ss]-SOU [ss]-ABS
from yimbanay, yinyganymirra
41. *yawe*
yes
Yes
42. *yinyganymirra* *yanymirra*
[ss]-ABS [ss]-ABS
yanymirra and yinyganymirra

43. *yi-yunjun-gunba* *yanggun-gi-n* *yi-ngawa*
 YI-full-SOU 3SG/3NSG-put-PRES YI-child-ABS
 from a full one calls them child
44. *yani-ma* [INTERJECTION]
 thus-PS
 like that
45. *yanggunburr-gi-n* *yi-marnayn* *yimid* *yiwanay*
 3NSG/3NSG-put-PRES YI-husband-ABS [ss]-ABS [ss]-ABS
 they call yimid husband, yiwanay
46. *yinggangala-yi* *yimbana-yi*
 [ss]-ERG [ss]-ERG
 yinggangala and yimbanay [do]
47. *yimidani-yi*
 [ss]-ERG
 yimidani
48. *yimburrwarla-yi* *yanggunburr-gi-n* *yi-manda-gan* *jangala*
 [ss]-ERG 3NSG/3NSG-put-PRES YI-what-Q-ABS [ss]-ABS
 and yimburrwarla call jangala what's it
49. *yi-manda-gan*
 YI-what-ABS
 what's it
50. *yiwanay*
 [ss]-ABS
 yiwanay
51. *yi-marnayn* [INTERJECTION]
 YI-husband-ABS
 husband
52. *ngagu-rlang* *garra-gurlang* *bayin-gurlang* *ya-wurr-gurrgba*
 MM-DY cousin-DY Moinlaw-DY 3-3NSG-sleep-PRES
 grannies together, cousins, in-laws, they sleep [together]
53. *gaya-marlang* *ngawurnen*
 today-ANA many-ABS
 lots of them like that today

54. *eni kain* *wu-warlam-wagbawun*
 [any kind] WU-skin-lacking-ABS
 without skin, any old way
55. *mernden* *marraj-bi* *ya-wurr-ya* *wu-warlam*
 white-ABS like-ART 3-3NSG-go-PRES WU-skin-ABS
 like white people they go [in regards to] skin
56. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
57. *yawe* *yi-ngigilman-bi*
 yes YI-straight-ART
 yes, 'straight' [ie, correct marriage]
58. *yi-ngigilman-bi*
 YI-straight-ART
 'straight' [ie, correct marriage]
59. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
60. *wu-dagbarla-yi-rr-ya*
 3NSG-have-RR-PST-NAR
 they had each other [so]
61. *yi-bayin-gunba*
 YI-mother-in-law-SOU
 from mother-in-law
62. *yi-bayin-gunba*
 YI-mother-in-law-SOU
 from mother-in-law
63. *lambarra-wunba*
 father-in-law-SOU
 and father-in-law

64. *yi-ngigilma-wagbawun wajiwaji nana wonggo*
 YI-straight-lacking-ABS wrong that-ABS not
wunggunburr-wo-ndi
 3NSG/3NSG-give-PST
 incorrect, wrong way marriage, that's where they didn't give them
65. *yi-jeyeman go yi-ngawiyu*
 YI-promise-ABS 3SG-DAT YI-wife-ABS
 his promised wife
66. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
67. *yimid-ji yilama warrguj 0-me-ndi-ya yimburrwarla*
 [ss]-ERG maybe pick up 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR [ss]-ABS
yi-garrwa go
 YI-cousin-ABS 3SG-DAT
 maybe yimid picked up yimburrwarla, his cousin
68. *yawe*
 yes
 yes
69. *wonggo 0-wo-ndi-ya nana yinggangala ngawun-wan*
 not 3SG-give-PST that-ABS [ss]-ABS nothing-DF
 she didn't give that yinggangala, nothing.

Text XXIV

Gorrondolmi and *wirninginya*, rainbow and quiet snake

Told by Lily Gin.gina, June 1989

1. *galala-ma* *0-jingi-ndi-yawu*
rise-PS 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR
it arose
2. *jurd-ba* *yimburr-yana-rri*
show 3/2SG-AUX-PST
they showed you
3. *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *gabbarri*
stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR also
and it stood there too
4. *dawung-ba* *0-nyanga-ndi-ya* *ngamanda-gan* *ngalanjarri*
this way-ABL 3SG-come-PST what's it-Q [place]
from that way it came [to] what's it, Ngalanjarri
5. *bram long we*
[from long way]
from a long way
6. *gudang-ba* *gula*
where-ABL EMPH
where from?
7. *baraj-ba-gula* *0-nyanga-ndi* *ale* *marluga*
far-ABL-EMPH 3SG-come-PST right old man
he really came from far away, didn't he, old man?
8. *gudani-gula* *dana*
where-EMPH here-ABS
where then?
9. *jinbiya* *we i bin kam int it*
[place] [where he came isn't it]
[from] Jinbiya here he came, didn't he?

10. *gudburlani-wa* *0-nyanga-ndi* [INTERJECTION]
[place]-ABL 3SG-come-PST
he came from Gudburlani
11. *baraj-ba* *0-nyanga-ndi-ya* *jurru* *delimiya* [INTERJECTION]
far-ABL 3SG-come-PST [through] [Delamere]
he came out at Delamere from a long way away
12. *barangan* *werr-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi*
rift-ABS out-PS 3SG-come-PST
he came out the gap
13. *werr-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi* *borri-rlan*
out-PS 3SG-come-PST this way-ALL
he came out this way
14. *dana-ni* *0-lawu-rri* *gorrondolmi* *yurriba-warr*
this-ART 3SG-reach-PST rainbow-ABS stand-ALL
laba-rlabang *wunggun-me-ndi-yawu*
carry on shoulder 3SG/3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
he caught up to Rainbow standing here and they had [her] on their shoulders
15. *manda-gan* *wirninginya*
whats'it-Q quiet snake-ABS
what is it, the quiet snake
16. *wirninginya-yi* *laba-rlbang* *wurr-me-ndi-yawu*
snake-ERG carry on shoulder 3NSG-AUX-PST-NAR
the snakes took [her, Rainbow] on their shoulders
17. *marluga* *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ndi-yawu*
old man-ABS stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR
the old man was standing
18. *mulurru*
old woman-ABS
old woman [speaker corrects herself, should have identified Rainbow as female]
19. *nenyung-marla* [INTERJECTION]
poke tongue-ITER
poking out her tongue

30. *jid* *0-waja-rri* *0-nyanga-ndi* *na*
 stand 3SG-leave-PST 3SG-come-PST [now]
 it left it and came ahead now
31. *borri-rlan*
 this way-ALL
 towards us
32. *dana-ni* *nenyung-marla* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *go* [INTERJECTION]
 here-ART poke-ITER 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR 3SG-DAT
 here she was sitting poking her tongue out at him [rain]
33. *0-nyanga-ndi-ya* *na* [INTERJECTION]
 3SG-come-PST-NAR [now]
 he [rain] came on now
34. *wunggu-da-rri* *ngamanda-ga-wuya* *janginyina-wuya*
 3SG/3NSG-see-PST what's it-Q-DU-ABS gecko-DU-ABS
wud-jala-yi-rri-yawu
 3NSG-boomerang-RR-PST-NAR
 he saw the two what's-their-names, the two geckos [Lightning Brothers] were boomeranging each other
35. *yagjagbula* *jabirringgi*
 [name]-ABS [name]-ABS
 Yagjagbula [and] Jabirringgi
36. *garnayanda-wunya*
 [name]-DISS
 on account of Garnayanda
37. *wud-jala-yi-rri-ya-wuya* *gunya*
 3NSG-boomerang-RR-PST-DU 3SG-DISS
 they were boomeranging each other on her account
38. *werr* *0-nyanga-ny-ga* *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ndi* *nan-beng*
 out 3SG-come-PST-SUB stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST there-SSPEC
na *walbarnda-ya*
 [now] plain-LOC
 having come out he stood up there now on the plain
39. *yurrb-a* *0-jingi-ndi*
 stand-PS 3SG-AUX-PST
 he [rain] stood there

40. *dana-ni gabarri yanima dan-ba mub-wan 0-yana-rri*
 here-ART again thus here-ABL [move]-DF 3SG-AUX-PST
 and this one here moved again like this
41. *jarrug-guji nurdurdurd wunggun-jerre-rri*
 egg first-ABS heap rdg 3SG/3NSG-excrete-PST
 first she extruded those eggs in a heap
42. *0-yanggi na dawu-rlan*
 3SG-go-PST [now] this way-ALL
 she went this way
43. *garnyiwarnyirr-warr*
 [place]-ALL
 to Garnyiwarnyirr
44. *barlba-wan jarrambu 0-yanggi*
 inside-DF look around 3SG-go-PST
 where she was looking around for a place to become Dreaming
45. *barlb ya-yi-we-ny-ga*
 inside 3SGIRR-AUX-PST-SUB
 she might have gone down there
46. *warljub 0-we-ndi 0-na-rri ngawun*
 inside 3SG-fall-PST 3SG-see-PST nothing
 she went inside and looked around, nothing [no good]
47. *wu-gid*
 WU-narrow-ABS
 [it was] too narrow [at Garnyiwarnyirr]
48. *bu: 0-bu-ndi galul-wa na*
 whoosh 3SG-hit-PST top-ABL [now]
 she blasted her way out at the top
49. *wu-munburra nana wirlb 0-wudba-ny-ga*
 WU-rock-ABS that-ABS scatter 3SG-throw-PST-SUB
 tossing that rock about
50. *wed-ba-wan 0-jingi-ndi borri-rlan*
 look back-DF 3SG-AUX-PST this way-ALL
 and as she looked back this way

51. *nga-nji* *lurrbu-ma* *wirlin.gunyang-garr* *lurrbu-yi* *0-nyanga-ndi*
 1SG-go (IRR) back [place]-ALL back-ADV 3SG-come-PST
 I must go back to Wirlin.gunyang, and she came back
52. *lurrbu-yi* *0-nyanga-ndi* *na* *barlba-warr*
 back-ADV 3SG-come-PST [now] inside-ALL
 she came back to stay as dreaming
53. *wirlin.gunyang* *na* *barlb* *0-we-ndi* *brabli* *na*
 [place] [now] inside 3SG-AUX-PST [properly] [now]
 she went down as dreaming at Wirlin.gunyang
54. *jandang-bi* *na* *drimin*
 forever [now] [dreaming]
 now is dreaming forever.

Text XXV

Marriage

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *nana* *yibiyān* *wonggo* *gungan.gin* *yi-marnayn*
 that-ABS man-ABS not hers-ABS YI-husband-ABS
 that man is not her husband

2. *ya-0-ga-n-ga* *gunga* *yi-namun*
 3-3SG-take-PRES-SUB 3SG-DAT YI-sister-ABS
 taking [married to]her older sister

3. *e* *e*
 no no
 no, no

4. *nana-ni* *ol pipul* *mayi-wu*
 that-ART-ABS [old people] food-DAT
 that one, old people regarding food

5. *wiya-wu*
 water-DAT
 regarding water

6. *yani-ma*
 thus-PS
 did thus

7. *wangi* *nana* *yi-warna-gari* *yibiyān-gari*
 only that-ABS YI-other-other-ABS man-other-ABS
 only that other man

8. *yo-0-gorr-ni-yi-n-ga* *gunga*
 3-3SG-paint-RR-PRES-SUB 3SG-DAT
 who is painting up for her

9. *nana* *ya-wurr-wo-n* *nana* *yi-namun*
 that-ABS 3-3NSG-give-PRES that-ABS YI-sister-ABS
 go *nan-gu* *wurre-wu*
 3SG-DAT that-DAT child-DAT
 they give the elder sister of that child

10. *nana-wunyin* *ya-wurr-wo-n* [INTERJECTION]
 that-SPEC 3-3NSG-give-PRES
 that's the one they give
11. *yi-namun* *yi-jad* *ya-0-ga-n-ga* *gunga*
 YI-sister-ABS YI-big-ABS 3-3SG-take-PRES-SUB 3SG-DAT
 the one who takes her big sister
12. *nana-wunyin* *ya-wurr-wo-n*
 that-ABS-SPEC 3-3NSG-give-PRES
 that's the one to whom they give
13. *ngamanda-gan* *ya-0-yana* *gunga*
 what-INDEF 3-3SG-do-PRES 3SG-DAT
 what does he do for her
14. *yo-0-worlgbi-yi-n* *gunga*
 3-3SG-work-MED-PRES 3SG-DAT
 he works for her
15. *mayi-wu* *lany-gu*
 food-DAT meat-DAT
 with respect to food and meat
16. *mayin* *na* [INTERJECTION]
 food-ABS [now]
 food now
17. *mayin* *wayana-wu* *layin* *wayana-wu*
 food-ABS and all-DAT meat-AB and all-DAT
 food and all, meat and all
18. *nana* *yi-warna-gari*
 that-ABS YI-other-other-ABS
 that other one
19. *yi-namun-garang*
 YI-sister-having-ABS
 with the elder sister [who is married to the elder sister]

20. *nana* *yo-0-lo-yi-n-ga-marlang* *gunga*
 that-ABS 3-3SG-dance-MED-PRES-SUB-ANA 3SG-DAT
 that one who as mentioned dances for her
21. *nana-wunyin* *ya-wurr-wo-n*
 that-ABS-SPEC 3-3NSG-give-PRES
 that's the one to whom they give
22. *wurren*
 child-ABS
 the child
23. *wardirrg*
 girl-ABS
 the girl
24. *yanggun-ga-n* *guyamin*
 3SG/3NSG-take-PRES two-ABS
 he has the two
25. *namun-gurlang*
 sister-DY-ABS
 the sisters
26. *yawe*
 yes
 yes.

9. *yirlorloban na budurr O-yanggi*
 taipan-ABS [now] anger 3SG-AUX-PST
 the taipan got really angry
10. *O-yanggi muymuy-warr*
 3SG-go-PST [place]-ALL
 he went to Willeroo
11. *O-yanggi warnmarring-garr*
 3SG-go-PST [place]-ALL
 he went to Warnmarring
12. *yurrb O-we-ndi warnmarring*
 stand 3SG-AUX-PST [place]
 he stood up at Warnmarring
13. *wed O-na-rri gunga*
 look back 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT
 he looked back to him
14. *wed-ba O-na-rri ngawun wonggo O-gomarla-rri*
 look-PS 3SG-AUX-PST nothing not 3SG-follow-PST
 he looked back, nothing, he was not following
15. *wonggo O-gomarla-rri*
 not 3SG-gollow-PST
 he wasn't following
16. *ngawun*
 nothing
 nothing
17. *a yilama ya-O-jingi-n*
 oh maybe 3-3SG-sit-PRES
 oh, maybe he's staying
18. *O-yana-rri go*
 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 he said to him

19. *yilama* *ya-0-jingi-n*
 maybe 3-3SG-sit-PRES
 maybe he's staying
20. *wonggo* *ngon-gomarla-n*
 not 3SG/1SG-follow-PRES
 he's not following me
21. *0-yanggi* *gunya* *nan-ba-wan* *dangguyugun* *na* *borle*
 3SG-go-PST 3SG-DISS that-ABL-DF yonder side [now] across
 he went from him from there to across to the yonder side
22. *durrba* *0-bu-yi-ny-ga-warr* *yijurn*
 pierce -PS 3SG-AUX-RR-PST-SUB-ALL nose-ABS
 to where he pierced his nose
23. *nan-ba-wan* *yurrb* *0-jingi-ndi* *go* *0-na-rri*
 that-ABL-DF stand 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT 3SG-AUX-PST
go *wed-ba*
 3SG-DAT look back
 from there he stood and looked back to him
24. *dawu-rlan* *wed-ba* *0-na-rri* *go* *ngawun*
 that way-ALL look back-PS 3SG-AUX-PST 3SG-DAT nothing
 he looked back to him that way, nothing
25. *borri-rlan*
 this way-ALL
 this way
26. *a* *ngawun* *yijurn-biji* *durrb* *nga-bu-ying-be*
 oh nothing nose-only pierce 1SG-AUX-RR-FUT
 oh nothing, I'll have to pierce just my nose
27. *barrwa* *nganjigbe* *judjud-ba*
 down 1SG-go-FUT descend-PS
 I'll have to go down
28. *yijurn* *durrb* *0-bu-yi-rri* *na*
 nose-ABS pierce 3SG-AUX-RR-PST [now]
 he pierced his nose now

29. *0-yanggi* *jolbord-gorr-min* *barrwa-rlan*
 3SG-go-PST station-ALL-ADV down-ALL
 he went as far as the station, downwards
30. *nana* *belerren* *jurdb* *nga-bu-ny-ga* *yinggi*
 that-ABS gum-ABS show-PS 1SG-AUX-PST-SUB 2SG-DAT
 to where I showed you that ghost gum
31. *nana* *na* *yurrb* *0-we-ndi* *na*
 that-ABS [now] stand 3SG-AUX-PST [now]
 it stood there now
32. *nana-wunyin* *belerren* *na* *yirlorloban*
 that-SPEC gum-ABS [now] taipan-ABS
 right there now, the ghost gum [is where] taipan is
33. *yurrb* *0-we-ndi*
 stand 3SG-AUX-PST
 stood up
34. *nana* *laglan* *muymuy*
 that-ABS camp-ABS [place]
 that place, Muymuy
35. *yurrb* *0-we-ndi* *jandangbi*
 stand 3SG-AUX-PST for good
 it stood up for good
36. *yawe* *buwarraja* *nana*
 yes dreaming-ABS that-ABS
 yes, that is dreaming.

Text XXVII

Story of *Wiyorlwonyang*, *jiyila* 'well' on Willeroo Station

Told by Claude Manbulloo, June 1989

1. *legen-yi*
one-ERG
one
2. *yibiyani-yi*
man-ERG
man
3. *0-wudba-rri*
3SG-throw-PST
threw
4. *garnin*
spear-ABS
spears
5. *jiyila-warr*
well-ALL
towards that well
6. *nan-garr-wunyin*
that-ALL-SPEC
towards it
7. *yiworlwonyang-garr*
[place]-ALL
towards Yiworlwonyang
8. *durd* *0-me-ny-ga*
grasp 3SG-AUX-PST SUB
having grasped it
9. *wiyani-wan* *gal-ma* *0-nyanga-ndi*
water-DEF up 3SG-come-PST
as the water came up

10. *ya-0-jingin-ga-yi* [INTERJECTION]
3-3SG-be-SUB-ADV
as it is sitting there
11. *ya-0-jingi-n-ga-yi*
3-3SG-be-PRES-SUB-ADV
as it is sitting there
12. *wiyan*
water
the water
13. *yibiyān* *0-yanggi*
man-ABS 3SG-go-PST
the man went
14. *durd* *0-me-ndi-ya* *garin*
grasp 3SG-AUX-PST-NAR spear-ABS
he grabbed his spear[s]
15. *wiyan-wan* *0-nyanga-ndi*
water-ABS-DF 3SG-come-PST
as the water came
16. *jiyila*
well-ABS
the well
17. *ya-0-jingi-n-ga-yi* [INTERJECTION]
3-3SG-be-PRES-SUB-ADV
which is there
- [F.M. asks: did he stay or go on?]
18. *0-yanggi-wan*
3SG-go-PST-DEF
he went on
19. *jongo-rlon*
east-ALL
to the east

30. *nga-me-we*
1SG-get-FUT
I want to get it
31. *lege* *yibiyan* *nga-bu-wa*
one-ABS man-ABS 1SG/3SG-hit-FUT
I intend to kill a man
32. *wololo-ma* *nga-wo-wa* [INTERJECTION]
poison-PS 1SG/3SG-AUX-FUT
I want to poison him
33. *yirlorloban* *dana* *0-nyanga-ndi*
King Brown-ABS this-ABS 3SG-come-PST
this King Brown was coming
34. *gudang-ba-warda*
where-ABL-QQ
wherever from
35. *birdij*
find
find
36. *0-gi-ndi* *dana*
3SG-AUX-PST this-ABS
he found this
37. *mawuya-ya*
[place]-LOC
Mawuya-ya
38. *luwu-warang*
hole-having
with a cave
39. *nan-beng-wan* *0-jingi-ndi*
that-SSPEC-DF 3SG-sit-PST
where he was sitting

40. *0-jingi-ndi* *nan-beng* *mawuya* *0-dagbarla-rri-ya*
 3SG-sit-PST that-SSPEC poison-ABS 3SG-have-PST-NAR
yani-ma-yi
 thus-MA-ADV
 he was sitting there and had poison like this
41. *ya-0-jingin-ga-yi*
 3-3SG-sit-SUB-ADV
 and it being there
42. *yibiwan* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya*
 man-ABS 3NSG-go-PST-NAR
 men used to go
43. *yirrug-bulu*
 1EXNSG-PL
 we
44. *lege-wu* *muymuy-wu*
 one-DAT [place]-DAT
 only of Willeroo
45. *wurr-(y)anggi-ya*
 3NSG-go-PST-NAR
 they used to go
46. *bun-barra* *wurr-me-ndi-ya*
 [spoon]-having 3NSG-get-PST-NAR
 they used to get it with a spoon
47. *mawuya* *nana-wunyin*
 poison-ABS that-SPEC
 that same poison
48. *wurr-me-ndi* *mawuya*
 3NSG-get-PST poison-ABS
 they used to get poison
49. *nan-bi-wi* *ya-0-jingin*
 that-ART 3-3SG-be-PRES
 that that's there

50. *warna* *yi-warna-gari* *yibiwan* *0-yanja*
 neg YI-other-different-ABS man-ABS 3-3SG-go-PRES
 no other people go there
51. *lin-yi*
 snake-ERG
 the snake
52. *ya-yi-la* *nan-beng-bi*
 3-IRR-bite that-SSPEC-ART
 it might bite [them] right there
53. *bujun* [INTERJECTION]
 if
 if
54. *yiwarna-gari*
 other-ABS
 other
55. *ngayugu* *yi-nga-njaga*
 1SG IRR-1SG-go
 if I were to go
56. *mad-barra* *yi-nga-yana* *go*
 language-having IRR-1SG-say 3SG-DAT
 I may say to it
57. *ngayugu-wunyin* *yi-laglawun* *yibiyin*
 1SG-SPEC YI-place-ABS man-ABS
 I myself, a man of [this] place
58. *dana-wunyin* *muymuy-munggayin*
 this-SPEC [place]-territorial-ABS
 a territorial of Willeroo right here
59. *yirdirdiman* *nganinggin* *yingyi*
 [name] mine-ABS [name]-ABS
 Yirdirdiman is my name
60. *ngayugu*
 1SG-ABS
 I

61. *nga-nyanga-n*
1SG-come-PRES
I've come [I'm coming]
62. *mawuya*
poison-ABS
poison
63. *nga-me-we*
1SG-get-FUT
to get it
64. *nganjigba-wan* *lurrbu*
1SG-go-FUT-DF back
and then I'll go back
65. *lurrbu*
back
back
66. *yibiwan* *ngawun-bu-wa*
man-ABS 1SG/3NSG-hit-FUT
I want to kill men
67. *lege*
one-ABS
one
68. *numbulan-min* *nganjigbe*
that way-ADV 1SG-go-FUT
I'll go that way
69. *guda* *ngamanda-yi*
where what-ERG
where, somebody
70. *birdij* *ngan-gi-we*
find 3SG/1SG-AUX-FUT
will [somebody] find me
71. *yilgbayi-wan* [INTERJECTION]
OK-DF
and that's all

72. *mayin* *wurr-birdijba-rri*
 food-ABS 3NSG-knead-PST
 they kneaded vegetable food
73. *guyamin-gu-warda* *go*
 two-DAT-QQ 3SG-DAT
 of two of those
74. *barnnga-marla* *bajawunyin* *nan-gu-wunyin* *yum-gu*
 bark-ITER though that-DAT-SPEC tree-DAT
 always the bark of those trees
75. *dimalam-gu*
 [tree]-DAT
 (tree sp.)
76. *dimalam-beng* *wurr-gi-ndi-wan*
 [place]-SSPEC 3NSG-put-PST-DF
 they put it at Dimalambeng
77. *yarlarrg* *nonggo* *0-we-ndi-ya* *wiya-warr*
 leaf-ABS also 3SG-fall-PST-NAR water-ALL
yi-meleman-marla *0-jingi-ndi-ya*
 black-ITER 3SG-be-PST
 also the leaves fell in the water and it was always black
78. *yani-ma-yi*
 thus-MA-ADV
 like that
79. *0-jingi-ndi-ya*
 3SG-be-PST-NAR
 it was
80. *yi-mele-man*
 YI-black-ABS
 black
81. *wiyan*
 water-ABS
 the water

9. *0-yanggi* *wiya-wu*
3SG-go-PST water-DAT
went for water
10. *0-ba-ndi* *jangarangerag*
3SG-burn-PST perish
he was perishing for water
11. *0-yanggi*
3SG-go-PST
he went
12. wel-warr
[well]-ALL
to the well
13. *mernde-yi* *led* *wu-da-rrri*
white-ERG see 3NSG-see-PST
white people saw him
14. *wurr-yo-rrri* na
3NSG-spear-PST [now]
and they shot him
15. *wungarru-warra*
rifle-having
with a rifle
16. *banggin* joj *wurr-gi-ndi* *jandangbi*
back [George] 3NSG-put-PST forever
and they called him 'Back George' for good and all [from where he was wounded]
17. *wiyan* *guda* *ya-yi-lawu-yn-ga*
water-ABS where 3-IRR-fetch-PST-SUB
where he might have been getting water
18. *nga-na-rrri* *nonggo* *nana* wel
1SG-see-PST also that-ABS [well]
I've seen that well too
19. *wudu-wan* *nga-jingi-ndi*
little-DF 1SG-be-PST
when I was little

20. *ngawun-da-rri-ya* *mulurru-mulu*
 1SG/3NSG-see-PST-NAR old woman-PL-ABS
 I saw the old ladies
21. *wurr-ga-ndi-ya*
 3NSG-take-PST-NAR
 they used to carry it
22. *wird-ba*
 on shoulder-PS
 on their shoulders
23. *yug-barra*
 [yoke]-having
 with a yoke
24. *kijin-garr*
 [kitchen]-ALL
 to the kitchen
25. *warna* *injin* *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *yaning-barra*
 neg [engine] 3SG-be-PST-NAR that time-ADV
 there was no engine then
26. *nga-jingi-ny-ga* *wudu-wi*
 1SG-be-PST-SUB little-ART
 when I was little
27. *wurr-ga-ndi-ya* [INTERJECTION]
 3NSG-take-PST-NAR
 they used to carry it
28. *wurr-ga-ndi-ya* *pilimap teng* *bakit-barra*
 3NSG-put-PST-NAR [fill up tank] [bucket]-having
 they filled it up with a bucket
29. *guyamin-barra*
 two-having
 with two of them
30. *warna* *legen-yi*
 neg one-ERG
 not one

31. *wurrnug*
die
die
32. *wurr-we-yn-ga*
3NSG-AUX-PST-SUB
those that have [died]
33. *deliniya*
[Delamere]
at Delamere
34. *lege-biji-wan* *warawad* *0-yanja*
one-only-DF around 3SG-go
there's only one [going] around
35. *mulurru* *yidawun*
old woman-ABS [name]-ABS
old woman Yidawun
36. *bunjarri* *ya-0-jingi-n-ga* [INTERJECTION]
[place] 3-3SG-be-PRES-SUB
who lives at Bunjarri
37. *jumba* *darni*
behind there
behind there
38. *bijbarnang-beng*
[place]-SPEC
right at Bijbarnang
39. *nunbulan*
that way
that way
40. *bakit-ja* *nana*
[pocket]-LOC that-ABS
at the pocket
41. *wurdambu-wa*
pocket-ABL
from the pocket

42. *nana*
that-ABS
that
43. *yibiwan* *0- jingi-ndi-ya* *dijbala*
man-ABS 3SG-be-PST-NAR one day
the man used to camp one day
44. *gadman* *ngawurnen* *0-gurrgba-rri-yawu*
[guard] many-ABS 3SG-sleep-PST-NAR
he used to mind it, sleep [there]
45. *nan-beng-wunyin*
that-SSPEC-SPEC
right there
46. *gun.garrma* *0-jingi-ndi-ya*
how 3SG-be-PST-NAR
that's how he was there.

9. *0-marnbu-rri-ya* na *yanima* *ma-jungang-gurne*
 3SG-make-PST-NAR [now] thus MA-cooked-CAUS
0-ginye-yi-rri-ya *ngabulu*
 3SG-cook-RR-PST milk-ABS
 she made it now, she cooked/warmed herself and heated it up, her breasts
10. *0-ginye-yi-rri-ya* *ngabulu* *ma-jungang-gurne*
 3SG-cook-RR-PST-NAR milk-ABS MA-cooked-CAUS
 she warmed her breasts now, 'cooked' them
11. *ngamanda-gan*
 what-Q
 and what's it
12. *ngalaminymiyn* *gawalyan* *gawalyan*
 bat-ABS echidna-ABS echidna-ABS
 bat, [and] echidna, echidna
13. *ma-jungang* na
 MA-cooked-ABS [now]
 cooked now
14. *gud*
 get up
 got up
15. *0-yanggi* na
 3SG-go-PST [now]
 went now
16. *yi-marmayn* *gunga*
 YI-husband-ABS 3SG-DAT
 her husband
17. *gud* *0-yanggi* *darni*
 get up 3SG-go-PST yonder-ABS
 got up and went there
18. *yanymirra*
 [ss]-ABS
 yanymirra skin
19. *nana* *marluga*
 that-ABS old man-ABS
 that old man

20. *0-yanggi darni*
3SG-go-PST yonder-ABS
he got up and went there
21. *wunggu-lawu-rrri manamanagba-mulu wurr-gaygba-rrri go*
3SG/3NSG-reach-PST [bird sp.]-PL-ABS 3NSG-call out-PST 3SG-DAT
he caught up to the honeyeaters (identification uncertain), they were calling out to him
22. *ngawurnen manamanagban*
many-ABS [bird sp.]-ABS
many honeyeaters [identification uncertain]
23. *golorog-bari wejbu-ma*
dove-NOM mixed-PS
along with some peaceful doves
24. *wurr-gaygba-rrri go gaba nyanga*
3NSG-call out-PST 3SG-DAT hey come
they were calling to him, 'Hey, come on!'
25. *waw wunggu-lawu-rrri darni*
join 3SG/3NSG-reach-PST yonder-ABS
he caught up to them there
26. *yi-ngawıyu yinggawun yinggini-wo-n wurr-yana-rrri guınga*
YI-wife-ABS 2SG-ABS 2SG/1NSG-give-PRES 3NSG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
'You might give us your wife', they said to him
27. *yanima-wu*
thus-DAT
for this sort of thing
28. *yinggawun yi-ngawıyu yinggini-wo-n naw*
2SG-ABS YI-wife-ABS 2SG/1NSG-give-PRES no
you ought to give us your wife No!
29. *nganayu 0-yana-rrri go*
3-HT-be 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
'I don't want to', she said to him [i.e., echidna said to her husband]
30. *wurren wudu 0-dagbarla-rrri*
child-ABS little-ABS 3SG-have-PST
she had a little child

31. *wudu* *wurren* *ya-0-dagbarla-n*
 little-ABS child-ABS 3-3SG-have-PRES
 'She has a little child'
32. *0-yana-rri* *go*
 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 he said to him [them]
33. *yi-barlanggan* *yi-bilingman*
 YI-new-ABS YI-infant-ABS
 a tiny new infant
34. *e e* *yilgbawi* *ngana-nyanga-n* *yirrugu*
 oh oh OK 3-HT-come-PRES 1EXNSG-DAT
 'Oh! oh! OK, let her come to us'
35. *wu-man-marla* *ngana-marnbu-n* *laglan*
 WU-good-CAUS 3-HT-make-PRES camp-ABS
 let her make the camp good
36. *0-yana-rri* *wurrugu*
 3SG-say-PST 3NSG-DAT
 he said to them
37. *ngana-marnbu-n* *wu-man-marla*
 3-HT-make-PRES WU-good-CAUS
 let her make it good
38. *wurr-yo-rri* *na*
 3NSG-spear-PST [now]
 they speared her now
39. *wurr-yo-rri* *gila* *damdam* *wurr-yo-rri* *girdibun*
 3NSG-spear-PST indeed perforate 3NSG-spear-PST finish
 they speared her through and through, they speared her
40. *ngamanda* *gaya* *wurr-gi-ndi* *na*
 what-ABS now 3NSG-out-PST [now]
 what did they put now?
41. *0-yanggi* *na*
 3SG-go-PST [now]
 she went now
42. *gal* *barlb* *0-we-ndi-wan* *galul*
 up in 3SG-AUX-PST-DF up
 she went up and went in [as dreaming] up there

43. *yi-barnbarnin-ga* *0-jingi-ndi*
 YI-hairless-EMPH 3SG-be-PST
 she was naked/hairless
44. *garnin-wagbawun* *ngawun*
 spear-lacking-ABS no
 had no quills at all
45. *bulju-warda*
 long ago-QQ
 a very long time ago
46. *warlurrminyang-ba* *galung-lan*
 [place]-ABL up-ALL
 up from Warlurrminyang
47. *nan-ya-wunyin*
 that-LOC-SPEC
 right there now
48. *jaliban krik-ba* *nan-ba* *dawu-rlan*
 [Sullivan Creek]-ABL that-ABL that way-ALL
 from Sullivan Creek that way
49. *wurrugu* *marluga-mulu* *nan-mulu* *marluga* *ngabijiji*
 3NSG-DAT old man-PL that-PL-ABS old man-ABS [name]
gin.gina *mulurru* *wurrugu*
 [name] old woman-ABS 3NSG-DAT
 [it's] theirs, those old men, old man, Ngabijiji and Gin.gina, their old woman
50. *mulurru-wu* *baillet-gu* *yi-guyu* *go*
 old woman-DAT [Violet]-DAT YI-mother-ABS 3SG-DAT
 old woman Violet's mother
51. *dorij-guya* *wurrugu* *yi-guyu*
 [Doris]-DU-ABS 3NSG-DAT YI-mother-ABS
 and also Doris' mother, of those two
52. *nimanyug*
 [place]
 Nimanyug
53. *yi-nimanyug* *dang-mulu*
 YI-[place]-ABS yonder-PL-ABS
 those people belong to Gregory Yard

54. *yi-nimanyug-bulu*
 YI-[place]-PL-ABS
 they are people of Nimanyug
55. *dorij* *baillet* *yi-guyu* *wurruguya*
 [Doris] [Violet] YI-mother-ABS 3NSG-DAT-DU
 Doris' and Violet's mother
56. *barlung*
 [name]-ABS
 Barlung
57. *barnangga* *wayana* *wurrugu*
 [bird]-ABS and all 3NSG-DAT
 owl and all are theirs
58. *barnangga*
 [bird]-ABS
 owl
59. *warrura*
 [name]
 Warrura
60. *ngamanda-gan* *warrija*
 what-Q alligator-ABS
 and what's it, alligator
61. *buwarraja* *ngawurnen* *ya-wud-jingi-n* *barnangga-ya*
 dreaming-ABS many-ABS 3-3NSG-be-PRES [place]
 many dreamings are at Barnanggaya [Mt. Gregory]
62. *ngabayardu*
 flood-ABS
 the flood
63. *yaning-barra* *nan-ganung* *biji* *layin* *wurr-(y)anggi-ya*
 thus-ADV that-COL-ABS only game-ABS 3NSG-go-PST-NAR
 that's the time, only those animals went [there]
64. *kantri-wan* *yingyi* *wurr-gi-ndi-ya* *laglan*
 [country]-DF name-ABS 3NSG-put-PST-NAR country-ABS
 and gave names to the country.

Text XXX

Station

Told by Elsie Raymond, December 1989

1. *buligi do 0-bu-ndi guyamin*
cow-ABS shoot 3SG-hit-PST two-ABS
he shot two cows
2. *buligi-wuya do*
cow-DU-ABS shoot
shot two cows
3. *a 0-gaygba-rri wurrugu mulurru-mulu-wu*
oh 3SG-shoot-PST 3NSG-DAT old woman-PL-DAT
Oh, he shouted out to the old women
4. *wiyan nu-ni wiyan pringkat-barra 0-yana-rri*
water-ABS 2NSG-bring water-ABS [springcart]-ADV 3SG-say-PST
bring water, you bring water with the springcart, he said
5. *wiyan nu-ni nganu*
water-ABS 2NSG-bring 1SG-DAT
you bring water to me
6. *layin nga-bu-wa worlog-ba buligi 0-yana-rri*
meat-ABS 1SG-AUX-FUT wash-PS cow-ABS 3SG-say-PST
I have to wash the meat, the cow, he said
7. *yirr-ga-ndi na wiyan*
1EXNSG-take-PST [now] water-ABS
we took water now
8. *yirr-ga-ndi:: yad-garr gila jewele-wan*
1EXNSG-take-PST [yard]-ALL indeed close-DF
we took it to the yard, right close up
9. *nimbuj yin.gun-bu-ndi yad-ba*
hunt 3SG/1EXNSG-AUX-PST [yard]-ABS
he hunted us away from the yard

10. *woywoy nunja 0-yana-rri*
 heyhey 2NSG-go 3SG-say-PST
 'hey! you go!' he said
11. *yi-nganun-bu wungarru-yi*
 IRR-1SG/2NSG-hit rifle-INST
 'I'll shoot you'
12. *gayawarr yin.gun-bu-ndi gila wungarru-yi nunja*
 nearly 3SG/1EXNSG-hit-PST indeed rifle-INST 2NSG-go
 he nearly shot us with a gun, 'You go!'
13. *nunja lagla-warr-min wonggo nunu-jingi-n jolbord-ja*
 2NSG-go camp-ALL-ADV not IRR-2NSG-sit-PRES station-LOC
 you go right to camp, you cannot stay at the station
14. *nunja lagla-warr-min*
 2NSG-go camp-ALL-ADV
 you go right to camp
15. *nunja wonggo nunu-jingi-n lagla-ya*
 2NSG-go not IRR 2NSG-be-PRES camp-LOC
 you go, you can't stay in camp
16. *wonggo-wan nunu-jingi-n lagla-ya nan-ba nunja*
 not-DF IRR-2NSG-be-PRES camp-LOC that-ABL 2NSG-go
numbulan-min 0-yana-rri
 that way-ADV 3SG-say-PST
 you mustn't stay in camp, you go from there right over there, he said
17. *yirr-(y)anggi lagla-warr yi-warlng yirr-me-ndi*
 1EXNSG-go-PST camp-ALL YI-clothes-ABS 1EXNSG-take-PST
 we went to camp and got our clothes
18. *dubuluju gila bega-warang*
 bag-ABS indeed tobacco-having-ABS
 and our bags with tobacco
19. *yirr-(y)anggi na*
 1EXNSG-go-PST [now]
 we went now

20. *brendi botl-warr* *tokmen-garr* *yi-lawu-rrri*
 [Brandy Bottle]-ALL [stockman]-ALL 1EXNSG-reach-PST
 to Brandy Bottle, to the stockman, we got to him
21. *0-yanggi::* *0-lawu-rrri* *na* *nana* *marluga*
 3SG-go-PST 3SG-reach-PST [now] that-ABS old man-ABS
yibelyangman
 red-ABS
 he went and caught up now to that old part-Aboriginal man
22. *yi-lawu-rrri* *darni* *yang* *nana* *marluga*
 1EXNSG-reach-PST yonder-ABS inform that-ABS old man-ABS
 we caught up that old man yonder and told him
23. *nimbuj-ba* *yin.gun-bu-ndi*
 hunt-PS 3SG/1EXNSG-AUX-PST
 he'd hunted us away
24. *mernde-yi* *nan-yi* *layin-gunya*
 white-ERG that-ERG meat-DISS
 that white fella, on account of meat
25. *wonggo* *yin.gun-wo-ndi*
 not 3SG/1EXNSG-give-PST
 he didn't give us any
26. *gayawarr* *yin.gun-bu-ndi* *wungarru-yi* *0-yana-rrri* *gunga*
 nearly 3SG/1EXNSG-hit-PST rifle-INST 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 he nearly shot us with a rifle, he said to him
27. *a nganja* *na* *0-yana-rrri* *gunga*
 oh 1SG-go-PRES [now] 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 Oh, I'm going now, he said to him
28. *0-nyanga-ndi* *na* *worromon-bi*
 3SG-come-PST [now] fast-ART
 and he came quickly now
29. *lurrbu-yi*
 back-ADV
 back

30. *0-nyanga-ndi* *jobbord-garr*
3SG-come-PST station-ALL
he came to the station
31. *ngamanda* *menyin* *yiwun-wo-ndi* *mululurru*
what-ABS cheek-ABS 2SG/3NSG-give-PST old woman rdp-ABS
what sort of cheek/argument did you give to the old women?
32. *yiwun-bu-ndi* *nimbuj-ba*
2SG-3NSG-AUX-PST hunt-PS
you hunted them away
33. *yi-niwun-wo-ndi-warda* *layin* *gila*
IRR-2SG/3NSG-give-PST-QQ meat-ABS indeed
you should have given them meat!
34. *wonggo* *0-yana-rri* *eniting* *gunga* *ngawun*
not 3SG-say-PST [anything] 3SG-DAT nothing
he didn't say anything to him, nothing
35. *nana* *mernden* *girrb* *0-jingi-ndi* *na*
that-ABS white-ABS silent 3SG-be-PST [now]
the whitefella was quiet now
36. *0-yerreba-rri*
3SG-be ashamed-PST
he was ashamed
37. *girrb* *0-jingi-ndi*
silent 3SG-be-PST
he was quiet
38. *morg* *0-jingi-ndi* *gunya* *0-nge-ndi::* *nimbuj*
quiet 3SG-be-PST 3SG-DISS 3SG-call-PST chase
he was silent [on him] and called him, hunted him off
39. *laglan* *mirrij* *mirrij* *bu* *yinggi* *ya* *na*
things-ABS roll roll AUX 2SG-DAT go [now]
roll up your swag and go now
40. *yi-menjen*
YI-cheeky-ABS
you're cheeky/dangerous

41. *O-me-ndi* *na* *laglan* *gungan.gin* *mirrij* *mirrij*
 3SG-take-PST [now] things-ABS his-ABS roll roll
 he took his things now and rolled them up
42. *yi-munburra* *O-wo-ndi* *dangindi*
 YI-rock-ABS 3SG-give-PST paperbark-ABS
 he gave him his [paper] money now
43. *yi-munburra* *nana* *O-dilma-rri* *go::* *joy* *O-wo-ndi*
 YI-rock-ABS that-ABS 3SG-write-PST 3SG-DAT give 3SG-AUX-PST
 he wrote his cheque out to him and gave it to him
44. *ya-wan* *tretawe-wi* *O-yana-rri* *O-yanggi*
 go-DF [straight away]-ART 3SG-say-PST 3SG-go-PST
 so go right away, he said to him, and he went
45. *yirrig-bulu* *jande* *wirrig* *lurrbu* *yirr-(y)anggi*
 1EXNSG-PL-ABS [Sunday] next day back 1EXNSG-go-PST
jolbord-garr *gila*
 station-ALL indeed
 as for us, next day Sunday we went right back to the station
46. *yirr-(y)anggi* *nana* *mernden* *O-yana-rri* *go*
 1EXNSG-go-PST that-ABS white-ABS 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 we went and that white man said to him
47. *jori ay bin antimawe*
 [sorry I been huntim away]
 sorry, I chased them away
48. *nganja* *menija i bin jekim mi* *O-yana-rri* *go*
 1SG-go-PRES [manager he been sackim me] 3SG-say-PST 3SG-DAT
 I'm going, the manager's 'shaken' me, he said to him
49. *mijj-garang* *i bin abim wanpela* *wurren*
 [missis]-having-ABS [he bin haveim onefella] child-ABS
 he had a missis, he had one child
50. *wilyangun*
 lad-ABS
 a boy

51. *0-yanggi* *na* *lurrbu* *kantri-warr* *go*
 3SG-go-PST [now] back [country]-ALL 3SG-DAT
 he went back now to his country
52. *yi-ngawuyu* *go*
 YI-wife-ABS 3SG-DAT
 his wife
53. *ngawun* *yi-menje-wagbawun* *yi-ngawuyu*
 nothing YI-cheek-lacking-ABS YI-wife-ABS
 his wife was not cheeky
54. *yilgbayi-wan* *nunja* *na* *gunya* *lurrbu* *0-yana-rri*
 OK-DF 2NSG-go [now] 3SG-DISS back 3SG-say-PST
marluga *ari alijan*
 old man-ABS [Harry Allison]
 OK then, you go back now, old man Harry Allison said
55. *yirr-(y)anggi* *lurrbu* *lagla-warr*
 1EXNSG-go-PST back camp-ALL
 we went back to camp.

Vocabulary in semantic fields

This English-Wardaman finder list includes several hundred basic words divided into semantic fields (following Sutton and Walsh 1979). Main closed class items (e.g., pronouns) are not included. Each Wardaman word is glossed by one or two English words, to give an idea of its principal meaning.

Nominals

A. Body parts and products

head	<i>yibam</i>
brain	<i>guguj</i>
hair of head	<i>yijili</i>
grey hair	<i>wu-bol-warang</i>
face, forehead	<i>yimirr</i>
eye	<i>yimum</i>
nose	<i>yijurn</i>
ear	<i>yijeme</i>
cheek, temple	<i>yijogorl</i>
chin	<i>yijangardarra</i>
mouth	<i>yijaga</i>
facial hair	<i>yijawunbug</i>
tooth	<i>gayil</i>
tongue	<i>yingenyjeliyn</i>
saliva	<i>jarnurrin</i>
neck(exterior)	<i>bidamarla</i>
throat	<i>barrangardba</i>
shoulder	<i>yinebel</i>
armpit	<i>yiwangayn</i>
arm	<i>yiwarli</i>
hand	<i>nungguru</i>
finger nail, toenail	<i>libi, yijeng libi</i>
back	<i>banggin</i>
upper arm	<i>murgu</i>
chest	<i>yilunja</i>
heart	<i>yidumul</i>
rib	<i>garligarli</i>
breast	<i>ngabulu</i>
navel	<i>ngajurrurru</i>
lungs	<i>yiworlngworlng</i>
liver	<i>jawarrga</i>

stomach, belly	<i>mejern</i>
guts	<i>marla</i>
urine	<i>dulgin</i>
penis	<i>yumbarn</i>
testicles	<i>merderl</i>
pubis	<i>yiwad</i>
vagina	<i>magi</i>
buttocks, rump	<i>darang</i>
faeces	<i>nguwun</i>
leg	<i>yiberr</i>
knee	<i>burderde</i>
calf	<i>yarlguj</i>
ankle	<i>marnal</i>
foot	<i>yijeng</i>
body	<i>yinyeyn</i>
cicatrice	<i>maburn</i>
sweat	<i>jilngida</i>
sore	<i>barndin</i>
blood	<i>bulilin</i>
bone	<i>wurne</i>
fat	<i>warnarrin</i>

B. Human classification

person, Aboriginal	<i>yibiwan</i>
baby	<i>bardarda</i>
child	<i>wurren</i>
boy, lad (pre-initiate)	<i>bula</i>
lad, young man	<i>yaba, yingurla</i>
old man	<i>marluga</i>
girl	<i>wardirrg, marrinyin</i>
woman	<i>bangbun</i>
old woman	<i>mulurru</i>
widow	<i>wangu</i>
widower	<i>garlinda</i>

doctor	<i>gurang</i>
white person	<i>mernden</i>
policeman	<i>yinyigben</i>
poor fellow	<i>yuwarrin</i>
husband	<i>yimarnayn</i>
wife	<i>yingawuyu</i>
son (of a man)	<i>yigeyu</i>
son (of a woman)	<i>yingawa</i>
mother	<i>yiguyu</i>
father	<i>yibiwi</i>
older brother	<i>yingaba</i>
older or adult sister	<i>yinamun</i>
cross-cousin	<i>bugarli</i>

C. Language, mythology and ceremony

language	<i>madin</i>
name	<i>yingyi</i>
song	<i>warranggin</i>
red ochre	<i>liwin</i>
yellow ochre	<i>gilirri</i>
ghost	<i>mernden</i>
devil dog	<i>wurruguru</i>
rainbow serpent	<i>gorrondolmi</i>

D. Human artefacts

camp	<i>laglan</i>
hut	<i>wujaban</i>
path	<i>yondorrin</i>
boomerang	<i>buran</i>
digging stick	<i>milirri</i>
club	<i>guduru</i>
spear	<i>barragarl</i>
fighting spear	<i>ngone</i>
woomera	<i>guyanggin</i>
coolamon	<i>guwarla, gorlun</i>
windbreak	<i>ngarralulun</i>
shield	<i>nida</i>
(stone) axe	<i>garlbang</i>
axe	<i>barndan</i>
stone spear point	<i>ginydan</i>
knife (European)	<i>jimirndi</i>
headband	<i>garlambang</i>

cockrag	<i>jorrgon</i>
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E. Food, cooking and fire

meat	<i>layin</i>
vegetable food	<i>mayin</i>
fire	<i>wuja</i>
ashes (cold)	<i>yordin</i>
charcoal	<i>minyardin</i>
flame, light	<i>merleng</i>
smoke	<i>luyunggin</i>

F. Water

water	<i>wiyan</i>
mud	<i>belgin</i>
creek	<i>wuwarli</i>
river	<i>yirrgulun</i>
rain	<i>wiyan</i>
spring	<i>jiyila</i>
rockhole	<i>ngarndun</i>

G. Elements

sky	<i>wume</i>
cloud	<i>marlnga</i>
lightning	<i>janginyina</i>
wind	<i>bulun</i>
star	<i>milijurn</i>
moon	<i>gandawag</i>
sun	<i>marninggani</i>
shade	<i>muragin</i>
daytime, midday	<i>dalgan</i>
night	<i>mobonyi</i>
ground, dirt	<i>gonjon</i>
hill, rock	<i>wumunburra</i>
pebble	<i>lirminin</i>
sand	<i>marranyin</i>
dust	<i>gonjon</i>
hole in ground	<i>luwun</i>

H. Mammals

echidna	<i>gawalyan</i>
possum	<i>dilygun</i>
kangaroo (generic)	<i>gangman</i>

tail	<i>mordorl</i>
dingo	<i>ngarrajananggu</i>
tame dog	<i>minini</i>
flying fox	<i>ganben</i>
horse	<i>nendo, dimana</i>

I. Reptiles

crocodile	<i>warrija</i>
bluetongue lizard	<i>yarlnga</i>
goanna (generic)	<i>walanja</i>
snake (generic)	<i>linin</i>
filesnake	<i>gononnga</i>

J. Birds

bird	<i>jigjig</i>
egg	<i>jarrug</i>
emu	<i>gunurrinji</i>
broilga	<i>bornorron</i>
pelican	<i>jarnarran</i>
bustard	<i>jegban</i>
bower bird	<i>jorijorij</i>
peaceful dove	<i>godjogodjog</i>
spinifex pigeon	<i>garlawarra</i>
peewee	<i>gulirrida</i>
butcher bird	<i>jorlborman</i>
crow	<i>wagwag</i>
willywagtail	<i>jigirrija</i>
sulphur crested cockatoo	<i>menngen</i>
black cockatoo	<i>lirrawin</i>
kite hawk	<i>mardird</i>
eagle	<i>bulyan</i>
diver bird (cormorant)	<i>minyjiliwirrij</i>
whistle duck	<i>jibilyuman</i>
darter duck	<i>barragbarrag</i>

K. Marine life

fish	<i>barrunin</i>
catfish	<i>warrag, ginyang</i>
barramundi	<i>manamnyan</i>
crayfish (cherrabun)	<i>jelin</i>
mussel	<i>naribu</i>

pearlshell	<i>naribu</i>
frog	<i>jabarlng</i>

L. Insects and spiders

termites	<i>namulu</i>
lice	<i>didin</i>
bee	<i>yigawarl</i>
ant	<i>nijbijin</i>
antbed	<i>ngardan</i>
sugarbag, honey	<i>goyin</i>
butterfly	<i>merlemerlem</i>
grubs (witchetty)	<i>laju</i>
scorpion	<i>mundarla</i>
spider (generic)	<i>garab</i>

M. Plants

tree, stick	<i>yumin</i>
leaf	<i>yarlarrg</i>
scrub	<i>gulinyin</i>
root	<i>wuniri</i>
flower	<i>ngayal</i>
grass	<i>wolon</i>
water-lily	<i>gadi</i>
ghost gum	<i>belerren</i>
paperbark	<i>dangingdi</i>
yam	<i>megerman</i>
bindi-eye (burr)	<i>dalaradala</i>
spinifex	<i>manag</i>

N. Physical qualities

one	<i>lege</i>
two	<i>guyamin</i>
three, a few	<i>nurrgun</i>
many	<i>ngawurnen</i>
black	<i>meleman</i>
white	<i>dewoman</i>
red	<i>belyengman</i>
big	<i>(yi)jad</i>
small	<i>wudu</i>
long	<i>warnwarnin</i>
short	<i>(yi)juda</i>
straight, right	<i>yilgbayi</i>
straight (as a line)	<i>gorlorlogban</i>

sharp (point)	<i>nganyngayn</i>
blunt	<i>nyujud</i>
rotten	<i>jabara, (yi)gle</i>
raw, uncooked	<i>gan.gin</i>
hot (weather)	<i>ngurruwun</i>
hot	<i>ngarraban</i>
cold (weather)	<i>wujerrijin</i>
cold	<i>gelelen</i>
wet (weather)	<i>yijilg</i>
wet	<i>wudban</i>
wet (ground), dry	<i>wiya-warang</i>
soft	<i>boban</i>
hard, strong	<i>nyalugin</i>
light (weight)	<i>dalbirrman</i>
heavy	<i>wabulman</i>
new	<i>jornod</i>
old	<i>balanggin</i>
hungry	<i>birrba</i>
thirsty (perish for water)	<i>newerrman</i>
sated with food	<i>ba- wiya-wu</i>
sick	<i>darlarlman</i>
dead	<i>warlad</i>
fat	<i>digirrij</i>
thin, skinny	<i>gunju-warang</i>
asleep	<i>larrgaja</i>
	<i>gurrgba-</i> (<i>nutgurn</i> , PAR)

O. Non-physical qualities

good	<i>man</i>
bad, stupid	<i>warringun</i>
clever (lively, alert)	<i>yarlugin</i>
frightened, cautious	<i>gengmigengmin</i>
insane	<i>jordjordin</i>
ashamed	<i>yerreba-</i>
wild, angry, fight	<i>menyin</i>

Verbals**P. Verbs of motion**

go, walk	<i>ya-, gajigaji</i> (PAR)
run	<i>gayardung</i> (PAR)

climb up	<i>gal(ma)</i> (PAR)
climb down, descend	<i>judjud(ba)</i> (PAR)
fall	<i>we-</i>
sit down, put	<i>jingi-</i>
stand up	<i>yurrb(a)</i> (PAR)
come	<i>nyanga-</i>
turn around, turn over	<i>wirriyn(ma) ya-,</i> <i>gi-</i>
swim	<i>liwna ya-</i>
dive into water	<i>gurryuna we-</i>
enter	<i>guwe-</i>
emerge, arrive, rise (of sun)	<i>werr bu-</i>
jump	<i>dibardba,</i> <i>dirrwogba we-</i>
dance	<i>loyi-</i>
chase	<i>mambang bu-</i>
search for, look for	<i>jarrambu-</i>
follow	<i>gomarla-</i>
pass by	<i>berrg nyanga-, ya-</i>
take from	<i>birrg gerne-</i>

Q. Verbs of state

be sitting	<i>jingi-</i>
be standing	<i>yurba jingi-</i>
be lying	<i>yo-</i>
be burning	<i>ba-</i>
float	<i>bulmarrab jingi-</i>
wait	<i>dilygba jingi-</i>
extinguish, douse	<i>gila-</i>

R. Verbs of vocalisation and thought

speak	<i>ngorlogba-</i>
cry, weep	<i>lu-</i>
ask for something	<i>jejbarla-</i>
shout	<i>gaygba-</i>
laugh (at)	<i>golo-</i>
sing (song of person)	<i>nge-</i>
dream (of someone)	<i>borre me-</i>
teach someone	<i>jewu-</i>
learn, know	<i>yerde-</i>
promise	<i>jeyema-</i>

S. Bodily functions

see, look	<i>na-</i>
hear	<i>wojbarna-</i>
smell it	<i>mogba me-</i>
bite	<i>la-</i>
swallow it	<i>wegba gi-</i>
consume, eat	<i>ngu-</i>
drink	<i>ngu-</i>
vomit	<i>wemiyi-</i>
die	<i>digirrijba-, ngegba-</i>
urinate	<i>jologba-</i>
defecate, void, eject	<i>jangma-</i>
wake up	<i>jilig(ba) me-</i>
ache	<i>wunma jingi-</i>

T. Verbs of impact and violence

hit, kill, fell	<i>bu-</i>
pierce	<i>yo-</i>
kick	<i>jorlma-</i>
dig, scratch	<i>buju-</i>
break it	<i>bag(ba), mob me-</i>
cut it	<i>luma-</i>
bathe	<i>bornbornma-</i>
tie up	<i>dibidba bu-, dirrgba me-</i>
rub	<i>gorrma-, balyarrma-</i>
squeeze	<i>jilyma me-</i>
cover it	<i>badbad gi-</i>
make, construct	<i>marnbu-</i>
cook	<i>ginye-</i>

U. Verbs of holding and transfer

take it, get it, catch it,	<i>me-</i>
fetch it	<i>ni-</i>
give it	<i>wo-</i>
put down	<i>gi-</i>
throw	<i>wudba-</i>
hold	<i>dagbarla-</i>
carry	<i>ga-</i>
leave it	<i>waja-</i>
lose it, leave, forget	<i>gurlma-</i>

push along	<i>jurlgba gi-</i>
hang up (on peg)	<i>denberr gi-</i>
hide it	<i>barlarra gi-</i>
find it	<i>birdij(ba) gi-</i>

Adverbials and interjections**V. Locationals, directionals and temporals**

north	<i>jongon</i>
south	<i>gorro</i>
east	<i>yyanggu</i>
west	<i>namanya</i>
upstream	<i>gangga</i>
downstream	<i>beye</i>
far	<i>baraj</i>
near, close by	<i>jewe</i>
up, above	<i>galul</i>
down, below	<i>barrwa</i>
this side	<i>dan.guyugun</i>
other side	<i>dang.guyugun</i>
ahead	<i>jaburru</i>
behind	<i>jumba</i>
now, today	<i>gaya</i>
later on	<i>gurru</i>
before, long ago,	
already	<i>burrugawi</i>
yesterday	<i>ngiwa</i>
tomorrow	<i>wirrig</i>

W. Interjections

yes	<i>yawe</i>
no	<i>ngawun</i>
come on, lets go	<i>ngarrya</i>
OK, enough	<i>yilgbayi</i>

Wardaman word list

Part of speech abbreviations used: ADV = adverb; CONJ = conjunction; DEM = demonstrative; INT = interjection; N = noun; NADJ = adjectival noun; NEG = negator; PAR = particle (verbal particle, or clause-level mode particle); PRE = prefix; PRO = pronoun; Q = interrogative; SUFF = suffix. Other abbreviations: a = antonym; F = female; Kr = Kriol; M = male; s. synonym or near-synonym; regular kin category abbreviations (see list at beginning of grammar).

A

ale, INT: tag question, is it so?

B

babu, N: round stone [*wu-durrudban wu-munburra*]

badadiya, PAR: play corroboree, in anticipation of further arrivals, Aux *jingi-*

badbad, PAR: cover up, Aux *gi-*

badbad-ngana, N: blanket

bag(ba), PAR: break, Aux *ya-*, *we-*; hit with Aux *bu-*, of back, rump, neck, shoulder, hand; cf. dog

bagabaga, N: conkerberry, *Carissa lanceolata*

bagiri, N: headband (Kriol?), s. *garlambang*

bago, INT: used of something sought and now found, or something otherwise obvious, 'that's it', or the like

bajawinyi(n), PAR: if, suppose that, though, despite

baju, N: handle, axe handle

balabala, N: bony bream, *Fluvialosa* sp.

balanggin, NADJ: new

balja, N: calico

balyab, PAR: lie in wait for, Aux *jingi-*

balyag(ba), PAR: touch, Aux *me-*

balyarma-, V: rub, smear with

balyarma, PAR: rub, smear, Aux *me-bam*, N: point, focus, center; *yi-bam* head, *wu-bam* hill

bambaya, N: row, loud argument, Aux *na-*

bambidi, N: turtle

bamdal, PAR: pound, hammer on, Aux *bu-*

bandalan, N: sugar leaf or lerb insect

bandarra, N: hole, lair (of porcupine, bluetongue, snake)

bandimi, N: women's songs

ban.garrgba, PAR: fall down, Aux *we-bangbun*, N: woman

banggin, N: back, crust of bread;

banggin-bi from behind, back-first

banginyin, N: tree sp.

banjalma, PAR: spear through, pierce, Aux *yo-*

banjangarradban, N: pandanus-dwelling frog

banybu-, V: to fill container with (solids, foods, honey etc.), [s. *dembu-*]

baraj, ADV: far

barangan, N: gap, rift

bard, PAR: throw down, Aux *wudba-*; fall, Aux *we-*

bardab, PAR: look around, Aux *yuju-bardarda*, N: baby, child

bardarra-, V: to scratch
bardawurru, N: big mob; *wurren*
bardawurru big mob kids
bardigi, N: wild peanut, *Terminalia*
grandiflora
-barla, SUFF: alternates with *-marla*
barlagagama, N: grey-crowned
 babbler
barlarra, PAR: hide, Aux *gi-*; have
 hidden, Aux *dagbarla-*
barlarrg, PAR: dry, Aux *gi-*; rdp.
barlawarlarrg
barlarrma-, V: grab [s. new *me-*]
barlb, PAR: underneath, go under,
 especially of dreaming, Aux *gi-*
barlbarlba, PAR: to make bed, spread
 out, Aux *gi-*
barlbarlban, NADJ: flat, good (of
 ground, WU-), *barlbarlba-ya* Loc;
 cf. *wu-belbelin* flat stone
barlirrgba-, V: to clean, sweep
barnam, PAR: hide from, lie in wait
 for esp. behind tree, Aux *jingi-*;
 fasten on tree, Aux *gi-*
bamangga, N: bird sp., [paired in myth
 with *warrura*]
bamarr, N: marble tree, *Owenia*
vernica
barnbarnin, NADJ: hairless, naked (s.
yi-wangarr wagbawun lacking hair)
barndan, N: axe
barndin, N: sore
barn-garang, N: murderer [lit. poison-
 having]
barnnga, N: tree bark
barnngamala, N: insect which seeks
 light, falls down in modern lighting
barr, PAR: slap, Aux *bu-*
-barra, SUFF: having, with, alternates
 with *-warra*; often *-barra-yi*
barragarl, N: spear, bamboo spear,
Sesbania cannabina
barragbarrag, N: darter duck
barrangardba, N: throat
barrgardaba, PAR: stretch (and yawn
 etc.), Aux *jingi-*

barrgbarrg-(g)ujban, N: wife-stealer
 [-*wujban*]
barrgji, ADV: hard, forcefully
-barrin, SUFF: Alt *-warrin*, one unable
 to do/not prone to do X, *gajigaji-*
warrin-bi one who can't walk,
yimowujban-barrin one who
 doesn't steal
barrjarra, N: needlefoot (plant)
barrun, NADJ: good fisherman/woman
barrunin, N: fish
barrwa, ADV: down
barrwa-rlan, ADV: downwards, down
 below
baway, INT: come on!
bawujin, N: plat potato, *Microstemma*
 sp.
barrwunin, N: kind of stone, whiteish
bayjurrururru, ADV: sun-down
ba-, V: burn, cook, be thirsty
bedbog, N: kind of honeyeater
bede, PAR: not crawl yet, be stationary
 (of baby), Aux *jingi-*, [see
derreman]
bedelybedeyl, PAR: hit all over, Aux
bu-
bega, N: tobacco (Eng, Kr)
belbelin, NADJ: flat
belejejejan, N: type of small
 grasshopper
belerren, N: gum, *Eucalyptus papuana*
belgin, N: mud
belgogban, NADJ: dry ground
belwu-, V: slice
belyengman, NADJ: red; rdp.
belyewelyengman
benbenin, N: *Eucalyptus alba* prob.,
 found in billabong country
bendeyn, N: sugar cane grass, *Sorghum*
 sp.
benegin, N: wax; see *gajarrang*
benelin, N: *Canarium australianum*
-beng, SUFF: specifies place where,
 alternates with *-weng*
beng, PAR: snap, Aux *bewe-*, *megbe-*

beng, PAR: clap, music sticks, Aux *bu-*
bengbengma, PAR: slap legs together
 (in dancing)
bengmarla, PAR: break, snap, Aux
bewe-
benyma, PAR: swell up, expand, Aux
nyanga-; with *maminggani*, to rise
berlban-bi, ADV: on the bank,
 [berlba-wan-bi]
berlbawan, ADV: on the bank, along
 the side, edge, fenceline
berlerlman, N: kerosene tree,
Erythroxylum ellipticum
berlwan, N: *Eugenia* prob. *armstrongii*
berngijin, N: black soil, also *berngij-*
mulu
-berreng, SUFF: alt. *-werreng*: one
 who might (unfortunately) be
 inclined to do X, *gayardung-*
berreng
berng, ADV: past, e.g., with *nyanga-*
 'come'
berrgoban, NADJ: pigeon-toed
bewe-, V: tread
bewebeweba, PAR: be open (of
 flower), Aux *jingi-*
beye, ADV: lowdown
beyejba, PAR: hunch over, Aux *jingi-*
bibirl(ma), PAR: bust, break (e.g.,
 egg), Aux *bu-*
bida, N: tree gall
bidamarla, N: neck
bidbidba-, V: to twirl fire-drill
bidijbidij, PAR: twist (as string), Aux
me-
bigurda, N: type of potato or
 underground vegetable
bijarrg, PAR: leap out, spring forth,
 Aux *me-*, *we-*
-biji, SUFF: just, only
bilangman, NADJ: sweet
bilawa, N: red ant, *Iridiomyrmex*
bilawuma, PAR: shine, mirage, Aux
jingi-
bilidbilid, N: small fish, id. uncertain
bililima, PAR: slip down, Aux *we-*

bililiman, NADJ: slippery
bilingma, PAR: open eye [*yimum*],
 Aux *meyi-*, s. *mumbab*
biliwilib, PAR: roll, Aux *ya*, *wudba-*,
bu-
bilyb(a), PAR: switch (as *gurang*
 doctor does), *bu-*, switch or hit legs
 and knees, rdp. *bilybilyba*; blow
 upwards
bilybanbilyban, N: type of devil dog
bin, N: thumb, *wu-bin*
bindangma, PAR: take out, pull apart,
 Aux *me-*
bindijin, N: tree with rough bark
bingmarla, N: yellow paint
bin.gan, N: bream
birdij(ba), PAR: find, Aux *gi-*, find
 child with *na-*
birilgba, PAR: go flat, deflate, Aux *ya-*
birl, PAR: break (long object, leg),
 Aux *we-*
birlwirl, PAR: ooze out, Aux *nyanga-*
birral, NADJ: dried up
birrba, NADJ: old
birng, PAR: take away from, Aux
germe-
birrijba, PAR: knead, Aux *bu-*; stir,
 Aux *me-*
birrijbirrijban, NADJ: curly (hair),
 [doublet w. *mürrijmürrijban*]
biyawiyag, N: black-faced cuckoo
biyimarla-, V: inflate
biyimin, N: *Alloteropsis semialata*
boban, NADJ: dry, *wu-boba-warra* dry
 season
bodba, PAR: visit, Aux *na-*, *nyanga-*,
lawu-
bog(ba), PAR: dip (out), Aux *me-*, *bu-*
bogo, PAR: lend, Aux *wo-*
bogogo, PAR: go foraging about, Aux
ya-
bol-warang, NADJ: having grey hair,
 see *-warang*, but n.b. is *wu-bol-*
warang of grey-haired person
bong, PAR: break (long bone, *yiberr*),
 Aux *bu*

bongorrɔɔba, PAR: snore, with *gurrɔɔba-*
bonyboyn, PAR: to suck on, Aux
ngu(yi)-
borle(ma), ADV/PAR: otherside,
 across
borlerewurlang, ADV: across; see
borle, malang
borlɔɔba, PAR: to remove guts, Aux *me-*
borlɔɔgob, ADV: secretly, on the sly
borlorrodba, PAR: spread out, Aux
wudba-
borlorrodba-, V: to spread out
bomborn, PAR: to bathe, Aux *gi-*
bomdoyorron, N: Pandanus aquaticus
bomma-, V: to bathe
bomorron, N: broлга
borre, N: dream, Aux *me-*
borri-rlan, ADV: this way, towards
 speaker
borroordin, NADJ: pretty, nice-coloured
bowoɔɔba, PAR: head out, visible, Aux
ya-
bowondoɔɔ, N: venomous water snake
bowonin, N: Milky Way
boyod, N: round stone [s. *wu-*
durrudban wu-munburra]
bubu(ma) PAR: to smoke o.s., burn
 Aux *bu(yi)-*
buda, N: black plum, *Vitex glabrata*;
 pupil of eye, wart
budu, PAR: beat leg (in keeping time),
 Aux *buyi-*, s. *burma*
budurr, PAR: be furious, angry, Aux
yana-
budurrbudurr-wujban, NADJ: sulky
 one, see *nabudurr*
budurma-, V: get furious
buga, NADJ: rotten, of meat
bugarli, N: cross-cousin
bujbujin, N: black ground, s. *wu-*
melemangonjon
bujgun, NADJ: wild, undomesticated
bujun, PAR: if, might be that, lest
buju-, V: to dig
buju-wujban, N: one who digs, digger

bula, N: little boy
bulagaw, N: nankeen night heron
bulawula, N: drawing, (cave) painting
bulban, NADJ: hairy
bulbulba, PAR: growl, bristle and
 growl threateningly, Aux *jingi-*,
yana-
bulburuwuru, NADJ: dirty
bulgej, ADV: in the middle of water
bulgu, ADV: middle; rdp. *bulgulgu-wi*
bulgubulgumin, N: middle (child)
bulgu-wunba, N: middle finger
buligi, bulugi, N: cow, cattle, (Kr.)
bulilin, N: blood
bulju(wi), ADV: long time ago
buljungma, PAR: turn rightside out,
 turnaround, Aux *me-*,
 [s. *wirinyma*]
bulmarrab, PAR: float, Aux *jingi-*,
 make float, Aux *mambu-*
-bulu, SUFF: PL, alternates with *-mulu*
bulun, N: wind
bulunga, N: first-born
bulyan, N: eagle
bumburrijid, PAR: kneel
bunbunbanga, N: scrub
bunggurun, N: woollybutt, E. *miniata*
bunge, N: *Ficus platypoda*, s. *dinbali*
buran, N: boomerang
burariman, N: type of (central?)
 bluetongue
burderde, N: knee
burlama-, V: lie to
burlami-wujban, N: liar
burlayi-, V: tell lies
burburrb, PAR: flesh crawl (in fright,
 fear), Aux *yana-*
burgagba, PAR: jump in, Aux *we-*
burrgburg-bari, NADJ: piebald,
 spotted
burrgi, N: freckled monitor (?)
burrijib, PAR/ADV: hard, furiously,
 flat out; e.g., with *gurrɔɔba-* sleep
burma, PAR: beat (leg), Aux *bu-*

burrngburrng(ma), PAR: boil, surge,
Aux *ba-*
burruga-wi, ADV: long ago
burruga-wunba, ADV: all the time,
from long ago
buruwun, NADJ: killer, good hunter
bu-, V: hit, ford (of river)
buwarraja, N: dreaming
buwarranganin, N: tree with large
roots above ground
buwudba, PAR: to roast, i.e., put under
coals to cook, Aux *bu-*
bu-yi-, V: become
buyi-wujban, NADJ: pugnacious (<*bu-*
hit)
buyulun, N: Croton arnhemicus

D

dagardaga, N: finger-talk; also
dagardaga-warra
dagbarla-, V: have, hold, keep
dagdagin, N: *Brachychiton*
diversifolium
dagurrgba, PAR: to look at, stare at,
Aux *na-*
dagurrgba-wujban, NADJ: peering
bugger, s. *nyardagurr*
dalalama, PAR: stand head up, head
out, Aux *jingi-*
dalardala, N: bindy-eye, *Tribulus*
dalbirrman, NADJ: hard, tough
daldal, PAR: pound, Aux *wudba-*
dalgan, ADV: daytime, forenoon,
dalganganbi early forenoon
dalgirrig, PAR: lean, Aux *jingi-*
dalma-, V: punch
dalyarra, N: curse, evil eye (against
which covering worn to protect
pregnant woman from malignant
gaze); also *dalyarra-werreng*
dam, PAR: (make) hole, *bu-*
daman, N: armband
damin, ADV: here

dami-rlan, ADV: back to here, to
speaker
dana, DEM: 3SG this
danani, DEM: 3SG this one
dangindi, N: paperbark, letter
dan-guya, DEM: these two
dang-guya, DEM: yonder two
dan.guyugun, ADV: this side
dangmarla, PAR: click tongue (at),
Aux *jingi-*
dang-mulu, DEM: PL yonder ones
dan-bi-wi, DEM: right here (one)
dan.ganung, DEM: these
dannguguwunman, NADJ: person
from this place
dang-nyi, DEM: yonder, Erg
darab(a), PAR: bog, Aux *we-*
darang, N: rump
darawma, PAR: across, Aux *gi-*
darl, PAR: clap music sticks, Aux *bu-*
darlarlma-, V: fill up
darlarlman, NADJ: sated one
darlg, PAR: pierce, Aux *yo-*
darriba, PAR: boil, Aux *jingi-*,
[s. *burrngburrngma*]
darni, DEM: yonder
darrngayn, PAR: take off, fly away,
gerrej, *maw*
daw, PAR: be sound asleep, with
yimum, Aux *ya-*: *yimum daw yanja*
dawag(ba), PAR: stop, make stop, Aux
bu-
dawu, ADV: that way, Abl
dawung-ba, Loc *dawung-beng*
dawulya, PAR: crack, hit on head,
break pate, Aux *bu-*
dawuma, PAR: across, lie with leg up
and crossed, Aux *jingi-*
deb, PAR: hit, Aux *bu-*
debgarra, PAR: hit, strike in different
areas of body, give it hiding (Kr.),
Aux *bu-*
dejbu-, V: to strike flakes off blank
delgujba, PAR: limp, be lame, Aux
nyanga-, *ya-*

delgujban, NADJ: lame one
dembu-, V: to fill receptacle with solids, foods, [s. *banybu-*]
demdeman, N: locust
denberr, PAR: hang up, Aux *gi-*, (+ LOC place where)
dendeniyn, N: red collared lorikeet
deng, PAR: drop with Aux *we-*, dip with *me-*
dengdeng, N: fig sp., *me-dengdeng*
denggerrengma, PAR: empty out, Aux *gi-*
denggerrengman, NADJ: empty, s. also *wengman*
deyn, PAR: fall, die, Aux *we-*
derderde, N: daughter's child
derlma, PAR: leap out, splash out, Aux *ya-*
derlderlma, PAR: burn severely, Aux *ba-*
derrema-, V: crawl
derrema, NADJ: crawler, crawling (one)
derreman, NADJ: crawler (baby)
derrngma, PAR: fart, Aux *me-*, with *mawid*: *derrngma mendi mawid he* farted
dewoman, NADJ: white
dibardba, PAR: jump, Aux *we-*, s. *dirrwogba*, *judjudba*
dibdib, PAR: to pull out, Aux *me-*, *buju-*
dibidba, PAR: encircle, surround, tie up, Aux *bu-*
dibug(ba), PAR: poke, Aux *bu-*, rdp. *dibudibug*
didij, ADV: all the time
didin, N: louse
diga, N: type of women's ceremony
digilma, PAR: roll, *nyanga-*
digirrij(bi), N, PAR: dead
digirrija, N: willy wagtail
digirrija-, V: die
dija, N: *Calytrix exstipulata*, for spear,
dij(ba), PAR: sleep, camp, Aux *jingi-*

dijbi, ADV: once, one time, s. *lege-gun*
dijgarrb(a), PAR: jump out, shoot out, of liquid, Aux *we-*
dijge-, V: to pound
dijongma, PAR: play didgeridoo, Aux *gi-*, rdp. *dijongdijongma*, *dijorongma*
dilabududuj, N: large insect
dilma-, V: write
dilygba, PAR: to wait, Aux. *jingi-*, *na-*
dilygun, N: possum
dilyma, PAR: burn, light, Aux *ba-*, *bu-*, *mambu-*, s. *dinyilma*
dimalan, N: *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*
dimana, N: horse
din(ma), PAR: blame, Aux *na-*
dinbali, N: *Ficus platypoda*, s. *bunge*
dingard, PAR: go up nose, Aux *ngu-*
din.gawurrg, PAR: hit neck, Aux *jala-*, *bu-*
dingdingma, PAR: be, look nice, pretty, Aux *jingi-*
dini, N: tree gum, like blood, red and liquid
dinyilma, PAR: light, Aux *bu-*, s. *dilyma*
dinyilban, N: big porcupine
dirtyag(ba), PAR: find sweetheart, Aux *na-*
dirrardala, N: rainbow, Aux *wudba-*
dirrb(a), PAR: get stuck, Aux *we-*
dirrgba, PAR: tie up, handcuff, Aux *me-*
dirrigiban, N: car, *Wu*-class
dirrginin, NADJ: narrow
dirrimid, PAR: put across, Aux *gi-*, to block, Aux *we-*; rdp. *dirrirrimid*
dirriyn, N: jabiru
dirrwog(ba), PAR: jump, Aux *we-*; s. *judjudba*, *yirrb*
dirryadirrya, PAR: leave destitute, in a pitiable condition, Aux *gi-*
diwa, PAR: elope, run away, Aux *ya-*
diw-ngana, N: airplane

diw(ma), PAR: fly away, also with *wudba-*, throw
diwulg, N: *wu-diwulg*; index finger, see *wu-jurdbawun*
diyardiya, N: paint design (on body)
dodba, PAR: cross, Aux *ya-*
dodban, NADJ: deep
dog, PAR: break, Aux *bu-*; esp. of *yibam* head
dog(ba), PAR: rip, tear, cut part, Aux *me-*; with *bu-yi-*, to bloom;
yi-dogba ngan-wondi he gave me a piece (of meat, or *yi-* class object)
dolba, PAR: fall out, Aux *we-*
dologdolog, PAR: uproot, Aux *me-*
dolyan, N: E. foelscheana (prob.)
donbordobong, PAR: excavate vegetable food (e.g., yam), extract, [*s. dibdib*], Aux *buju-*
dondonma, PAR: shake, shake out, Aux *wudba-*
don.go, PAR: lined up, in a line, Aux *jingi-*, *nyanga-* etc.
donyman, NADJ: crooked; s. *wu-nedoyn*
dordo, PAR: shoot, Aux *bu-*; rdp. *dordordordoma-*
dordogdordon, NADJ: clumsy, shaky (hand)
dordoma-, V: to shake, shiver
dorlba, PAR: drop, fall, Aux *me-*, *we-*
dorlgba, PAR: to pull, Aux *me-*
duba, PAR: sit, Aux *jingi-*
dubudubulma, PAR: (make) rattle, Aux *gi-*
dubuluj, N: bag, dilly bag
dudburudbu, N: insect which eats excrement, excavates dirt to make hole
dugban, N: insect; boil (made by biting insect)
dulgin, N: urine
dulma, PAR: lie down, Aux *jingi-*, *gi-*
dulma-wujban, N: one who lies down all the time

dulubdulub, PAR: excavate, extract, dig, Aux *buju-*
dulwad, PAR: count, enumerate, tick off, Aux *jala-*
dulyurrma, PAR: break, burst, bust, Aux *we-*, *wudba-*; melt, Aux *ya-*
dun, PAR: tip out, spill out, Aux *wudba-*
dunggululu, N: pubic covering, for man and woman
durd(ba), PAR: seize, grasp, Aux *me-*, rdp. *durdurd*
durdurr, PAR: sit straight, Aux *jingi-*, see *ngardurdug*
durdurrb-ngana, N: doctor; <*durrb* pierce, stab
durla-, V: copulate with, rdp. *durlagdurla-*
durlg(ba), PAR: to swell up, Aux *nyanga-*, *la-*
durrb, PAR: pierce, stab, Aux *bu-*, *bu-yi*
durrudban, NADJ: round
durrurndung, PAR: in a line, Aux *nyanga-*, *gi-* etc.
duwuma, PAR: to rear, raise, Aux *bu-*
duy(ma), PAR: heap up, Aux *gi-*

G

-ga, SUFF: emphatic suffix
-ga, SUFF: subordinating suffix
gaba, INT: attention getting 'hey'
gabajba, PAR: to drop, miss, Aux *me-*
gabbarri, CONJ: also, in turn, again
gabarru, N: fog
gabujurr, PAR: shortcut, Aux *ya-*, *me-*
gadag, N: snail
gadba, PAR: to bite, Aux *la-*
gadi, N: lily
gadijbal, N: kind of bandicoot
gagawuli, N: long yam type
gagaygba, PAR: shout, be noisy, Aux *jingi-*, s. *gaygba-*
gagung, N: FF, FFZ

gajang, INT: mother, vocative
gajarrang, N: wax, honey comb
gajawurla, N: headdress for corroboree
gajigaji, PAR: to go walking, Aux *ya-*
gajiwa, N: *Erythrina variegata*, var.
orientalis: [*mennge-yi ngundi*, eaten
 by white cockatoo]
gaju-, V: to rise, get up, grow
gal, PAR: climb, go up, Aux *ya-*
gala, PAR: try to, expresses uncertainty
galalama, PAR: stand head up (of
goanna), Aux *jingi-*, s. *wordba*
galalaygba, PAR: sing out, call out, for
 ceremony
galawadbad, N: *Grevillea decurrens*,
 [sp. very like *G. heliosperma*]
galgalba, NADJ: shallow
galgalmiwayi, PAR: climb up, Aux
jingi-
galgalmi-wujban, NADJ: climber
galijba, N: wild cassava, kapok,
Cochlospermum fraseri
galina, N: *Acacia* sp. aff. *bidwillii*
galma, ADV: up; with *bu-*, to come up,
 uphill (sun)
galma-, V: to swell up, grow; to ride
 (horse)
galul, ADV: on top, up, out
galulul, ADV: on top, rdp.
galumanggan, N: nail-tailed wallaby
galung-lan, ADV: upwards
galyurra, PAR: humbug, disturb, Aux
wo-
galyurra-wujban, NADJ: nuisance
gamanggirr, N: low grass, spear
gamanyjin, N: bullwaddy
gambarrngan, N: shark, sawfish
gamug, PAR: wink (at), Aux *yana-*
gamu-rlang, N: uncle and nephew
 (dyadic)
gamuyu, N: willy willy
ganbarlarla, N: crested pigeon
ganben, N: flying fox
gandawag, N: moon
gangga, ADV: higher up, upriver

gan.gin, NADJ: raw
gangman, N: plains kangaroo
ganjayl, PAR: humbug, Aux *wo-*
ganma, PAR: miss, fail to get, of
 game, fish, Aux *bu-*
garab, N: spider
-garang, SUFF: having, alt. *-warang*
garawa, N: eagle
gardarrma-warra, ADV: at dawn
gardarrma-wu, ADV: towards dawn
gardarrwi, ADV: all night
gardbu-, V: to wipe
gardirrg, PAR: gnash teeth
-gari, SUFF: other, another
garlaja, N: B-, FBs-
garlambang, N: headband [see *bagiri*]
garlang, N: burial platform
garlarl, NADJ: clean
garlarr, N: dilly bag
garlawarra, N: spinifex pigeon
garlay, PAR: take a heart attack, be
 smitten (by fear, surprise, etc.)
garlbang, N: stone axe
garlibirr, N: unnamed acacia
garligarli, N: ribs
garlinda, N: widower, see *wangu*; also
 buffalo
garlirlin, N: mosquito, *garlirli-yi* Erg
garlwarrg, N: billabong lily
garnamara, N: walking stick
garnangarrin, N: blanket lizard
garnawuna, N: lancewood tree, *Acacia*
shirleyi
garnbayn, N: cabbage palm, *Livistona*
 sp., wild coconut (inedible)
garnbij, N: clapstick
garndalwu, N: female plains kangaroo
garndarrin, N: river wallaby
garndel, N: swamphen
garngurrungu, N: soap tree, *Acacia*
holosericea
garnin, N: spear; beer [*wiyan garnin* =
 'water spear' or beer]
garmarnmalin, N: type of cheeky yam

garrabula, NADJ: red, reddish (of hair), of cloud
garragu-rlang, N: cousins, dyadic
garramandan, N: small red lizard
garranyji-, V: to grow
garrardada, N: chest-brace
garrarrgba, PAR: burp, Aux *jingi-garrawadin*, N: E. *confertiflora* (prob.)
garra-warang, NADJ: spider-webbed, covered in webs (as old house), (but no lexeme *garra*, see *gerren*)
garrb, N: bunch, with *me-* grab a bunch
garrba, PAR: pour out liquid or similar matter (sand), Aux *me-*, *gi*
garrjindin, N: bucket
gawalyan, N: porcupine
gawiyen, N: bandicoot (large)
gawuban, NADJ: light, hollow
-gay, SUFF: particle negator
gay, PAR: call out to, Aux *yana-gaya*, ADV: today, now; *wonggo gaya-wunba* not from today, i.e., old, from long ago
gayardung, PAR: run, Aux *ya-gayawarr*, CONJ: nearly
gayawun, INT/ADV: little while, wait, hang on
gayawunbi, ADV: little while, wait
gaygba-, V: to call out
gaygbarla-, V: to sing out, call to (with DO)
gayil, N: tooth
ga-, V: to take
gegema-, V: to make shut up, stop, scold
gegewu-, V: to shoo
gej(ba), PAR: ask, Aux *gi-*, *nyanga-gelele(wi)*, ADV: right past (not hitting)
geleleman, NADJ: frightening, just going past (without hitting)
gelelen, NADJ: cold
gelengma, PAR: dislike, Aux *na-gelenggelengma*, PAR: shine, Aux *yu-*

gelerrnga, N: *Strychnos lucida*, for fish poison
gelewu-, V: to send (to)
gelinye-, V: talk about, gossip about, speak of
gelinye-wujban, N: gossip
gelngerre, PAR: bludge, go loafer (Kr.), Aux *nyanga-* + DAT, *lawu-gelngerre-wujban*, NADJ: bludger
gengen, N: tree sp.
gengma-, V: to fear (with DO)
gengmigengmin, NADJ: fearful person
gengmiyi-, V: be frightened
gengorrnggengorrngma, PAR: have chest rattle, Aux *yu-*
genygeyn, N: type of lizard, skinks
geremerr, N: headband
gerengma, PAR: come out of new moon, Aux *wudba-*
gerle-, V: to taste (with DO)
gerlerlma, PAR: have eyes open, Aux *jingi-*
gernderneyi-, V: to shield o.s. (as from weapon)
gerne-, V: take away from; with PAR *birrg*
gerregerrewuman, N: bird sp.
gerrej, PAR: fly away, Aux *ya-*, s. *mawgerrejban*, NADJ: devil, *mernden* ~
gerren, N: spiderweb
gerrin, NADJ: tame, not dangerous
germgma, PAR: cry hard, Aux *lu-germgmarnan*, NADJ: crying bugger
gewemima, PAR: supposedly, gammon (Kr.), pretend
gewurrin, N: kneecap
gewu-, V: to shoo, chase away
geyegba, PAR: to imitate, copy, mock, Aux *ga-*
geyegeyeg, N: leprosy
geyerdog, N: type of bird, brown honeyeater?
geyirrin, N: dew
gid, NADJ: narrow (of dress, container, bottle etc.)

gidigba-, V: to tickle
gidigbi-wujban, NADJ: ticklish
gidij(ba), PAR: to touch, with Aux *jala-*; pinch, Aux *me-gija*, CONJ: like, just as
gija, N: big spear
gijburma, PAR: douse (with water, *wiya-yi*), put out, Aux *bu-*,
gila, PAR: emphatic element, also causal
gila-, V: to douse, water, extinguish with water
gilbirrgba, PAR: moisten, Aux *me-gilidji*, N: sandstone
gilinymumin, N: wild fruit, described as like cherry
gilirringa, N: yellow paint
gilirringa-ngengen, NADJ: yellow
giliwinin, N: desert paperbark
gilyilyiba, PAR: drip, Aux *nyanga-gilywaj(gilywaj)*, PAR: trample, Aux *bewe-*
gimajin, N: type of snake
ginali, N: mosquito net
gin(ma), PAR: push, Aux *yana-ginan*, N: dilly bag
ginodba, PAR: sulk, s. *nyaginod*, *giwurrgba*
ginodba-wujban, NADJ: sulky bugger
ginyang, N: type of catfish
ginydan, N: stone spear
ginye-, V: cook, illuminate, burn
girdibun, PAR/ADV: finish, end, all, completely
girlibi, N: wild banana, *Leichhardtia australia*
girr, PAR: to know as, recognize as, be familiar with s.o.'s ways, Aux *ga-girrb*, PAR: be silent, still, Aux *jingi-girrgilang*, N: galah
girribug, N: pheasant coucal
girridalma, PAR: spread out coals, charcoal, reorganize fire, Aux *bu-girrngonggirrngong*, N: pig
gi-, V: put

giwurrgba, PAR: sulk, Aux *jingi-giwurrgba-wujban*, NADJ: sulky one
giyalgin, N: limestone
giyarla, N: nosepeg
giyarri, N: walking stick; shooting star; s. also *garnamara*, *milirri*
giyeyn, N: cave
gle-, NADJ: rotten [*yi-* rotten meat]
go, PRO: contraction of 3SG DAT
gunga
godjogodjog, N: dove
gogban, NADJ: light, reddish (of hair, *wo-gogban*)
gogo:::, INT: good job; s. also *juju:::y*, *ngardi:::*
golmedin, N: *Terminalia platyptera*
golorog, N: dove
golowoloj, N: laughter, laughing bugger, see *goloyi-wujban*
goloyi-wujban, N: laughing bugger, see *golowoloj*
golo-, V: to laugh at, *ngan-golarri* he laughed at me
gomarla-, V: follow
gonbowon, N: green ant
gonjon, N: ground, grave
gononnga, N: file snake
gorlb, PAR: take aim at, Aux *bu-*; s. *manyma me-*
gorlbangorlban, N: bubbles, foam, soapy water
gorlongongon, N: blowfly
gorlorlogban, NADJ: straight
gorlorlogba-wari, NADJ: straight
gorlun, N: coolamon, boat
gornbun, N: hawk
gorningmiyi-, V: to vomit
gornjuluba, N: big striped lizard
gorno-, V: fill up (with liquid or honey); s. *worlorlma-*
gornorrong, N: long necked turtle
gorrgorman, N: kookaburra
gorrma-, V: to paint
gorro, N: south, *gorrong-lan* All, *gorro-wa* Abl

gorromogon, ADV: middle of the night, early morning
gorrondolmi, N: rainbow serpent
gorrong-burri, N: people or winds from the south, [s. *gorrong-jila*]
gorrong-jila, NADJ: southerners, such as Mudbura
goyin, N: honey, sugarbag (also *ngurlu*)
goyogban, N: orphan
goyogin, NADJ: salt, bitter, *mo-goyogin* lemon, *yi-goyogin* salt water
gud(ba), PAR: to get up, Aux *gaju-*, *me-*
guda, Q: where, *guda-lan*
gudani, Q: var. of *guda*
gudijbal, N: water in tree
guduma-, V: copulate with
guduru, N: nullanulla, fighting stick
guguj, N: brain
gujabi, N: cat
guji, SUFF: first
gujung, N: lily seed pod
-gula, SUFF: emphatic interrogative; *ngamanda-warang-gula* what's it all about?
gulb, PAR: thump, make thumping sound, Aux *jingi-*
gulbinji, N: paperbark
gulid, N: green plum
gulinyin, N: scrub, *Strychnos lucida*; *wurruguru-wu go mayin* devil's food
gulirrida, N: peewee
gulumbirdbirda, N: lotus bird
gulungma, PAR: spill (liquid) on, Aux *gila-*
gumurlurlun, N: insect (like cockroach)
gumurdunga, N: headdress
gumurrinji, N: emu
gunajarri, N: marsupial mouse
-gunba, SUFF: source, alternates with *-wunba*
gunbilin, N: native doctor, see *durdurrb-ngana*

gundiyangarra, N: rainbird (id?)
gundul, PAR: be sorry for, Aux *ga-*
gunduyi, NADJ: one who belts, gives hiding
gunduyima, PAR: belt up, give hiding
gunga, PRO: 3SG DAT
gungan.gin, PRO: his, hers, its
gun.garrma, Q: how, what sort of, *gun.garr-wari*
gunjalbin, N: wallaby
gunju, N: meat, flesh
gunngu-, V: drown (*wiya-yi* Inst)
gunudjarri, N: children's python
gunurdba, PAR: happy, glad, Aux *jingi-*
gunya, PRO: 3SG DISS
guramana, N: gum (in mouth)
gurang, N: doctor
gurigurib, N: type of sand slug
guriyima, PAR: peer around
gurlgba, PAR: swell up, Aux *jingi-*
gurlgurl, PAR: be loose, promiscuous, put down in heap, heap up, Aux *gi-*
gurlinga, N: paperbark packet
gurlma-, V: to lose, forget, be minus
gurlurr(ba), PAR: be sorry, have compassion for, Aux *na-*
gurndirndin, N: ibis
-gurne, SUFF: causative, alternates with *-wurne*
gurrb(a), PAR: stab, Aux *bu-*, *yo-*
gurrbijinman, N: python
gurrgba-, V: sleep
gurrgbiyi-wujban, NADJ: sleepyhead
gurru, ADV: later, after
gurumbulma, PAR: be nauseous, Aux *jingi-*, with *mejern*
gurru-ya, ADV: later on, by and by
gurryuma, PAR: dive in, fall in, Aux *we-*
gurryumagun, PAR: dive in, s. *wabirl-magun*, *new-magun*
guwamba, N: barramundi
guwarla, N: coolamon

guwarlambarla, N: turtle
guwe-, V: to put on (clothes), don, go in
-guya, SUFF: dual, alternates with
-wuya
guyamin, N: two; *guyamin-gu* twice
guyanggin, N: woomera
guyarru, N: masked owl

J

jab, PAR: to befriend, make sweetheart
of, Aux *bu-yi-*; see *dirlyag*
jaba-, V: to build
jabalawarna, N: large flat stone such
as used for food preparation
jabardag, PAR: noise, nuisance, Aux
jingi-
jabara, NADJ: rotten
jabarlng, N: frog; pulse
jabiday, N: F subsection term, s. *jabijin*
jabijin, N: M subsection term,
s. *jabiday*
jabirri, N: kind of stone spear point
jaburarrin, N: *Hyptis suaveolens*
jaburru, ADV: up ahead, in the lead
jabulma-, V: smoke
jaburrunngun, NADJ: first, leader
jad, NADJ: big, many; *yi-jad* big
yi-class entity, *wu-jad*, *ma-jad*
jadban, NADJ: generous
jagabirdi, N: hip
jagalyalyirr, N: hail, rainstones,
quartzite crystal, ice
jajaburrunngun, NADJ: ancestors,
antecedents
jajali, ADV: all the time, frequently
jajali-wujban, NADJ: one who keeps
coming (back)
jajayma, PAR: get weak, Aux *buyi-*
jajayman, NADJ: weak, weak one
jala-, V: to boomerang
jalardu, N: creeper, *Tinospora*
smilacina
jalarrin, N: centipede
jalirra, PAR: meet, Aux *lawu-*

jalybug, PAR: pound, crush up, cut
fine, mince, Aux *linyje-*
jamagarra, N: Leichardt tree,
Nauclea coadunata
jamam, NADJ: full; to fill, with *gi-*
jamaram, N: door, lid (with *wu-*, e.g.,
yibumbu-wu wu-jamaram billycan
lid
jamardba, N: rainbow fish
jamayin, N: *Psoralea pustulata*
jambajamba, N: freshwater catfish
jambard(ba), PAR: stick sharp object
into, make stick, fasten on (+ LOC
into which), Aux *wudba-* (axe,
knife), *dagbarla-*
jamug, PAR: secrete, keep from, Aux
bu-
jamugu, N: fruit of *Pandanus spiralis*
jamurlurrngban, N: lid, with *wu-* prefix;
s. (*wu-*)*jamaram*
jamurru, N: green plum, said to be
same as *gulid*, q.v.
jamunyman, NADJ: of grandfather
(MF) country
janadba, ADV: slowly; as PAR stay in
one place, be stationary, still, Aux -
jingi
jandal, N: type of small lizard
jandangbi, ADV: for good
jandarrma, PAR: erect, stand straight,
Aux *jingi-*
jangagba, PAR: look up, Aux *na-*
jangala, N: subsection term, F=
yinggangala
jangang, PAR: to struggle to do, hard
work *la* (Kr.); see *jambab*; Aux
yana-
jangaragngarag, PAR: perish, be
thirsty, Aux *ba-*
jangay, N: slingshot
jangbuwarrmin, ADV: for nothing, in
vain, for no return
janginyina, N: lightning, gecko
jangjajangma, PAR: slurp, Aux *ngu-*
jangma-, V: defecate
jangurrgba, PAR: eat a lot, Aux *ngu-*

jangurruban , NADJ: glutton
janjanin, NADJ: light shade, *yarlarrg*
wagbawun no leaves; s.
wu-larrglarrgin ; a. *wu-mondoban*
jardaganin, N: Melaleuca viridiflora
jardijba, PAR: build, usually of wurly,
 shade, Aux *bu-*, *gi-*
jarlarla , N: hollow log
jarlgba- , V: stab, cut
jarlgbu- , V: cut, stab
jarlma, PAR: to bump up against, Aux
we-
jam, PAR: take back, recover, Aux *me-*
jamarran , N: pelican
jambab, PAR: make an effort to, hard
 work *la* (Kr.) Aux *yana-*
jambaljambal , N: whimbrel
jamurrin , N: spittle
jarralang , PAR: crouch, Aux *jingi-*
jarrambu, PAR: in search of
jarrambuyi-wujan, NADJ: searching
 bugger
jarrambu-, V: search for
jarrang , N: floodwater, flood
jarranggun , N: pinky finger; *wu-*class
jarramma , PAR: fall, of comet of star,
 Aux *ya-*
jarray , PAR: knock up, become
 exhausted, Aux *bu-*
jarbamma , PAR: hug, Aux *me-*
jarrgarl , NADJ: right full up, with *gi-*,
 (*wiya-yi* , with water)
jarrgjarrgin , N: wild onion (inedible)
jarrinyin , N: type of devil dog
jarnguna , N: caterpillar
jarrug , N: egg
jarrugjarrug , NADJ: piebald
jarulu , N: antbed, large size (known
 on King R.). (s. *mardumardu*,
ngardan)
jarwunyin , N: Alloteropsis semialata
 (poss?)
jawalarra , N: owl, (precise identity
 unknown)
jawarrga , N: liver

jawarrin , N: rockhole
jaweyi-, V: to be tired
jawujgij , N: green grass, kangaroo
 grass
jawulwara , N: brown snake, like
 taipan, venemous
jayma-, V: refuse
jayuga , N: short horned grasshopper,
 s. *yiderrema*
jegban , N: turkey, bustard
jejbarla- , V: ask (for)
jelin , N: crayfish
jelmerrin , N: type of grass used for toy
 spears
jemawurman, NADJ: forgetful
jembe, N: death adder
jemeyi, PAR: remember, Aux *bu-*
jen(ma), PAR: snap, Aux *ya-*, s. *ning*
jen.gen , N: Brachychiton paradoxum
jenma, PAR: cut up, into pieces, Aux
luma-
jenmiyi-, V: die; s. PAR *jen(ma)*, V
digimijba-
jerdjerd , PAR: to stop (s.o.), Aux *gi-*
jerlbjerglba , PAR: sprinkle down, leak,
 Aux *we-*
jerrb(a), PAR/ADV: straight, with
me-, straighten
jerrin , N: ground oven
jerriyi- , V: to be cold
jerman , N: (various types of) wrens,
 unid.
jewedba, PAR: be company, sharing,
 fifty-fifty
jewele, ADV: close
jewu-, V: to show
jeyema-, V: to promise
jeyeman, NADJ: promise, i.e. promised
 husband or wife
jibilyuman , N: whistle duck
jibu, PAR: extinguish, Aux *bu-*, s.
ngegngeg
jibudu, N: native cat
jibulug, PAR: have eyes shut, Aux
jingi-

jidba, PAR: stand up something, Aux *gi-*, *wudba-*
jidij, N: Brown quail
jigarrba, N: pimple
jigirrija, N: bird sp.
jigjig, N: bird (generic)
jilig(ba), PAR: be awake, awaken Aux *me-*
jiligjilig-gujban, NADJ: awakening bugger, one who wakes one up
jilij(ba), PAR: to move about, make move about, Aux *jingi-*, *gi-*; rdp. *jilijilijba*
jilin, N: crest
jilma, PAR, N: company, companionship
jilngida, N: sweat
jily(ma), PAR: wring out, Aux *me-*; rdp. *jilyjiyl*; to squeeze out, cook out, Aux *ba-*
jimirndi, N: knife
jin(ma), PAR: to blame, Aux *gi-*
jindirrin, N: mistletoe
jinggiyn, N: firestick, *Premna acuminata*
jingi-, V: to sit
jininyin, N: maggot
jinjinbu-, V: give work to, lay tasks upon
jinjinbuyi-wujban, NADJ: one who keeps others busy, gives jobs, directs others
jirdbirdbi, N: bloodwood, *E. polycarpa* or *E. terminalis*
jirmgaliyn, N: bird sp., makes mud nest on rock-face
jirre-, V: lay eggs (*jirre-n*, *jirre-rri*, *jirre-we*)
jirrg, N: little woomera hook
jirri, N: love magic
jirri-warang, NADJ: run-away, eloper
jirrigagagu-warang, NADJ: turtle, (*Emydura australis*?): having mark, stripe (of turtle)
jiwaw, PAR: pick up, scoop or swoop up, Aux *ga-*

jiyila, N: spring
jogorlbong, PAR: slap on cheek, Aux *bu-*
jogorrogba, PAR: look up, Aux *jingi-*, *na-*
jolbord, N: station homestead
jologba-, V: urinate
jolyorrg(ba), PAR: soak, Aux *gi-*
jomarna-, V: to finish up
jonbong, PAR: chop off, with *mod gi-*
jongma-, V: to kiss
jongon, N: north
jongon-burri, N: people/wind from the north
jongonong, NADJ: westerners, those from Timber Ck, the Jaminjung etc.
jongorogba-, V: yawn, gape
jonjon, NADJ: hollow (of tree)
jordjord-gujban, NADJ: crazy, mad person
jordjordin, NADJ: mad, crazy
jorijorij, N: bower bird
jorlborrman, N: butcher bird
jorlma-, V: kick
jornod, NADJ: heavy
jornog, PAR: to fill up, eat one's fill, Aux *ngu-*
jornogba-, V: to fill o.s. up, eating
jornogban, NADJ: full-up one
jorrerrngman, N: kingfisher
jorrgon, N: cockrag, [now also, nappy]
jorrma, PAR: track, Aux *gi-*
jorro-, V: to follow, s. *gomarla-*
jowodba, PAR: walk with support, stick [*garnamara*], Aux *ya-*
joy, PAR: give, Aux *wo-*
jub(a), PAR/NADJ: deaf, Aux *yu-*; shut, extinguish, Aux *bu-*
jubad, NADJ: deaf person
jubung, PAR: pound, Aux *bu-*, also *me-*
jubunma, PAR: carry over shoulder w/ strap, bag, Aux *ga-*, s. *jununggurdba ga-*
juda, NADJ: short
judiyina, N: Tawny frogmouth

judja, N: water goanna
judjud(ba), PAR: down, descend, Aux *ya-*; jump down, Aux *we-*
juga, INT: vocative kin term used to child category person
jugjumban, NADJ: rdp. those following, see *jumban*
jugurru, N: wild orange,
juju, N: MF, MFZ
juju::y, INT: good job!
julamarran, N: white currant, *Securinega melanthesoides*
julu, N: hill
julugjuluyin, ADV: hillside, (along the) hillside
juluj(ba), PAR: carry on shoulder, Aux *ga-*
jululma, PAR: spill, Aux *wudba-*
julumirri, N: small goanna. s. *malbardajgu*
jumba, ADV: behind, e.g., *jumban ganu* behind me
jumban, NADJ: following one, one behind (e.g., child); *yi-jumba-wuya* the two behind
jumunyumunya, N: *Pterocaulon sphacelatum*
junbung(ma), PAR: steam, give off steam, Aux *gaju-*; be misty, Aux *jingi-*
jungang, NADJ: ripe, cooked
junggu, N: elbow
jun.gurra, PAR: face/sit/go the other way, Aux *ya-*, *jingi-*
jununggurdba, PAR: carry on shoulder, Aux *ga-*
junybi, ADV: until dark
junyma, PAR: to go down, of celestial body, Aux *ya-*, *junyma-wu-min* until sundown
jurd(ba), PAR: to indicate, point to, Aux *bu-*, s. *jewu-*, *milid gi-*
jurlg(ba), PAR: push, Aux *wudba-*, *gi-*
jurlman, NADJ: pocket, hidden away; *marla ma-jurlman*, small gut; *wu-jurlman* pocket (on river)

jurndu, NADJ: short, *jurndu yijeng* = *yiberr wujuda* short-foot, short-leg ; short cloth, *naga*
jurrama, PAR: squirm (as baby), Aux *jingi-*, s. *jurrgad*
jurrbu, PAR: go down, descend, Aux *ya-*, *we-*
jurr(ba), PAR: rain lightly, sprinkle, Aux *bu-*; see *nyinyiwa*, *nyilgba*
jurrgad, *jurrgad(ba)*, PAR: kick, Aux *jingi-*
jurrjurrma, PAR: jump, hop (dance-step), Aux *ya-*
jurrul, N: saltwater turtle
juwarin, N: Long Tom (fish)
juwogban, N: koel
-junuyn, SUFF: real, proper, alternates with *-yunuyn*

L

labang, PAR: carry on shoulder, Aux *ga-*, *me-*, rdp. *labarlabang*
labajurr, PAR: strike on shoulder, Aux *bu-*
ladaja, N: type of lizard
lag(ba), PAR: dry up, Aux *na-*, *ngegba-*
lagba, PAR: be stupified, drunk, as fish with poison, Aux *na-*
laglan, N: place, country
laglawun, NADJ: indigenous
lagu, PAR: fry, Aux *ginye-*
laju, N: witchetty grub
lalma, PAR: chase away, banish, scatter, Aux *bu-*
lambarra, N: F-in-law and reciprocal
lan.gaj, PAR: pay heed to, listen to, Aux *wojbarna-*
langganin, N: billabong
langman, NADJ: plain, clear place
lanygayn, PAR: to listen for, harken to Aux *jingi-*
lard, PAR: lose condition, get poor, Aux *we-*
larlban, NADJ: narrow

larlbin, NADJ: narrow, narrow place
 [var. *larlban*], *wu-larlbin* crevice
larlgaburra, N: hornet
larlumbum, N: top
larrawardba, PAR: to break out, come
 up, of sun, Aux *bu-*
larrgaja, NADJ: bone bugger, poor,
 skinny
larrglarrgin, NADJ: light shade, not
 dark shade [*wu-mondoban*];
warrgum yarlarrrg few leaves
lawarra, N: riflefish
lawu-, V: get, fetch, get to
layi-, V: die
layin, N: meat, Dat *layn-gu* or *layi-wu*
la-, V: to bite
ledba, PAR: to look at, Aux *na-*
ledbarna-, V: to see
ledbarnan, NADJ: peering bugger,
 looking at bugger
lege, NADJ: one
legegumin, ADV: sporadic, once in a
 while, once upon a time
legegun, ADV: sporadically, once (in a
 while), s. *dijbi*
lerlema, PAR: rustle, rattle (wind,
 snake, grass)
lerlma, PAR: catch up to, Aux *me-*
lerrulerru, PAR: to fall noisily, crash
 down, Aux *we-*
lerrwewen, N: *Ficus opposita*
libi, N: fingernail; *yijeng libi* toenail
lidba, PAR: Aux *bu-*, flick off, s. *lom*
bu-
lidbu-, V: to sew
lidi, N: long horned grasshopper
ligba, PAR/N: whole lot
ligirri, PAR: lean, Aux *jingi-*, *gi-*
lijarri, N: corkwood, *Gyrocarpus*
americanus
lilgba, PAR: dry up, Aux *ya-*
lilima, PAR: flow, Aux *nyanga-*
lilmurlilmum, N: firefly
linin, N: snake, *lin-yi* Erg.
linyje-, V: to cut

lirralirraga, N: rainbird, masked plover
lirrawin, N: black cockatoo
lirrmnin, N: pebble, gravel; Col Loc.
lirrmn-mulu-ya
lirrngangma, PAR: laugh at, Aux *yu-*,
s. golo-
liwarrga, N: ground sugar bag
liwin, N: red ochre
liwma, PAR: to swim, Aux *ya-*
lobarloba, N: butcher bird
lodba, PAR: put on top, Aux *gi-*
lojbe, PAR: hunting, with *ya-*, see
lojbu-
lojbu-, V: to sneak up on
lom(ma), PAR: remove, peel, take off
 (as skin of fruit, *ma-warlam*)
lombun, N: Magpie goose
lordo, N: round ground-growing
 vegetable
lorrblorrb, PAR: hit ribs, Aux *bu-*
lordba, PAR/ADV: back, in return,
 with *bu-* hit him back
lorlorrma, PAR: pull, pull out, Aux *ga-*
lorlon, N: small hole
lorrma, PAR: to go away (from),
 retreat, Aux *ya-*
lorrangan, N: crane; also *lorrngon*
lorrodba-, V: sharpen, grind, crush or
 make fine
lorrodba, PAR: crush, make fine, Aux
gi-
lowaglowa, PAR: play, Aux *jingi-*
loyi-, V: dance
lu-, V: cry
lub(ba), PAR: grab, Aux *gi-*; s. *durd*
me-
ludba, PAR: be happy, Aux *jingi-*
 (*mejern*)
ludurrma, PAR: thunder and lightning
luglugba, PAR: swell up, Aux *jingi-*
luma-, V: to cut
lun, ADV: down, on the ground, out,
 outside; with *gi-*
lunjan, N: *Eucalyptus alba*
lurle, PAR: cry, Aux *lu-*

lurleglurlen, NADJ: crybaby
lurle-wujban, NADJ: crybaby
lurrb, PAR: fall down, Aux *we-*; seize, grab, Aux *me-*
lurrbu, PAR: back, home
lurruja, ADV: quickly, s. *worroman*
luwun, N: cave, hole; *luwu-warang* having a hole
luyunggin, N: smoke
luyurr(ma), PAR: pay attention to, worry about or for, Aux *yana-*

M

mabaj, N: tobacco and ash plug
mabarrbarr, N: tin, s. *yibumbu*
mabirling, N: hare wallaby,
Lagorchestes conspicillatus
mabuga, N: lower abdomen
mabujbuj, N: small bush like plum, has spikes
maburn, N: cicatrice, scar, stripe
madba, PAR: obscure, shut up, Aux *bu-*
madin, N: language, word, news
madmad, PAR: shut up, block, Aux *me-*
madulgun, N: bladder (see *dulgin* urine)
magi, N: vagina
magulu, N: cheeky yam
maguyang, N: old yam [*ma-birrba*]
 (prefix inseparable)
majagarr, N: headdress, s.
gumurndunga (prefix inseparable)
majawalanggin, N: dry grass, burnt grass (prefix inseparable)
majirrgba, PAR: to entwine, tie up, Aux *jingi-*
malabarr, N: cold weather, syn. *wujerrijin*
malaglan, N: bird's nest [*ma-laglan*], see *laglan*
malang(ma), PAR/ADV: other side
malbardajgu, N: big goanna; s. *walanja*
malmalmaj, N: native tobacco
mamaj, PAR: beckon (to)
mamarnam, N: *Callitris columellaris*

mamarranygu, N: *Pandanus spiralis*
mambang, PAR: chase, Aux *bu-*
mamundajgani, N: language of peewee
man, NADJ: good (*yi-man*, *ma-man*, *wu-man*)
manag, N: spinifex
manamanagban, N: bird (wood swallows?)
manamnyan, N: barramundi
mandarraji, N: lizard type
mangali, N: young girl
mangulng, N: owl
manyma, PAR: aim at, Aux *me-*
manymanyma, PAR: to lighten all around, Aux *nyanga-*
marawu, PAR: walkabout, Aux *ya-*
mardamarra, N: guts, intestines, tripe
mardambu, N: I. *graminea*
mardawog, N: passion fruit
mardbiyn, N: barramundi
mardird, N: white kite
mardulg, N: wild cucumber (prefix inseparable)
mardumardu, N: antbed, large size; see *jarrulu*, *ngardan*
-marla, SUFF: iterative and inchoative; alternates with *-barla*
marla, N: tripe
marlag, N: cave, see also *ma-laglan*
-marlang, SUFF: anaphoric suffix
-marlawari, SUFF: known as (usually follows name)
marla-warr, ADV: over and over, many times
marlnga, N: cloud
marluga, N: old man, *marlarluga* rdp. pl.
marlugbarr, N: didgeridoo
marlunggarran, N: *Petalostigma pubescens*
marluwun, N: hill or cave country tobacco leaf, [*ma-luwun*]
marnal, N: ankle
marnamurran, N: coll. dog's balls, *Grewia retusifolia*

marnandum, N: seed (*ma-nandum*)
marnbigina, N: *E. patellaris*
marnbu-, V: make
marndayanga, N: plum, *Terminalis platyphylla*
marnden, N: ghost, whitefella, ~
gerrejban type of devil; also
mernden
marninggani, N: sun, Burton's legless
lizard
marnungurru, ADV: hard, forcefully
marrabibi, N: headband, see also
garlambang, *bagiri*
marrajbi, CONJ: like
marranyin, N: sand, sugar
marrgbarrgin, N: cramps, Erg.
marrgbarrg-ji with *me-*, have cramp
marrig, PAR: just as, like, s. *wagayma*
marrinyin, N: young girl
maw, PAR: fly away, Aux *ya-*
mawuya, N: poison
mayin, N: vegetable food, Dat.
mayi-wu, *mayin ma-gan.gin* flour;
ma-jungang dough
ma-, PRE: noun class prefix
me-dengdeng, N: small black fig,
ma-dengdeng
megbe-, V: break, snap
megerrin, NADJ: not bitter or cheeky,
good to eat
megerrman, N: long yam, *Dioscorea* sp.
mejern, N: stomach, kangaroo pouch,
ma-jern
mejejern-gu, N: flagon, big bottle (of
liquor)
meleman, NADJ: black
mengmengma, PAR: be extensive, e.g.,
of expanse of water, be flooded,
with *yu-*
menjen, N: tree used for fish poison,
Planchonia careya
menjen, NADJ: cheeky
menje-wujban, NADJ: pugnacious,
dangerous
menngen, N: white cockatoo

menyeyn, N: flesh of vegetable
menyin, N: anger
menyje-, V: feel, grope about (for)
merderl, N: testicles
merlemerlem, N: butterfly
merleng, N: light, flame
merlengbu, ADV: illuminated, aflame,
alight
mern, PAR: to affix to, as spear point;
put on top, end (as hat), Aux *gi-*
mernde-bubu, N: devil-killer
mernden, N: whiteman, Erg.
mernde-yi; see also *marnden*
merndewun, NADJ: European
merred, PAR: shed or lose skin, Aux
bu-yi-
me-, V: get
mida, N: shield
miday, N: mate, friend
midbidba, N: windbreak
migarra, N: tears
mijbijin, N: small ant
mijirr, N: billy goat plum, *Terminalia*
ferdinandiana
mila, N: woomera hook
milid, PAR: show to, Aux *gi-*, s. *jurd*
bu-
milijurn, N: star
milirri, N: yamstick, digging stick
milyg(bilygba), PAR: beat, of heart, in
concern for, with apprehension,
heartcrack (Kr.), see *numnuma*
-min, SUFF: until, up to, adverbial
suffix
mindigba, PAR: pinch, Aux *me-*
mindiwirrin, N: *Hakea arborescens*:
used for making boomerangs
minilgminilgba, PAR: be melted, melt,
Aux *jingi-*
minini, N: dog
minyardin, N: charcoal
minyjiliwirrij, N: diver duck
mirdiwan, N: *Ficus racemosa*
mirlirlma, PAR: to rise, of sun, Aux
nyanga-

miri, N: root, with prefix *wu-*
mirijbug, N: pigweed, *Portulaca oleracea*
mirrij(ba), PAR: to roll up, tie up, Aux *dagbarla-*
mirrijmirrijban, NADJ: curly (hair)
mirrngma, PAR: have headache, Aux *yu-*
miwinin, N: sleep, camp, night (period of time)
miwu, PAR: rise, swell, Aux *ba-*, (as dough)
miyarlunguj, N: currant, *Antidesma parvifolia*
miyarra, ADV: softly
miyarrgalan, N: wild lily, river lily, *Aponogeton*
miyin.gugug, NADJ: sleepy bugger
miyiwun, N: dog, see *minini*, *yiwungijgun*
mob, PAR: break, snap, Aux *me-*, *wudba-*; s. *megbe-*, *beng*
mobonyi, ADV: at night, nighttime
mod, PAR: cut, Aux *bu-*, *luma-*
modgo, PAR: cut, Aux *luma-*, *bu-*
mogba, PAR: smell, Aux *me-*, *nyanga-*
mogorl, N: buffalo grass
mogorlgorl, N: *Ampelocissus*
momorr, N: wire, telephone call, string
mormorrin, NADJ: hollow
mordon, N: creeper, with potato-like tucker
mordorl, N: tail
morgl, PAR: stop quiet, be still, Aux *jingi-*
mornojba, PAR: be hunched over, Aux *jingi-*, s. *beyejba*
morr, PAR: be dark, Aux *yana-*
morrolng, NADJ: green
morrolng-mayin, NADJ: green
mowo-, V: to steal
mowoj, PAR: sneak away, Aux *ya-*
mowojba-, V: sneak away from (with direct object the person left)

mowoyiwun, NADJ: thief, stealing bugger, see *mowujban*
mowujban, NADJ: stealing bugger, see *mowoyiwun*
moyinma, PAR: worry for, Aux *jingi-*
mudugurrma, PAR: double up, *ba-* burn and crumple
mugmug, N: boobook owl
mugurn, PAR: sleep, Aux *jingi-*, *yu-*; put to sleep, Aux *gi*, *wudba-*
mujbuj, NADJ: person of place, affiliated with place, e.g. *wugleni yi-mujbuj-bulu* people of *Wugleni*
mujudba, PAR: cover, Aux *gi-*
mulerr(ma), PAR: to grieve, mourn
-mulu, SUFF: plural; alternates with *-bulu*
mulugurnden, N: crayfish
mululug, N: initiand, young boy
mulurrimi, N: *Acacia nuperrima* (good for witchetty grubs)
mulurru, N: old woman, rdp. pl. *mululurru*
mum, N: *yimum* eye, bullet, *wu-mum* nipple
mumbab, PAR: realize, Kr. open eye, Aux. *yana-* (poss. <*mum-bab*)
mumbinbin, NADJ: clear, transparent
mumngarrama, PAR: get dizzy, Aux. *na-*, [*<mum-ngarrama*], see *wirrinyma*
mun(ma), PAR: hide, conceal, (put) under, cover, crouch, look down, Aux. *jingi-*; to cook in ground, Aux *ba-*
munang, N: person with same name as another; *yingyi lege* one name
munba, N: sorcery object, *munba-warang* sorcerer
mundarla, N: scorpion
mundubali, N: big underground tucker (common at *Jalad*, *Price's Creek*)
mundul(ma), PAR: heap up, Aux *gi-*
mungamunga, N: ancestral females
mun.gen, N: black flying fox
munin, N: rockcod, sleepy cod

muninynga, N: Piliostigma malabaricum
mun.garlarrgin, N: conjunctivitis
-munggayin, SUFF: denizen of X country, person of country to which suffixed
mungguj-gurlang, N: grandparent and grandchild (dyadic), granny gither (Kr.)
muragin, N: shade, boughshade
murdu, N: type of women's ceremony, line-dance
murdurd, PAR: surprise, startle, Aux *gi-*
murgu, N: big part of arm, humerus
murlb(a), PAR: whole lot, many
murl(ma), PAR: blindfold, shut im up eye (Kr.), as initiand, Aux *me-*
murlugurr, N: kind of devil dog, see *jarrinyin*, *wurruguru*, *bilybanbilyban*
murndima-, V: mind, look after
murrarda, N: crab
murrgun, N: three, *murrgun-gu* thrice
murrngmurrngma, PAR: worry about, Aux *jingi-* (with *mejern*)
murrudeni, PAR: to rain heavily, shower profusely, Aux *we-*
murrurin, N: wasp w. red tail, mud-dauber, Erg. *murruri-yi*
murrujunman, N: sand frog
murrurna, N: desert goanna
murug, PAR: hide, Aux *ga-*, s. *barlarra gi-*
murungenngen, N: small tree
muruwun, N: bottle tree
mu-warnad, N: marble tree, s. *barnarr*
muyirr(ma), PAR: to gather, collect, Aux *ga-*

NA-, NE-

na-, V: see
nagdala, N: knuckles; with prefix *wu-*
najin.ganung, NADJ: savvy person, knowledgeable

namanya, N: west
namanyung, NADJ: westerner
namu-warang, NADJ: dirty person, dirty bugger
namulu, N: white ant, termite
nana, DEM: that
nan-bi-wi, DEM: that one right there
nangala, N: subsection name, s. *yinggangala*
nan.ganung, DEM: those, Erg. *nan.ganung-nyi*
nangnangma, PAR: tap clapstick, Aux *bu-*
nan-guya, DEM: 3Dual
nan.guyugun, ADV/NADJ: that side
nannuguwunman, NADJ: person from that place
nard(ba), PAR: whole lot, (lying, prostrate, dead, s. *ligba*)
naribu, N: freshwater mussel; also, big trade pearl-shells
narnaj(bi), PRO: oneself
narrangarlma, PAR: protrude, Aux *jingi-*
narrinymalin, N: kindling, small twigs
narrma, PAR: shave, Aux *bu(yi)-*
narrng(ma), PAR: get stuck, Aux *we-*
narru, PAR: to dodge (weapons), Aux *waja-*
narrunggurag, NADJ: expert dodger
nawarlma, PAR: be hindered, encumbered by ?, Aux *me-*
nayin, NADJ: naked
nayi-, V: become, make oneself
nelu, N: horse
nendo, N: horse
nerrenerredban, NADJ: striped, spotted, s. *burrburg-bari*
new, PAR: grab, Aux *me-*
newerrma-, V: be hungry
newerrman, NADJ: hungry
newmagun, PAR: grab, s. *new*

NG

- ngababiyn*, N: FMM (see genealogies),
HM
- ngabayardu*, N: flood, deluge
- ngabngab*, PAR: wobble about, Aux
bewe-; waver, shoot and miss, Aux
bu-
- ngabobu*, N: FM, FMB
- ngabulu*, N: milk
- ngabulungabulu*, N: *Calotropis procera*
- ngaburlg(ba)*, PAR: dive in, jump in,
Aux *we-*
- ngagu-rlang*, N: grannies, MM(B) and
reciprocal (dyadic)
- ngajbang-bi*, PRO: self, selves
- ngajirrna*, PAR: sneeze, Aux *jingi-*;
make sneeze, with *marnbu-*
- ngajurruru*, N: navel
- ngala*, CONJ: how about, and, indeed
- ngalaminymiyn*, N: bat
- ngalijirri*, N: female plains kangaroo
- ngalyalya*, N: crying country, weepy
bugger
- ngalyalya-wujban*, NADJ: crying
bugger, plaintive for
- ngamanda*, Q: what;
ngamanda-warang what's up?
- ngamanda-wu*, Q: why
- ngamarrma*, PAR: drown
- ngamayag*, N: diarrhoea, *mejern*
ya-bun ~ he/she has diarrhoea
- ngamungguja*, N: boss
- nganayu*, NEG: no, let it be, < *ngana-*
+ *yu*
- nganinggin*, NADJ: mine
- nganjan*, N: tucker, leaves medicinal,
Cayratia trifolia
- nganju*, N: sinew
- nganu*, PRO: 1SG DAT
- nganyma-*, V: expend, use up, waste
- nganyngany*, NADJ: sharp, pointed
- ngardab(a)*, PAR: be hot, Aux *yana-*
- ngardan*, N: small antbed, see *jarrulu*,
mardumardu
- ngardi:::*, INT: good job! s. also
gogo:::
- ngardung*, NADJ: middle one, junior
one (with kin term)
- ngardurdug*, PAR: double-bank, come
at from two sides, Aux *bu-*; double
up, sit doubled, Aux *jingi-*
- ngaringgirrna*, N: circle, round shape
- ngaringgirrna*, NADJ: circular, round
- ngarlbangarlbag*, N: tidal area, area
along river marked by changing
water level
- ngarlwo*, N: Cucumis melo, unid.
vegetable
- ngarlgba*, PAR: to go call, Aux *ya-*; to
take away, Aux *gi-*
- ngarl(ma)*, PAR: howl, bark, Aux *na-*,
jingi-
- ngarndag*, N: tick, dog tick
- ngarndamulu*, N: language of rain
- ngarndun*, N: rockhole
- ngarraba*, PAR: be hot, warm
- ngarraban*, NADJ: hot
- ngarrajjaj*, N: nightjar
- ngarrajananggu*, N: dingo
- ngarral(ma)*, PAR: talk, Aux *yana-*; to
argue with over, Aux *wo-*, *na-*
- ngarralangma*, PAR: stand poised,
with paws up, Aux *jingi-*, *yu-*
- ngarralulun*, N: windbreak
- ngarrangarramban*, NADJ: staggerer
- ngarrug*, PRO: 1 INPL
- ngarrugu*, PRO: 1INPL DAT
- ngarrugun.gin*, PRO: ours INPL
- ngarrungga*, N: windpipe; also *ngewba*
ngarrungga
- ngaw*, PAR: eat, Aux *ngu-*
- ngawun*, INT: no, nothing
- ngawurnen*, NADJ: big mob, many
- ngayajan*, N: spirit, child spirit, see
yimerrug
- ngayal*, N: flower, with *yana-*, *bu-* to
flower
- ngayigji*, PRO: 1SG ERG
- ngayma*, PAR: mix, Aux *me-*
- ngayugu*, PRO: 1 SG ABS.

ngayungayug, N: small rainbow
 (serpent) under water
nge-, V: to sing, call
ngedbu, N: short-nosed bee
ngegba-, V: be sick, suffer, die
ngegngeg, PAR: extinguish, Aux *bu-*;
 s. *ngegba-*
ngejurlma, PAR: cough, Aux *jingi-*;
 make sneeze with *marnbu-*
ngeleg, NADJ: light on, illuminated
 (usually *wu-ngeleg*)
ngeleleg, N: cockatoo
ngelen, NADJ: married
ngenyje-, V: choke
ngenyung, PAR: poke or flick tongue
 at, Aux *yana-*, *na-*
ngenyung-marla, PAR: poke tongue at
ngewba-, V: breathe, Aux *yana-*
ngewerrin, N: wild coconut, *Cycas* sp.
 (unnamed)
ngeyi-, V: to argue
ngidgidba, PAR: whimper, Aux *yu-*,
 Aux *na-*
ngigilman, NADJ: straight, (of
 marriage, skin)
ngij, ADV: to one side, e.g., with
wudba- toss to one side
ngijborrma, PAR/N: thundercloud
nginngin, PAR: shake head no, refuse,
 Aux *na-*; also Aux *bu-*
nginyma-, V: to assist, take partner la
 (Kr.)
ngirringirriban, NADJ: greedy
ngirmaja, PAR: chat, Aux *jingi-*
ngiwa, ADV: yesterday, another day
 (previously) *ngiwan-gunba* from
 yesterday
ngiwanbi, ADV: as for *ngiwa*
ngojojba, PAR: be stiff, Aux *jingi-*
 (with body part)
ngone, N: spear
ngorlogba, PAR: talk, Aux *jingi-*
ngorlogba-, V: to talk
ngororma-, V: grind
ngorrogorro, ADV: afternoon

ngorrong, N: spangled perch
ngorrorrong, PAR: carry astride hip or
 straddling back, Aux *gi-*, *ga-*
ngoyogoyonbi, ADV: in a few days'
 time
nguj, PAR: to make die, Aux *wudba-*
ngumbamiyn, N: left-hand kangaroo,
 or nail tailed wallaby
ngunagban, NADJ: good smelling,
 good smell
ngunyangma-, V: to knead
ngunynguyn, PAR: sprinkle, wet down
 lightly, Aux *gila-*, *bu-*
ngunyjurrin, NADJ: big mob, a large
 number, s. *nardba*, *ligba*
ngurl, PAR: to load up, Aux *yana-*
ngurlan, N: single men's (camp), see
yingurla
ngurlgurl, N: bad cold, snot;
ngurlgurl-yi ngan-bun I have a bad
 cold; also *ngurlgurl-warang* having
 cold
ngurlmud, PAR: camp out, Aux *ya-*
ngurluguy, PAR: to hum, Aux *jingi-*
ngurrngma, PAR: growl at, Aux *na-*
ngurrulug, PAR: embraced, entwined,
 Aux *gurrgba-*
ngurruwun, N: hot weather
ngurruwun.gun, NADJ: perennial,
 persisting through the hot weather
 (of water); *wonggo lilgba yanja* it
 doesn't dry up
nguru, N: tobacco plug
nguwun, N: faeces
ngu-, V: eat

NI-, NO-, NU-

ni-, V: bring
nidban, N: cicada, s. *nirriwuman*
nilngman, N: finch
nim, N: *yi-nim* anus, *ma-[r]nim* root, of
 lily
nimbirrima, ADV: backwards

nimbujba, PAR: hunt away, hunt back,
Aux *bu-*
ning, PAR: snap, Aux *ya-*, *nyanga-*
ning, PAR: cut piece off
nirriwuman, N: cicada, s. *nidban*
nod, NADJ: pregnant
nonggo, CONJ: also, too, in addition to
nord, PAR: heap; rdp. *nordnord-*, Aux
gi-, *jingi-*
numbulan, ADV: that way, side, in that
direction (away), on that side, also
numbulan-min
numnuma PAR: beat heart, also fig.
hurry, Aux *jingi-*
nunggiying, N: countryman
nunggurlma, N: stingray
nungguru, N: hand
nurdurd, PAR: heap up, rdp.
nurdunurdurd, see *nord*, Aux *gi-*
numug, PRO: 2NSG; *nurug-bulu*,
nurug-guya DU
nurugun.gin, PRO: yours, 2NSG

NY

nyaba, PAR: stick to, Aux *me-*, Aux
jingi-; (make) stick together *lawu-*,
lawu-yi-, *me-yi-*
nyabnyab-bari, NADJ: sticky
nyabnyab-gujban, N: sticky (thing)
nyabo, N: mouse, also recorded *nyobo*,
with presumed assimilation
nyaganjayl, N: humbug, see *ganjayl*
wo-
nyaginod, NADJ: sulky bugger, see
nyagiwurr
nyagiwurr, NADJ: sulky bugger, see
nyaginod, *ginod*, *giwurr*
nyalugin, NADJ: soft
nyanga-, V: to come
nyangarrung, N: pumpkin, squash
nyangurlang, Q: when
nyardagurr, NADJ: peering bugger,
see *dagurr(ba)*

nyayudbarraj, N: claiming bugger,
thief, s. *yudba*
nyerrenigma, PAR: to make noise, s.
nyingurmma
nyerrenigma-wujban, N: noisy person,
noise-maker
nyigimiri, N: kind of vegetable, grows
at tree roots
nyilg(ba), PAR: sprinkle, Aux *we-*
nyilirma, PAR: can't take notice,
ignore, be supercilious, Aux *yuju-*
nyilirman, NADJ: one who doesn't
take notice, no more earhole (Kr.)
nyilngman, NADJ: pretentious, flash
bugger (Kr.), humbugger
nyingurmma, PAR: make noise, Aux
jingi-, s. *nyerrenigma*
nyingurmma-wujban, N: noisy person
nyinyiwa, PAR: sprinkle, Aux *we-*
nyogba, PAR: howl, Aux *jingi-*
nyorijban, N: bird sp.
nyom, PAR: keep on going, go not
stopping, Aux *ya-*
nyorma, PAR: half-dead, Aux *bu-*
nyujba, PAR: to fall down, Aux *we-*
nyujud, NADJ: blunt; make blunt with
gi-
nyungga-warang, NADJ: having curly
hair
nyunggawula, N: curly hair
nyunyma, PAR: chuck snot, remove
snot; Aux *yana-*, *wudba-*
nyurl, PAR: dislike, hate, Aux *na-*

R

rewrew, N: dollar bird

W

wabad, PAR: double bank, Aux *bu-*
wabaja, PAR: disappear, Aux *ya-*
wabirlwabirl, PAR: peel (skin,
ma-warlam), Aux *me-*; to fade,
with *we-*

wabirmagun, ADV/PAR: to spear or shoot taking off skin only, with *bu-*
wabirrb, PAR: miss, Aux *bu-*
wabulman, NADJ: light (weight)
wagayma, CONJ: like
wagba, N: orphan, person w/o relatives; cf. *goyogban*
-wagbawun, SUFF: none, nothing, lacking
wagwag, N: crow
waj, PAR: to leave, with *waja-*
waja-, V: to leave
wajiwaji, N: wrong marriage
walabana, N: uterus, *wurre-wu go laglan* baby's camp
walanja, N: goanna, Varanus Gouldii
walanu, N: wild potato, I. pres-caprae
walanyma-, V: to peel, remove skin, open, see *lom me-*
walayn, PAR: to recognize, Aux *na-*
walban, NADJ: loose, wide, too big, broad
walbarndan, N: plain, flat area
walig, ADV: around, also *walig-bari*
waliguya, ADV: all around [*walig + guya* Du]
walina-, V: be jealous of
waliyi-, V: be jealous of
walmidad, PAR: hook on, hook, trip up (of person), Aux *me-*
walu, N: pinky finger, with prefix *wu-*; see also (*wu-*)*jarranggun*
wambarna, ADV: no matter, any (which) way, in all directions, everywhere
wan, PAR: hook up, Aux *me-*
-wan, SUFF: defocussing suffix
wanadudun, N: big wind
wangan, N: kind of tucker, no specimen
wangguwarlawun, NADJ: from the east, eastern
wangi, CONJ: but, only, just that
wangu, N: widow; see *garlinda*
-warang, SUFF: having

warawad, PAR: go around, travel about, Aux *ya-*
waray, PAR: ask, Aux *ga-*
warda, SUFF: emphatic and interrogative
warda-gan, INT: might be, dunno
wardaba-, V: shake, yandy, sift
wardabarrb, PAR: start up, Aux *gaju-*
wardagwardag, PAR: shake head no, Aux *yana-*, s. *wirriwirrima*
wardangba, PAR: belly up, *binjy* top (Kr.), Aux *jingi-*
wardarl, PAR: struggle, Aux *yana-*
wardirrg, N: young girl
warduj(ba), PAR: vanish, get lost, Aux *ya-*
waringma, PAR: look sideways or askance at, Aux *na-*
waringma-wujan, NADJ: one who looks sideways at
warlad, PAR: be sick, Aux *ngegba-*
warlagba, PAR: float, Aux *jingi-*
warlam, N: skin, vegetable peel
ma-warlam
warlang, N: big bat
warlanin, N: Eucalyptus, perhaps *foelscheana*
warlarrgu, ADV: out/side
warlbagba, PAR: take out, Aux *me-*
warlgin, N: bed
warli, N: creek, tributary, branch, *wu-warli*; see *yiwarli* arm
warling, N: lad, near or at age of initiation
warliwun, N: hairbelt, (with *gi-*, put on)
warljub(a), ADV: inside
warlngin, N: fly
warlng(ma), PAR: be open, open, Aux *jingi-*
wama, NADJ: other, different; see *yiwama*
wamaba, N: kind of spirit in grass
wamawama, N: bone packet (including *yibam wume*, skull)

warnang, PAR: be stupified, drunk, stunned (as fish from poison), Aux *yana-*
warnarrin, N: fat
warnarr-wujban, N: sorcerer, s. *munba-warang*
warning, N: type of snake, piebald red and white, non-venemous
warnwarnin, NADJ: long
-warra, SUFF: having, by means of, alternates with *-barra*
warrab, PAR: watch, keep a close eye on, Aux *na-*
warrabarla, N: Asparagus racemosus
warrag, N: catfish
warrala, PAR: be, lie, spread-legged, Aux *jingi-*
warralma, PAR: disappear, abscond, Aux *ya-*
warramarlgba, PAR: overturn, rummage in, Aux *wudba-*
warrama, N: sugar glider
warranganyin, N: high bank, precipice
warranggin, N: corroborree
warrang-gujban, N: singer
warrangma-, V: swear
warrangmiyi-wujban, NADJ: swearer
warrb, PAR: rest, Aux *we-*, *yu-*
warrba, PAR/ADV: numerous, many
warrganyma-, V: mess up, make a mess of (e.g., *laglan*, camp)
warrgba, PAR: go anywhere, be promiscuous, Aux *me-*
warrgban, ADV: everywhere
warrguj, PAR: pick up, Aux *me-*
warrgum, N: a few, s. *lege-mulu*
warrija, N: crocodile
warringun, NADJ: poor, bad
warrinyjalan, N: lemon grass, Cymbopogon poss. *bombycinus*
warrirdila, N: hooked boomerang
-warrma, SUFF: focal member of pair suffix
warrura, N: mythological figure associated with Mt. Gregory

warrwarrma-, V: be abundant
wawarrgba, PAR: switch, swish leaves over, Aux *bu-*
-wayana, SUFF: end of list, *layn wayana-wu*
wayida, N: yam, hairy form, *Vigna lanceolata*
we-, V: fall, be born, die
wed, PAR: look back, Aux *na-*
wegba, PAR: swallow, Aux *gi-*
wejbuma, PAR/ADV: mix, mixed up with, together with, box up (Kr.)
welejban, N: parrot
wele, N: strap
welen, NADJ: jealous person, *yi-welen*
welerrwelerrma, PAR: hang down, be abundant, Aux *jingi-*
wemiya-, V: to vomit
-weng, SUFF: place where, alternates with *-beng*
wengman, NADJ: empty, to empty with *gi-*
werle, NADJ: lazy bugger
werlwerl, PAR: excavate, dig out, Aux *me-*
werr(ma), ADV/PAR: out, outside; come outside, emerge, Aux *bu-*
werrba-, V: have a spell, rest
werrelyel, PAR: be hanging, hang loosely, Aux *jingi-*, see *yelyel*
werrenybu-, V: sing, ensorcell
weyerrweyerrma, PAR: to hang down, Aux *jingi-*
weyi(ma), PAR: lift, Aux *me-*
-wi, SUFF: article suffix, alternates with *-bi*
wid, PAR: whistle (at), Aux *yana*, s. *wily*
widban, NADJ: wet (ground), *gonjo-widban*
widinywidinyma, PAR: wag tail at, Aux *na-*
wijirrma, PAR: whirl, go like cyclone, Aux *ya-*
wilid, N: firestick tree, *Trema aspera*

wiliwuga, N: curlew
wilyangan, N: lad, boy
wilyma, PAR: stretch, Aux *giyi-* (+ BodyPart)
wily(ma), PAR: whistle, Aux *yana-*, s. *wid*
wilywilyma-wujban, NADJ: whistling one
windinyin, N: *Lysiphyllum cunninghamii*
winygaman, NADJ: bad-tasting
-winyin, SUFF: that one now
winyjilgban, NADJ: immobile, can't move for anyone, can't get up, laggard
wirdba, PAR: carry on shoulder, Aux *ga-*
wirlid, N: tree sp., from which spear made
wirmurr, N: wire spear
wiminginya, N: type of snake, not venomous, produces two or so young, lives in hollow log
wirb(a), PAR: wipe, Aux *me-*
wiridwirid, N: rainbow bird
wirrig, ADV: tomorrow
wirrig-gari, ADV: tomorrow night; see *-gari*, *wirrigayla*
wirrigayla, ADV: tomorrow night
wirinyma, PAR: to turn, Aux *gi-*; be/get dizzy, with *ya-*
wirriwirrima, PAR: shake head no, Aux *jingi-*, s. *wardagwardag*
wirriwirrima-wujban, NADJ: nay-sayer, negative person
wiyan, N: water, rain or wet season
wiya-wujban, N: drinker, drunken one, drunkard
wo-, V: give
woba, PAR: make trouble for, Aux *gi-*
wogba, PAR: singe, burn lightly in fire, Aux *bu-*
wojbama-, V: listen to, feel
wolmanbi, N/ADV: keeping on going, continually, persistently

wolod-ja, ADV: under, underneath (*wu-lod-ja*), with LOC
wololoma, PAR: poison, Aux *wo-*
wolon, N: grass
wolorrwolorma, PAR: be loose, wiggle, Aux *jingi-* (tooth); wiggle or shake about, Aux *me-*
wonggo, PAR: not, negator
word(ba), PAR: to stick out (head), Aux *jingi-*, *yu-*
wordorrgba-, V: to clean, pluck
worlgba-, V: roil (water)
worlgbiyi-, V: work for (as son-in-law for M-in-law), make effort for
worlman, NADJ: loner, one who goes by himself or herself
worloba, PAR: be awake, Aux *jingi-*; see *jilig*
worlog(ba), PAR: wash, Aux *yana-*, *bu-*
worlorlma-, V: to fill up
wororoma, N: snot, with *dagbarla-*, see *yigilirr*
woroba, PAR/ADV: many, a great number
worroman(bi), N/ADV: quick(ly)
woyi-wujban, NADJ: one who gives, generous; see *jadban*
woyolong, N: whip snake
wubam, N: hill, see *bam*
wudab, N: cave, lair, (*wu-dab*)
wudba-, V: throw, create cloud
wudban, NADJ: wet ground (*mu-wudban*)
wuden-garang, N: airplane, *wu-den*
wudu, ADJ: little (inseparable prefix)
wuduju, N: love magic
wuduwinjug, NADJ: little tiny one; see *wudu*
wugadagadag, PAR: cut, Aux *linyje-*
wuja, N: fire, wood (inseparable prefix)
wujaban, N: house (inseparable prefix)
wujambugarrag, NADJ: lefthanded
wujbin, NADJ: greedy
wujerrijin, N: cold weather

wujugwujugba, PAR: shake (tree, branch), Aux *me-*
wujuju, N: March fly
wujurdbawun, N: index finger, *wu-jurdbawun*
wulirr-wa, ADV: on the side, e.g., *nga-jingin duba yinggi wulirrwa* I'm sitting one side of you (SG), also *wulirr-ya*
wulujujun, N: end of wet season
wululu, PAR/ADV: inside, Aux *we-*
wulurrin, N: *Tristania grandiflora*
wuma, N: string, cord, [of devil dogs]
wumara, N: stone, heavy stone, *wu-mara*
wumbang, PAR: emerge from water, Aux *bu-*
wumburuwuru, N: horn
wume, N: sky
wumeme, N: right (hand)
wumondoban, NADJ: dark (shade) [*wu-mondoban*], *wumondoba-ya murag-ja* in the dark shade
wumulyurra, N: varied lorikeet
wumunburra, N: money, stone; but also *yi-munburra*, i.e., prefix alternates and is not fused with stem
-wunba, SUFF: source suffix, alternates with *-gunba*
wunedoyn, NADJ: crooked, *wu-nedoyn*
wungarru, N: rifle
wungij, N: dark, darkness
wungijgun, NADJ: of darkness
wunma, PAR: hurt, ache, be sore, Aux *jingi-*
wunma-wujban, NADJ: hurting person, sore
wunyjug, CONJ: because of, for that reason; also *wuwunyjug*
wurdambu, N: junction, *wu-dambu* but has not been found without presumed prefix
wurdiwulgba, ADV: in the middle, shortcut
wurne, N: bone, *wurne banggin* spine (prefix inseparable)

-wurne, SUFF: causative, alternates with *-gurne*
wurnurlgin, N: hot ashes, Loc *wurnurlg-ja*; has not been found without presumed prefix
wurren, N: child
wurruguru, N: devil dog
wurrmug, PAR: knock down, Aux *me-*; to die, with *we-*
wurrub, PAR: duck head, Aux *we-*
wurrudiwulgjin, NADJ: in line, one after the other, see *diwulg*
wurrugu, PRO: 3NSG DAT
wurrugun.gin, PRO: theirs 3NSG
wurrugu-wuya, PRO: 3NSG DAT DU
wurrulug, PAR: like, Aux *me-*
-wuya, SUFF: dual, alternates with *-guya*

Y

ya-, V: to go (irregular)
yaba, N: young man, lad
yalajan, N: wooden spear point, tree sp.?
yalan, N: ironwood
yana-, V: say, do; rdp. *yana-jana*
yanan, ADV: thus, *yanan-gu*
yang, N: sickness, flu, stickbug
yang-burri, NADJ: people or winds from the east
yang(ma), PAR: tell, inform, Aux *bu-*
yanima, ADV: thus
yaniman, NADJ: thus, this kind
yanimayi, ADV: thus, like that
yanin, ADV: this time like
yaning-barra, ADV: like this time
yanung, NADJ: easterner
yanymirra, N: subsection term [= *jabarda*], F = *yinyganymirra*
yarirra, N: smoke tree, E. *pruinosa*
yarlarrg, N: leaf, tea leaf
yarlguj, N: calf of leg
yarlnga, N: blue tongue lizard

yarluba, NADJ: pregnant, Aux *ya-*
yarlugin, NADJ: lively one, smart,
 intelligent
yarmgalin, N: E. tetradonta prob.
yarninggi, N: pubic apron (for man and
 woman), s. *dunggululu*
yarr, PAR: put bunch (upright?), Aux
gi- [often, spears]
yarral(ma), PAR: be untidy, unkempt,
 hair-stand-up (as angry dog), Aux
jingi-, *yana-*
yarralma-, V: stand up, rise up (often,
 in anger, to fight), rise from sleep;
 with *gaju-*
yarralman, NADJ: unkempt, with
 standing hair
yarralma-wari, NADJ: unkempt,
 untidy, with standing-up hair
yarramarrgu, N: long-nosed bee
yarramburl, PAR: have goosebumps,
 Aux *yana-*
yarrarra(ma), PAR: feel good, Aux
jingi-
yarrayan, N: hill coolibah, E.
 microtheca
yarrbayl, PAR: to be a nuisance,
 humbug, bother, Aux *wo-*
yarrbaly-widi, N: nuisance, humbug
yarrbaly-wujban, NADJ: nuisance
yarrimanbu, N: taipan
yarrma, PAR: cease, Aux *ya-* [rain];
yarrma-warra at the end of the rains
yarrulan, N: lad, youth
yawanyayn, PAR: whisper, Aux *yana-*
yawarrin, N: alligator
yawe, INT: yes
yawu, PRO: IINDU
yawunggin, PRO: ours IINDU
yawung-guya, PRO: IINDU
yawurran, N: dish, receptacle, tank,
 tarpaulin, ground cover
yeli-, V: to sing out
yelyel, PAR: be hanging, suspended,
 Aux *jingi-*
yerde-, V: to know, often *yarde-*

yerreba-, V: to be shy of
yerrel, N: armband
yerrerren, N: tree sp., no specimen,
 black soil country
yerrenggejbu-, V: rummage in, mess up
-yi, SUFF: Ergative and Instrumental,
 alternates with *-ji*
-yi, SUFF: adverbial ending
yibalang, N: fresh or new floodwater,
 see *wiyan*, *jarrang*
yibam, N: head, hat; see *bam*
yibarnang, N: aunt, FZ,
barnang-gurlang dyadic
yibarnbarnin, N: hairless, buffalo
yibayin, N: mother-in-law,
bayin-gurlang dyadic
yiberr, N: leg, long part of leg
yiberrgoban, NADJ: pigeon-toed
yibi, NADJ: alive (prefix inseparable)
yibilingman, N: little baby
yibiwan, N: alt. *yibiyan*
yibiyan, N: man, person, Aborigine
 (prefix inseparable)
yibiwi, N: alt. *yibiyi*
yibiyi, N: father, *biwu-rlang* dyadic
yiboyn, NADJ: stranger, also rdp.
yibonyyiboyn; see *yimurlng*
yibulwa, N: kangaroo pouch
yibumbu, N: billy can
yiburu, N: black rain (*ngurlu* label)
yidarra, N: kidney
yidawurru, N: paddy melon
yidba-, V: sharpen
yiderrema, N: grasshopper, see *jayuga*,
lidi
yididi, N: series of animal holes or
 lairs, network
yididilman, N: double bar or poss. any
 piebald finch
yidugal, N: son-in-law
yidulum, N: mother louse
yidumul, N: heart
yigamu, N: uncle, MB, *gamu-rlang*
 dyadic
yigarn.gal, N: ribs

yigarrwa, N: FZd, *garra-gurlang*
 dyadic equivalent to *bugarli-wuya*,
 2 F or mixed-sex M + F pair
yigawarl, N: bee
yigeyu, N: own child for man,
 woman's brothers child
yigilirr, N: phlegm, cold, mucous
yigulan, N: ear; with *we-* to forget
yigurliyn, N: dirty water, early flood
yiguwarlangana, N: single girl or boy;
 buffalo
yiguyu, N: mother, *guyu-rlang* dyadic
yijaga, N: mouth, fishhook
yijamuyn, N: MF
yijangardarra, N: chin
yijarlu, N: some
yijarlu-warr, ADV: sometimes
yijarndayurrngu, NADJ: bewhiskered,
 hairy, *yijawunbug yijad* big beard
yijawunbug, N: whiskers
yijeme, N: ear
yijeng, N: foot
yijigilen, NADJ: featherless
yijilg, N: big wet, *yijad wiyan* a lot of
 rain
yijili, N: hair
yiji-, *yiju-*, V: to sit, see *jingi-*
yijogorl, N: temple
yijumidba, N: young goanna
yijurn, N: nose
yilama, PAR: maybe, also *yilama-gan*
yilanggin, N: middle finger, *bulgu*
yilanggin the middle finger
yilgbayi, ADV: all right, enough
yilunja, N: brisket
yilurrgan, N: constellation, group (of
 stars or other celestial bodies),
 Seven Sisters
yimarnayn, N: husband,
marnany-gurlang dyadic, Bs-in-law
yimerrug, N: shadow
yimid, N: subsection [= *jimija*], see
yimidani
yimidani, N: F subsection term [= *namija*], see *yimid*

yimirr, N: forehead
yimiyan, NADJ: same one,
yimiyan-barra at the same time, in
 the same way
yimum, N: eye, sweetheart
yimumbidjibidjib, N: eyelash
yimumungarr, N: blind person
yimunburra, N: money, stone; see also
wumunburra
yimungguj, N: triadic term, used by
 grandparent/child to reciprocal
yimurlng, NADJ: stranger, see
yibonyyiboyn
yimurna, N: paternal dreaming, see
yinginirra
yimurru, N: graveyard
-yin, SUFF: purposive
yingaba, N: B+, FBs (female Ego)
ynabam, NADJ: cooked (food)
ynabam-gujan, NADJ: s.o. who
 shows up for cooked food
ynamun, N: sister (M Ego, Z+ for
 female Ego), *namun-gurlang* dyadic
ynebel, N: shoulder
ynen, N: smell
yingagu, N: MM, MMB, DC;
ngagu-rlang dyadic
yingardung, NADJ: next-born, middle
yingawa, N: woman's child, man's Z's
 child
yingawuyu, N: wife, *ngawuyu-rlang*
 dyadic (Hus+ Wi, Zs-in-law)
yingelemben, N: collarbone
yingengemarni, N: spirit, child spirit
yingenyjeliyn, N: tongue
yinggangala, N: F subsection term
 (= *nangala*); see *jangala*.
yinggawun, PRO: yours SG
yinggi, PRO: yours SG
yingginggij, N; like currant,
Phyllanthus sp.
yinggiya, Q: who, *wonggo yinggiya*
 nobody
yingilga, N: soup, stew, broth, cooking
 juices

yinginirra , N: paternal dreaming
yinginya , PAR: to take away, Aux *ga-*
yingol , N: well; dig well, with *buju-* or
me-
yingune , N: smell, odour
yingurdgurda , N: chest
yingurla , N: single boy
yingyi , N: name
yinim , N: anus; see *nim*
yinimgajamayawun , NADJ: last-born,
runt, yijumban-juda the last little
one
yinimnyo , NADJ: last-born
yinyang , PRO: you SG
yinyeyn , N: body, *yinyenybi* on target
 or body hit, *yinyeny-garang* fat, in
 good condition; see *ma-nyeyn*
yinyigben , N: policeman, *yi-nyig-ban*
yirdiwulg , NADJ: second born; see
diwulg
yirlarlan , N: country, open space, bush
yirlarla-wujban , NADJ: travelling
 bugger
yirlorloban , N: King Brown snake
yirr(ma) , PAR: pull, Aux *me-*
yirragina , N: halo, with *wudba-*
yirrb(a) , PAR: fall down (from, +
 Abl), Aux *we-*; take off, remove
 with *me-*; see *judjudba we-*
yirrbag , ADV: back, reappear
yirrbagyirrbag-(g)ujban , NADJ:
 someone who keeps returning
 (unwelcome), returning bugger
yirrgulu , NADJ: riverine; *yi-yirrgulu*
layin riverine kangaroo
yirrgulun , N: river
yirma , PAR/N: company
yirmug , PRO: 1EXPL
yirrugun.gin , PRO: ours 1EXPL
yirmug-(g)yuya , PRO: 1EXDU
yiwad , N: female pubis
yiwaganga , N: rain (*ngurlu* category
 name)

yiwalyarri , N: subsection [= *jalyirri*
 equivalentMudburaterm], F
yimbalyarri
yiwanay , N: subsection [*janama*
 equivalentMudburaterm], F
yimbanay
yiwangari , N: subsection [= *jangari*
 equivalentMudburaterm], F
yimbangari
yiwangarr , N: hair
yiwangayn , N: armpit
yiwarli , N: arm, fingers; see *warli*
yiwaring , N: dress, clothes
yiwarna , NADJ: next, another,
 different
yiwarna-gari , NADJ: other
yiwol , N: picture, shadow
yiwolman , NADJ: keep on going one,
 rdp. *yiwolmagolman*, doing
 continuously
yiworlngworlng , N: lungs
yiwung , N: black currant, *Antidesma*
ghaesembilla
iyiyaja , N: yZ (♀), yB (♂)
iyiyalang , PAR: inform, let know, with
mambu-
iyiarra , N: FZs, cousins, *yarra-*
gurlang dyadic, 2 males
iyiawan , N: FMM spouse
iyiye , PAR: joke with, tease, Aux *me-*,
 also, *megbeyi-*
iyiye-wujban , NADJ: teasing bugger
iyiyijo , N: subincision
yo- , V: spear
yolodba , N: little creek
yondorin , N: road
yonga- , V: to farewell, [*yongo-mi*]
yongordin , N: white soil or sand,
gonjonme-dewoman
yordin , N: ash
yorr , PAR: dead sleep, sleep soundly,
 Aux *gurrba-*
yowo , INT: yes
yu- , V: lie

yubyub, PAR: scuttle, run rapidly
 (children, emu), Aux *yana-*
yudba, PAR: claim as one's own, Aux
wudba-
yudubulma, N: whirlwind, eddy (of
 dust); with *loyi-*, s. *junbungma*
yugurni, ADV: again, once again, more
yuju-, V: sit, stay, be in a place
yulun, PAR: trade, exchange, Aux *me-*,
wo-
yumbarn, N: penis
yumin, N: tree, wood
yunjun, NADJ: full, actual (kin relation
 or the like)
yunumburrgu, N: euro, large and old
 kangaroo

-yunuyn, SUFF: real, actual, alternates
 with *-junuyn*
yurr, PAR: put inside (hair belt), tuck
 in, Aux *gi-*
yurrb(a), PAR: stand, stop, Aux *jingi-*
yurrgba-, V: feel about (for), rdp.
yurrgbajurrgba-
yurrmarla-yi-, V: exchange, trade (as
 blows back and forth)
yurrimi, ADV: back, in return
yurrrwarla, N: subsection [= *jurlama*
 equivalent Mudbura term], F
yimburrwarla
yuwarrin, N: poor thing

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