A grammar of Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay:

a description of two New South Wales languages
based on 160 years of records

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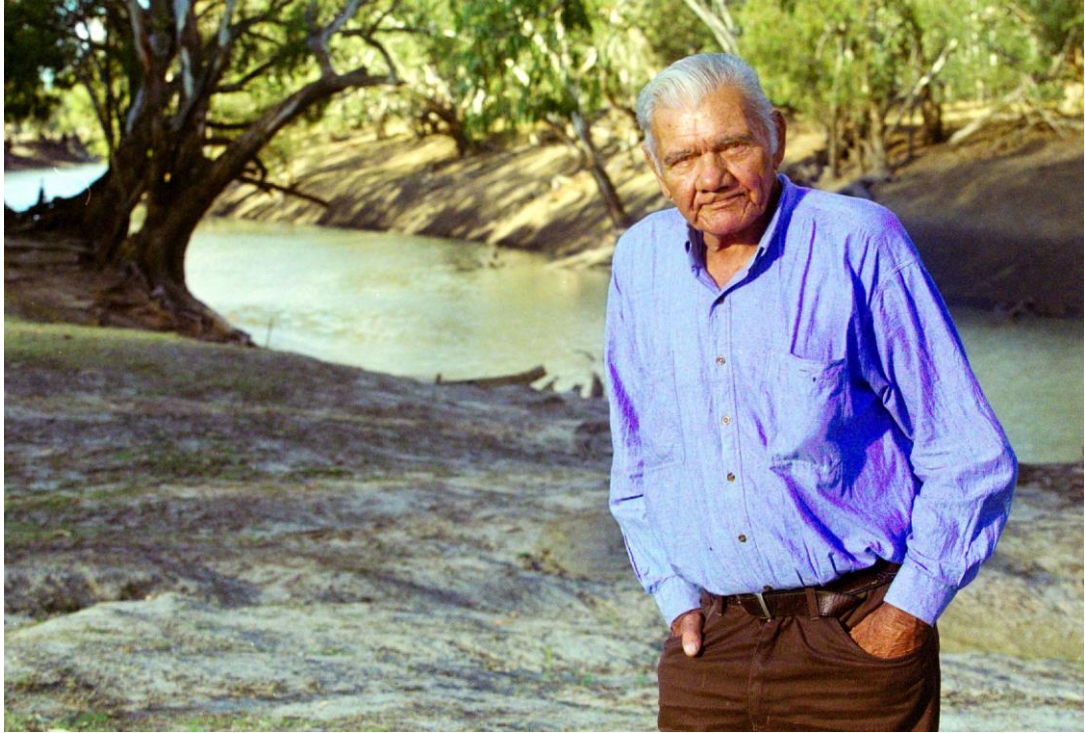The Australian National University

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Declaration

Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

John Giacon

Uncle Ted Fields, Garruu Gambuu   Photo: Dan Peled

This thesis is dedicated to Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay people, particularly those who have worked to preserve, rebuild and reuse their languages. Uncle Ted Fields, Garruu Gambuu, shown above near the Barwon River, Walgett, had an abiding passion for language, the people and the country. It was inspiring to work closely with him. He wanted his language to live and believed that the more people who were speaking it the more likely it was that it would survive and grow.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay are closely related languages from the North of New South Wales which had dramatically declined in use and are now being reused by many Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay people in a variety of ways.

This thesis expands the grammatical description of the languages, building in particular on Williams (1980). A wide range of sources from the mid-19th century to the tapes made in the 1970s are examined. Light is shed on them by the growing body of typology of Pama-Nyungan languages and in particular by Donaldson's (1980) Grammar of Wangaaybuwan, which along with Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay, Wayilwan and Wiradjuri form the Central New South Wales language sub-group.

The main topics covered are nominal morphology (Chapters 2-6), verbal morphology (Chapters 7-9) and syntax (Chapters 10-11). Chapter 8 covers interrogatives, negatives, indefinites and ignoratives. Notable features of nominals include the complex, and not yet fully described, set of demonstratives. YG verbs have a wide range of stem forming suffixes, including distinctive Time of Day suffixes (morning, afternoon and night), and Distance in Time suffixes which subdivide the past and future. Included is the first description of the middle verb forms, which have a range of case frames.

Where possible the grammar of the languages is described, with extensive evidence from the sources. Often there is currently unanalysable material, and this is often included, providing a starting point for further work on the languages.

The thesis has an appendix, which contains background YG material and material from other languages.

There is also a resource disc which has transcriptions of many of the source documents and tapes.

Preface

Gamilaraay (GR) and Yuwaalaraay (GR) are closely related languages from the north of New South Wales (see §1.1). The languages are closely related and my impression was that the name Yuwaalaraay had been decreasing in used, often replaced by Gamilaraay.

The production of a more comprehensive grammar of Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay (YG)[1] is a further step in the description of these languages. In the modern era Corinne Williams' *Grammar of Yuwaalaraay* (1980) was the first substantial work. It provided a grammar and a 1,500 item wordlist. In the 1990s Peter Austin produced two brief Gamilaraay dictionaries (1992, 1993b) and he and David Nathan produced an online version of these (1996). Austin (1993a) is a partial draft grammar of GR.

I moved to Walgett in 1994. As well as the increased academic interest in Australian languages there was a growing movement among Aboriginal people, including YG people, to reuse and revitalise their languages. In Walgett Uncle Ted Fields was the main person working on language. Auntie Rose Fernando, then at Collarenebri, was also a strong advocate of language and had been involved in the on-line GR dictionary. Within a few years there were language programs, mainly based in schools, in Walgett, Toomelah-Boggabilla, Goodooga and Lightning Ridge.

I had mainly worked in schools, but gradually got involved in language. Uncle Ted was my main mentor and collaborator in this and we worked together until I left Walgett at the end of 2005. In 1995 a YR program began at St Joseph's Primary School and soon after at Walgett Primary and High School. The NSW Department of Education funded courses for Aboriginal staff at Walgett TAFE, which Uncle Ted and I taught. The language information was initially from Williams (1980) gradually supplemented by information from original sources. Ted provided a wealth of local cultural knowledge.

For many years the language program at St Joseph's was funded by ATSIC and its various successors and St Joseph's was the focus of language research and the production of resources. These included materials for families and early learners,

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[1] The languages names are abbreviated: YG for Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay; YR Yuwaalaraay; GR Gamilaraay.

school texts and a CD with text, as well as more technical resources: the *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary* (Ash, Lissarrague, & Giacon, 2003) and an electronic version, *Gayarragi Winangali* (Giacon & Nathan, 2008).

I was also involved with other communities and schools, conducting regular classes for the YR teachers at Goodooga, consulting at Toomelah-Boggabilla and occasionally elsewhere. A special project was providing the GR for the plaques at the Myall Creek Massacre memorial. I saw another aspect of language work while on the writing team of the NSW K-10 Aboriginal languages syllabus (Board of Studies, 2003).

Towards the end of my time in Walgett John Hobson (the Koori Centre, University of Sydney) and I saw a need for a tertiary level course, particlurly for YG people wanting to learn their language and teach it in schools. We wrote a Gamilaraay course which was first taught as a non-accredited course by New England Institute of TAFE in 1995, and has been taught as Speaking Gamilaraay 1 at the University of Sydney since, and at the Australian National University. Speaking Gamilaraay 2 has also been taught once.

Teaching these courses has only made clearer the need for a comprehensive grammar. There are no fluent speakers or long texts to help learners absorb the language - its grammar needs to be clearly expressed if people are to learn it. There is sometimes the assumption that people will learn by accessing the historical materials. Neither the written nor the tape materials are at all suitable for that purpose. The historical materials need to be analysed and the results put in a usable format. The Dictionary did that in large part for the lexicon; this thesis will provide a much more extensive analysis of other aspects of the language. Not that either work is of immediate use to most learners. Rather, learners' materials can be developed from them.

It has also been clear that the languages need to develop. If YG are to be rebuilt speakers need to be able to say many things that they currently can't. The words may not have existed or been recorded. My BA Hons thesis (Giacon, 2001), *Creating new words in Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay*, partially addressed that lexical development.

However much of the grammar of YG has not been explicated, and much of it had not been recorded. The thesis aims to describe more of the grammar findable in the sources and make a small step in developing other grammar - ideally from knowledge of related languages.

There is more to be found in the sources. Phonology and discourse structure are two areas not examined at length. The focus here is on morphology and syntax.

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Abbreviations and common references:

Languages, people and sources

The following abbreviations are used for languages, people and sources.

Languages

CNSW	Central New South Wales - the subgroup of languages which includes Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay. It also includes Wiradjuri, Wangaaybuwan and Wayilwan, the last two both also known as Ngiyambaa.
GR	Gamilaraay, which has a number of dialects
WI	Wiradjuri, a CNSW language
WN	Wangaaybuwan, a CNSW language. Donaldson's grammar of WN has helped understand many areas of YG.
WW	Wayilwan. A CNSW language which borders YG on the south.
YG	Yuwaalaraay-Gamilaraay. The names are given in this order since the Yuwaalaraay is the main source of information. There are many more Gamilaraay people, and GR is taught much more commonly than YR.
YR	Yuwaalaraay. There are at least two dialects, Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay, the second sometimes called Yuwaalayaay. I rarely make a distinction between these three.
Yr	Yuwaalaraay, in contrast to Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay.
Yy	Yuwaalayaay and Yuwaaliyaay, in contrast to Yuwaalaraay.

People and texts

For more information about these see the annotated bibliography and biographical notes in §13. When sources have both YR and GR material those letters are sometimes added to the name to indicate the language used: e.g. WurmGR indicates the text is Gamilaraay.

AD	Arthur Dodd.
CW	Corinne Williams; also refers to (Williams, 1980)

Emu and Bustard	A text in YR from Parker (1905). There is a transcript of the text in the resource folder.
FR	Fred Reece.
Gurre Kamilaroi	Gamilaraay bible stories: (Ridley, 1856). There is a transcript of the text in the resource folder.
JM	Janet Mathews
JS	Jack Sands
Laves	Gerhardt Laves: AIATSIS MS 2188. There is a transcript of the text in the resource folder.
LO	Lynette Oates
MathewsYR	R H Mathews, Yuwaalaraay Grammar (Mathews, 1902)
MathewsGR	R H Mathews, Gamilaraay Grammar (Mathews, 1903)
Milson	(Milson, c.1840)
Parker	Katherine Langloh Parker: N.B Parker (1905)
Ridley	Rev. William Ridley, also refers to (Ridley, 1875)
SW	Stephen Wurm: See Wurm, below.
Sim	Ian Sim: also refers to (Sim & Giacon, 1998).
Tindale/Doolan	A text of the Emu and Brolga story recorded by Norman Tindale from Harry Doolan: in Austin and Tindale (1985). There is a transcript of the text in the resource folder.
Wurm	Stephen Wurm. Also refers to Wurm (1955). There is a transcript of the text in the resource folder.

Grammatical glosses and abbreviations

Gloss	Full form, Comment	YG form	Section
1	first person		
2	second person		
3	third person		
=3	third person clitic	=NHa	§4.4.2.1
A	Agent: Subject of a canonical transitive verb		
ABS	absolutive (Used in some quotes)		
ACC	Accusative		
ALL	Allative		§2.3.5
ALSO	also	=bula	§15.4.1
ARG	additional argument		§8.3.1
AUG	augment; big	-bidi	§3.1.2.6
CAUS	causative	-ma-li	§8.4.1
CLOSE	close	-milan	Table 218
CM	verb Class Marker		§7.1
COM	comitative	-Biyaay, -Baraay	§2.4.1.1
CTR	contrast	=bala	§15.3.1
CTS	continuous; see also MOV		§7.4
DAT	Dative		§2.2.4, §2.3.2
DAY	day, afternoon	-nga-y	§7.5.2.2
DEF	definite	-ma	§5.2.4.1
DIM	diminutive; see also ONE	-DHuul	§3.1.2.5
DIR	directly	=laa	§15.5.2
DIST	distortion: often -wu		
DU	dual; and the suffix -gaali	-gaali	§3.1.2.4
EAT	eat, associated mouthing	-DHa-y	§9.1.3
ERG	Ergative		§2.2.3, §2.3.1.3
EXCL	exclusive		§10.4.5
FUT	future		
going.to	'going.to'; auxiliary verb	gi.yaa.nha, gi.yaa.nhi	§7.4.3.3
IMP	imperative		
IGNOR	ignorative	-Caayaa	§6.5.1
INCL	inclusive		§10.4.5
INDEF	indefinite	-Caa	§6.5.1
INST	instrumental		§2.3.1.3

INTR	intransitive		
LET	let; also particle *wana*	*-bi-li*	§8.4.3
LIKE	like	*-giirr -guwaay*	§2.4.1.6
LOC	Locative		§2.3.4
LONG.T	long time	*-ayi-y*	§7.5.3.2
LONGER.T	longer time	*-awayi-y*	§7.5.3.3
M	Middle verb		§8.2
MIGHT	might	=*badhaay* YR =*wadhaay* GR	§15.3.2
MORN	morning	*-ngayi-y*	§7.5.2.1
MOV	continuous-moving suffix; see CTS		§7.4
NOW	now, then	=*nga*	§15.5.5
NIGHT	night		§7.5.2.3
NML	Nominaliser	*-dhaay*	§9.3.2
NOM	Nominative		
O	Object		
OBL	oblique case		
ONE	diminutive; see DIM	*-DHuul*	§3.1.2.5
ONE.DAY	one day, several days	*-mayaa-y*	§7.5.3.1
OST	ostensive	*-lay*	§5.2.4.2
PD	personal declension		§2.2.6
PL	plural	*-galgaa*	§3.1.2.2
PL.DIM	diminutive plural	*-gal*	§3.1.2.3
POT	potential	=*yaa*	§15.2.1
PRIV	privative	*-DHalibaa*	§2.4.1.2
pron	pronoun		§4.4.3
PRS	present		
PST	past		
PURP	purposive		§2.3.2
QUES	question	*yaama*	§6.1
RECP	reciprocal	*-la-y*	§8.1.2
redp	reduplicated		§14
REFL	reflexive	*-ngiili-y; -ngii-li*	§8.1.1
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb		
SG	singular		
SUB	SUBordinating	*-ldaay, -ngindaay, -dhaay, -ndaay*	§11.3

THEN	then, now	=nga	§15.5.5
TIME		-Cuu	§15.5.6
TO.HERE	to here	(=)dhaay	§15.6
TOT	total, all	-aaba-li	§9.1.2
TOT2	total, all	-Buu, -luu	§15.3.3
TOT3	total, all	-dhu	§15.3.3
TR	transitive		
VERY	very	-wan.gaan / -ban.gaan	§15.3.4
WANT	Also called Caritative case	-nginda	§2.4.1.4
W.LOT	with a lot	-bil	§2.4.1.3
*	indicates ungrammatical sentences, and reconstructed forms. It can also signal that a note follows the table.		
#	indicates that the form is hypothetical, e.g. in Table 64		

Common particles

Gloss	Full form, Comment	YG form	Section
can't	negative potential	waala gamila;	§6.4.1.1.1
don't	negates imperatives	garriya	§6.4.2
hyp	hypothesis; 'I think'	ngadhan.gaa	§0
just	just	yiyal	§15.3.5
let	let; also suffix -bi-li	wana	§8.4.3
long.time		yilaalu(u; yilaambuu	§15.5.3.1
none		maayrr, marayrr	§6.4.3
not	not; negation	waal, gamil	§6.4.1
not.yet		waaluu, gamiluu	§6.4.1.1.2
soon	also prox = 'little time ago'	yilaa	§15.5.1
soon2		baayan	§15.5.4
true		giirr	§15.1.2.1
true.very		giirruu	§15.1.2.2

Common deictics and anaphorics

Demonstrative	Gloss	Comments	Section
ngaama	3.ANA.DEF	function uncertain	§5.3.4
nhama	3.DEF	that, there, +	§5.3.3.1
nhalay	3.OST	this, here, +	§5.3.3.2
nhamalay	3.DEF+OST?		§5.3.3.1.2

ngaarri	DIStant	not a demonstrative	§5.3.5
ngaarrima	DIST.DEF		§5.3.5.2
ngaarrimalay	DIST.DEF 'over.there'		§5.3.5.3
ngaarrigu	dist.ALL (Distant-Allative).		§5.3.5.4
ngaarrigulay	over.there		§5.3.5.4
ngiyarrima	there?	anaphoric use	§5.3.6.2
nguuma	3.ERG.DEF YR	that; nominal only	§5.3.2
nguulay	3.ERG.OST YR	this; nominal only	§5.3.2
nguruma	3.ERG.DEF GR	that; nominal only	§5.3.2
ngurulay	3.ERG.OST GR	this; nominal only	§5.3.2
nguwama	place.DEF		§5.3.7
nguwalay	place.OST		§
ngiima	from.DEF		§5.3.8
ngiilay	from.OST		§5.3.8
yalagiirrma	like.that		§5.4.1

Other abbreviations and conventions

C   consonant

V   vowel

IIP   Initial intonation phrase (§10.2.2.1)

xx   I use xx after a word in the tape transcripts to indicate that the informant has signalled that he considers this a mistake. Generally an alternative form is given. xx by itself indicates that there has been a pause in the tape, and so likely off-tape discussion. The pause needs to be considered in interpreting the tape information.

Example sentences

The example sentences contain up to 6 lines. 3 and 4 of the following are almost always present. The other lines are present if appropriate and available.

The source of the example is right justified, most commonly at the end of the first line.

line 1   The English given by the recorder for the informant to translate, or other pre-YG English. This material is generally present when the information is from a tape.

line 2   The original orthography of examples from written sources, if there is a difference between that and current orthography. This is most commonly found with written sources.

line 3   the Yuwaalaraay or Gamilaraay given by the informant [from tapes] or the adapted version of the original orthography. Often the tape transcriptions have been 'tidied up', removing repetition and other material.

line 4   A morpheme by morpheme gloss

line 5   The translation given by the informant, or written source.

line 6   My translation, if different from line 5, or if there is no translation in the original. The source of the translation is given at the end of these lines, using the initials or name of the source: AD: Arthur Dodd; JG: John Giacon.

In the following example the first line shows that Corinne Williams (CW) asked Arthur Dodd (AD) to translate 'make him go', referring to a horse. The second line is AD's YR, the next line a morpheme gloss, the next AD's translation/comment, and the last line my translation of the YR.

Make him go (a horse).	CW/AD 3996A 1468

buma-la=badhaay nhama / barraay=nya, banaga-y
hit-IMP=MIGHT   3.DEF / fast=3?THEN, run-FUT

Telling you to hit him. You hit him then he'll go.	AD
How about you hit him. // Hit that one!	JG

The next example begins with the YR from Stephen Wurm's material, followed by my interpretation of that in current orthography, then a morphemic gloss, then SW's English, followed by my English.

ga:liŋu bujuma biřaligaligu	SW p 79

gaalingu buyuma birralii-gaali-gu
3DU.DAT dog   child-DU-DAT

The dog of those (2) children.	SW
Their dog, the two children's.	JG

When a particular word or morpheme is being discussed it will sometimes be glossed with the YG form rather than presume a particular English gloss. See *nhama* in example (259).

The most common source of examples are the Yuwaalaraay tapes held by AIATSIS. The informants on most are Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece, the recorders Janet Mathews and Corinne Williams. References begin with the tape number and then the number of seconds after the beginning of the AIATSIS digitised version of the tape: So AD2833B 206 indicates that Arthur Dodd is the informant, the tape is number 2833B, and the example begins 206 seconds into the tape. Transcripts of the tapes are available in the resource disc (See Appendix C: Source materials) in various formats. For ease of searching all the YR tape transcripts, with time codes, are collected in one document called 'Alltapes'.

Terminological conventions

A number of terminological conventions are used, many to do with nominals (§2-4). 'Standard cases' includes core cases, local cases and Dative case. The 'core cases' are Nominative, Ergative and Accusative, while 'local cases' includes Locative, Allative and Ablative. 'Standard nominals' refers to nominals which take the standard case inflections, i.e. adjectives, and nouns, except when being used as names and so taking the Personal Declension suffixes. 'Locational nominal' refers to words that have intrinsic locational meaning, such as *mudhu* 'inside', *ngaarrigili* 'the other side', *gaburran* 'top', and so on.

I use 'regular' to describe invariant YG patterns (such as English *-ing*) and also for the dominant pattern of a paradigm (such English as *s/es* plural). 'irregular' refers to minor patterns which are part of the language, but not part of a dominant paradigm (e.g. 'mice' as plural of 'mouse') and to one-off, but accepted forms, such as 'children' as the plural of 'child'. Both regular and irregular forms are correct language - what I call 'canonical' language.

'Non-canonical' (and occasionally 'error' and 'mistake') refers to expressions which are neither regular nor irregular, and probably would not be accepted by fluent speakers. Where there is more than one canonical form these are called alternatives.

The categorisation of material in the sources into canonical and non-canonical is a judgement. It is based on the understanding that both variation and errors occur in languages, and it is not always possible to separate these. Tape informants often correct themselves, so recognising that there are correct and incorrect forms of the languages. However there are also alternative forms due to the phonological environment, free variation and dialectal differences. These are all synchronic variations. As well there is diachronic variation. Some of this will be language development, some language decline, and some of it will be due to the influence of other languages, including English. Changes associated with language decline are discussed in (Austin, 1986), (Schmidt, 1985) and (Langlois, 2004).

There can be errors in the actual language sources. With documents these errors can arise anywhere in the long trail from hearing the language to analysing it to having the material published.

Resource materials

Many of the materials used in research for the thesis are available on the support disc. See Appendix C: Source materials, for details of these.

1   Introduction

1.1   Land and people

The Yuwaalaraay (YR) and Gamilaraay (GR) lands are largely in what is now the north inland of New South Wales. They likely extended into what is now southern Queensland: Austin (2008: 38), Austin et al. (1980). Map 1,[2] adapted from Austin (2008), shows approximate dialect and language boundaries. Wafer (2014) discusses boundaries in the Hunter River area. The GR area is larger, further east, wetter and more fertile than the YR country. It was colonised earlier and by greater numbers than YR. As a result the usual destruction of people and of their language and culture began earlier and had greater impact. There were a number of dialects in the GR area but information about the differences is very limited. Buckhorn (1997) and O'Rourke (1995, 1997) give further information about the history of the GR area.

YR land is west of GR, drier and covers a smaller area. While white control of the land was later and not as intense the effect was similar to that in GR lands. As with GR there were sub-groups within YR. For example Parker's books (1896, 1898, 1905) are largely based on her experiences with *Nhunggabarra* people (*nhungga* 'kurrajong tree') who she knew at Bangate Station, on the Narran river between Lightning Ridge and Goodooga (area 6 in Map 1).

At that time and later many other YG people also spent a lot of their lives on sheep stations or other properties. Arthur Dodd, one of the main informants, was born on Dungalear, a property between Walgett and Lightning Ridge and later worked on other properties. In later life he lived on Gingie Mission, outside Walgett.

Today many YG people are on the YG lands, but others have moved, often to regional centres such as Dubbo, or cities such as Sydney. Many of them continue to treasure their ancestral identity, and they are now in a position where they can more effectively work on retrieving their language and other elements of their identity.

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[2] Map 1 is a slightly adapted version of the map in Austin et al. (1980). The boundaries are likely to be revised with further investigation and some will remain permanently uncertain. Ray Wood (p.c.) has pointed out various materials that indicate that dialects of Yuwaalaraay were found well into Queensland, certainly as far as St George. Barlow (1873) includes a 'Wirrī Wirrī' wordlist that indicates that language was a dialect of YR. Mrs Ginny Rose, a YR informant of Ian Sim, came from well into Queensland. Ridley also met YR and GR people well into Queensland.

Many senior people involved in the struggle to reuse language, such as Rose Fernando, June Barker, Roy Barker, and Ted Fields, are not here to see the flowering of this regrowth and the new face of YG culture.
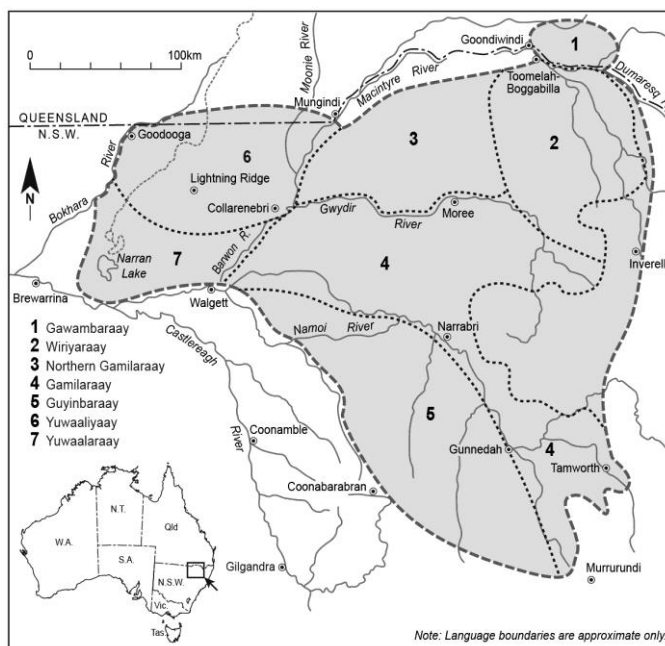
Map 1 YG Languages and dialects
Map 1 was adapted from Austin et al. (1980: 167).

There is a growing group of younger YG people whose work is in language, and many more who are using language in greetings, in naming their children, in formal occasions and even in conversation. The languages are more and more being taught in schools and being published.

1.2   Languages

This thesis studies two languages, Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay. These were recognised as separate languages by speakers. However the substantial shared lexicon (Table 1, which also differentialtes Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaalayaay[3]) and the general grammatical similarity of the languages means that they can be considered as dialects on narrow linguistic criteria.

There were dialects within YR and more prominently in GR. Information about GR language is quite limited, and information about differences between the dialects more so. This study does not generally differentiate between the various dialects of YR and GR.

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[3] These figures are based on a count of an unstated number of 'basic vocabulary items'.

Table 1   **Shared YG vocabulary on a 200 item basic word list**

Gamilaraay		
73%	Yuwaalaraay	
63%	80%	Yuwaalayaay

The language names are the word for 'no' (*gamil* and *yuwaal*) and the comitative suffix: so *gamil-araay* and *yuwaal-araay* (YR now has *waal* 'no', likely a reduced form of *yuwaal*). The Yuwaalaraay comitative is *-biyaay/-iyaay*, but the language name incorporates the current GR comitative. The YR comitative is found in the dialect name Yuwaaliyaay, and another name found, Yuwaalayaay, has another form of the suffix *-ayaay*. This form incorporates the common *r > y* difference between GR and YR: see §13.5.

The GR dialect names show that variation in the word for 'no' was common, and used as a distinguishing feature, with the comitative found on *gawa[m], wiriy* and *guyin*, all 'no', to form the dialect names *Gawambaraay, Wiriyaraay* and *Guyinbarraay*.

YG are part of the Pama-Nyungan language family and in the Central New South Wales (CNSW) sub-group. CNSW languages share many features, including the language names all being 'no-COMITATIVE': *Gamil-araay, Yuwaal-araay, Wayil-wan, Wangaay-buwan*[4] and *Wira-djuri* (See Austin, 1997). The approximate area of these languages is shown in Map 2.

In many parts of Australia the knowledge and use of pre-colonisation languages has decreased sharply.[5] Remnant knowledge may consist of only a few words. As well the use of language has been significantly affected by the dominant language, English. Apart from severely reduced use of the traditional languages, there are shifts in all areas of the remnant language.

Working on the languages since 1995, I have occasionally heard short phrases in YR by traditional speakers, but most people had only words, perhaps 50 in older people, less with younger people. I recorded around 1000 words from Uncle Ted Fields in over ten years working with him. He was by far the most knowledgeable language speaker, but, apart from a few imperatives and a few phrases, I never heard a sentence from him, or structures such as case forms of nouns and inflected verbs. Many of the words he remembered were not part of his everyday vocabulary, but were remembered at particular sites or events, or after requests for a particular word. There

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[4] The language name Ngiyambaa (based on *ngiya* 'word') refers to both Wangaaybuwan and Wayilwan.

[5] In this context I use the term 'speaker' to imply someone who is fully or substantially fluent in the language, not to someone with minimal knowledge. Imprecise use of words like 'speaker' leads to much lack of clarity in discussion of language rebuilding.

are no fluent speakers of YG, and the more knowledgeable current speakers have learnt the languages from books or classes.
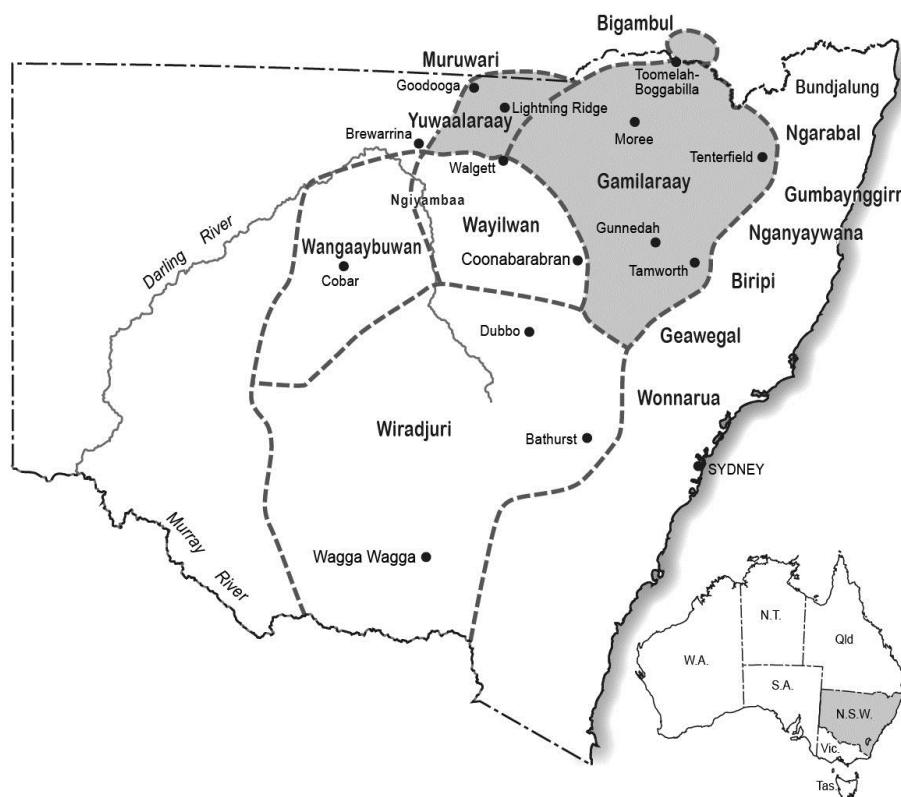
Map 2 The Central New South Wales language group
Map 2 was adapted from Giacon (2001: 6).

1.3   Previous YG materials

There is a substantial body of material on YG produced from the 1850s onwards.[6] Some of these materials include analyses of the languages, others consist of textual material. However some of the textual material, particularly when collected by linguists, is aimed at gathering information about a specific area of grammar, for instance pronouns or verb inflections. As well as the written material there are around 50 hours of tapes, 30 minutes from 1955, the rest from the 1970s.

The textual material is from a limited range of genres. It mostly consists of wordlists, translations of simple sentences, a few narratives and a few traditional stories. There is very little of conversation, particularly areas such as greetings and farewells, little recorded from women and even less from young people.

The written sources and tapes are briefly considered here. More information about them is given in Appendix C: Source materials. All these sources contain valuable

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[6] I do not refer to incidental YG found, for instance, in letters and diaries.

information, but this information needs to be evaluated. There is variation in the accuracy of any analysis, the fluency of the informants, and the completeness of the material. In many instances recorders of YG had knowledge of previous materials, and built on them, just as this thesis does. Published sources are in some ways easier to use but some information may have been lost in preparing the material for publication.

1.3.1 Written YG sources

The earliest substantial source may be Milson (c.1840), a manuscript in the NSW Mitchell library, which has words, phrases and songs. The earliest published material is from Ridley, from 1856 on. Much of his material was published later, with some changes, by Greenway. The actual provenance is unclear. These materials include analyses, which were strongly influenced by the languages these two clergymen knew, firstly English and then the classical languages that had been part of their education. Ridley and Greenway both published similar biblical texts (Ridley's is *Gurre Kamilaroi*). They contain extremely simplified GR, without Ergative forms and with very few of other features characteristic of fluent YG, such as locational adverbs.

It is likely that Mathews, working some 50 years later, knew of the earlier work on GR and built on it. Mathews (1903) is the last analysis of GR produced by someone who had contact with fluent speakers. Mathews (1902) is the first analysis of YR.

None of Ridley, Greenway and Mathews provide any substantial recorded language - text directly from speakers. Even the Mathews MS are largely pre-publication versions of articles, with relatively little recorded text.

While they recognised cases their analyses were incomplete. All recognised Ergative case. Ridley (p 6) recognised the standard and Personal Declension Locative forms, but not their functions. Mathews did not recognise Locative case. None recognised verb classes. Ridley and Mathews both emphasise Distance in Time verb suffixes. Ridley (p 8) has the subordinate suffix following DIT suffixes - a feature not found elsewhere. This may well be a feature of the traditional language, or, less likely may be a misanalysis by Ridley.

Parker produced YR wordlists and a long text as part of collecting stories and writing ethnography. her text, *Emu and Bustard*, at some 300 words, is by far the most extensive fluent YG text recorded. It may also have been partially simplified, in consideration for Parker's understanding of language, and for the fact that she was writing it down from dictation.

Tindale's short text (40 lines, 1938) was assembled over a number of days from speakers with limited fluency. It is largely simplified GR, but does retain some elements of more complex language. It may reflect a dialect of GR influenced by Wayilwan.

Laves' (1930s) and Wurm's (1950s) materials consist largely of textual material, often collected with particular grammatical feature in mind. Wurm's text material is very valuable, but on his tape there are instances of the informant repeating a phrase that Wurm speaks to him in YG, so there are some questions about the material. His information is also from speakers of varying ability. By this stage speakers, particularly of GR, were considerably less fluent. The material contrasts in some aspects with other major sources, perhaps showing English influence. It has *nhama* 'that' and pronouns in first position in the sentence, whereas many other sources typically have these in second position. Wurm's material is mostly YG sentences and an English translation, whereas Laves' has notes which are less easily interpreted. At times the material is difficult to actually read and sometimes the correspondence between the YG and English is not clear.

Sim's (1950s) material contains wordlists, sentences and paradigms, and shows the benefit of his collaboration with Arthur Capell, a leader in growing understanding of Australian languages. Sim's pronoun and nominal case paradigms are significant advances in the analyses of these aspects of the languages.

Corinne Williams (1980) made further major advances in the analysis of YG. She re-interpreted old material and was perhaps the first person to analyse the material on the tapes Janet Mathews had made, but did not have the time to closely analyse all that material. Her fieldwork was almost exclusively with Arthur Dodd. They made about 10 hours of tapes, often examining specific grammatical structures. Just a few of the advances she makes are to point out the four verb classes, to detail major aspects of verbal morphology, to improve the analysis of pronouns, as well as to produce the most substantial wordlist to that time. She took advantage of the growing understanding of Australian languages. In particular she benefited from working with Tamsin Donaldson, who was working on Wangaaybuwan at the same time.

Peter Austin's *Grammar of Gamilaraay* (1993a) uses the many advances in the understanding of Australian languages to re-examine earlier GR materials and develops the analysis of GR, but is limited by the relatively small amount of GR material available.

1.3.2   YG tapes

The YR tapes recorded by Janet Mathews (JM) and Corinne Williams (CW), as stated, are the main source for this study. The main consultants are Arthur Dodd (AD) and Fred Reece (FR).[7] The transcripts run to around 800 pages. Many of the language features contained there are not directly elicited. They arise when translating sentences

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[7] JM recorded 30 hours with FR in 1970-71. She recorded 19 hours with AD in 1973-4 and 1976-7, at times with Lynette Oates assisting in the elicitation. CW recorded 9 hours with AD in 1976.

or more commonly when the informant is telling a story. CW does more investigation of language features - for instance asking for translations of relative and adverbial clauses, and trying to find which cases in the main clause can be relativised. The responses to this material indicate that with it AD was sometimes coming to the limits of his knowledge.

There are some differences between AD and FR on the tapes. AD is more fluent, FR has clearer articulation. There are dialectal differences, such as the use of *dhina* (AD) or *baburr* (FR) for 'foot'. Other differences may be personal language traits: AD often begins sentences with *giirr ngaama* 'true that', which may reflect the *ngarru nginyaa* he often uses on his Wayilwan elicitations with JM. FR uses *Giirr ngaama* much less. When FR cannot readily translate something he is likely to say: 'there is a way of saying that, but old Reece can't remember it'. AD, on the other hand, is likely to look for a paraphrase, something close to the elicitation.

Both AD and FR have many hesitations in their responses. In the examples these are often shown by '//'. However it is not always clear if a pause is natural or reflects 'thinking time'. As well there is often repetition, sometimes as they try to come up with the right sentence. This repetition is not generally shown in the transcript. Both informants make corrections at times, and these are often included in the example sentences. At 3220B 2237 JM asks AD to translate 'I can feel something crawling on my leg'. AD's answer includes *nganunda, buyuxx, buyu-ga* '1SG.LOC // legxx, leg-LOC'. JM asks for 'I can feel it on my leg'. and this time AD's answer includes *nganundi, buyu-ga* '1SG.ABL leg-LOC'. I assume the second answer is the correct one, since AD has had time to think over his response.

The fact that informants correct themselves also implies that at other times they may not have had the chance to correct answers, or may not have realised that their answers were wrong.

There may be occasions where interpretation is affected by the informant's English. For instance when asked to translate 'steal' both AD and FR use the Aboriginal English equivalent 'shake' (FR 2438A 3143, AD 3997A 541). In this instance the interpretation of the informant's English is relatively easy, but it is quite likely that there are occasions when the informant's English has been misunderstood, and so wrong conclusions can be reached.

1.4 Language rebuilding

Language rebuilding (also referred to as 'language revival') involves learning a language that is no longer used. This is fundamentally different from typical second language learning where the native, fluent speakers provide the model and learners

more or less progress towards that standard, and can readily assess what their level of fluency is.

1.4.1 Hybridity of rebuilt language

Any rebuilt language is inevitably hybrid, with elements of the traditional language, but also with much from the dominant language, from the everyday language of the re-learners and re-teachers: see (Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011). What can be achieved is a language which has some of the traditional language and some of the substrate language of the learners. Zuckermann (2009) points out that the language of modern Israel, while it contains elements from traditional and biblical Hebrew, also has many features of Yiddish and the other first languages of the originators of what he calls 'Israeli language'. In a language rebuilding context the semantics, syntax, phonology, prosody and pragmatics of the traditional languages all change, moving towards the dominant languages[8], which, in the case of Israeli, are the first languages of the founders. Reid (2010) points out that little of traditional phonology of Aboriginal languages which differs from English phonology is retained in 're-awakened' Aboriginal languages.

Hybridity is inevitable. Revived YG will be a hybrid of traditional YG and English. The degree of English in revived YG can be influenced by the material available about traditional YG and by the effort put into learning the traditional language. Any features of traditional YG that are clearly stated can potentially be part of rebuilt YG. Any features that are not explicitly stated, taught and well learnt will not be part of rebuilt YG unless they also happen to be part of English.

This has been clear in all the YG courses I have worked on. Features of YG which differ from English, such as word order, pronunciation (e.g. trilled *r*, word initial *ng*, prosody), use of the 'past tense' with 'perfect meaning' and ergativity can be taught because they have been analysed. However they are only learnt after considerable practice, and often not even then.

Other aspects of YG which have been analysed have not been taught because they are beyond the scope of current courses, for instance the recently analysed YG exclusive pronouns (§10.4.5). These are very different from their English translations and it will take a major effort for them to be part of rebuilt YG. Another example of the influence of the dominant language is in the lexicon. For example YG can use *wila-y* 'sit' to translate the verb 'live'. This is appropriate for people, but presumably

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[8] One examiner notes that 'change may not be unidirectional towards the dominant language. In fact there may be deliberate moves in the other direction (e.g. rolled or even uvular r as in Palawa Karni). I agree. This may be due to certain features becoming iconic in the rebuilt language, and their use extended.

not for the statement 'fish live in the water', but *wila-y* has been used for that by learners after consulting the dictionary.

In brief, rebuilt YG will be English except for the features which have been analysed and learnt and retained. While the reality of hybridity cannot be ignored the degree of hybridity is not fixed. As well the hybridity of rebuilt language is often ignored or denied, since it does not fit with a main aim of language revival - the desire to claim an identity and maintain continuity with a past.

1.4.2   Language continuity and development

The aim in language rebuilding is a language which is true to traditional language and which also serves current communicative needs. It needs to have ways of speaking about everyday objects and events such as 'days of the week', 'government' and 'schooling'. People want to use it for informal greetings and for formal events such as welcomes to country, funerals, weddings and baptisms. The existing YG material has two gaps: words and expressions that were used by traditional YG speakers that were not recorded or passed on, and words and expressions to express the new concepts that have arisen.

So there needs to be language development - development of new YG which incorporates features of the old language. Another way to express this is: if traditional YG speakers had needed to express this concept, how could they have done it? 'How would a traditional YG speaker have said this?' Clearly this is an ideal; the more that is known about the traditional language, or other Aboriginal languages, the closer we can approach the ideal. Application of this approach to lexical development has been discussed in (Giacon, 2001)(Giacon, 2001)Giacon (2001).

Examples of how traditional YG speakers expressed new concepts are found in the immediate post colonisation YG lexicon which quickly developed words such as *dhimba* 'sheep', *milambaraay* 'milking cow' and *wanda* 'white man'. All incorporate a significant amount of YG structure. All English borrowings have been phonologically adapted to the language: *dhimba*, probably from 'jumbuck' and *milam* from 'milk'. *milambaraay* uses the comitative suffix. *Wanda* is likely from a Wangaaybuwan word which is an adjective 'ugly-looking' and the name of a creature that might be called a 'devildevil'. Fluent YG speakers adapted words instinctively, but now similar word production and use will only occur if there is careful analysis.

Another feature of development is that at times the traditional language needs to be changed. In traditional YG the word for mother, *ngambaa* or *gunii/gunidjarr*, applies to a range of women other than the biological mother, such as the mother's sisters. In teaching YR to children in Walgett the question arose of what meaning to assign to *gunii*. It was decided to use the word with the same meaning as English 'mother' so

that people could easily use it in school and at home. Trying to use the words with the traditional range of reference would be to try to re-establish a non-current pattern of kinship, and would only decrease the likelihood of the language being actively used. This feature of development is only rarely considered in the thesis - for example in the section on Distance in Time verb suffixes (§7.5.5). These suffixes have meanings such as 'a few days away', 'long ago'. Fred Reece and Arthur Dodd (§7.5.3.1.1) insist that the language had no words for 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow'. Their translations used DIT suffixes. It may be that current realities would be better served by developing words for 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow'.

Another way of developing YG is borrowing from other Aboriginal languages. This possibility is not examined in detail, but, for instance, WN has verb suffixes with glosses 'a bit' and 'pity' (Donaldson, 1980: 186) and both of these would be useful and easily incorporated in YG. Whether such development happens depends on the requests from the community and their adoption of any suggestions.

1.5   Aims of the grammar

As stated, the primary aim of the thesis is to provide a more complete description of YG for the purposes of language rebuilding. This more complete description of YG will also add to the general body of linguistic knowledge, but the focus on language rebuilding does lead to different emphases. The thesis has focussed on areas of traditional language most likely to be retained in rebuilt language, the morphology and syntax (Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011). There are many areas of uncertainty, and these are pointed out. At the same time the rebuilt language needs a grammar and uncertain grammar is better than no grammar. The thesis also aims to facilitate ongoing investigation and development of YG.

Mosel (2006: 67) contrasts two approaches to language description, the semasiological and the onomasiological.

> While the semasiological description analyses the forms of expression and their meanings, the onomasiological description shows the interaction of various kinds of lexical and grammatical means of expression to cover particular semantic and pragmatic domains like possession, orientation in space and time, or asking questions.

While a onomasiological approach has been taken here at times, the assumption is that pedagogical materials will be developed from analytical, semasiological descriptions of the language. Just as the Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary has been the lexical reference for the development of a range of YG resources, a descriptive grammar is the basis for other aspects of such resources.

Nevertheless some aspects of the grammar have the future pedagogical use in mind. There are perhaps more than the usual number of example sentences. These can be

used as part of future teaching resources and can be more useful for learners than paradigms or the bare statement of patterns.

While the aim has been to provide a comprehensive description of YG, there are many parts of the languages that remain not fully described, such as aspects of the phonology, deictics and some verbal features. The advances made herein and the more accessible resource materials that have been developed will facilitate future research in these areas.

1.5.1   Adequacy of grammatical descriptions

A full linguistic description of a language clearly captures the instinctive knowledge of a fluent speaker. This is difficult enough to do when descriptions can be tested on fluent speakers, and even more difficult in the situation of YG. For example YG does not have a clear description of how to show 'allative function' - a situation of 'going to' somewhere. YG has an Allative case and it would be easy to assume this is used for allative function. However, as pointed out at §2.3.4.6, both Allative and Locative case are used for allative function, as they are in Yandruwantha and Diyari. None of the three language descriptions has a clear explanation of which case to use to translate English 'going to' sentences. Clearly the languages do not treat this as one situation, since they use two different cases.

Wierzbicka (1980) discusses the adequacy of language descriptions. She has over a hundred pages on the Russian Instrumental case - an indication that a detailed description of the whole language would be a massive work. Discussing the approach to functions or meanings in some earlier descriptions of case she (1980: xiii) says:

> It was generally assumed that most cases were in fact polysemous .. These meanings were given labels that were treated as self-explanatory …. . It is easy to see why today most linguists regard this approach as unsatisfactory.

She points out that the meanings of cases 'are relative to specifiable syntactic constructions' and that

> every meaning of every case (i.e. of every case construction) can, and has to, be stated in a precise and verifiable formula, with full predictive power; and these formulas have to be self-explanatory.

This precision of description is desirable but unachievable for YG. The grammatical description of YG could be developed, based on other Aboriginal languages, but that would be a massive undertaking and it would be a major task for anyone to learn that language.

1.6   Methodology

It had become clear in working with original sources that there were many features of the language which had not been described. While Williams (1980) had been a huge

advance on previous descriptions she clearly had limited time to work on her grammar. As well understanding of Australian languages has grown considerably since 1980, and this new knowledge sheds light on the YG materials.

The process followed was to assemble the major sources and then to produce electronically searchable versions of them. For material to be easily searchable the text needs to be in the standard orthography (phonemic rather than phonetic). Then material from all sources on a topic was collated, compared with similar features in other Australian languages, particularly the closely related Central New South Wales languages, particularly Wangaaybuwan, for which there is an extensive grammar, and generally a YG description arrived at.

The major source is my YR tape transcription. There was little of value in the GR tapes but the YR tapes have a wealth of material. The YR transcriptions were collated into one document, 'Alltapes', for ease of searching. I have also made transcriptions of other documents. The first stage is to produce a text file containing all the text of the original as accurately as possible. This often involves considerable use of diacritics and non-standard letters. The second stage is an interpretation of the YG in the document in terms of the currently known lexicon and grammar. Since the grammar, and to a lesser extent the lexicon, are being constantly revised and added to this second stage needs to be regularly repeated to keep the interpretation up to date.

These stages can be seen in the transcription of line one of Parker's 'Emu and Bustard', below. The first line shows the line number (1), and the original text: this is stage one. Line two is the interpretation of line one in current orthography and line three a morphemic gloss: these two lines are stage two of the transcription. Line four is my translation of the sentence (Parker does not give a direct translation). Only line one is from the original.

\or   1. *Dinewan boorool diggayah gillunnee*

\t   *Dhinawan   burrul   dhigayaa   gi-[gi-]la-nhi*

\g   emu   big   bird   be-continuous-Past

\f   Emu was the big bird,

While a phonemic and morphemic transcription is more easily searchable it understates the variation in the language. It also runs the risk of not recognising morphemes that have not previously been recognised. For instance once the *-awayi-y* 'longer.time' verb suffix (§7.5.3.3) was recognised sections of Tindale's *Emu and Brolga* were reinterpreted. An example of the usefulness of phonemic transcription is seen in Wurm. His *buḏl, ˈbúḏiˈl, buɾ̃ul* and *buɾul* are all phonetic transcriptions of *burrul* 'big', but in the original form would not be easy to link.

Occasionally a partially phonetic transcription has been used, for example showing the elision of final *a* in *ngaya* and *nhama* - represented by *ngay'* and *nham'*, but even such a minor recording of variation can make searching for a word considerably more complex.

A phonemic transcription uses phonemes already recognised, and it runs the risk of not recognising new material. For instance a word at 8183 1190 was originally transcribed as *ngiyama*, a known form. Later a morpheme *ngii-* was recognised (§5.3.8) and on re-listening the transcription was changed to *ngiima*. (*-ma* is a common demonstrative final morpheme: see §5.2.4.1). The morpheme *ngii-* was also subsequently recognised in Ridley's *Gurre Kamilaroi*, and in fact may also be still found when other sources are re-examined. A further example is *buwadjarrngundi* (5130: 3600; *buwadjarr* 'father'). This transcription was made only after the *-ngundi* suffix (Personal Declension, Ablative) was recognised and the tape re-listened to.

At times the status of word forms is not clear. The forms *ngaama*, *ngaarrma* and *ngaarrima* are all found. These may be allomorphs or may represent two or three words. In this case the three forms were used in tape transcriptions.

While many new features of the language have been described many questions still remain. For instance (6) had *buma-laa??-ngundi* 'hit-LAA??-P.D.ABL' with *-laa* and the Personal Declension Ablative suffix. *-laa* is formally identical to a continuous suffix, but its function here is unclear. The only other Ablative on a verb is on a Subordinate verb form. We currently have no explanation for this form, or for the verbs in (690) and (691), consecutive sentences, which are the only instances so far found of a reflexive on a middle verb. Further investigation of the YG sources, or comparison with other languages may yield more information.

The description of languages is a cyclical process. As more features are described the sources can be re-examined, transcriptions revised, and the languages more fully described.

1.7   **Word classes**

Grouping words into categories is necessary if the properties of language are to be discussed. The category a word is in can vary, depending on the properties used to define the categories. As well there can also be words that are difficult to classify when the categories have been set up.

Libert[9] (2011) points out that traditional definitions of some parts of speech involved meaning, but this approach, like all others, has difficulties. Nevertheless it can be an intuitive starting point. Starting with names of common objects is a way of

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[9] This paragraph borrows substantially from Libert (2011).

beginning an understanding of nouns, and similarly starting with 'action words' is a good way to start on verbs. Modern linguistics usually classifies words on morphological or syntactic criteria (e.g. adjectives modify nouns) or distributional criteria (e.g. nouns are the head of the subject of a clause) or the inflectional categories for which particular words can bear marking, but all of these approaches have problems.

Hockett (1958: 221) and others suggest a hierarchical approach, with nominals and verbs as inflecting categories, but inflecting for different criteria (case for nominals, tense and other criteria for verbs) and the third category covering all non-inflecting stems. Each of these three categories can then be subdivided: YG nominals, for instance, include nouns, adjectives and pronouns and some demonstratives, and many languages have different categories of nouns – common nouns and proper nouns, for instance. Non-inflecting stems are less easily sub-categorised, but there is also less need to do so, since there are fewer generalisations to be made about them.

I take the approach that there are cross-cutting word categories: hierarchical and non-hierarchical. The grouping varies depending on which criteria are chosen. It is useful in YG to define an interrogative word-class. All these words have a set of properties in common, so setting up the group makes descriptions much more succinct. YG interrogatives are all clause initial and can all form indefinites and ignoratives (§6.5.1, §6.5.1) and can all take the *-ma* 'DEFinite' suffix (§5.2.4.1). Interrogatives however come from a number of the hierarchical word classes: nominals: pronouns (who) and adjectives (which) and adverbs (how, when).

The following hierarchical word classes can be set up for YG: verbs, nominals and non-inflecting words.

1.7.1 Verbs

Verbs are a clear word class in YG, distinguishable by a set of final inflections for tense, mood and aspect. There are four verb classes, similar to the pattern in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. There are two large verb classes, L class: around 200 roots of which approximately 190 are transitive; and Y class: around 100 roots of which approximately 90 are intransitive. There are two smaller classes, NG class: around 20 roots, around 10 transitive; and RR class: nine roots, of which six are transitive. YG contrasts with the southern Central New South Wales languages Ngiyambaa and Wiradjuri, which have L, Y and RR classes only, with the last having only two roots in Wangaaybuwan. Wangaaybuwan however does have a subsection of its Y class which has many cognates in the YG NG class.

1.7.2 Nominals

I use the term 'standard nominal' to cover nouns and adjectives. Nominals are inflected for case. There is a range of sub-classes within this class. Some languages distinguish nouns (intuitively 'the names of things') from adjectives (intuitively 'words for qualities'). There has been considerable discussion in Australian languages as to whether a distinction between nouns and adjectives is justifiable. I follow Dixon (2002: 107) in maintaining the difference. Dixon (2002: 68) also quotes Alpher (1991: 22-26) who points out five criteria that distinguish nouns and adjectives in Yir-Yoront. Donaldson (1980: 68) on the other hand does not distinguish nouns and adjectives in Wangaaybuwan.

One reason for distinguishing nouns and adjectives is the semantic difference: nouns are prototypically objects or abstract concepts (tree, rock, idea), whereas adjectives refer to qualities (good, red) - cf. Dixon (1980: 271). Both nouns and adjectives are inflected for case, by means of the same suffixes. Some nouns are optionally marked for number – adjectives never or rarely are. Use of the suffix – *DHuul* on a noun forms a diminutive or 'individual' reference: *yinarrduul* is 'little woman' or 'one woman'. The suffix on adjectives indicates an individual: *wambadhuul* 'mad person' or rarely 'a little mad'.

Reduplication has different effects on nouns and adjectives. Reduplicated nouns form adjectives: e.g. *buya* 'bone', *buyabuya* 'thin, boney', with a meaning that is not necessarily predictable, e.g. *waya* 'left hand' *wayawaya* 'crooked'. Reduplicated adjectives have the meaning of the base, either intensified or diminished: e.g. *balabalaa* 'whitish' from *balaa* 'white'. The meaning is generally more predictable than that of reduplicated nouns. Some reduplicated forms have further idiosyncratic, non-predictable use: *balabalaa* can also mean 'butterfly'.

Nouns function as head of the NP. Adjectives cannot function as the head of a NP, except in cases of ellipsis. Wilkins (1989:105) points out that in Arrernte a NP can contain only one noun, but more than one adjective.

Some words are found as both nouns and adjectives e.g. *wamu* 'fat'. Wilkins (1989: 104) points out that speakers of Mparntwe Arrernte distinguish the noun and adjective sense of such forms: *iperte* is both 'hole' and 'deep', *iperte iperte* is 'deep hole', and speakers identify the first *iperte* as the noun.

Pronouns are nominals that are intrinsically specified for number (not by a suffix) and their case inflection is different to that of nouns and adjectives. Some have suppletive case forms, others a different set of case suffixes. Some pronouns have abbreviated clitic forms.

Dixon (2002: 67) states, [in Australian languages] 'proper nouns often have slightly different morphological properties from common nouns' and this is the case also in YG. The one word can be used as a standard nominal and as a Proper name. The second use is distinguished by distinctive case forms: see §2.2.6. For instance *gunii* 'mother' is a standard nominal and the Proper name form is *guniidhi.* These are both Nominative and Accusative.

1.7.3   Non-inflecting words.

Words which are not Verbs or Nominals tend to be variously categorised since they have fewer shared features. Adverbs prototypically modify verbs and adjectives. In YG some words such as *warragil* 'straight' are used with both adjectival and adverbial functions. There are also many which are found only with one function: e.g. *barraay* 'fast', an adverb, and *wamu* 'fat', an adjective.

Non-inflecting words which do not modify other words are mostly classified as particles. This category here includes clitic forms, not just free forms.

1.7.4   Non-hierarchical categories

There are two non-hierarchical categories used in this work.

Interrogatives have been discussed above.

Demonstratives (§5) can be defined as non-interrogatives which have the *-ma* 'DEFinite' or *-lay* 'OSTensive' suffix as their final element. The one Demonstrative form often has a range of functions: e.g. *nhama* can have pronominal function: '**that**'; adjectival function '**that** dog', and adverbial function: '**there**'.

1.8   Arrangement of the thesis

Each section of the grammar generally consists of a description of a particular feature, a substantial amount of evidence for the description, related material from other languages and finally unanswered questions about the topic.

The description of a feature often contains a paradigm or paradigms. This section sets out the current understanding of an area. The evidence is largely drawn from the YG sources. The size of this section often reflects the mixed nature of the evidence rather than the importance of the actual topic. For instance the allomorphs of the Ergative case suffix are relatively clear across the sources, and so easily described. The Allative and Dative suffixes, on the other hand, are much less frequently used but show considerable variety across the sources. There is considerable discussion as to how they should be described.

Many areas of YG remain incompletely described, and topics often conclude with the relevant questions. For instance a number of verb forms in both written and tape sources which are currently not analysable are listed at §7.5.4.

Materials such as evidence, typological material and uncertain material in the sources is treated in a number of ways. When it is relatively brief it is incorporated in the main text. Longer material is treated in two ways. Sometimes it is in the body of the text, but in a reduced font:

> Material in this format which is not a quote is background material.

At other times, particularly when there is a large amount of material, it has been included in Appendix B: Background material, with a link to the relevant section in the body of the thesis.

A number of features of the languages which are not key to the main focus of this work are also described in the appendices. For convenience of cross-referencing Chapter numbers have been retained for these. The areas are:

Chapter 13, Phonology

Chapter 14, Reduplication

Chapter 15, Particles

2   Nominal inflection

2.1   Inflection/derivation: introduction

Most words in YG are morphologically complex, whether through word-formation (derivation), through the use of affixes for grammatical information (inflection), or both. As has long been noted (Booij, 2000: 360) there is no hard-and-fast line between inflection and derivation and YG is no exception. Derivation, and to a lesser extent compounding, have been discussed in Giacon (2001: 4.4.3.2) and will be considered in §3.

The word class nominal and sub-sections have been discussed in §1.7. Affixation, and particularly suffixation, is a common feature of Australian languages, and this is true of nominals, so a dominant feature of the following sections are the forms and functions of various suffixes. The most common suffixes are those that show 'standard cases': core cases, local cases and Dative case. There are other forms found, for instance on interrogatives. The morphology of pronouns and demonstratives involves more suppletion than that of other nominals, and so is often described by paradigms.

In this chapter I consider inflection, i.e. cases, of nouns and adjectives, ('standard nominals') and in the later chapters will look at the morphology of other nominals: pronouns, demonstratives and interrogative nominals. There are two sets of case inflections found on nouns, the standard inflections and Personal Declension inflections, found at times on kin terms and other nouns used as names. Both of these are considered in §2.2.

§2.3 looks at the uses of core, dative and local cases. This applies to all nominals, but the section is placed after the description of the morphology of standard nominals for convenience. §2.4 considers derivational cases, §2.5 considers some theoretical issues about the definition and description of cases.

2.1.1   YG cases

The case system in YG is similar to that in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. In a YG sentence non-pronominal nominals either are unmarked for case, and so are Nominative or Accusative, or have an overt case-marker. This case–system carries the burden of expressing the roles of NPs in a clause, whether by relating them to the verb or relating them to other nominals; cf. Dench and Evans (1988: 2) and Austin (1981a).

YG cases are set out in the Table 2. Forms are given for all nominal subclasses, not just those discussed in detail in this chapter, including Personal Declension nominals: see §2.2.6. For standard nominals and Personal Declension use the table shows the forms on *a*-final words. Pronouns have suppletive case forms: see §4. The case forms of demonstratives are discussed in §5 and those of interrogatives in §6.

Table 2   **YG case forms**

Case	Standard nominal *gilaa* 'galah'	Kin terms *ngambaa* 'mum'	Pronoun 1s: *ngaya* 'I'	Interrogative *minya?* 'what?'	Verb *dha-li* 'eat'
Nominative	*gilaa*	*ngambaa-dhi*	*ngaya*	*minya*	
Accusative	*gilaa*	*ngambaa-?dhi*	*nganha*	*minya*	
Ergative	*gilaa-gu*	*ngambaa-gu*	*ngaya*	*minyadhu*	
Dative	*gilaa-gu*	*ngambaa-ngu*	*ngay*	*minyangu#*	
Locative	*gilaa-ga*	*ngambaa-ngunda*	*nganunda*	*minyaga#*	
Allative (Purposive)	*gilaa-gu*	*ngambaangunda#*	*nganunda*	*minyagu#*	*dhaligu*[10]
Ablative	*gilaa-dhi*	*ngambaa-ngundi*	*nganundi*	*minyadhi*	
ComitativeYR	*gilaa-biyaay*	*ngambaadhi-biyaay*		*minyabiyaay#*	
ComitativeGR	*gilaa-baraay*	*ngambaadhi-baraay#*		*minyabaraay#*	
Comitative+	*gilaa-bil*	*ngambaadhi-bil#*		*minyabil#*	
Privative	*gilaa-dhalibaa*	*ngambaadhi-dhalibaa#*		*minyadhalibaa#*	
Caritative	*gilaa-nginda*	*ngambaadhi-nginda#*		*minyanginda*	

# indicates unattested forms.

Cases can be grouped on different criteria, cf. Wilkins (1989: 154). What I call 'core' cases, Nominative, Ergative and Accusative are 'strictly syntactic cases'. They respectively mark the semantic roles of A (Agent), S (Subject, of an intransitive verb), O (Object). These have fundamentally to do with the relation of a noun to its head verb. They also have other functions.

The local Cases (Locative, Allative and Ablative) are primarily to do with a location (to, from, at X), but also have other functions. They frequently mark Indirect Objects. Dative case can relate a nominal to a verb (dative function) or to another nominal (possessive function). I refer to core, local and Dative cases as the 'standard' cases since they are recognised as cases in most language descriptions, unlike derivational cases. Only the standard cases mark the core constituents of a predicate, and only they have pronoun forms, at least on the YG evidence.

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[10] Purposive meaning is conveyed by adding *-gu* to the future form of verbs.

The traditional arrangement of cases in classical Latin lists the Ablative last, and it has the widest range of functions in classical Latin and in YG. The same applies in Wangaaybuwan, where Donaldson (1980: 86) bypasses the traditional label 'Ablative' instead using 'Circumstantive', highlighting its wide range of functions.

The other cases are derivational cases (Nash, 1986; Simpson, 1991; Wilkins, 1989: 154) Their major role is to signal relation to a head noun. As well they are more likely to have a derivational role, forming new stems. Wilkins calls all except the syntactic cases 'Semantic cases' since they generally have a semantic element. There is a grade in the semantic transparency of cases. Derivational cases have one function which is fairly easily semantically described, unlike the core cases, which have no semantic content, and the local cases, which have a range of uses which need careful specification.

Only the derivational cases are used derivationally, and only they and Dative (rarely) can be followed by other case suffixes, and be used adnominally.

The suffixes *-wan* 'with.PROMinent' and *-giirr/-guwaay* 'LIKE' are discussed in discussed in §2.4. While they have some of the properties of derivational cases there are also differences and the conclusion is that they are not case suffixes. The suffixes discussed in this chapter are on a continuum. The distinction between case and not-case suffix depends on the definition of case.

2.1.1.1   Glossing of cases

Where the case is unmarked and easily determined I generally do not label it: e.g. *dhulii* in (145) is Accusative, but not labelled. As pointed out below both Allative and Locative can mark 'movement to', and there is syncretism of these cases in pronouns. So while *nganunda* is both the Locative and Allative of first person singular, it is generally glossed 1SG.LOC when it is difficult to determine the actual case.

2.2   Case forms (core and local cases)

This section firstly considers the common case forms of standard nominals and later Personal Declension case forms. There is considerable overlap between the YR and GR forms, but also differences. It is to be expected that there were variations which have not been recorded in the sources, and also that there are some errors in the recorded material. Previous analyses have generally not referred to the different suffix forms which apply to the subclasses of nominals, and they have also tended to not refer to exceptions and irregularities.

Most case suffixes have allomorphs[11], the choice of which is largely governed by the final phoneme of the base (the final phoneme can be: a vowel: *a, i, u*; some apicals: *l, rr, n*; or the glide *y*). Further variation can be lexically determined, particularly with *y-final* words. There are also individual exceptions to the general pattern. Unvarying suffixes are rare, with *–gu* Allative for GR almost invariant, but rare exceptions are found.

The variation found in the sources for a particular suffix can be due to the phonological environment at the word boundary, the dialect, diachronic change, particularly due to language loss, lexical conditioning and errors.

2.2.1 Paradigms of YG case forms: standard nominals

Table 3[12] gives the case suffixes for standard nominals for core, Dative and local cases. For *a, u* and *n* final words, in particular, the suffixes are mostly clear and common to both languages. For others, particularly *y-final* words, there is variety both across and within languages, and the table shows the main patterns. Table 4 has nominals with the case allomorphs. There are two main patterns of suffixation for *y-final* words, with most following the pattern of 'y' in the table, but others following the 'y2' pattern.

Table 3   **Canonical inflections; 'traditional' cases; standard nominals**

Word ends	a,u	i	y2	y	l	rr	n
NomAccYG	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
ErgYR	-gu	-dju	~~y~~-dhu	-u	-u	~~rr~~-yu	-du
ErgGR		-dhu	(y-dhu)	-dhu		-u	
LocYR	-ga	-dja	~~y~~-dha	-a	-a	~~rr~~-ya	-da
LocGR		-dha		-dha#		-a	
DatAllYR	-gu	-gu	-gu	-gu	-u;-gu?	-u;-gu?	-gu
DatGR					-u	-u	
AllGR					-gu	-gu	
AblYR	-dhi	-dji	-dji, -dhi	-dji	-i	~~rr~~-yi	-di
AblGR		dhi	~~y~~-dhi	-dhi		-rri	

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*This form is optional on y2 words in YR. It is the only form found on *bagay* 'river'.

Table 4   **Paradigm; core, local and dative cases, standard nominals**

Word ends	a,u	i	y2	y	l	rr	n
	galah	fire	creek	stick/camp	eye	woman	boomerang
NomAccYG	*gilaa*	*wii*	*bagay*	*giniy* *walaayGR*	*mil*	*yinarr*	*barran*
ErgYR	*gilaagu*	*wiidju*	*bagadhu*	*giniyu*	*milu*	*yinayu*	*barrandu*
ErgGR		*wiidhu*		*walaaydhu*		*yinarru*	
LocYR	*gilaaga*	*wiidja*	*bagadha*	*giniya*	*mila*	*yinaya*	*barranda*
LocGR		*wiidha*		*walaaydha*		*yinarra*	
DatAllYR	*gilaagu*	*wiigu*	*bagaygu*	*giniygu*	*milu;milgu?*	*yinarru;?gu*	*barran.gu*
DatGR				*walaaygu*	*milu*	*yinarru*	
AllGR					*milgu*	*yinarrgu*	
AblYR	*gilaadhi*	*wiidji*	*bagadji, bagadhi*	*giniydji*	*mili*	*yinayi*	*barrandi*
AblGR		*wiidhi*	*baga-dhi*	*walaaydhi*		*yinarri*	

Note: *walaay* 'camp' is y in GR and y2 in YR.

§2.2.6 begins with the forms of the Personal Declension case suffixes, but apart from that the remainder of §2.2 examines the evidence in the sources for the case forms. In general the more common case forms are clear and the less common forms are more uncertain, so a significant amount of the following examines evidence about the less common case forms.

2.2.2   Nominative/Accusative forms

YG Nominative and Accusative nouns and adjectives (standard nominals) are unmarked, as in most Australian languages. There are many Nominative and Accusative nouns and adjective in example sentences throughout the thesis.

2.2.3   Ergative/Locative suffix forms

2.2.3.1   Summary

For the description of their forms the Ergative[13] and Locative suffixes will be treated together since the only difference[14] between the allomorphs is the final vowel; *u* for

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[13] Obligatory marking of Ergative: In Ridley many instances of A nouns are unmarked – for instance *ŋumba* 'mother' (*ngambaa*), *inar* 'woman' (*yinarr*) and many other A nouns in 'Gurre Kamilaroi', are not Ergatively marked. One explanation is that when the agent is obvious, it need not be marked (e.g. God made man). Williams (1980: 98) says 'Ergative marking is obligatory, except in cases where the context serves to disambiguate the sentence, e.g. 'The dog ate the meat.'' I have not found that the YG tape evidence supports this exception to obligatory use of the Ergative. Ridley's material is syntactically

the Ergative and [a] for the Locative, for instance *dhayn-du* 'person-ERG' and *dhayn-da* 'person-LOC'.

Table 5 and Table 6 give the suffix forms and a paradigm of the YG Erg/Loc suffixes. Where the YG and GR suffixes differ they are bolded. Recent analyses, (Williams, 1980: 38) (Austin, 1993a), had only one suffix form for *y-final* words. I analyse a further form, where the final 'y' is deleted and the suffix is *–dhV*. I call this the y2 form. This is lexically determined, with *y*-final words which have the alternative suffix form listed in Table 7. This analysis is supported by the fact that other non-case suffixes have a number of forms with *ay*-final words (e.g. *–DHuul* §3.1.2.5). A number of irregular forms are also listed.

As well as final *y* being at times deleted, final *rr* in YR is not retained in Ergative or Locative; e.g. the Ergative of YR *yinarr* 'woman' is *yinayu*. I use a strike through to show this deletion, e.g. *r̶r̶-yu* indicates that the *rr* is deleted and *yu* added. The GR *rr-V* form is older, since it is the form found in all the CNSW languages except YR.

Table 5   **YG Ergative and Locative suffixes**

Stem ends	Yuwaalaraay			Gamilaraay	
	Ergative	Locative		Ergative	Locative
a, u	*-gu*	*-ga*		*-gu*	*-ga*
i	**-dju**	**-dja**		**-dhu**	**-dha**
y2	*y̶-dhu*	*y̶-dha*		*y̶-dhu*	*y̶-dha*
y	**-u**	**-a**		**-dhu**	**-dha**
l	*-u*	*-a*		*-u*	*-a*
rr	**r̶r̶-yu**	**r̶r̶-ya**		**-u**	**-a**
n	*-du*	*-da*		*-du*	*-da*

Table 7 lists y2 words, gives their Ergative forms, and also gives other irregular (but canonical) forms. The y2 nominals form the Erg/Loc by deleting the final *y* and adding *-dhV* (*-dhu/-dha*). Table 7 also gives Austin's (1997) reconstructed proto-CNSW. There is some correlation between the YG irregular forms and the presence of a final laminal in the proto-Central NSW. All the PCNSW *-any*-final forms correspond to Y2 nominals in YG. However *gulay* is y2, but not *-any*-final in PCNSW.

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quite simple, possibly because he composed it, and this is more likely the reason the Ergative is omitted. The fact that there is not one Ergative suffix in *Gurre Kamilaroi* supports this view.

[14] The YR sources show this relationship for all 7 word final phonemes. GR shows the same relationship when the data have been found: all allomorphs of the Ergative are found but only some of the Locative. The same Ergative/Locative form correspondence is found in Wangaaybuwan, a closely related and well studied language.

Table 6   YG Ergative and Locative examples

Word_ends	Yuwaalaraay			Gamilaraay		Gloss
	Ergative	Locative		Ergative	Locative	
a	guba-gu	guba-ga		guda-gu	guda-ga	koala
u	dhuyu-gu	dhuyu-ga		dhuru-gu	dhuru-ga	snake
i	birralii-**dju**	birralii-**dja**		birralii-**dhu**	birralii-**dha**	child
y2 (a̶y̶)	yaa-dhu	yaa-dha		galuma-dhu	baga-dha (river)	yaay 'sun' galumay 'brother'
y	maadhaay-**u**	maadhaay-**a**		bagay-**dhu**	bagay-**dha**	dog / river
l	burrul-u	burrul-a		burrul-u	burrul-a	big
rr	yina-**yu**	yina-**ya**		yinarr-**u**	yinarr-**a**	woman
n	dhinawan-du	dhinawan-da		dhinawan-du	dhinawan-da	emu

Table 7   y2 words (irregular Erg/Loc suffixes: y̶-dhV)

Root	Gloss	Ergative form: Y2	Austin ProtoCNSW
Yuwaalaraay			
yaay	sun	yaa-dhu	
yayaay	sun	yayaa-dhu	
walaay	camp	walaa-dhu	
ngayagay	other	ngayaga-dhu	
minyangay	how many	minyanga-dhu	
bagay	river	baga-dhu	
gulay	net	gula-dhu	*gulay
guway	blood	guwa-dhu	*guwaany
yarray	beard		*yarrany
yulay	skin	yula[y]-dhu	*yulany
Gamilaraay			
yaraay	sun	yaraa-dhu	*yaraay (only in YG)
ngaragay	other		
bagay	river	baga-dhu	

I now consider the evidence for these suffix forms. I will firstly consider the evidence for the common forms on standard nominals, then the irregular forms on standard nominals, finally the Person/proper name nominal forms.

2.2.4   Dative and Allative suffix forms

§2.5 establishes Dative and Allative as distinct cases. The suffixes, with rare exceptions, are both –gu except after word final l/rr. There is variation between later

sources about some suffixes in that environment. The Allative suffix is always *-gu* in GR and, with very rare exceptions, in AD's YR. In other YR sources it is generally *-u* after *l* and *rr*. After *l/rr* the Dative is generally *–u* in both YR and GR, except that in AD and Wurm *–gu* is more common. This likely indicates a simplification of the suffix to one allomorph in some later sources. The information is presented in Table 8.

Table 8   **YG Dative / Allative suffixes**

	Dative after:		Allative after:	
	*rr/l_*	*a/i/u/n/y_*	*rr/l_*	*a/i/u/n/y_*
YR (Not AD, FR)	*-u*	*-gu*	*-u*	*-gu*
YR FR	*-gu*		*-u* mostly, *-gu* rarely	*-gu*
YR AD	*-gu*		*-u* rarely, *-gu* mostly	*-gu (*rare *y-u)*
GR: Ridley,Mathews	*-u*	*-gu*	*-gu*	
GR: Wurm	*-gu*		*-gu*	

There are many instances of the regular forms throughout the thesis, and in particular in §2.3.2 on the uses of the cases. Here I will focus on non-regular forms. There are rare exceptions to the above paradigm. Yy *gaarrimay* 'camp' has an irregular Allative *gaarrimawu* (found at least 7 times, all FR. AD does not use *gaarrimay* for 'camp'). FR has *galariin-biyaay-u* for 'to Collarenebri' (5053 418), probably an error.

2.2.4.1   **YR Dative Allative Evidence**

Williams (p 39) says:

> The suffix *-gu*, which shows no allomorphic variations, covers a range of functions for which no overall label is appropriate. .. genitive, allative, purposive and benefactive. There are syntactic reasons (JG: which she gives on p 102) for distinguishing the cases from each other.

The evidence in the tables below shows that the suffix is *-gu*, except after word final *l/rr*. In those positions early sources, i.e. all except AD and FR use *-u*. Both AD and FR use both *-u* and *-gu* after final *l* and *rr*, but FR mostly uses *-u* and AD mostly uses *-gu*.

Table 9 presents Mathews' YR evidence. Here, as in his GR, Mathews lists two forms of the genitive suffix, *-gu* and *-u*, with only *-u* after word final *l/rr*.

Table 10 gives examples of the suffixes from Laves, Sim and Wurm. They have only *-u* after final *l, rr*. Sim's *buyimawu* (*buyuma-gu* would be expected) shows lenition of *g* in actual production of the word, also found with other *a*-final words.

Table 9   **YR Dative and Allative suffixes - Mathews**

Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes
Uregu burulu	big man's	*yuurray-gu burrul-u*	
inaru	woman's	*yinarr-u*	
bauragu	kangaroo's	*bawurra-gu*	
garemo	to the camp	*gaarrimawu*	also in FR
gareme	a camp	*gaarrimay*	Nominative

Table 10   **YR Dative and Allative suffixes - later written sources**

Original/Source	Gloss	Standard	Notes
Laves			
ngaaluru	(go) for fish	*ngaaluurr-u*	
bu'maligo	to hit	*buma-li-gu*	many other *-gu* examples
dhali-gu	to eat	*dha-li-gu*	
diamaligu	to pick up	*dhiyama-li-gu*	
wara ngana/gu	for honey	*warangana-gu*	
Sim			
bawabiiluu	outside	*bawa-bil-u*	back?-*biil-u*; Allative
bawaguu	outside	*bawa-gu*	back-*gu*; Allative
gandaarruu	other side of river	*gandaarr-u*	Allative
buyimawu	(give) to the dog	*buyuma-?wu*	*buyuma* 'dog'
birraydjuul-uu	(gave meat) to the boys	*birraydjuul-u*	
Guduuguunguu	to Goodooga	(>4 instances44)	–*ngu*; Personal Declension
burrulaa-gu dhigayaa-gu	many birds'	*burrulaa* 'many' *dhigayaa* 'bird'	possessive
Wurm			
biřaligaľu	for the children	*birralii-gal-u*	
juřullu	(I went) into the bush.	*yurrul-u*	
ŋa:luřu	(went) for fish	*ngaaluurr-u*	several examples
Wurm has *-gu* when words are **not** *l/rr* **final**: e.g.			
'ma:ðàgu	(comes) to boss	*maadhaa-gu*	

Arthur Dodd mostly uses *-gu* for dative, possessive, allative and purposive functions after word final *l* and *rr*, including frequent use of *–DHuul-gu* 'DIM/ONE-DATive'. He does occasionally use *-u*, as seen in Table 11. Other examples include (3998A 1554) *bilaarr-u gimbi-li-gu* 'spear-*u* make-*gu*' ('to make a spear'), with *-u* on an *rr*-final word. FR on the other hand mostly uses *-u* after final *l* and *rr*, as seen in Table 11. AD frequently uses *bandaarr-gu* 'kangaroo-DAT/ALL'. It might be expected

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that FR would use *bandaarr-u#*, but this is never found, with FR only using *bawurra* 'red kangaroo' and not *bandaarr*.

AD3219A 2558 '(threw some stones) at the dog' uses *maadhaay-u* 'dog-*u*', perhaps due to interference from the Ergative, which has this form. I consider this an error by AD.

Table 11   **YR Dative and Allative suffix - tapes**

Gloss	Suffixed form	Num, Source, Notes
father's	*buwadjarr-u*	1, FR
give to father	*buwadjarr-u*	1 FR; corrected to -gu
give to father	*buwadjarr-gu*	1, FR
(take him) to (his) father	*buwadjarru; buwadjayu*	AD alternates between forms
father's	*buwadjarr-gu*	2, AD; 1, FR
give/take to mother	*gunidjarr-u*	5, all FR
give to mother	*gunidjarr-gu*	1, AD
woman's	*yinarr-u*	2, FR
give to the woman	*yinarr-gu*	1, AD
to the bush	*yurrul-u*	10, most FR, some AD
to the bush	*yurrul-gu*	16, all AD
fish's (fin)	*ngaaluurr-u*	1, FR 5053 2739 (slowly constructed example)
for the man	*dhayn-gu*	AD 8186 3118
(hunt) for kangaroo	*bandaarr-gu*	AD 5130 1985
(go) for fish	*ngaaluurr-u*	FR 2436A 1059
(give) to the kids	*birralii-gal-gu*	AD 3217A 785 (dative)
(meat) for the child	*birralii-djuul-gu*	AD 3217B 2473
child's clothes	*birralii-djuul-u*	AD 2833A 651
(cut it) for the kids	*birraliigal-u*	FR 2440A 1313
to the camp *gaarrimay;*	*gaarrima-wu*	FR NB consistently used

(1) neatly shows the variation in form of the YR Dative suffix.

(1)   *wuu-rri   ngali=laa / **gunidjarr-u** / **ngambaa-gu** / **baawaa-gu***
       give-FUT 1DU=DIR / mother-DAT / mother-DAT / sister-DAT
       We going to (bring a lot of fish home and) give it to our mother and sister. FR/JM 2436A 1107
       We two will give it to mother, to mum, to our sister.   JG

On the tapes the informants often correct themselves, giving a number of related forms in succession, particularly for *rr* final stems. Many non-regular suffixes occur on *gunidjarr* 'mother' and others involve *buwadjarr* 'father' and *yurrul* 'bush', perhaps

because these were frequently used, and so retained the traditional pattern. It is likely there has been interference from Ngiyambaa and the YR Ergative, which shares some forms with the Dative and Allative (*-gu* after final *a,u*).

There is one further notable irregularity. Fred Reece uses *gaarrimay* 'camp' and *gaarrimawu* for 'to the camp', rather than the expected *gaarrimay-gu,* in around 34 out of 50 translations of 'to the camp'. He also has one *gaarrima-gu* and two *gaarrimay-u*. As seen in Table 9 above Mathews has *garemo* 'to the camp' and *gareme* 'camp', so two sources have this Yuwaalayaay form. *Gaarrimay* is not found in other YG dialects, which have *walaay* 'camp'. The evidence points to it being an irregular form, part of traditional Yuwaalayaay. One suspects that there were other irregular forms which have not been recorded.

2.2.4.2   GR Dative Allative suffixes

The GR evidence is mixed, and the relatively few examples make any conclusions tentative. For the Dative (possessive) the early sources, Ridley and Mathews, have only *-u* after *l* and *rr* but the later Wurm has invariant *-gu* in his few examples. It is likely that Ridley and Mathews represent older GR and that Wurm's GR reflects the influence of Ngiyambaa or comes from a variant dialect of GR. The GR Allative is invariant *-gu*.

Ridley, in his analysis and text, gives different forms for the GR possessive suffix and the Allative/purposive suffix. He has the Personal Declension *–ŋū (-ngu)* as the possessive suffix in his paradigm, but in *Gurre Kamilaroi* also uses *–u.* He has only Personal Declension possessives on words with final *a,u,i,y* and *n*. He lists a separate suffix '*-gō* (to)', and only uses this form in examples which have allative or purposive interpretation. His material is in Table 12.

Table 12   **GR Dative Allative suffix - Ridley**

Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes
genitive examples include: (*-ŋgu* and *-u*)			
mullionŋū	of an eagle	*maliyan-ngu*	p 6
wundaŋu	of a whitefellow	*wanda-ngu*	p 40
murriŋu	of blackfellow	*mari-ngu*	p 40
davidu	of David	*david-u*	p 40
adamu	of Adam	*adam-u*	p 40

Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes
purposive examples include: (-*gu* only)			
ŋuddelago	to dwell	*ngarrila-y-gu,*	p 40;
giwīrgo	for man	*giwiirr-gu*	p 40;
gigigo	to be	*gi-gi-gu*	p 41,42
ŋummillego	to see	*ngami-li-gu*	p 42
kakūllego	to cry aloud	*gaga-li-gu*	p 42
Allative examples include: (-*gu* only)			
muliongō	to an eagle	*maliyan-gu*	p 6
taongo	to earth	*dhawun-gu*	p 40
immanuelgo	(sent word) to Immanuel	*Immanuel-gu*	p 41
daonmago	to the grave	*dhawunma-gu*	p 41
kūndigo	to the house	*gundhi-gu*	p 41
ŋuruko	night ?morning	*ngurru-gu 'night'*	p 41

MathewsGR (Table 13) does not have the Personal Declension possessive, and has possessive allomorphs -*gu* and -*u*. Like Ridley he uses -*gu* for the purposive. He has no Allative examples, rather using Locative case for allative function. This is discussed at §2.3.4.6.

Table 13   **GR Dative Allative suffix - Mathews**

Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes
murrigu	man's	*mari-gu*	p 261, 262
inaru	woman's	*yinarr-u*	p 261, 262
wullaigu	belongs to (this) camp	*walaay-gu*	p 267
Dêngu burrallu	big man's	*dhayn.gu burrul-u*	p 270, Wallarai dialect
ûngobillegu	(I am going) to camp	unknown verb-*gu*	p 270 Mathews' only? purposive use.
Locative with allative use			
Wullaidha	to the camp	*walaay-dha*	p 261
Murridha	to the man	*mari-dha*	p 261, 262
burala	to big (man)	*burrul-a*	p 262

Wurm's GR examples have only the form -*gu* to express possessive, allative and purposive functions, unlike his YR in Table 10.

There are some unexplained Allative forms. Wurm has (p 22) *ˈða̗laːu* 'where (to)' (*dhalaa-wu*) and many occurrences of *dhalaa* 'where (LOC)'. It is likely the *g* has been lenited here - cf. *dhulu-wa* (from *dhulu-ga*) in Table 207.

Table 14   **GR Dative Allative suffix - Wurm**

Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes
maṟigu	of (this) man	*mari-gu*	
baidjərgu	of (my) father	*buwadjarr-gu*	
jillamalligu	to cook	*yilama-li-gu*	
walaigu	to a camp	*walaay-gu*	
ða₁laːu	where (to)	*dhalaa-(w)u*	*dhalaa* is Locative

In summary, there is quite limited information but three main sources all have invariant *-gu* with allative/purposive function. For Dative case Ridley has the Personal Declension form *-ngu* and *-u* on some English words (*d* and *m*-final), indicating *-u* was used. Mathews' Dative is *-gu* except after *l/rr* when it is *-u*. Wurm is a later source and his Dative is invariant *-gu,* likely to be levelling in a language in decline or the result of Ngiyambaa influence. This indicates that traditional GR Dative is *-gu,* except after *l/rr*, when it is *–u* and GR Allative is invariant *-gu.* This difference between the suffixes is a further reason for analysing Dative and Allative as separate cases.

2.2.5   Ablative suffix forms

2.2.5.1   Summary and conclusions

Ablative case has a core function of 'movement from' and many other functions: see §2.3.6.

My analysis of the suffix allomorphs is in Table 15. There are some changes from the Williams analysis. The WN paradigm is included for comparison. The Ablative suffix allomorphs recorded are more varied than other case forms. The variation is likely due to variation in the traditional languages and interference, as the language declined, from other, more commonly used, case forms. The Ablative suffix has consistent forms for *a, i, l* and *n*-final words in both languages and for YR *u*-final and GR *rr* final words. As for other cases there is variation in YR words which are *y* and *rr* final. I analyse the Ablative suffix as *-dji* for all *y-final* words, with a variant *y-dji/dhi* for y2 words (Table 7) and some irregular forms. YR *rr* final words commonly alternate between *-i* and *rr-yi* Ablative forms, so both forms would seem to be acceptable, with *rr-yi* less common. As well *rr-dhi* is found. The vast majority of GR suffixes have the same form on both *u*-final and *a*-final words. The Ablative suffix however is *-wi* on the first and *-dhi* on the latter.

Note: Two words behave irregularly in always having alternative forms: the Ablative of *bagay* 'river' is only found as *baga-dhi/baga-dji* and that of *yinarr* 'woman' as *yina-yi* and *yina-dhi*.

Table 15   **YG Ablative suffix allomorphs**

Stem final	YR			GR			Wangaaybuwan (p 82)			
	reg	irreg		reg	irreg					
a				-dhi			a		aN	
u	-dhi				-wi 2 tokens		u	-dhi	uN	-nhdhi
i	-dji			-dhi			i	-dji	iN	-nydji
y	-dji	-dhi, -i		-dhi			y	y̶-dhi	yN	-nydji
y2	y̶-dji, y̶-dhi			-dhi			y	y̶-dhi	yN	-nydji
l	-i			-i			l	-i		
rr	-i	rr̶-yi,		-i			rr	-i		
n	-di			-di			n	-di		

2.2.6   Personal Declension (PD) case forms

YG has a set of core, Dative and local case suffixes that are used predominantly with kin terms, which I call Personal Declension case forms (see also §3.1.2.8). In summary, the PD case suffixes are *–DHi* for Nominative and Accusative. Austin (1993a) suggests the allomorphs *-di* following *n* or *l,* and *-dhi* following *a* or *u*); the standard *-Gu* form for Ergative; and 'pronoun' case forms, which begin with *–ngu,* for Dative and local cases. As with pronouns, there is syncretism of the Allative and Locative of the PD case forms. The case forms are set out in Table 16. The table also has the common case endings on pronouns (when the case is not marked suppletively), the suffixes found on numbers used as pronouns, as well as the suffixes for standard nominals.

Table 16   **Case suffixes compared**

Case	Standard	Personal Declension	#pronoun	#number based pronouns
Nom/Acc	Ø	-DHi	-nga	-nga
Erg	-Gu	-Gu		-Gu
Dat	-gu#	-ngu	-ngu	-ngu
Loc	-Ga	-ngunda	-ngunda	-ngunda
All	-gu	-ngunda	-ngunda	-ngunda
Abl	-DHi	-ngundi	-ngundi	-ngundi

The Dative suffix has allomorphs in earlier sources but not in the tape sources.

Many Australian languages have a similar case differentiation. Goddard (1983: 24-26) discusses the Yankunytjatjara 'name status' case suffixes which historically derive from Ergative allomorphs. These Yankunytjatjara suffixes are used when a kin term 'is used <u>as if</u> it were a name'. In YG PD suffixes seem to be used in two main situations.

The most common use is when a kin term occurs with a possessive pronoun or noun, e.g. 'my brother's', 'from your father', 'on the girl's mother'. It also seems that PD suffixes are used on other nominals when they are used as names, as in (2). The conditions governing use of YG PD suffixes are not well understood.

(2)   Personal Declension case examples.

(a)	*maliyan-ngu*	wedgetail.eagle-DAT	Ridley, Table 12
(b)	*buurrngan-ngu*	meat ant-DAT	AD 8183 2342
(c)	*wanda-ngu*	white man-DAT	AD 3220B 1068
(d)	*wayamaa-ngu*	old fellow-DAT	AD 8183 2342

YG use of *-dhi* may be influenced by Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 124), where =*DHii* is the clitic first person pronoun, with object, IO and possessive function[15]. It is possible the WN form has been adapted into YG with a shortened vowel and amended function. WN =*dhii* is first person only, and can occur after other case markers. WN *ngambaa-dhii* is 'mother-my' Nominative and Accusative; *ngambaa-gu-dhii* is 'mother-Ergative-my'. YG *-dhi* occurs with second and third person possessives, and never after other case suffixes. WN also has a proper name marker, *-gaN*, (Donaldson, 1980: 105) which serves to distinguish proper name use of any term. Gumbaynggirr kin terms (Morelli, 2008: 254) also have their own set of case suffixes which have some similarity with the YG ones.

The evidence for the PD case forms is now examined, but not for Ergative, since Proper nouns have the standard Ergative form, for instance *ngambaa-gu* 'mother-ERG' (AD 5056 1773).

2.2.6.1   Proper Name suffixes: Nominative/Accusative

Earlier sources do not give any indication of differences in meaning or use between pairs such as *ngambaa* and *ngambaadhi,* suffixed and unsuffixed kin terms.

In sentence examples from later sources the suffixed form is generally translated by a possessive pronoun and the kin term, as in: 'my/your/his/her mother'. The most common pronoun is 'my' but the other singular pronouns are found. Kin terms with the *-DHi* suffix are found in Nominative and Accusative case.

Gamilaraay examples of *-DHi* on kin terms come from all the main sources. Ridley (p 18) has several *-DHi*-final kin terms, including 'elder brother' *daiādi* (*dhayaadhi*). His only example which explicitly shows that the suffix may be optional is (p 18): 'children call their mother *gunī!* or *gunidī!* (*gunii, guniidhii*)'. MathewsGR (p 275) does not list alternatives but the suffix is found on many of his YR 'family' words: e.g. 'older sister' *boadhi* (*bawadhi/baawaadhi*) (1902: 180).

Parker has a number of examples of the suffix, including (1905: 143) *beealahdee* 'father, and mother's sisters' husbands' (*biiyalaadhi?baayalaadhi*) and (p 146)

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[15] See McConvell (2008) on the prevalence of a 'my' marker being incorporated in kin terms. See also Koch (2003: 281-3) for information about a similar process in Arrernte.

numbardee 'mother and mother's sisters' (*ngambaa-dhi*). Her first example contrasts with Laves' *biala* 'father' (MS2188-10-1p18) which is unsuffixed, but many of Laves' other examples on this page and elsewhere have the suffix as optional: *ngamba/di* (*ngambaa/dhi*) 'mother'; *g`aru/di/garudi/gurudi* (*garruudhi*) 'uncle'; *dea'di* (*dhayadhi*) 'younger brother'. Wurm has only Yuwaalaraay examples of the suffix: *ŋʲamba:ði* '(its) mother (is standing)' (*ngambaa-dhi*) and *ðaga:ndi* 'my elder brother (is hunting)' (*dhagaan-di*). The case of the noun here is not clear, since the verb (*bawawunji*) is not otherwise known, but the common verb for 'hunt', *maniilay*, is intransitive.

Fred Reece has a number of examples of *-DHi* suffixed kin terms, including *garrimaay-dji* 'mother in law' (2437B 1072). An Accusative case example is (1852A 1884) *guwaa-la dhagaan-di[i]* 'tell brother (that the emu is coming)'.

Arthur Dodd has many Nominative and Accusative kin terms, suffixed and unsuffixed, with some given in Table 17.

Table 17 **Nominative and Accusative kin terms: Arthur Dodd**

Form/case	Gloss	Source
Nominative		
ngambaa-dhi	my mother (died)	3218A 883
Accusative		
ngambaa-dhi ngay	(looking for) my mother; AD says: *ngambaa-dhi* means 'my mother'	3996A 1057
ngay ngambaa-dhii (sic)	(a snake bit) my mother.	3218B 3802
possessor is not first person		
ngambaa-dhi	your mother (lived)	3218A 897
nginu ngambaa-dhi	(Where is) **your** mother?	3218A 851
ngambaa-dhi nguungu	his mother	2833A 1410

It is rare to find examples where there is not a possessive pronoun or noun modifying the kin term; i.e. explicit mention of who the kin term is connected with.

2.2.6.2 Vocative nominals

There is mixed evidence about the vocative use of family terms. With kin terms the *-DHi* form does not seem to be used vocatively.

The exclamation mark in Ridley's (p 18, quoted above): 'children call their mother *gunī!* or *gunidī!* (*gunii, guniidhi[i]*) implies that both forms can be used vocatively, if it is assumed that 'call' indicates what the children say to their mother. 'Call' can also

mean 'what they call their mother when speaking to others'. The tape evidence, including (3)[16], suggests the unsuffixed form is used vocatively

(3)   *garriyawu dhagaan, garriyawu dhilaagaa* 'wait brother, wait uncle'.   FR 5053 1351

AD also uses the unsuffixed form vocatively: *ngambaa*, 'mother, (cook us some meat)' (2833B 206). In non-vocative settings however the PD forms are generally used: FR has *dhagaan-di* (2 examples given above) and AD *ngambaa-dhi, dhilaagaa-dhi* (2832B 2810).

2.2.6.3   Personal Declension: Dative case

The PD Dative suffix is *-ngu*, also found in the Dative of most pronouns, and in the final elements of Locative pronouns *-ngu-nda* and Ablative pronouns *-ngu-ndi.* For instance the third person singular YR pronouns are *nguu* (Erg) *nguu-ngu* (Dat) *nguu-ngu-nda* (Loc) and *nguu-ngu-ndi* (Abl).

These same forms (*-ngu*, *-ngunda*, etc.) are found after some kin terms, in Yuwaalaraay most commonly after *ngambaa* 'mother', but they are also found after other person terms, or words such as numbers and demonstratives with a person reference (see §4.3.2: pronouns.)

Ridley lists the Dative suffixes as *-ngu* and *-u,* and does not record the common form, *-gu*. It may be that he has mistaken a specialised form for a general one. *-ngu* occurs in his *Gurre Kamilaroi* in *murringu* 'of Gamilaraay people' (*mari-ngu*), *wundangu* 'of white people' (*wanda-ngu*) and *baiamengu* 'of god' (*Baayami-ngu*), as well as in *ngerngu* 'belonging to him' (*ngiyarr-ngu*), a pronoun based on the demonstrative root *ngiyarri* 'there'. These all have human reference.

Wurm (p 79) has two Datives, in successive examples:

Original	Gloss	Standard	Gloss
biřaligaligu	dog of those (2) children	*birralii-gaali-**gu***	child-DU-DAT
biřaligaluŋu	dog of those (all) children	*birralii-gal-uu-**ngu***	child-PL-TOT-DAT

There is no obvious reason for the change in the form of the Dative, but it does provide evidence for use of *-ngu* other than on pronouns. The analysis of *birralii-gal-uu-**ngu*** is uncertain. The *-u/uu-* may be the 'TOTal' suffix. A potential other instance using *-ngu* is *ngay-u-ngu* (1SG.DAT-*u-ngu*) 'my' in 'for my father', with possible double Dative suffixes. (See 2.3.7). Table 18 gives examples of Personal Declension Dative suffixes from AD.

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[16] The fact that *dhilaagaa* has very similar use to *dhilaa* suggests that *-gaa* may mark proper names, similar to the *-gaN* used in WN.

Table 18   **AD: Kin terms: Dative examples**

Sentence	Gloss	Source
ngambaa-ngu nguungu	for his mother	5130 3631
*maadhaay nhama **dhagaan-ngu** ngay*	dog belongs to my **brother**	2833A 545

However standard Dative suffixes are also found on kin terms, e.g. *buwadjarr-gu* 'father's' (father-DAT, AD3220B 1025); and ***ngambaa-gu*** '(carrying the water) **for** my **mother**' (AD5058 515). The conditions governing the choice of suffix are not understood. At times AD uses the PD form when there is a double Dative: 2833A 532: *dhagaan-ngu ngay* 'brother-DAT.PD 1SG.DAT' '(that dog there) belongs to my brother'. At other times he is uncertain. FR is less likely to use PD forms..

There are other occurrences of *-ngu* which are currently unexplained. *Gambuu* is a male social section, and Wurm has:

(4)   *gámbùŋu ŋáià*   WurmGR p 12
        gambuu-ngu   ngaya
        Gambuu(Section)-DAT?? 1SG
        I am Gambu (Gambuu)   SW

Sim & Giacon (1998: 32) has 'poor me' *ngarragaa-ngu*, cf. *ngarragaa* 'poor thing'. Milson (p 9) has 'herself' *yennir malgnoo* (*yinarr maal-ngu*; *yinarr* 'woman'; *maal* 'one') and Sim (p.c.) has the same form: *maal-ngu* 'alone'. The function of the suffix in these examples is not clear.

2.2.6.4   Personal Declension: local cases

PD Locative examples are common (with locative and allative function), Ablative examples less so. Some recent instances are given in Table 19. Most, but not all, are in a possessive phrase. *Guduuguu-ngu[u]* is the only instance found of *-ngu[u]* as an Allative suffix, the only example to suggest that the PD Allative and Locative are not identical. The example also suggests that PD suffixes are used on Proper Names.

Table 19   **Personal Declension local cases**

Form	Translation	Source
Locative		
ngambaa-ngunda	on (the girl's) mother'	AD 5130 3617
ngambaa-ngunda nginu	(Run) to your mother.	AD 5130 3624
ngambaa-ngunda nguungu	(show the meat) to his mother.	AD 5129A 1758
dhilaagaa-ngunda	(going) to my old brother	FR 2436A 2574

Form	Translation	Source
Ablative		
buwadjarr-ngundi	(run away from) your father	AD 5130 3605
buwadjarr-ngundi	(got frightened) of his father	AD 5130 3661
ngambaa-ngundi	The little girl is holding onto (hanging from) her mother.	AD 5058 597
wayamaa-ngundi	(ask that) old fellow (for some more meat)	AD 3217A 841
Allative		
Guduuguu-nguu	(go, take) to Goodooga (4 examples)	Sim: 47

See §2.2.3 for Ridley's *mullionkūnda* 'with an eagle at rest', which I interpret as *maliyan-ngunda. Maliyan* is a common character in traditional stories, and this could be an example of the word being used as a name.

In (5) AD first uses the standard Ablative *ngambaa-dhi*, and then presumably corrects himself and uses *ngambaa-ngundi* 'mother-PD.ABL' (The case of the one asked with *miinba-y* varies, mostly Ablative and Dative).

(5)   I am going to ask mother for some yams.   CW/AD 5057 1844
        giirr ngaya gi.yaa.nha **ngambaa-dhi / ngambaa-ngundi** *miinba-y   ngaam, milaan*
        true 1SG   going.to   mother-ABL / mother-PD.ABL   ask.for-FUT that,   yam

The same words can have both PD and standard suffixes. The non-kin Ablative *ngambaa-dhi* occurs 35 times in the tapes, as in: *man.ga-yi ngambaa-dhi* '(poke head) from his mother's pouch' (bag-ABL mother-ABL) (3217A 2023; cf. 3217A 2079, (1113)). The kin-term Ablative is found three times. Again the factors conditioning the choice of standard or PD case form are not clear.

There is a currently unexplained use of *-ngundi* seen in (6) on a verb (the only instance so far found of this putative verb suffix *-laa*). A similar use with a verb is seen in (7). These examples suggest *-ngundi* as an apprehensive suffix on verbs.

(6)   I'm frightened of you hitting me.   FR/JM 1852A 2306
        *giyal ngaya gi-yaa-nha   **nginundi,** buma-**laa**??-ngundi nganha*
        afraid 1SG   get-MOV-PRS 2SG.ABL.   hit-laa??-pd.abl   1SG.ACC

(7)   Take the meat away from her child[17].   CW/AD 5130 3580
        dhinggaa nhama gaa-nga, ngiim'   birralii-djuul-i
        meat   3.DEF   take-IMP, FROM.DEF child-DIM-ABL

        CW (not heard) AD **dha-li-ngundi**   *ngawuma*
                          eat-FUT-ABL?? there
        Take the meat from that child, so that she won't eat it.   JG

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[17] *ngiim* was earlier transcribed *nhiim*, but is now recognised as the demonstrative *ngiima*: see §5.3.8

2.3 Uses of cases

2.3.1 Uses of Core cases

Nominative, Accusative and Ergative are referred to as syntactic or core cases.

2.3.1.1 Uses of Nominative case

The Nominative case has a number of uses.

(i) It is the unmarked and citation form of nominals. It is used in address forms, e.g. 'you silly boy' (169).

(ii) It is the case of the S, the subject of intransitive verbs, e.g. 'man' in 'one white man came to my camp' (144); and 'crow' in 'the crow flew towards the fire' (1143).

(iii) Unmarked nominals appear as predicates in adjectival attributive sentences: e.g. (168) ('you are mad, stumpy wings'), and as the subject complement in equational sentences (8). These instances could be construed as having Nominative case in agreement with the S of the sentence.

These uses are similar to those described by Donaldson for WN.

(8)	I am a strong man.		JM/FR 1852A 2016
	walanbaa	*ngaya*	*dhayn*
	strong(NOM)	1SG	person(NOM)

Middle and reflexive verbs have complex case structure, as seen in §8.2 and in Arrernte, where for instance 'I' and 'chest' in 'my chest is hurting me' (Wilkins, 1989: 167) are both in Nominative case even though the verb is usually transitive.

2.3.1.2 Uses of Accusative case

The Accusative case is prototypically used for the Object of transitive verb. No other uses have been found in YG.

No double Accusative verbs have been found in YG i.e. verbs such as 'give' 'talk' 'show' and 'tell' have only one Accusative argument, the inanimate; the other argument being in Dative or Locative case. This contrasts with Gumbaynggirr where double Accusative verbs are found in Gumbaynggirr, e.g. *ngurra* 'give' (Morelli, 2008).

2.3.1.3 Uses of Ergative case

In this analysis YG has Ergative case which has agentive and instrumental function, and perhaps other functions. In some analyses, e.g. Williams (1980), these are regarded as separate cases on syntactic grounds, even if the forms are identical.

Ergative case prototypically marks A, the subject of transitive verb – semantically often the Agent: (9) - (14) et al.

Ergative marks A when it is an animate being, as in (9) and (10).

(9)   A snake bit me.   JM/FR 1848A 3011

*dhuyu is snake // **dhuyu-gu** nganha yii-y   / **maadhaay-u** nganha yii-y*

dhuyu is snake // snake-ERG 1SG.ACC bite-PST / dog-ERG   1SG.ACC bite-PST

A dog bit me. Snake bit me. 'dog' is *maadhaay*.   FR

Note that in (10) the thing given is not overtly expressed.

(10)   Who gave it to you?   SW p 83

ŋa:ndu ŋinu ʰu:nni

(a)   **ngaandu** *nginu   wuu-nhi*

who.ERG 2SG.DAT give-PST

The man gave it to me.   SW

dɛindu ŋɛi ʰu:nni

(b)   **dhayn-du** *ngay   wuu-nhi*

man-ERG 1SG.DAT give-PST

(11) and (12) show Ergatively marked inanimate A.

(11)   They were rolling on top of bindi-eyes.   JM/AD 3219A 3376

*ngaarrma = yaa **bindiyaa-gu** = bala dhuwi-y.la-nha*

there = POT   prickle-ERG = CTR stick.in-CTS-*PRS*

(They rolled on the bindi-eye, and) the bindi-eye must be sticking in them.   AD

(12)   **muyaan-du** *nganha dhuwi-nyi / maa-dhi.*

stick-ERG   1SG.ACC stick.in-PST / hand-ABL

Stick stuck into my hand.   FR/JM 1987B 2985

Ergative case also marks instrumental function. It commonly marks an instrument in a sentence with a transitive verb and Ergative case A, as in (13) and (14). The verb *dhu-rri* 'poke' is rarely found without a specified instrument, e.g. *bilaa-yu dhu-rri* 'to spear' has 'spear-ERG' and *nhaayba-gu dhu-rri* 'stab' has 'knife-ERG'. Other examples of instrumental function include (109) and (512).

(13)   *wanda-**gu**   nganha **dhulu-gu** buma-li*

white.man-ERG 1SG.ACC stick-ERG hit-FUT

The white man will hit me with a stick.   JG; (SW p 51)

(14)   The men will spear emu all day.   CW/AD 5131 1411

*giirr nhama / dhayn-galgaa-**gu** / **bilaa-yu**   dhu-dha-y   / dhinawan*

true 3.DEF / man-PL-ERG   / spear-ERG poke-CTS-FUT / emu

The men will be spearing emu.   JG

Separation of agentive and instrumental functions is on semantic and syntactic grounds. Instruments are typically inanimate (e.g. knife, hammer, gun, spear) while

Agents are predominantly animate. Nominals in instrumental function are frequently adjuncts, commonly located after the main clause. They typically occur in the same clause as an Ergatively marked Agent.

No examples have been found so far of nominals with instrumental function co-occurring with intransitive verbs, as in 'he walked with a stick'. In some Australian languages this is possible, as is pointed out by a number of contributors in Dixon (1976) and by Breen (2004: 77). In others, e.g. Warlpiri, Ergative case is only used for instruments when the A has Ergative case (Simpson (p.c.)).

2.3.1.3.1   Other uses of Ergative case

There are a number of non-prototypical uses of Ergative case in YG. One involves Middle verbs (see §8.2). The middle form of the verb is most commonly intransitive, e.g. (651) 'the spear broke', with a Nominative subject. However there are examples such as (270) (part repeated in (674)) 'did your husband wash himself?" and (652) 'the woman washed her hand' which have Ergative subject with a middle verb. The conditions governing this use are unclear. In (125)(a) 'the prickles stuck into my foot' 'prickles' is Ergative but 'me' and 'foot' are Locative rather than the expected Accusative/Ablative (cf. (12)). I have no explanation for this.

No YG personal pronouns in instrumental function have been found. They are semantically unlikely, but not impossible and Wilkins (1989: 171) describes pronouns with instrumental function in Arrernte.

(15) is one of the very few instances on the tapes where the A is not Ergatively marked. However the structure might be a topicalised NP, and then null anaphora of the Ergative pronoun, as suggested in the JG translation.

(15)   Your big dog bit me.   CW/AD 3996A 982
        giirr nginu   maadhaay / yii-y   nganha   / buyu-dhi
        true 1SGEN?DAT dog   / bite-PST 1SG.ACC / leg-ABL
        Your (big) dog bit me on the leg.   AD
        That dog of yours, it bit me on the leg.   JG

There are also occasional instances where not all the constituents of the NP are marked, e.g. *burrulaa-gu dhayn* 'many-ERG men' in (420). The rarity of such instances points to these being errors.

2.3.2   Uses of Dative case: possessive, purposive, benefactive

Most uses of the YG Dative can be described in terms of a number of functions. Examples of other uses which are currently not understood are given at the end of this section.

The first function is possession, an adnominal function - the Dative nominal qualifies another nominal ('my hat', 'his spear' etc.). There are also a range of

predicative functions, usually separated into possessive (x is 'ours'); dative (give 'to us'); benefactive and purposive ('for us'); and also with a verb: (come here 'to eat'). These are English semantic categories and it is not clear to what degree they are applicable to YG, nor is it always clear what function a Dative nominal has in a particular clause.

Possession. When Dative has possessive use the possessive nominal qualifies the possessed and usually follows it as in (16) (=(892)), (17), (22), (25), (26) and (862). In rare instances the possessive precedes the possessed, as in (18).

(16)   The man brought his boomerang and also his spear.   Sim p 39

*dhayn-du dhiyama-y [barran   **nguungu]** bilaarr gaalanha*
man-ERG pick.up-PST boomerang 3SG.DAT   spear   3DU.ACC

(17)   That dog there belongs to my brother.   LO/AD 2833A 532

*nham=bala=nha [maadhaay **nguungu]***
that=CTR=3?   dog   3SG.DAT
That's his dog there.   AD

(18)   (I stayed behind to catch possums) and she (my wife) disappeared, was lost.

JM/AD 3219B 3334

*ngam=bala [**ngay**   guliirr] minyaarru-waa   yurrul-gu 'naa-nhi / wanggara-nhi=yaa*
that=CTR   1SG.DAT spouse somewhere-IGNOR bush-ALL go-PST   / get.lost-PST=POT
he might have got lost   AD
But my wife went somewhere in the bush, **she** might have got lost.   JG

Pronouns in possessive function are very common but the sources have comparatively few instances of nouns in possessive function. An example is *bɔadjɔdgu* 'father's (dog)' (*buwadjarr-gu,* (Wurm p 69).

There are many situations, particularly with reference to body parts, and more so for third person singular possessors, where English would use a possessive but in YG no pronoun is used; e.g. 'my eye': (868) and 'his leg': (873).

I suspect there has been considerable influence from English on information in more recent sources about part-whole situations, including body parts, (see §10.4.4) with results such as *dhinawan-gu dhiil* 'emu's tail' (emu-DAT tail; 5050 1607 CW/AD) where the traditional pattern would have both nominals in the same case, and not use a Dative.

The Dative can be the **main predicate** in verbless sentences or those that use the copula, as in (19), (20) and (21)(a). The alternative translation of (21)(a)(i) is stilted but shows the subject and predicate.

(19)   Those children are ours.   JM/FR 1852B 2050

ngalingu *nhama birralii*

1DU.DAT 3.DEF   child

Them children is ours.   FR

Those children are ours.   JG

(20)   *maayrr=nga* **ngiyaningu=laa** *dhuwaarr gi-gi*

none=THEN   1PL.DAT=DIR   bread   be-FUT

We'll have no bread directly.   AD/CW 5129A 2203

There will be no bread of/for us soon.   JG

(21)   They say: 'I'm not going to give you some'.   AD/CW 5056 1844

(a)   (i) *giirr=bala* **ngiyaningu** *dhinggaa,* (ii) *dhinggaa-biyaay ngali*

true=CTR 1PL.DAT   meat,   meat-COM   1DU

We've got meat (There is meat for us.), (ii) we (two) have got meat;   JG

(b)   *waal gi.yaa.nha* **nginaayngu** *wuu-dha-y*

not   going.to   2PL.DAT   give-EAT-FUT

We aren't going to give you any.   JG

While the general predicative sense is clear in (19), (20) and (21)(a) the detailed semantics, the subtleties are not. With predicative use the Dative pronoun tends to be near the start of the clause. With adnominal use the Dative follows the possessed nominal.

Dative case nouns and pronouns with **dative function** are very common as in (21)(b), (22), (23), all expressing the recipient of the verb *wuu-gi* 'give'.

(22)   I gave the meat to the man I saw yesterday.   CW/FR 5053 1003

*dhinggaa ngaya / wuu-nhi / **garrugi-gu** / **garrugi-gu** ngay*

meat   1SG   / give-PST / uncle-DAT / uncle-DAT 1SG.DAT

I give the meat to my uncle.   FR

(23)   I gave the spears to you two.   CW/AD 3997B 440

ngaya=bala **nginaalingu** / *bilaarr wuu-nhi*

1SG=CTR   2DU.DAT   / spear give-PST

As well as being used for the case of an argument that is inherently part of the meaning of a verb, such as the recipient of an action of giving, Dative is also used for nominals representing entities that are associated with the event in loose ways. These can include benefactive, purposive, and instances where it is hard to distinguish between the two.

Benefactive use of Dative case

The broad definition of 'benefactive' function is that it shows an action or object is 'for' someone or something. It is seen with pronouns in (24) and (696) (*ngay* 'for me') and with nouns in (25) and (26).

(24) The boy will catch one for them.   CW/AD 5130 1086

  *giirruu   nguumu=laa,   birralii-djuul-u / bandaarr bayama-**ali**-y **ganungu***
  true.very 3SG.ERG??=DIR child-DIM-ERG / kangaroo catch-ARG-FUT 3PL.DAT

  He, that boy, will catch a kangaroo for them.   JG

(25) *gaarrima-wu ngaya gi.yaa.nha gaa-gi=nga   / warangana / **birralii-gal-gu** ngay*
  camp-ALL   1SG   going.to   take-FUT=NOW / honey   / child-PL.DIM-DAT 1SG.DAT

  I am going to take it home to the camp for my kiddies now.   FR/JM 2438A 1931

(26) I cooked the meat for my mother.   CW/AD 3997B 1183

  *giirr ngaya dhinggaa / yilama-y / **ngambaa-gu** ngay*
  true 1SG   meat   / cook-PST / mother-DAT 1SG.DAT

  I cooked the meat for my mother.   AD

Benefactive use of the Dative is sometimes, but not always, associated with use of the additional argument verb suffix, as in (24): see §8.3.1.

Purposive use of Dative case

Purposive function indicates the reason something is done. It is also shown by Dative case on nominals (27), (28), (1135) and on the future form of verbs[18] (28), (58) (for purposive verbs see §7.3.4).

(27) FR The man killed that red kangaroo. JM To eat it, for food.   JM/FR 2437A 1613

  dhinggaa-gu** nguu   buma-y, **dhinggaa-gu
  meat-DAT   3SG.ERG kill-PST, meat-DAT(PURP)

  He killed it for meat, for meat.   JG

(28) I go for water to dip it from the river   SW p 84

  guŋangu ŋaya ga:ɽi: ðɛ:jaraligu ga:wa:ði
  ***gungan-gu** ngaya gaarri-y,   dhiyarra-li.gu gaawaa-dhi*
  water-PURP 1SG   get.down-FUT, dip-PURP   river-ABL

  I will bend down for water, to dip it from the river.   JG

Dative with purposive use is common in complements of verbs of speech. See (915) (You told me **to cut** the skin. *garra-li.gu* 'cut-PURP') and in what might be called negative purposive situations, as in (29).

(29) She blew on the smoke **so** they **wouldn't see it**. (*waal ngarra-li.gu*)   8186 838

In fact the terms 'purposive' and 'benefactive' are poorly distinguished in some contexts. In a statement such as 'bring some water for me', 'for me' could be described as both 'purposive' and 'benefactive'. 'Purposive' is more obviously applied to situations such as (27) where the benefactive reading does not fit. Dative case with purposive function is the only instance of the core or local cases occurring on a YG verb (the suffix can be on any future form of the verb). With verbs such as 'cook' and

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[18] The combination of future suffix and dative, e.g. *-li.gu* in (28), is glossed PURP(osive).

'bring' the more likely function is benefactive (e.g. cook/bring 'for us') (25), (26) and (24). (27) shows purposive use on a noun (kill it 'for meat') and (28) shows purposive on a verb (go 'to dip').

2.3.2.1   Dative case: questions

As elsewhere there are currently unexplained uses and scope for further investigation and a more fine-grained analysis. The uses of the Dative in (30) and (31) do not fit any of the functions given above.

It is not clear that the purposive use of the Dative in (30) represents a general pattern. The Ablative or Aversive might be expected but Ablative is not found on verbs in YG (although its use on a Subordinate form of the verb would not be unexpected) and there is minimal evidence for an Aversive case: see §2.3.6.3.

(30)   The young fellow was afraid **to go hunting.** (***maniila-y.gu*** 'go.hunting-PURP')   8184 2160

I would normally expect the Caritative suffix (see §2.4.1.4) to be used to translate the elicitation sentence in (31). The informant may have been influenced by English 'for', or it may be a traditional use of the Dative.

(31)   The children are crying for food, they are hungry.   SW p 72

         biṟali galga jua:na. ***ďuwaȓu*** *: ju.:lŋin giaṅa*

         birralii-galgaa yu-waa-nha   ***dhuwarr-u/gu*** *// yuulngin gi-yaa-nha*

         child-PL   cry-MOV-PRS bread-PURP   // hungry   get-MOV-PRS

2.3.3   Uses of Local cases

The fundamental use of local cases is to describe spatial scenes. In the terms of Levinson and Wilkins (2006: 3)

> [T]hey describe the location or motion of one thing with respect to other things. Thus in a spatial description, something - call it the '**figure**' (theme or trajector) - is generally located with respect to something else - call it the '**ground**' (my bolding).

The ground can be further differentiated into a Source, a Goal and a Path.

Local cases also have semantically linked non-core functions, and often a range of other uses which are not predictable or explainable, including semantically governed uses. The core function of Locative case is in situations where the relationship between the figure and ground is constant e.g. 'the child is in the room', 'It is running around the table', 'It is lying/walking on the table'. The core function of Ablative case is when the figure moves away from the ground (Source): 'the child might fall off the table', 'It came out of the room', 'take it away from there'. The core function of Allative case is when the figure moves towards the ground (Goal): 'go to school', 'he is going to the river'. (32) exemplifies these core functions.

(32)   Local cases - core functions

(a)   *I cut a hole **in the tree***   *muyaan-da*   FR2438A 618

tree-LOC

(b)   *going **to the house***   *gundhi-gu*   FR2440A 642

house-ALL

(c)   *came **from the house***   *gundhi-dji*   FR2438A 618

house-ABL

However there are many local uses of these cases in YG which do not fit this pattern. Seemingly similar situations can be encoded by a number of cases. (33) (=(72)) shows a non-core use of the Ablative, associated with 'movement into', not 'movement from'.

(33)   I put my hand inside the hole.   JM/FR 2438A 626

*maa   ngaya   wuu-nhi   **biyuu-dhi***

hand 1SG   go.in-PST hole-ABL

I put my hand down the hole.   FR

(33) and (34) all involve what might be called 'illative' function - 'going into an enclosed space' - but shown by all three local cases. Some atypical uses are lexically governed. For instance *wuu-gi* 'go in', found in (33) and (34) takes the Ablative case. However 'hide' (34)(a) does not normally use Ablative to mark location: cf. (34)(b).

(34)   Local cases - other local functions

(a)   They hid it in a hole **in the tree**.   *muyaan-di*   FR2438A 3229

tree-ABL

(b)   He hid **in the bushes**.   *yurrul-da?-a*   AD3999A 1786

bush-LOC

(c)   He disappeared **into the bush**.   *wadhi-gu*   AD8185 1247

bush-ALL

(d)   Put something **in a bag**   *man.ga-ya*   AD8185 2730

bag-LOC

(e)   Goannas going **in[to] the ground**   *dhaymaa-yi*   AD3996A 857

ground-ABL

Table 20, adapted from Donaldson Table 4.1.4a/b, uses some traditional terms for locational functions, and points out some differences between the cases used in YG and WN to encode these spatial relations, with YG having a more complex system. For instance in WN only Allative is used for allative function, but in YG Locative and Allative are used: see §2.3.4.6. The table also adds functions not given in Donaldson, for instance the perlative.

The relationship between the core uses of a case and its non-local uses varies. At times there is a clear relationship. Many languages uses Ablative case to mark the material something is made from. There is an understandable relation between the starting point for movement and the 'starting material' for a process. At times there is no simple relationship between the core and other uses, as seen most clearly in the

many unpredicted uses of the Ablative. As in Latin the YG Ablative has something of the role of a 'left-overs' marker, taking on roles which do not fit with other cases.

Table 20   **Wangaaybuwan Case marking and Spatial orientation**

	exterior				interior			
			Case				Case	
Motion	Gloss	Function	YG	WN	Gloss	Function	YG	WN
none	be.on/at	adessive	LOC	LOC	be.in	inessive	LOC	ABL
to	go.to	allative	LOC/ALL	ALL	go.into	illative	ABL/LOC	ABL
from	go.from	ablative	ABL	ABL	go.out.of	elative	ABL	ABL
other								
on/near	go around		LOC					
through	go through	perlative	LOC/ALL/ABL					

2.3.4   Uses of Locative case

The core use of Locative case is for:

- Situations where the relation between the ground and figure is constant

It is also used for:

- Movement to a ground - in some instances
- Some marking of time
- The IO of some verbs including 'talk'

2.3.4.1   Local uses of Locative case

A single Locative case nominal can be used to specify location as the predicate in a nonverbal sentence (35) (36), as the locational adjunct with stative verbs (37) and with motion verbs such as 'swim' in (38) (= (155)). (35) also shows the informant using the GR form of the Locative suffix in YR.

(35)   *burrulaa buya nhama* **ngaaluu-ya, ngaaluurr-a**
    many   bone 3.DEF fish-LOC,   fish-LOC[irreg]
    The fish got a lot of bones in him.   FR/JM 1853A 2447
    There are a lot of bones in the fish.   JG

(36)   There's no water in the river.   JM/AD 8183 3284
    maayrr gungan nhama / **gaawaa-ga**
    none   water   there   / river-LOC
    No water there in that river, in that gaawaa.   AD

(37)   Don't sit near the fire.   JM/FR 2438A 3474

     waal = bala nguwama / **dhuu-ga** *yilawa-ya*

     not = CTR   there   / fire-LOC sit-IMP

     Don't sit at the fire.   FR

(38)   A mob of big boys went swimming in the river.   CW/AD 5131 2264

     giirr ngaam birralii-gal-galgaa, burrul-bidi / *wunga-y.la-nhi ngiyarrma,* **gaawaa-ga**

     true that   child-PL.DIM-PL,   big-AUG   / swim-CTS-PST there,   river-LOC

The local use of Locative case covers a wide range of situations, as is seen by the many English translation equivalents. Table 21 shows some of the many English prepositions which can be translated by a single YG nominal in Locative case, and Table 22 gives a variety of translations of *gungan-da* 'water-LOC' YR. In (37) JM uses the preposition 'near', but FR uses 'at', probably reflecting the broad use of Locative case in YG.

Table 21   **English prepositions translated by Locative case**

Preposition	English translation of YG Locative	
Non-verbal and intransitive verb		
in	stones in the river	walk in the bush
	sun is in the sky	throw/cook in the fire
	spears sticking in his chest	feet are in your shoes
	hole in the coolamon,	sit in the canoe
at	at the camp/fire	
on	there is paint on his chest	sit on my knee
	get on your knees	
near	near the tree	near the fire
along	go along the edge	crawl along the ground
through	fire is burning through the scrub	walk through a sandy place
under	sit under the tree	
over	the tree is leaning over the river	
Transitive verb: location of object		
inside	put it inside the hut (but using the verb *wa-li* 'put in')	
on	cut him on the chest	throw stones on the fire
against	lean against the tree	
beside	put the tomahawk beside the tree	
Transitive verb: location of action		
around	hold a snake around the (its) neck	

Table 22   Translations of *gungan-da* 'water-LOC'

fall **in** the water;	drop **it** in the water;	hop **into** the water
duck the girl **in** the water	drown **in** the water	froth **on** the water
grow **near** the water	slime **on** the water	swim **in** the water
swim **under** the water	jump **across** the water	

2.3.4.2   Multi element Locative NPs

Multi-element 'NPs' in Locative case are common, with each element case marked. Most commonly these NPs indicate (a) a part-whole relationship, (b) include a locational nominal (see Table 217), or (c) include a noun and adjective. I use 'locational nominal' to refer to words that have intrinsic locational meaning, such as *mudhu* 'inside', *ngaarrigili* 'the other side', *gaburran* 'top', and so on. Their meaning is intrinsically relational - they have something else as their point of reference ('inside the **house'**, 'the other side of the **river'**, 'near the **fire'**) which may be explicit or ellipsed. This classification does not create mutually exclusive classes, since some words such as *mudhu* 'inside' fit into both the whole-part and locational nominal groups. However other words such as *ngaarrigili* do not.

2.3.4.3   Locative case part-whole NPs

Whole-part NPs which have the part as the focus have all elements in Locative case, as seen in (39) and the other examples below (see §2.3.6.4 for whole-part NPs which have the whole as the focus).

(39)   The baby dribbled on its chest.   JM/AD 3220B 2634

　　　*nhama birralii-djuul / nguuma   / **bii-dja   nguungunda** / gaarra-y.la-ndaay wiiluun*

　　　3.DEF   child-DIM   / 3ERG.DEF / chest-LOC 3SG.LOC   / spill-CTS-SUB   dribble

　　　That child, it's dribbling saliva on its chest.   JG

Other whole-part constructions include: (40) 'blood on his face' with 'he' and 'face' both Locative and 'In the shade of a tree' *malawil-a maalaabidi-dja* (shadow-LOC big.tree-LOC) (3218A 2133), and (41) ('in the fork of a tree') can also be analysed as whole-part.

(40)   His face was all bloody, he'd been cut, and it was all bloody.   CW/AD 5129A 1577

　　　*guway ngaama **nguungunda ngulu-ga** / gaarri-y.la-nha*

　　　blood   that   3SG.LOC   face-LOC / spill-CTS-PRS

　　　Blood is running down his face.   JG

(41)   I sat in the fork of a big tree.   Sim p 47

　　　***gula-ga**   ngaya wila-nhi maalaa-ga giniy-a.*

　　　fork-LOC 1SG   sit-PST   tree-LOC stick/tree-LOC

　　　I sat in the fork of a big tree, in a tree (*maalaa* is sometimes 'big tree').   JG

2.3.4.4 Locative case noun-adjective NPs

Where a Locative NP consists of a noun and adjective both are case marked, as in (42) and *wamubidi-dja yina-ya* fat-big-LOC woman-LOC '(standing) around the big fat woman' 2437B 2483.

(42)   They going to bury him like a dog.   FR/JM 2440A 607

        *giirr=nga? bulaarr.na nhamurra-laa-nha / **milan-da biyuu-ga***

        true=NOW   two.pers   bury-MOV-PRS   / one-LOC   hole-LOC

        He burying them now in the one grave.   FR

        (They) are burying the two of them in the one grave.   JG

2.3.4.5 Locative case with locational nominals

Locational nominals (Table 217) occur predominantly in Locative case. *Guwiinbaa* is 'close' and can be used as an adjective ('the close camp' 1853A 694), but the unsuffixed form is mostly found in linguistic discussion, not in common use. I have not found it as an adverb. Of the case-marked use of *guwiinbaa* on the tapes 51 instances are Locative case, 1 Allative and none Ablative. *Milan* 'close' has similar usage, and *bani* 'front' and *nhirrin* 'side' are only found in Locative case.

Locative NPs with a locational nominal are common and again both elements are case marked, as in (43) - (46) where the locational nominal is typically first, and not necessarily adjacent to the other nominal. Even when they are adjacent there is often a pause between the nominals. In (41) and (46) the elements of the Locative NP are also not adjacent, with the 'part' or locational nominal, the more specific element, first. Locational nominals and suffixes are listed in Table 217.

(43)   The fire was near the water.   JM/AD 8186 782.

        *ngaam=badhaay=na wii / **guwiinbaa-ga / gungan-da***

        that=MIGHT=3?   fire / close-LOC   / water-LOC

(44)   Mum to little boy: 'Sit in front of me, little boy'.   JM/AD 3217A 1152

        *birralii-djuul, baluwaa **nguwa-gili-dja nganunda** wila-ya*

        child-DIM,   slow   this-SIDE-LOC   1SG.LOC   sit-IMP

        Sit here alongside of me   AD

        Child, sit quietly on this side of me.   JG

(45)   inside the camp   SW p 89

        muðuga: walaiða

        mudhu-ga walaay-dha

        inside-LOC camp-LOC

(46)   I am going to sit on this side of the river.   JM/AD 3217A 982

        ngawu-gili-dja** ngaya gi.yaa.nha wila-y.la-y / **gaawaa-ga

        this-SIDE-LOC   1SG   going.to   sit-CTS-FUT / river-LOC

Not all uses of locational nominals are with another nominal. (47) shows a Locative nominal used as a secondary predicate, predicated of the Accusative nominal *dhinawan*.

(47) Cut the emu in the middle.   JM/FR 1852A 2537
      bidjun-da   *garra-la dhinawan*
      middle-LOC cut-IMP emu

When the other referent is implicit the locational nominal may occur by itself as in the use of *bani-dja* 'front-LOC', e.g. 'I am walking in front' (1853B 1660); and in *ngaya-ga* 'behind-LOC' 'I am walking behind' (1853B 1649). Such uses are not common. An exception is *mudhu* 'inside', which is not found on the tapes in apposition with another nominal, (cf. *mudhu-gu* 'inside-ALL' 5055 840) but this does occur in Wurm (45).

2.3.4.6   Unexpected allative use of Locative case

The generalisation in §2.3.3 that Locative case is 'used for situations where the relationship between the figure and ground is constant' has some notable exceptions, which generally involve movement to a location, and so where Allative might have been expected. Similar uses of Locative case are found in other languages. Breen (2004: 81) lists one of the functions of the Yandruwantha Locative as 'to mark motion to a location followed by rest in that location or return from it'. In Diyari (Austin, 1978: 124) 'there is a contrast with these (motion) verbs between allative case expressing the place TOWARDS which something moves, and locative case specifying the place INTO or ONTO which motion occurs'. In both these languages Locative is used when the figure remains in/on the ground, irrespective of its previous motion.

This seems to be the case in YG, since it uses Locative in many cases of where there is 'motion to', and so allative function in English. For instance MathewsYR uses the Locative suffix to indicate 'movement to' (p 139) *urēa burula* (*yuurray-a burrul-a*) 'to the big man', as he does in GR (p 262) *Murridha* '(come) to the man' (*mari-dha*). 5056 2622: 'take the kid back to his mother' has *ngambaa-ngunda* 'mother-PD.LOC. See also (48) and (49)[19].

(48) Just now he came up to the camp, my camp.   SW p 66
      ʲila: nama ðurɛi **wala:ða** ŋɛi walai
      yilaa nhama dhurra-y **walaa-dha** / *ngay   walaay*
      prox 3.DEF   come-PST camp-LOC / 1SG.DAT camp

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[19] It is not clear if (49) could be translated 'I jumped (while) on the log.', nor is it clear how these two senses would be distinguished.

(49)   I jumped back up on the log.   CW/AD 5057 1085

  yaluu ngay' ngaama / **nhaadhiyaan-da** / *baa-nhi*

  again 1SG there / log-LOC   / hop-PST

Other verbs which encode the concepts of both 'movement' and subsequent 'being at rest' mainly use Locative case. Verbs such as *wiima-li* 'put down' (89), (83) and *warrayma-li* 'stand , tr', which include the idea of an object remaining at rest after moving mark the location where the object rests with Locative case, not with the Allative.

Similarly the verbs *dhuwinba-li* 'hide, tr' and *dhuwinba-y* 'hide, intr' use Locative in the great majority of instances: for 'in the grass' (333), 'in the bushes'; (3999A 1786); 'in the camp' (3218B 3464). On rare occasions other cases are used: Allative for 'is hiding in the bush' (3219A 2337). At 2438A 3229 both Ablative and then Locative are used for 'looking at a tree' and then Ablative is used for 'they may have planted (hidden) it **in the hole**' These may be errors, but more likely reflect subtle differences in meaning.

The verbs, *wa-li* 'put in' also involves movement followed by non-movement while *wa-y* 'be in' involves a fixed figure - ground relationship. Both verbs mark location with Locative case: *wa-li* in (50) and Table 21 and *wa-y* in (51) (52) (=part of (662)) and in (289), (1082).

(50)   She caught a few crayfish   JM/AD 8186 662

  ngiyama=nga **man.ga-ya** *wa-y*

  there=THEN bag-LOC put.in-PST

  She put it in the bag, (some of it, some crayfish).   AD

(51)   **man.ga-ya** *wa-y.la-nha* 'is in the pouch (bag-LOC be.in-CTS-PRS)   AD3217A 1963

(52)   *dhina=bala* / *wa-y.la-nha*   **manduwii-dja**

  foot=CTR / be.in-CTS-PRS boot-LOC

  Your foot inside the boots.   AD/JM 2833A 85

However variation is found. FR (2437B 3454) translates 'take that yamstick **to** your **mother**' with *gunidja-ya* 'mother-LOC' and then *gunidjarr-u* 'mother-ALL'. Perhaps he is uncertain, perhaps both translations are correct, but in different contexts. He (1853B 1081) also has the Locative and then Allative of *gandaarr* 'other side of river' in translating 'to the other side'. Apparently WN does not have this use of the Locative: Donaldson makes no mention of this choice and (p 91) has 'shadow-ALL' for 'the snake crawled into the shadow', where it presumably stayed.

There are situations which involve 'staying at a location' which do not use Locative case. See *wuu-gi* 'go in' (§2.3.6) where locations are marked with Ablative case. Mathews' 'between two trees' (75) is also in Ablative case.

2.3.4.7 Locative: non-local use

There are many non-local uses of the Locative case. One is to mark the IO of some verbs. When 'show' has a nominal object the IO is in Locative case. (719). 'Show the meat to the woman' is translated with *nguungunda* '3SG.LOC' (5056 2787). If 'show' has a clausal complement the IO is in Accusative case, e.g. FR2437A 2741 'I showed my wife how to cook an emu'.

The IO of speech verbs are at times Locative, but the case frames of these verbs can vary. The verb 'talk' is a phrase in YG; *gaay guwaa-li* (YR)/*garay guwaa-li* (GR), lit. 'tell words', and the addressee is in Locative case (990), (644), 2832B 1478; see footnote 245. However *guwaa-li* can be used as 'tell', for instance with a clausal complement, and the 'spoken to' is then in Accusative case. *Dhubaanma-li* 'tell' has a subordinate clausal complement and the 'told-to' is in Locative case.

(53) shows Wurm's *gu'ganda*, presumably *guyungan-da* 'self-LOC'. This may be another instance of the addressee of a speech verb being in Locative case.

(53)   Soon this one will sing himself.   SW p 66

   jilalu gu'ganda[20] namala: buʻra:βuldε

   yilaalu   **guyungan-da** *nhama=laa bawi-l.aaba-lda-y*

   long.time own-LOC   3.DEF=DIR sing-TOT-CTS-FUT

   They will all sing to themselves//by themselves (in a long time?).   JG

The IO of *wuu-rri* 'give' is almost always in Dative case, but there are rare exceptions where Locative is used, as in (149). This may be a rare alternative, a specialised use, or an error.

2.3.4.8 Locative case and time

Locative case is used in a number of time expressions: to indicate a time or situation, and to indicate the number of times. This use is found on numbers, on time of day words such as 'night', and associated words such as 'sun' (used for 'day'). The Locative is also found on *ngayagay* 'other' and *minyangay* 'how many' when these modify time words. Table 23 gives a sample of time uses of the Locative. Note: the interpretation of *ŋajagaðoṵ* is unclear, but it is likely *ngayaga-dha-wuʻ*, the Locative of *ngayagay* 'other' with a final distortion or the time suffix *-uu/u* §15.5.6 (or perhaps the Allative or Total suffix). In some instances such as 'two nights ago' the interpretation also depends on the Distance in Time suffix and tense of the verb.

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[20] The only current analysis for Wurm's *gu'ganda* is *guyungan-da*, which is consistent with 'himself' in the English, and perhaps the apostrophe also indicates elision.

Table 23   **Locative marking of time: examples**

Original	Gloss	Stem	Gloss without LOC	Source
mala	once	*maal-a*	one	MathewsGR 268
bulara	twice	*bulaarr-a*	two	MathewsGR 268; +
budlaga	often, several times	*burrulaa-ga*	many	MathewsGR 268
bula:ja	(eat) for 2 days	*bulaarr-a*	two	WurmYR: 73
bula:ja	2 nights ago	*bulaarr-a*	two	WurmYR: 74
bulaaya yayaay	2 nights (on the road)	*bulaarr-a* *yayaay*	two sun	AD 3220A 3600
gulibaa-ga	3 days ago	*gulibaa-ga*	three	WurmYR: 73
ŋajagaðou̯ ja:ða	yesterday evening	*ngayaga̶y-dha* *yaa̶y-dha*	other sun-loc	WurmYR: 82
minyanga-dha buluuy-a	how many nights?	*minyanga̶y-dha* *buluuy-a*	how many? black, night	Sim p 48
buluuy-a	last night	*buluuy-a*	black, night	AD8184 1924
buluuy-a	(was cold) at night	*buluuy-a*	black, night	AD8184 2684

There are other time expressions which use other suffixes. Wurm (p 88) has a number of time expressions, given below, some of them of uncertain form, which do not appear to be in Locative case.

Original	Gloss	current orthography	Analysis
buleʲa:gou, *buleia:goṷ*	early in the morning	*buliyaa-ga-wu*	morning-LOC-TIME?DIST
ila: bulu:lui	late in evening	*yilaa bululuwi*	'then' 'evening.NOM'

2.3.4.9   Locative case and situations

The use of Locative to mark a 'situation' is not common in YG sources. One instance is (54) (Emu-Brolga):

(54)   When you've got no wings.   Tindale l 35
   bungun-dhalibaa-ga
   arm-PRIV-LOC

Other YG examples include: 'flood-LOC' 'in flood' (2437B 3072) 'sleep-LOC' 'in a dream' (3217B 1004); ('to dream' is 'see sleep-LOC').

Instances where locative are used in neighbouring languages but for which we don't have YG translation equivalents include secondary predicates. For example Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 94) uses: 'dry-LOC' in 'I don't eat bread dry'; 'in earnest' is 'truth-LOC'; 'in jest' is 'play-LOC' and 'she pretends to be wild' is 'she acts anger-LOC'. Arabana and Wangkangurru (Hercus

(p.c.)) both use the structure '1SG.LOC nothing-LOC' to express 'before I was born'. There is no known YG translation of this English expression.

2.3.4.10   Questions about Locative case

There are a number of instances of two element NPs with one constituent in Locative case and the other in Allative, e.g. (55).

(55)   close to the log (previous elicitation: 'We saw them.')   CW/AD 5130 3255
      *guwiinbaa-**ga**, nhaadhiyaan-**gu***
      close-LOC,   log-ALL

The 4 elicitations that follow (55) are all 'close to.. (the river, his mother ..)' and all use Locative case on both constituents, so raising questions about the accuracy of (55), where there is also a pause between the two words. FR2438B 1372 translates 'to another camp' with *murrumbaa-**gu** gaarrimay-**a*** 'other-ALL camp-LOC', again with different cases on each constituent. These examples may be errors or may in fact be a correct traditional construction with unknown semantics.

2.3.5   Uses of Allative Case

The Allative case is prototypically used to signal movement towards or to something. With nominals the suffix is mostly *-gu*, but some YR sources have *-u* after final *l/rr*. Pronouns have syncretism of Locative and Allative, with Allative use seen in (777)(a). (56) shows Allative case used with an intransitive verb and (57) with a transitive verb.

(56)   I swam back to the other side of the river.   CW/AD 5057 1012
      *giirr ngay' / **ngaarri-gili-gu** / wunga-w.uwi-nyi*
      true 1SG / far-SIDE-ALL / swim-BACK-PST

(57)   (They) got to shift from one camp to another with the smoke.   FR/JM 2438B 1382
      *yalagiirrma=laa / wamba-li / nhama dhuubaarr **ganungawu-gu** / **gaarrimay-gu***
      like.that=DIR / carry-FUT / 3.DEF smoke 3PL.TOT2-ALL / camp-ALL
      Going to take it all around to all the camps.   FR
      Therefore they will take the smoke to all the camps.   JG

Allative can be used with *gaa-gi* 'bring', for instance '(bring) to the camp' *walaay-gu* 'camp-ALL' (5130 1945). (58) shows the Allative on a destination and Dative case (purposive function) on *wii* and the verb.

(58)   Take an axe in the bush to chop firewood.   SW p 88
      *ju:ndu: ðiamala wi:gu ŋa:ri **jurullu** wi: garaligu*
      *yuundu dhiyama-la wii-gu   ngaarri **yurrul-u** wii   **garra-li.gu***
      axe   pick.up-IMP firewood-DAT distant bush-ALL firewood cut-PURP

As noted in §2.3.4.6, the Locative can also be used in sentences which indicate motion to a place. In (56) the Allative is used, perhaps because the swimmer did not 'stay on the other side'. In (57) it is clear people do not 'stay at the camp', so the use of the Allative is expected. There are other situations where the conditions governing the choice of Locative or Allative are not clear, for instance 'I fell on my face'. 2436A 2438 has *ngulu-gu* 'face-ALL' in a situation where 'face' is not the point moved to.

2.3.5.1 Non-local uses of Allative case

No clear use of Allative for non-movement functions has been found in YG, but such uses are found in other languages. I give just a few WN examples (Donaldson, 1980: 95-96) which indicate other possible YG functions. In YG Dative is a separate case from Allative, and is used for purposive function. Other WN uses include:

Blow the (kangaroo) pouch into a ball.	ball-ALL
He drinks to the point of drunkenness.	drunk-ALL
We swapped fish for sugar.	sugar-ALL

A further use is found in Yandruwantha Breen (Breen, 2004: 80).

Chest deep water.	chest-ALL water

This list is indicative, and may be added to with further comparative work.

One might expect time use of the Allative in expressions 'until tomorrow' but such use has not been found. *Ngurru* is 'night' and *ngurru-gu* is given in some sources as 'tomorrow'. Formally this is *ngurru-*ALL/DAT, but there are no obvious generalisations from this.

2.3.6 Uses of Ablative case

The core role of Ablative case, ablative function, is to mark a physical source or origin. This function is seen with intransitive verbs such as 'walk' and transitive verbs such as 'take' and 'pick up'. It is also seen in non-motion situations such as 'hanging **from**' and in marking a reference point: 'X is a long way **from** Y'.

There are a number of non-local uses of Ablative. It is used with some asking/seeking verbs: 'ask something **from someone**'. It can mark a material source: 'made **out of** wood' and some causes 'laugh **at** someone', 'afraid **of** something'. Ablative marks the standard of comparison: cf. Donaldson (1980: 98): (A is big B-ABL: A is bigger than B), and also marks things to be avoided, filling much of the role of the Aversive case found in some Australian languages.

There are unexpected uses. Some verbs select Ablative case on locations even though there is no apparent relation to 'source'. Ablative is always used with *wuu-gi*[21] 'go in' and *galiya-y* 'climb'. Other verbs sometimes select Ablative locations. Other

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[21] An exception is found at 5055 840, where 'he went inside the house.' is translated with *wuu-gi*, but *mudhu-gu* 'inside-ALL' is used. This may be because the nominal does not refer to the location entered, i.e. the house

verbs change their semantics when a location is Ablative e.g. 'jump' with Ablative is 'jump over' (78); 'sit' can become 'ride' (79).

When an affected part and whole are realised in a clause the whole is Accusative and the part Ablative e.g. 'hit the possum-ACC on the head-ABL'. The case also has partitive use: 'a few of the children'. There are also unexplained uses.

2.3.6.1   Ablative case: local functions

The local functions of Ablative case are ablative, inessive and elative.

2.3.6.1.1   Ablative case: ablative function

Ablative case with ablative function is exemplified in (59) with an intransitive verb, and with transitive verbs in (60)- (61).

(59)   The boy ran away **from** the woman.   CW/AD 5128 2528
      *giirr ngaam birralii-djuul banaga-nhi / **yina-yi***
      true that   child-ONE   run-PST / woman-ABL

(60)   The man took the meat **from** the woman.   CW/AD 5128 2541
      *giirr ngaama dhinggaa / dhayn-du, gaa-nhi / nhama **yina-yi**   / manuma-y*
      true that   meat   / man-ERG, take-PST / 3.DEF woman-ABL / steal-PST
      The man took the meat from the woman, stole it.   JG

(61)   Take the meat away **from** that man.   JM/FR 1849B 1594
      *gaa-nga **nguungundi** dhinggaa*
      take-IMP 3SG.ABL   meat
      Take that meat away from that man.   FR
      Take the meat away from him.   JG

Other examples of ablative function include: 'the wind is blowing **from the kangaroo**' (8187 1040); 'she picked it up **off the ground**' (2437B 2571); 'the tears ran **out of her eye**' (2438A 1068).

(62) contrasts inessive (be in), shown by the Locative, and elative (movement out of), shown by the Ablative. It also shows variation in the realisation of the suffix with *rr*-final words. Elative use of Ablative is also seen in 'take goanna **out of hole**' (8186 3769) and in *gungan-di* 'out of the water' (5130 2426).

(62)   There is a prickle in my foot.   JM/FR 1986B 2505
(a)   *bindiyaa nhama ngay   babu-ya //*
      prickle   3.DEF 1SG.DAT foot-LOC //

(b)   *bindiyaa dhuwima-la baburr-i / **babu-dhi** ngay*
      prickle   take.out-IMP foot-ABL, / foot-ABL 1SG.DAT
      (There's a prickle in my foot) Take the prickle out of my foot.   FR

(387), 'go away **from this camp**' has an Ablative adverb *ngiima* 'from here' agreeing with *walaa-dji* 'camp-ABLative'. The Ablative phrase in 'drive him **out of my camp'** Wurm (p 76,77) is translated *nganundi walaa-dji/dhi.* '1SG.ABL camp-ABL'. In most such phrases (e.g. (62)) there is not agreement between the pronoun and noun, but a Dative pronoun is used, i.e. *ngay* instead of *nganundi.* (62) may reflect English influence or could have a benefactive meaning: 'for me'.

The Ablative can also be used in non-movement situations, as in (63) where the English has no indication of the Ablative, but the use of the case in YR is probably selected by the verb *binda-y* 'hang'.

(63)   The little girl is holding onto her mother.   CW/AD 5058 591

      giirr nhama birralii-djuul / ngambaa-ngundi / binda-waa-nha

      true 3.DEF child-DIM   / mother-PD.ABL / hang-MOV-PRS

'Where from?' in YR is *minyaayi?,* based on *minyaarr* 'which', with Ablative suffix. No GR equivalent has been found, so *dhalaa-dhi* is used, *with dhalaa* the Locative 'where?' and *-dhi* Ablative[22].

2.3.6.1.2   Ablative case: illative function

Illative function refers to 'movement into' something. As with other functions names, 'illative' is not precisely defined.

In WN Donaldson (1980: 89) reports that illative function is shown by Ablative case. In YG the situation is that the verb *wuu-gi* 'go.in' always marks location entered with Ablative, and *wunga-y* 'dive, swim' occasionally does: see (73) and (74); *wunga-y* is almost certainly historically a compound including a reflex of *wuu-gi* 'go in'.

FR uses *wuu-gi* for any illative situation, using it to translate English verbs/phrases such as 'go in', 'run in', 'poke (fingers) into' and 'put (hand) in' whereas AD uses a range of verbs. (64) - (68), (70)(c), (71) and (72) show Ablative used with *wuu-gi.* I do not know why a MOVing continuous verb is used in (65) to describe a static situation.

(64)   (A man is being chased:)   JM/FR 2439B 241

      marrama=nha banaga-waa-nha, **gaarrimay-dji** *wuu-nhi*

      over.there?=3 run-MOV-PRS,   camp-ABL   go.in-PST

      He's running over there then, he run **into** a humpy.   FR

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[22] WurmYR (p 64) has *minjaruɲi* 'where from?. A speculative analysis is that this includes *minyaarru* 'where.to' and some element of the Ablative demonstrative base *ngii-* (found in *ngiima, ngiilay*) See §5.3.8.

(65) The snakes are in their holes because it is winter.   CW/AD 3996A 833

  *giirr ganunga / **dhaymaa-yi** wuu-waa-nha, ngandabaa*

  true 3PL / ground-ABL go.in-MOV-PRS, snake

  They all gone **in** the ground now, the snake.   AD

  They are all going into the ground, the snakes.   JG

(66) When he's eaten the grass he'll hop back **into** his mother's pouch. JM/AD 3217A 2071

  *giirr nguu dha-ldaay / ngiyarrma buunhu / barraay ngaama / **man.ga-yi** wuu-gi yaluu*

  true 3SG.ERG eat-SUB / there   grass / quickly that / bag-ABL go.in-FUT again

  He'll get in that pouch again quick.   AD

  When he's eaten that grass, he will quickly get into the pouch again. JG

  (66) follows (1113) which has Ablative with 'hop' for 'hop **out of**'. The initial use of a Locative in (67) possibly shows the AD's uncertainty, or perhaps he was about to use the verb 'run', but he then uses the Ablative, consistent with *wuu-gi,* the verb he finally chooses, perhaps because he considers the area under the log a confined space and he knows the echidna would then burrow into the ground. His comment may suggest he found the combination of 'porcupine' and 'run' incongruous. It is not clear if there is a systematic combination of the Ablative with *ngadaa* 'down'. (68) is a further example with *wuu-gi* with Ablative.

(67) The porcupines ran **under** logs.   JM/AD 3217B 1509

  I'll bring it the other way directly.   AD

  *bigibila ngaama / nhaadhiyaan-da / ngadaa **nhaadhiyaan-di** / wuu-nhi*

  echidna that / log-LOC   / down log-ABL / go.in-PST

  The porcupine/echidna went under the log.   JG

(68) *giirr=nha ganunga **yurrul-i** wuu-nhi* 'they've gone **to** the scrub now'. JM/FR 2440A 345

  However there is at least one counter-example. (69) has *wuu-gi* with *mudhu-gu* 'inside-Allative', rather than with an Ablative.

(69) *mudhu-gu wuu-nhi* 'inside-ALL go.in-PST' (Went inside the house.) CW/AD 5055 840

  AD, in (18) and (189), uses the verb *yanaa-y* 'go' with *yurrul-gu* for 'go into the bush' whereas FR, in (68) and (70)(c), uses the Ablative and the verb *wuu-gi* 'go in'. The interpretation of (70) is not certain, but it seems that in (a) and (b) FR uses Allative for 'movement towards', then uses Ablative for 'movement into' and then in (d) uses Locative for action inside the bush.

(70) (In the narrative the speaker's father is chasing another man.) FR/JM 2439B 165

(a) *banaga-waa-nha=nga=nha, **yurrul-u***

  run-MOV-PRS=NOW=3, bush-ALL

  They are running towards the bush.   JG

(b) *buwadja-yu ngay gawaa-nhi / **yurrul-u,***

  father-ERG 1SG.DAT chase-PST / bush-ALL

  My father chased him into the bush.   JG

(c)   *yurrul-i*=nga?nha   bulaarr.na   wuu-nhi

        bush-ABL=NOW?3 3DU   go.in-PST

        They going into the scrub now.   FR

        The two of them have gone into the bush now.   JG

(d)   they are fighting   *yurrul-a*   (scrub-LOC)   in the scrub.   FR

Wuu-gi is generally intransitive, but it is also used in situations such as those in (71) and (72) (=(33)), where in English there is an agent and an instrument, and the English verb is transitive. The YR case frames are uncertain. Koch (p.c.) points out that in many Australian languages both the whole and part in sentences like (71) and (72), with an intransitive verb, would be Nominative. This fits the forms of the whole and part nominals in both sentences. It leaves the putative Ergative =*ngu* in (71) unexplained. Translations of 'poke' which do not involve a body part use *dhu-rri*.

(71)   She poked her fingers in the thin woman's eyes.   JM/FR 2438A 1045

        yiiliyaanbaa=?ngu=nga, **mil-i**   maa   wuu-nhi

        savage=?3SG.ERG=THEN, eye-ABL hand go.in-PST

        The savage woman poked her finger in the other woman's eye.

(72)   I put my hand inside the hole.   JM/FR 2438A 626

        *maa ngaya wuu-nhi * **biyuu-dhi**

        hand 1SG   go.in-PST hole-ABL

        I put my hand down the hole.   FR

Another verb with Ablative-marked locations is *wunga-y*, which has a number of translations, including 'swim', 'dive (in)' and 'go swimming'. It is found with both Locative and Ablative marked locations. The evidence is not clear, but open to the interpretation that Ablative is used when the meaning is 'enter the water', and Locative used when the swimmer is already in the water. Other verbs take Locative case when describing 'into the water': e.g. 'slip' (2436A 1537, 2436A 1545); 'throw (stones/lines)' (2436A 1545, 3219B 1671); 'jump' (5053 2616). (73)(b) and (74) show *wunga-y* used with 'water-ABLative' and Table 24 shows uses of it with Locative case.

(73)   I climbed/got out of the river and was covered in mud.   JM/FR 2436A 1560

(a)   *giirruu   ngaya* **gungan-di** *galiya-nhi / bidjaay-bil*   / all over mud ,

        true.very 1SG   water-ABL climb-PST / mud-with.lot /   /

        I climbed out of the water covered in mud,   JG

(b)   *yaluu ngaya*=laa gungan / **gungan-di** **wunga-y**

        again 1SG=DIR   water   / water-ABL go.in-FUT

        I am going to go back in the water again, (to have a swim, to wash the mud off)   FR

        and I am going to go back in to the water.   JG

(74)   Garrbaali (Shingleback) wants Emu's sinews, which Emu has taken off and put on the ground. He urges Emu to swim, to dive deep, so he can steal the sinews and become strong. The sentence structure is not totally clear.   JM/AD 3997B 254

    *ngali=badhaay=nga / **gungan-di** / wunga-y.gu   ngali*

    1DU=MIGHT=THEN / water-ABL / swim/dive-PURP 1DU

    We might swim/dive in the water then?   JG

Table 24   **Locative case with *wunga-y* 'dive / swim'**

Example	Location	Gloss	Source
swim in river	*gungan-da*	water-LOC	5128 2467
	baawan-da	Barwon River-LOC	5128 2476
swim (in river)	*gaawaa-ga*	deep.water-LOC	3998A 374, 3998B 1574

'Inessive' is 'being in a place'. In YG this function is generally expressed by Locative case, as seen above. A possible exception is (75) but the lack of context makes the function of the Ablative here uncertain. It is not clear if this refers to an inessive situation (e.g. 'sat between two trees') or an illative one (e.g. 'ran between two trees'). The speaker may have used *wuu-gi* 'go in'.

(75)   *dhului bulari biddhundi*   MathewsGR p 267

    dhulu-wi bulaarr-i bidjun-di

    tree-ABL two-ABL inside-ABL

    between two trees   Mathews

2.3.6.2   Other local uses of Ablative case

There are other local uses of the Ablative case. The first is lexically determined. All locations associated with *galiya-y* 'climb' are Ablatively marked, counter-intuitively when it comes to climbing 'up/on' (77), less so when climbing 'down'. MathewsGR (p 267) has: 'up/down the hill' *dhuyul-i*; and '(climb) up the tree' *dhulu-i* (*dhulu-[w]i*). At 2439A 3395 a possum climbs 'up a tree' *muyaan-di* (tree-ABL). See also (502); (388) uses the Ablative demonstrative *ngiima* 'from.there' (§5.3.8) for 'climb **there'**. One exception is found in Wurm who has (p 53) *yarraan-gu* 'River red gum-ALL' for '(climb) up the gum tree'.

Wiradjuri also uses Ablative for 'climb (up)'; (76).

(76)   *Guin kalianna madandi*   Wiradjuri: Günther sentence 33

    *guwiiny galiya-nha **madhan-di***

    he   climb-PRS tree-ABL   jg

    He is climbing up the tree.   Günther

Note that in (77) the 'whole' is Ablative case and 'leg' is Locative. I have no explanation for this mixture of cases.

(77)   I can feel it (centipede crawling) on my leg.   JM/AD 3220B 2261
        giirr ngaya nhamalay   / dhama-laa-nha /
        true 1SG   3.DEF+OST / feel-MOV-PRS /

        *galiya-waa-ndaay **nganundi, buyu-ga** / barranbarraan*
        climb-MOV-SUB   1SG.ABL, leg-LOC / centipede

Ablative case is sometimes used with other verbs, but seems to modify the meaning. Donaldson (1980: 92) shows WN circumstantive case (similar to YG Ablative) used to translate 'going **through** the hill' and 'stepping **over** the child'. In (78) the use of the Ablative with *baa-y* 'jump' seems to change the meaning to 'jump over'. With a Locative the sentence would presumably mean 'jump on/near/around'. (79) illustrates the use of the Ablative with 'sit' to translate 'ride'. (80) uses the Ablative in 'sit on'. I have no explanation for this. There are other indications that Ablative has wider uses, such as the Wiradjuri sentence which has 'camp-ABL' in 'he will sleep at the camp' (sentence G15; 2.9).

(78)   The little boy is jumping over the sticks.   CW/AD 3220A 3277
        bubaay-djuul nhama baa-y.la-nha /
        little-DIM   3.DEF hop-CTS-PRS /
        The little one is hopping,   JG

        *birralii-djuul / ngaama giniy / **giniy-dji** baa-y.la-nha*
        child-DIM   / that   stick / stick-ABL hop-CTS-PRS
        That child is hopping over the sticks.   JG

(79)   She is riding a pretend horse.   CW/AD 5131 2487.
        *ngiyama=nha / yina[rr]-duul ngaama / **yarraaman-di** wila-waa-nha*
        there=3   / woman-ONE that   / horse-ABL   sit-MOV-PRS
        The woman is riding a horse.   JG

(80)   The dog sat on the boy.   CW/FR 5053 816
        *maadhaay nhama / birray-dja / **birray-djuul-i** / yilawa-y.la-nha*
        dog   3.DEF / boy-LOC / boy-ONE-ABL / sit-CTS-PRS
        That dog is sitting on the boy.   FR

2.3.6.2.1   Ablative: reference point / comparison

Ablative case is used to mark a locational reference point, as in (81) and as in WN is used to mark the standard of comparison (82).

(81)   Sit a long way away from the ants' nest.   JM/AD 2833B 1331
        [hesitation] *biyuu-dhi   wila-y.la-ya / ngiyaarrma / **giidjaa-dhi***
        [hesitation] long.way-ABL sit-CTS-IMP / there   / ant-ABL

(82) I am older than my wife.   JM/AD 3220B 821

    giirr = bala ngaya / *burrul-wan.gaan = bala ngaya* / **guliirr-i**   *ngay*   /

    true = CTR 1SG   / big-VERY = CTR   1SG   / spouse-ABL 1SG.DAT /

    I am bigger than my wife.// I am much bigger than my wife.   JG

    ngay = bala   *guliirr, bubaay-djuul*

    1SG.DAT = CTR spouse, small-ONE

    My wife is quite small.   JG

2.3.6.2.2 Multiple cases

The following examples contrast some uses of local cases. (83) shows three local cases being used in one sentence: Allative *biyuu-gu* to show endpoint is a long way off, Locative *baga-dha* to show endpoint of 'put', Ablative *miimii-dji* to mark a reference point, and then Allative *gungan-gu* to show endpoint of falling.

(83) The two men, put the fish high on the river bank.   JM/AD 3219B 1610

    aa / *ngiyarrma = nga bulaa-yu ngaama guduu, ngaarribaa* / **biyuu-gu**   *gaa-nhi,*

    aa. / there = THEN   two-ERG that   cod,   up.there   / long.way-ALL take-PST,

    The two of them took the cod a long way,   JG

    baga-dha, *ngiyarrma = nga.wu wiima-y*   / **miimii-dji** / *ngaarribaa = bala = nga.wu* /

    bank-LOC there = THEN.DIST   put.down-PST / edge-ABL / up.there = CTR = THEN.DIST /

    onto the bank, and put it down there, away from the water (edge), high up,   JG

    waal ngaama **gungan-gu** / *guduu, bundaa-gi*

    not   that   water-ALL / cod,   fall-FUT

    so that the cod wouldn't fall into the water.   JG

2.3.6.2.3 Ablative case: source material

The Ablative marks the material something is made from: kangaroo skin in (84).

(84) The women rolled the sinews on their knees.   JM/FR 2439A 3196

    yabi-li nhama gi.yaa.nha = nga / *dhunbil* / *yina-yu,*   *man.garr gimbi-li.gu,*

    twist   3.DEF   going.to = NOW / sinews / woman-ERG, bag   make-DAT,

    The women are going to plait the sinews, to make the bag,   JG

    bawurra-dhi   / *man.garr* **yulay-i**   **bawurra-dhi**

    red.kangaroo-ABL / bag   skin-ABL red.kangaroo-ABL

    They going to plait the sinews up to make a thread for sewing the kangaroo skin bag.   FR

    from kangaroo, a bag from kangaroo skin.   JG

At 2437B 3831 FR speaks of making a spear *gidjii-yi muyaan-di* (Gidgee-ABL tree-ABL). Note that both elements of the NPs are in Ablative case, in contrast to (88) where 'kangaroo skin' is *bandaarr-gu yulay* 'kangaroo-DAT skin-NOM', with the nouns in different cases. It may or may not be significant that the phrase in (88) is describing the coat, not the process of making it.

2.3.6.3   Ablative case: causal/aversive use

Breen (2004: 84) points out that in many Australian languages Aversive case

> [M]arks the cause of some undesirable state or action, or something against which
> precautions (such as running away, or hiding) are taken.

YG does not have an Aversive case, but generally uses Ablative in such situations, and also uses Ablative to mark some other causes, including benign causes. (As with other function terms, 'cause' here is exemplified rather than closely defined. See §2.2.6.4 for *-ngundi* as possibly having aversive use). Table 25 and the examples that follow show aversive use of Ablative, then other causal uses are shown.

Table 25   **Causal and Aversive use of Ablative case**

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Gloss	Source
ðiði	I became ill **from the meat**.	*dhii-dhi*	meat-ABL	Wurm p 41
Causes of fear with ***garigari*** 'afraid'				
	afraid of the dog	*maadhaay-dji*	dog-ABL	3220B 1056, (317)
	afraid of the snake	*ngandabaa-dhi*	snake-ABL	(1002), 8184 2228
	afraid of what?	*minya-dhi*	what-ABL'	(921)
Causes of fear with ***giyal*** 'afraid'				
	afraid of the boss	*maadhaa-dhi*	boss-ABL	5053 377
	afraid of the dog'	*maadhaay-dji*	dog-ABL	5053 370
	afraid of you hitting me'	*buma-laa-ngundi*	hit-??-PD.ABL	(9)

'Afraid' occurs with different case marking when the complement is a verb: in (921) 'afraid' occurs with a purposive verb, and in 5128 3450 the complement is the verb *garungga-y* 'drown; with the SUBordinate suffix, *-ngindaay*. It may be that this is actually Ablative *-ngindaay-i*, but the Ablative suffix is not phonologically realised.

At 2833B 706 AD translates JM's 'look out **for snakes**' with *ngandabaa-dhi* 'snake-ABL' and he uses the English 'from the snake'. At 2832A 1782 AD sits 'in a shady tree, *yayaay-dhi'* 'sun-ABL', indicating that the sun is a potential cause of harm. Another use of Ablative case with potential causes of harm is seen in (85).

(85)   I'll burn manure in the fire; and that keeps them away.   JM/AD 8184 2374

> *giirr   ngaya＝laa.wu / nguwama dhuu, gimbi-li   / **mungin-di**   /*
> TRUE 1SG＝DIR.DIST / there   fire,   make-FUT / mosquito-ABL /
> I'll make a fire, because of the mosquitoes, JG
>
> *nguwama＝nga / dhuu-ga wila-la-y*
> there＝THEN   / fire-LOC sit-CTS-FUT
> and then (I'll) stay there near the fire.   JG

AD has a non-Aversive use of Ablative in using *yaa-dhi* 'sun-ABL' in translating 'put out skin to dry in the sun' (2439A 3067). The interpretation here is likely to be

causal (the sun will cause the drying) rather than locational, and so the use of the Ablative. Other non-Aversive causal uses of Ablative are seen in (86).

(86) *gungan-di*   water-ABL in 'got a full belly'   AD 3217B 856
      yarray-dji   beard-ABL in '(I can't see his eyes) from the beard.'   AD 3219B 2551

Yalagiirrma 'like this' has Ablative case in *yalagiirrayma-dhi* 'that is why' (because of this); (494).

The Ablative marks the cause of laughter, used with *gindama-y* 'laugh' in (87) and 3219A 265. See Table 26 for other similar verbs[23].

(87) All the men laughed at the women.   CW/AD 5131 1041
      *giirr dhayn-galgaa, nhama / gindama-w.aaba-lda-nhi / **yina-yi***
      true man-PL,   3.DEF / laugh-TOT-CTS-PST   / woman-ABL

2.3.6.3.1   Clothing

Koch (p.c.) points out that in many Australian languages 'putting on clothes' is described as 'entering' them. There are relatively few expressions to do with clothes in the sources, but many do use *wuu-gi* 'go.in' and Ablative case for 'putting on' apparel one 'gets into' (shirt, shoes, trousers, etc.). At other times Locative case is used.

(88) shows use of Accusative for clothes one is wearing and Ablative with *wuu-gi* 'go.in' to translate 'put on'. FR in (89) uses the Locative case for putting on a boot, but the structure is different, using a transitive verb with boot as Object.

(88) The day was cold and the big man wore a coat made of kangaroo skin.   JM/AD 3220A 1132
      *ngiyarrma nguu=nga   **gaa-gi.la-nhi** / **guudii** /*
      there   3SG.ERG=THEN take-CTS-PST / coat.ACC /
      He was wearing a coat (there).   JG

      ***guudii-dji wuu-nhi** / bandaarr-gu   yulay*
      coat-ABL go.in-PST / kangaroo-DAT skin
      He put on a coat, kangaroo skin.   JG

(89) *Manduwii nhama / burrul-u dhayn-du / **babu-ya** wiima-y.*
      boot   3.DEF / big-ERG man-ERG / foot-LOC put.on-PST
      The big man put a boot on his foot.   FR/JM 2438A 364

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[23] The case frame of emotion adjectives seems to be lexically determined. One might expect *yiili* 'angry' to take Ablative complements as 'afraid' does, but it takes Locative: *yiiliy nganunda* 'wild 1sg.LOC' 'wild with me' (2438B 2679).
The cause of crying has not been found in Ablative case, but has been found in Locative and Caritative (e.g. *guliirr-nginda* '(crying) for his wife' (spouse-Caritative) FR5053 451, AD5055 1523). I would have expected *yu-gi* 'cry' and *gindama-y* 'laugh' to have the same case frame.

In (52) (=(662)) AD uses *wa-y* 'be.in' and 'boot-LOC' in a sentence he translates 'your foot inside the boots'.

2.3.6.3.2 Ablative case: predicate complements

There are a number of 'seeking' verbs (e.g. 'ask', 'look for') which consistently or occasionally have an argument in Ablative case. *Miinba-y* is 'ask for' and the thing sought is Accusative case, the one asked is mostly Ablative as in (90).

(90)   Don't take this emu away from me.   JM/AD 3217A 813

    nhama=nga / yaluu **wayamaa-ngundi** *dhinggaa miinba-ya*

    3.DEF=THEN / again old.fellow-PD.ABL meat   ask.for-IMP

    (Don't take my meat), ask that old fellow for some more meat.   AD

However at times the one asked is Accusative or Locative. In (5) and 5052 2499, in both of which AD first has the nominal indicating the one asked in Accusative case, he then changes it to Ablative. At 3219A 1379 the one asked is in Locative case: *nganunda* (1SG.LOC).

(91) shows an Ablative marked theme of *gayarra-gi* 'look for'. However in other sentences the object of *gayarra-gi* is Accusative case, as is the object of *ngaawa-y* 'look for, find'. I have no explanation for the different uses.

(91)   I am looking for the kangaroo that you saw.   CW/AD 5055 1398

    giirr ngiyani-luu ngaama / gayarra-gi.la-nha, **bandaarr-i,**   *nginda, ngarra-ldaay*

    true we-ex.erg that   / look.for-CTS-PRS, kangaroo-ABL, 2SG,   see-SUB

    We are looking for the kangaroo that you saw.   JG

Table 26 gives predicates which have an unexpected obligatory or optional Ablative argument.

Table 26   **Predicates with Ablative complement**

Verb/adjective	Gloss	Use of Ablative
galiya-y	climb	Abl used on all locations of climbing
wuu-gi	go in	Abl used on all locations entered, and *wuu-gi* used to translate many English verbs
wunga-y	swim/dive	Abl used when 'entering water' is being described
gindama-y	laugh	Abl used on cause of laughter
miinba-y	ask for	Abl used on the 'one asked' (Ask something from someone)
giyal/garigari	afraid	Abl used on cause of fear

2.3.6.4 Ablative case: affected part

When a whole is the object of a verb, and a part is specified, the whole is in Accusative case and the part in Ablative. For instance 'hit the possum on the head' has possum Accusative and head Ablative; 'grab possum by the leg' has 'possum-

Accusative' and 'leg-Ablative'. This pattern is relatively common. At times the whole is not expressed, but the part nominal is still in Ablative case. In WN Donaldson (1980: 97) states that a point of contact where a thing is seized is marked with Ablative case. The YG rule is more general.

A range of case frames are found when the verb has reduced valency (reciprocal, reflexive and middle) and a part is specified. There are also as yet unexplained Ablatives, such as legs-Ablative in (101) 'the woman rolled the sinews on their legs'. This may suggest that Ablative can be used for perlative function 'along their legs'.

In (92) - (96) A ≠ O, i.e. the verb is not reciprocal, reflexive or middle. The examples have all or some of: an Ergative Agent, an Object whole in Accusative case (_underlined_ in the examples) and a part in Ablative case. (92), (93) (94) have explicit whole and part. In (95) the whole is not expressed but the part is Ablative. In (96) AD corrects himself to use the Ablative; the whole may be realised by _ngaama_. The examples show use of 'Ablative part' with a wide range of verbs.

(92) The spear hit the kangaroo in the neck.   JM/FR 2439A 2818

     wuyu-dhi _nguu_   _dhu-nhi_   / _bawurra_

     neck-ABL 3SG.ERG pierce-PST / kangaroo

     He speared the kangaroo in the neck.   FR

(93) The fat man hit the skinny fellow on the top of the head.   JM/AD 3219B 84

     burrul-bidi-dju ngaama   _dhayn-du_ /

     big-AUG-ERG   3.ANA.DEF man-ERG /

     buma-y ngaarrma.wu / _bubaay-djuul dhayn_ / **_dhaygal-i_**

     hit-PST there.DIST   / small-ONE   man   / head-ABL

     The great big man hit the little man on the head.   JG

(94) I grabbed the possum, and pulled it out of the hole.   JM/FR 2438A 633

     mudhay ngaya bayama-y, **_buyu-dhi,_** _buma-y ngaya_=_nha_ **_dhaygal-i_**

     possum 1SG   catch-PST, leg-ABL, hit-PST 1SG=3   head-ABL

     I pulled the possum out by the leg and I killed him.   FR

     I caught possum by the leg and I hit him on the head.   JG

(95) There's a man coming there to kill the goanna.   JM/FR 2439A 3429

     muyaan nguu   / _gama-laa-nha_ / _gayawi-y nguu_   / _giirr_ **_dhaygal-i-wan.gaan_**

     stick   3SG.ERG / break-MOV-PRS / pelt-PST 3SG.ERG / true head-ABL-VERY

     He broke a stick and he pelted the goanna and he hit him first go on the head.   FR

     He is breaking a stick, he pelted it right on the head.   JG

(96) The fat man had knocked out his (skinny's) front tooth.   JM/AD 3219B 367

     ngiyama=_nga burrul-bidi-dju dhaynxx_ / _dhayn-du_ _ngaama_ _nguungu_ /

     there=THEN   big-AUG-ERG   manxx   / man-ERG that   3SG.DAT /

*yiya buma-y / **yiya-dhi** buma-y, nhama=nga yiya dhurraaba-y-??*

tooth hit-PST / tooth-ABL hit-PST, 3.DEF=THEN tooth make.come.out-PST-??

Then the big fat man hit his tooth, hit him on the tooth, and made the tooth come out.   JG

Other similar examples include:

The little boy hit him on the nose with a stick. (nose-ABL)	(3998A 1890)
The girl scratched her brother on the arm. (arm-ABL)	(3218B 2051)
The skinny fellow kicked the fat man in the stomach. (stomach-ABL)	(3219B 105)
He hit the man on the chin. (chin-ABL)	Wurm: 98

There are some exceptions to the basic pattern. In (97) FR has the 'part' in two cases, Locative and then Accusative; neither of them Ablative. I take this as a sign that he was unsure of the correct form.

(97)   The man hit the woman on the head with the boomerang.   CW/FR 5053 747

*dhayn-du nhama yinarr buma-y, **dhaygal-a** / dhaygal / barran-du*

man-ERG 3.DEF woman hit-PST, head-LOC / head.ACC / boomerang-ERG

There are a number of other examples where the affected part is in Locative case. 'I hit him on the head with my tomahawk' (98) has 'head-LOC' and no explicit object. FR2439A 2666 also uses *dhaygal-a* 'head-LOC' in 'threw spear at kangaroo and hit him on the head'. These may or may not be errors.

(98)   I hit **him** on the head with my tomahawk.   JM/FR 2438A 649

*Buma-y ngaya, **dhaygal-a**, girrgal-u.*

hit-PST I   head-LOC tomahawk-ERG

When the affected part is part of the agent (e.g. 'I rubbed my arm') the verb is reflexive or middle and a number of case frames are found, likely expressing fine distinctions in meaning which have not been explicated. The Agent is either Nominative or Ergative, and the affected part Accusative, Locative or Ablative.

(634) 'we cut off our arms' has a reflexive verb, 'arms' is the Object and is Accusative. The pattern is the same for 'head' in (635): 'he hit himself on the head'. Table 136 lists similar examples which have the part in Accusative, Locative and Ablative case.

In (99) (= (688)) follows the pattern established for non-reflexive verbs, with O Accusative and the affected part Ablative. No A is expressed and the verb is middle.

(99)   *barãŋgali ŋanna bumanni*   SW p 101

barangal-i nganha buma-nhi

ankle-ABL 1SG.ACC hit.M-PST

I hit my ankle.   SW

(100) is a complex example, showing a wide range of combinations of case frames. The subjects are **_bold.underlined_** and the verbs are all middle. In (a) *gaarra-nhi* is intransitive, but in (c) it is probably Ergative, shown by *=ngu,* and the affected part is

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Ablative. In (b) *wiima-nhi* is middle, has a Nominative Subject, but unexpectedly for an intransitive verb has an object, *waa.* In (c) AD corrects himself to use the Ablative.

(100) The women stuck feathers to their skin and wore shells around their necks.   JM/AD 8187 1748

(a)   *ngiyarrma / nhama **ganunga** gaarra-nhi, **yinarr-galgaa** / nhama ngayagay /*
       there   / 3.DEF 3PL   rub.M-PST, woman-PL   / that   also   /

(b)   *maanggii-gu ngaama waa / nguwama **yinarr**   / wiima-nhi   / dhaygal-a /*
       mussel-DAT that   shell / there   woman / put.down.M-PST / head-LOC

(c)   *nhama=**ngu**??nhu / mubalxx   / **mubal-i**   ngayagay / dhirra gaarra-nhi*
       3.DEF=3ERG??   / stomach.ERROR / stomach-ABL also   / flash rub.M-PST
       The women painted themselves, and also put mussel shells in their hair. They painted their
       bellies really well.   JG

The English structure of (101) 'the women rolled sinews on their legs', is similar to that of (100)(b) 'the women put shells in their hair'. However the YR structures are quite different. While both sentences have a middle verb and an affected body part in (100)(b) the Subject is Nominative and the body part Locative whereas in (101) the Subject is Ergative and the body part Ablative.

(101) The women rolled the sinews on their bare legs.   JM/FR 2439A 3234
       After thought, and after tentatively saying *mabun-da* (-LOC) FR says:
       *yina-yu   ….. **mabun-di** gi.yaa.nha nhama yabi-li   / dhunbil*
       woman-ERG ….. thigh-ABL going.to   3.DEF twist-FUT / sinew
       They going to plait it, twist it, on their thigh.   FR
       The women are going to twist the sinews on their legs.   JG

This structure of reflexives, particularly when the verb has multiple arguments, is semantically and structurally complex.

It seems likely that when the 'affected part' construction is used the focus is on the whole. Syntactically there are two phrases, one indicating the 'whole' and the other the 'part'. This contrasts with situations where the 'part' is the focus. Then the 'whole' nominal and the 'part' nominal are in the same case. In English this second situation generally has a possessive nominal for the whole (I hit the **possum's** head). Three such examples are given in (102)[24]. In these NPs the whole and part nouns can be adjacent or separated by a pause or by other words.

(102) Whole-part, with part in focus.

touch my **father's head**	father.ACC my head.ACC	(871)
Take prickles **from your back**	you-ABL … back-ABL	(869) (1084)
Drop a stone on his **mother's head**	mother-LOC head-LOC	AD3998A 1137

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[24] While in (c) the English has an 'affected part' structure I assume AD did not interpret it this way.

See §10.4 for more on whole-part constructions.

2.3.6.5   Unexplained uses of Ablative case

There are other relatively common unexplained uses of the Ablative case, with some listed here for future investigation. In the Emu and Brolga story, (Tindale, line 17) Brolga says: 'husband, will we kill some of our children?' using *kainkal gulbir-i* 'children few-ABLative'. This could be seen as part whole, with *kainkal* (*gaaynggal*) 'children' as the whole and *gulbir* (*gulbirr*) 'few' as the part, but it is not an obvious parallel to the body and part structure discussed above.

Laves (MS2188-10-1p38) has *mu'rui* 'near nose' (*muru-[w]i*). If this is Ablative it, like a Mathews example *dhului* above, has the suffix as 'i' after 'u'. At 2832A 1289 'hungry' is translated *yuulngindi*, which is morphologically *yuulngin-di* 'hungry-ABL'. *Yuulngin* (*yuul* 'food') is found for 'hungry', but *yuulngindi* is more common. *Yuulngindi* could be analysed as Ablative with a causative meaning, but in the great majority of instances the meaning is stative or inchoative: 'I am/got hungry' rather than causal. Causal use is found, but rarely, as in 5056 632 'the dog died from hunger', which has y*uul-ngin* which uses *-ngin* rather than *-nginda* or *-ngindi* as the caritative suffix. The more common form of the caritative suffix is *-nginda*.

Wurm (p 52) has what may be an unexplained use of Ablative or an error:

ŋa:nunda gayri 'what is your name? (*ngaangunda gayrr-i* 'who-LOC name-ABL')

2.3.6.6   Ablative case in Other Languages

The analyses and uses of Ablative in other languages is similar, but not identical to those in YG. Breen, (2004: 83) speaking of Yandruwantha, has:

The Ablative case … is used to denote origin, in a wide range of senses. These include the place from which a person or thing comes, whether the sentence involves motion or not, the mother from whom a person comes, the origin of some state, the reference point of a statement about distance or direction, the point from which an action is directed.

Wangaaybuwan has a case suffix *-DHi*, a cognate of the YG Ablative. Donaldson (1980: 96) lists 'non-local uses' of *-DHi* and comments on the semantic unity in these functions:

In all its non-local uses *-DHi* marks a NP which has a (logically) prior existence to the rest of the sentence and in some way explains it. ... The organs of speech and perception may have instrumental case-marking. Alternatively, they may be marked with *-DHi*, as the source of an utterance or perception. .. (the origin or cause of a psychological or emotional state (is also marked by *-DHi*.).

Many of these functions have parallels in YG, but there are other YG uses of the Ablative which do not seem to be related to the concept of source, and there are uses such as the marking of organs of speech, which has not been found in YG but could be used. Some such examples are given in Table 27. It is possible YG had these uses, especially since no translation equivalents have been found in the corpus.

Further discussion of the YG Ablative, and an examination of the YG grammar of space is found in Appendix B: Background material.

Table 27   **Other uses of Ablative: Wangaaybuwan, Yandruwantha**

Wangaaybuwan	
Tying leaves around their shins with string	'string-ABL' (p 93)
Tying people into the *burrba* (initiation).	*burrba*-ABL (p 92)
I am pleased with the dress.	'dress-ABL' (p 97)
I thought he was a bird.	'bird-ABL' (p 98).
Yandruwantha	
I've been in water before. (= 'I can swim. I am used to water.')	'water-ABL' (Breen, 2004: 84)

2.3.7   Double case marking

Double case marking is rare in the YG sources. On the basis of what is found in other languages (cf Dench & Evans, 1988) it is expected with derivational cases but might also be found with Dative (used with possessive function).

The only examples found of likely YG double marking on non-derivational cases possibly have other case markings following a Dative form. They are found in MathewsGR (p 264) and given in Table 28. Pronouns generally do not carry further case marking, but clearly do here, with a further Dative (benefactive) or Locative suffix. The *-u/a-* in *ngai-u-ngu* and *ngay-a-ga* are currently not understood but may be epenthetic, with the choice of vowel based on vowel harmony. Alternatively *ngayu* may be an archaic Dative form, but this does not explain *ngaya-ga*.

Table 28   **Mathews: potential double case marking**

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Source
Gaigu ngaiungu	for my child	*gaay-gu ngay-u-ngu* child-DAT 1SG.DAT-*u?*-DAT	MathewsGR: 264
Baindulngu ngaiungu	for my father	*baayan-duul-ngu ngay-u-ngu* father-one-DAT 1SG.DAT-*u?*-DAT	MathewsGR: 264 Bk3 p 23 MS 8006/3/9
ngar ngaiaga wullaidha	at my camp	*ngaarr ngay-a-ga walaay-dha* far 1SG.DAT-*a*-LOC camp-LOC	MathewsGR: 267

The presence of a possessive Dative in double case-marking is found in WN; Donaldson (p 107) comments:

> *-gu* is unlike any other case inflection in that it **may** (my emphasis) be followed by a further case inflection. A NP with any case function may contain a nominal marked with the Dative *–gu* to indicate a possessor. The case inflection appropriate to the NP as a whole is attached after *–gu*.

(103)   … (I am frightened of this) woman's dog.   Wangaaybuwan   Donaldson (4-56)

  … *winarr-**gu-dhi**   mirri-**dji***

  …. woman-DAT-CIRC dog-CIRC (CIRC = ABL)

Donaldson's analysis suggests that such double marking was optional, perhaps used only when needed for clarity. Optional features can be relatively easily lost, and this may be why possible YG examples are found only in early sources.

One would expect derivational case suffixes to be followed by standard case suffixes but this is rare in YG. There is a clear example of a Comitative suffix (with inflectional use) followed by an Ablative suffix in (104) and possibly by an Ergative suffix in (112)(b).

(104)   He jumped up from the ashes, sat on them and jumped up quick.   CW/FR 5053 608

    dhuu-biyaay-dji / ***girran-di***   *ngaya baa-nhi*

    fire-COM-ABL   / ashes-ABL 1SG   jump-PST

    I jumped up from the heat, from the ashes.   JG

In WN the Ergative suffix follows the Comitative in examples on p 109/110, e.g. *gugurr-buwan-du maying-gu* 'stick-COMIT-ERG person-ERG'.

2.4   Derivational cases

Grammars of Australian languages describe cases corresponding to the YG core, Dative and local cases. As pointed out (§2.1.1) there are other suffixes which have some of the properties of these cases but are also different. I classify the YG suffixes in Table 29 as Derivational cases.

Table 29   **YG derivational cases**

Gloss	Yuwaalaraay	Gamilaraay	Translation	Notes
COMitative	*-Biyaay*	*-Baraay*	with, having	
COM+	*-bil*	*-bil*	with lots	
PRIVative	*-DHalibaa*	*-DHalibaa*	without	
WANTing	*-nginda*	*-nginda*	need/want	*-ngin+da?*

Similar suffixes in other Australian languages have been variously classified. Some, e.g. Dench and Evans (1988) Wilkins (1989) list them as cases. Others such as Dixon (1980: 322), (1977: 177), Donaldson (1980) and Goddard (1983) regard them as (derivational) suffixes. See also Blake (1987: 81). Breen has core, Dative and local cases, but (2004: 112) describes the comitative and similar suffixes as 'productive noun stem formatives', grouping them with number suffixes and other suffixes. Another approach is taken by Dench (1995: 63) who makes no distinction 'between a class of 'inflections' and a class of 'derivations''. See Wilkins (1989: 155) for more discussion of the issue.

With inflectional use 'derivational' case suffixes have similarities to other case markers. Both signal the role of an NP in a larger structure[25]. In some languages (e.g. Warlpiri) derivational case suffixes have the same distribution as other case markers - for instance being used on all members of an NP when other cases markers are so used. However, compared to other cases, they are more commonly followed by other case markers. Few examples are found in YG.

Derivational suffixes commonly have a second, derivational use, being involved in the creation of a separate lexeme whose reference is different to that of the stem, and whose meaning may not be compositional. Use as a species name or placename is especially strong evidence of this lexicalisation. These uses can be readily distinguished, as Wilkins (1989: 155) points out. Inflectional use is productive and the inflected form has a predictable meaning, while derivational use may be non-productive with resulting idiosyncratic meaning. The two uses of the one suffix are clearly seen in (110).

As with other areas of YG the description of derivational case suffixes is constrained by the incomplete source information. The 'having' suffix is described in Ridley, absent in Mathews, rare in other sources except for late sources: Wurm, Sim and the tapes. The other suffixes are much rarer and it is quite possible that there are other similar suffixes which have not been recorded at all.

The suffixes *-wan* 'with prominent' and *-giirr/guwaay* 'like' have some case-like properties, but are not cases: see §2.4.1.5, §2.4.1.6

2.4.1   Suffixes about presence or absence

It is common for Australian languages to have a suffix which has meanings such as 'with' or 'having' which is called comitative or proprietive. Dixon (1976: 203-312) has a large section on what he refers to as 'the derivational affix 'having'', including a section on WN (Donaldson, 1976). It is also relatively common to have a suffix with the opposite meaning, 'without', sometimes glossed 'privative'. In WN and YG there are a number of other suffixes with related meanings such as 'with much', 'with prominent', and (in WN only) 'nasty with'[26]. Both YG and WN have a caritative suffix *-nginda* 'want/need'. These suffixes prototypically form an adnominal of predictable meaning from a noun, for instance *guliirr-iyaay* 'spouse-having' (= 'married'). Such adnominals can then become names (nominals), most commonly of places or creatures and also the language names *Gamil-araay* and *Yuwaal-araay*, both 'no-COM'.

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[25] Derivational cases are similar to Dative (possessive) case in prototypically forming adnominals, which can be regarded as adjectives

[26] YG does not have suffixes corresponding to WN *-girr* 'nasty with' and *–bidjaal* 'with big'.

2.4.1.1   *-Biyaay/-Baraay* 'COMitative'

The suffix *-Biyaay* YR, *-Baraay*[27] GR is glossed 'COMitative'. The form is *-biyaay/-baraay* except that it is *-iyaay* YR and *-araay* GR after word final *l* or *rr*[28]. There is also variation in the form of the YR suffix, with both *-Biyaay* and *-Bayaay* found (107). The latter is less common.

The core meaning of Comitative case is that one thing has or is accompanied by another. Dixon (1976: 306) describes it as having a number of semantic functions: 'attribute/characteristic', 'possession', 'accompaniment' or 'presence of'. [29]

Attributive use is seen in (105), but it is more commonly predicative, as in (106) or as a second predicate (107).

(105) The man with the big beard slept for a long long time.   CW/AD 3219A 830

*ngaarrma ngaama **yarray-biyaay** dhayn / bamba   dhanduwi-nyi*

there   that   beard-COM   man   / w.energy sleep-PST

He went to sleep for a long time (till the sun nearly coming up).   AD

The bearded man slept soundly. / The man with a beard slept soundly.   JG

(106) The water leaked out of the dish.   CW/AD 5058 1868

***biyuu-biyaay**=yaa nhama dhindhirr*

hole-com=POT   3.DEF dish.

That dish must have a hole in it.   JG

(107) Another man is walking along with his spears and a fighting club.   JM/AD 3219A 1029

*nhama ngayagay dhayn yanaa-waa-nha / **bilaarr-ayaay/iyaay** /*

3.DEF other   man   walk-CTS-PRS / spear-COM   /

That other man is walking along with his spear,   JG

*and **barran-biyaay**   / **bundi-biyaay***

and boomerang-COM / club-COM

He's carrying his spear and boomerang, and bundi.   AD

and with a boomerang and club.   JG

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[27] David Nash has compiled a list of placenames with final *-bri* and *-roi* (*-baraay* and *-(a)raay*) at
https://maps.google.com.au/maps/ms?msid=213071030143226720364.0004bebb87688aa9bc013&msa=0
https://maps.google.com.au/maps/ms?msid=213071030143226720364.0004bebb4df6da0e1ff5e&msa=0

[28] The regular *r* > *y* change (GR > YR) would result in *–Bayaay*, and in fact the dialect name Yuwaalayaay has that form, indicating that a further sound chance has taken place, from *–Bayaay* to *–Biyaay*. At times it is difficult to distinguish the two vowel glide sequences, and *yiyabayaay* has been heard, as well as *yiyabiyaay*, for 'firestick'. The form *–ayaay* is retained in one Wurm example (billy can) in the table, and one Sim example, *dhaandiyaay*, has the suffix*–diyaay* after #*n*, but *–biyaay* is also found after final *n*.

[29] These terms are useful but have the usual lack of precision and incompletely describe the uses of the suffix.

(108)   He wrapped it (the python he caught) around his waist to carry it.   JM/AD 8187 539

  *ngiyama-?? / yanaa-w-uwi-nyi ngaama / **yabaa-biyaay/bayaay***

  there   / go-BACK-PST   that   / python-COM

  (He tied it round his waist) and went back/home with the python.   JG

(107) and (108) show accompaniment and (109) contrasts *bilaarr* in Comitative and Ergative (instrumental) cases.

(109)   He is walking along spearing kangaroos.   CW/AD 5057 573

  *giirr nhama=Na yanaa-waa-nha / **bilaarr-iyaay,** ngiyama nguu*

  true 3.DEF=3   go-MOV-PRS   / spear-COM,   there   3SG.ERG

  bilaa-yu *dhu-rri.gu / bandaarr*

  spear-ERG spear-PURP / kangaroo

  He is going along with his spear, so he can spear a kangaroo.   JG

The suffix can have a quantitative implication rather than simply indicating a presence, as seen by its translation as 'all' in (259) where 'mud-COM' is '(the ground is) **all mud**' and its translation as 'covered in' in (1139)(b) where 'blood-COM' is '**covered in** blood' (but at (449) 'blood-COM' is 'there is blood on').

Derivationally the suffix is commonly part of GR placenames such as Collarenebri, *Galariin-baraay* 'blossoms-COM'. The same form can have inflectional use: *dhulu* ***galariin-baraay*** 'a tree with blossoms on it' (*dhulu* 'tree'). The suffix is less commonly used to form other names, such as those of animals: *milam-baraay* 'cow' (milk-having).

In (110) -*Biyaay* occurs twice: firstly with derivational use in 'net' (*dhaal* is usually 'cheek'). The meaning *dhaaliyaay* is clearly idiosyncratic. Then -*Biyaay* is used as an inflection.[30]

(110)   To fish with a net.   SW p 85

  innabiligu ða:lijai biaia

  yinabi-li.gu ***dhaaliyaay-biyaay-a??***

  fish-PURP   net-com-LOC??

Other examples of derivational uses are seen in Table 30. The use of the suffix to form new words such as *milambaraay* 'cow', *yurraamubiyaay* 'drunk' and 'water-bag-*biyaay*' (3220A 899) shows that it was highly productive even recently.

Williams (p 105) gives two examples of 'weak instrumental' use of the suffix (she does not define the term). One is 'caught a cod with a *hook*', but this example is very atypical and likely an error. The second is 'walked with a *stick*'. This is probably from AD5056 1994 and examination of the tape does not support an instrumental

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[30] This distinction of roles is not contradicted by the fact that the instrumental suffix would normally be expected, not the comitative, or by the unexplained final element.

interpretation. However (110) shows instrumental use and (111) could be interpreted as weak instrumental[31] use of the Comitative. (111) also shows variation in pronunciation of the suffix.

Table 30 **Derivational use of the comitative suffix**

Original	Gloss	Standard	Base	Source
dhaaliyaay	net	*dhaal-iyaay*	*dhaal* 'cheek'?	Dictionary
gubiyaay	a yam		*gu* not known.	Dictionary
milambrai	milkers (cows)	*milam-baraay*	*milam* from 'milk'	Ridley
juṙa:mu b'ai	drunk	*yurraamu-biyaay*	yurraamu 'rum'	Wurm
wiibiyaay	hot	*wii-biyaay*	*wii* 'fire'	Sim
dhaandiyaay	leaning		*dhaan* 'sideways'	Sim

(111) I paddled the canoe close to the river bank.   JM/AD 8184 492

    *giirr ngaya ngarraagula / dhuu-rraa-nhi / **gumbiilgal-bayaay** / **ganuu-biyaay***

    true 1SG   over.there? / crawl-MOV-PST / canoe-COM   / canoe-COM

    I was moving along there in/with the canoe.   JG

There are a number of examples where the suffix has a grouping function. In (112) *dhagaan-biyaay* is 'all the brothers' rather than 'with brother'. It is co-referential with *ganunga*. The common meaning of *guliirr-iyaay* 'spouse-COM' is 'married', but Sim translates it 'married couple'. Presumably the context disambiguates these uses of the suffix.

(112) All the brothers live together.   CW/AD 5130 130

(a) *giirruu   ngaama / ganunga, **dhagaan-biyaay** / dhanduwi-y.aaba-lda-nha*

    true.very that   / 3PL,   brother-COM   / sleep-TOT-CTS-PRS

    That's where they sleep.   AD

    All the brothers gave their mother their meat.   CW/AD 5130 150

(b) *giirruu   / ngiyarrma / **dhagaan-biyaay-u** dhinggaa wuu-nhi, gunidjarr-gu*

    true.very / there   / brother-COM-ERG meat   give-PST, mother-DAT

    (All) The brothers give meat to (their) mother.   JG

The use of Comitative in the Sim's *guliirr-iyaay* 'married couple' is reminiscent of the WN suffix (Donaldson, 1980: 104) *galaydjaaN* which she glosses as 'Reciprocal Plural'. WN 'spouse-*galaydjaaN*' means 'married couple' and 'mother-*galaydjaaN*' means 'mother and daughter'.[32]

Personal accompaniment can be shown by a purely inclusory construction (§10.4.4) and/or by use of a comitative. (113) shows both strategies used in the one phrase 'we2

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[31] It may be that the Comitative is used more commonly with instrumental function with intransitive verbs.

[32] See Merlan & Heath (1982) for more on 'Dyadic Kinship Terms'.

father-COM' = 'father and I'. (114) suggests the same phrase (albeit in different order) has another interpretation, referring to 3 people, but Wurm's English may be a misinterpretation of the sentence.

(113) *ŋaja gaðou jaːða ŋali bɔːdjɛɽai bajawuɲji* Wurm: p 85

*ngayaga-dha-wu? yaadha ngali **buwadjarr-iyaay** bayawi-nyi*

other-LOC-TIME? day 1.DU father-COM hunt?-PST

I went yesterday (we 2) with my father hunting. SW

(114) *bɔːdjɛɖjai ŋalli bajawi* SW p 85

***buwadjarr-iyaay** ngali bayawi-y*

father-COM 1.DU hunt?-FUT

We 2 will go hunting with my father. SW

?I will go hunting with my father. JG

Another use of the Comitative in a neighbouring language is as an existential: Donaldson (1976: 235) has: *Garraa yanaa. Dhuurr-buwan* (don't go.IMP man-COM) 'Don't go. There is a man', showing that a single comitative-suffixed word can be used as an existential sentence in WN. No clearly existential uses of the Comitative have been found in YG. (115) and, less likely, (116) can have existential interpretations: ('there is a hole' 'there are clubs'), but both can also be interpreted as predicative: ('the tree has a hole in it' 'they have clubs')

(115) It might be under a tree. Look under the tree. JM/FR 2438A 3214

*muyaan-di ngaarrma / muyaan-da ngaarrma ngarra-la / **biyuu-biyaay***

tree-ABL there / tree-LOC there look-IMP / hole-COM

Have a look at that tree there. There's a hole in it. FR

(116) They had some nullanullas. JM/AD 8186 2296

*giirr **bundi-biyaay***

true club-COM

(They) had clubs. JG

As in English there are a number of ways of encoding similar meanings. In (117) 'got a beard' is translated with the comitative suffix, but 'his hair is long' is not. In (118) 'got kids' is translated firstly by the suffix, and then by the verb *gaa-gi* 'take/bring'. I have no explanation of the differences in meaning.

(117) a beard, like that CW/AD 3994A 752

*yarray / **yarray-biyaay** / **yarray-biyaay**=bala nhama wanda / guyaarraala=Na dhaygal*

beard / beard-COM / beard-com=CTR 3.DEF white.man / long=3 hair

That man got a long beard and his hair is long. AD

Donaldson points out (1980: 107) that in WN the Comitative suffix 'cannot be suffixed to first or second person pronouns, demonstratives or names since it cannot mark forms whose reference is definite'. *Buwadjarr-iyaay* (113) (114) has definite reference, so it seems that restrictions on the use of the suffix are not as wide in YG as

they are in WN. The suffix has not been found on interrogative words (e.g. *minya-biyaay#* 'what with?' but I see no reason why this should not occur as such uses do occur in other Australian languages; e.g.. Simpson (1991: 57) gives an example of 'what' and 'that' followed by the comitative/proprietive suffix in Warlpiri.

Another WN use not yet attested in YG is the appearance of the suffix on a verb to indicate 'ability to'. Donaldson (1980: 110) points out:

> A verb root plus conjugation marker followed by *–buwan/-DHalabaaN-* (COMitative/PRIVative) indicates the ability/inability to perform the action or experience the state referred to by the verb root. *Giyanhdha-y-djalbaaN-* means 'fearless, unable to fear … and *yana-y-buwan* means 'able to walk'.

Similar examples are not found in YG, but again it is quite possible that this is because of the incomplete records.

The syntax of the suffix is at times uncertain. One would have expected to commonly find derivational case suffixes followed by core and local case suffixes. However there are very few examples: followed by an Ablative suffix in (104), Allative in *galariin-biyaay-u* 'to Collarenebri' (5053 418) and possibly by an Ergative in (112).

Usually all elements of a YG NP are case marked, but multiple use of the comitative in a YG NP has not been found. Compare Yidiny where Dixon (1980: 325) points out that the Comitative suffix goes on both the head noun and a modifying adjective (e.g. 'man three-COM wife-COM' = 'man with 3 wives'). Similar use is found in WN: ex 4-66, and to a less degree 4-68. In (118) only the final element of *burrulaa birralii* 'many children' has the comitative suffix. I presume the alternative pattern, with all elements having the Comitative, is more traditional.

(118) *giirr ngaya buma-y / birralii ngay   / nginda=bala nhama=nga   / **burrulaa birralii-biyaay,***
    true 1SG   hit-PST / child 1SG.DAT / 2SG   3.DEF=THEN? / many   child-COM,
    I killed my kids, but you got a lot.   AD/CW 3994A 310

    ngaya=bala=Na/nha bulaarr / bulaarr gaa-gi.la-nha
    1SG=CTR=3   two   / two   take-CTS-PRS
    But I only got two.   JG

2.4.1.2   *–DHalibaa* 'PRIVative'

The suffix *–DHalibaa* indicates an absence of something, with (119) showing typical use in the tapes. It's meaning is the opposite of the Comitative, which indicates the presence of something. It is found a number of times with a paraphrase which uses *maayrr* 'none' instead of the suffix: (120) and (121). Table 31 shows typical uses.

Table 31　**Examples of *-DHalibaa* 'Privative'**

Standard form	Gloss	Root gloss	Source/Note
guliirr-dalibaa	unmarried (spouseless)	spouse	Ridley: 18
wii-djalibaa	no fire(wood)	fire(wood)	Wurm
dhalay-djalibaa	dumb	tongue	Sim (non-compositional)
gugirrii-djalibaa	weak	sinew	Sim (non-compositional)
yiya-dhalibaa	gummy, no teeth	tooth	FR 1848A 1849
gunidjarr-dhalibaa	with no mother		FR 2438A 1311

Most of the examples (especially in the tapes) show inflectional use. Mildly derivational use is seen in Table 31, particularly in *dhalaydjalibaa*. The suffix is found on nouns, forming adjectives. Its use could be expanded to use on verbs, to parallel the suggested use of *–Biyaay/Baraay* with verbs. No examples have been found of the suffix followed by another case suffix but there does not seem to be any reason why these should not occur, as happens for the Comitative suffix. The suffix is found in the fairly widespread placename Weetalibah; *wii-dhalibaa* 'fire-PRIV', but not in other placenames or creature names.

The form of the suffix varies. It can be *-dhalibaa* in all environments, but is usually *–dalibaa* after final *n, l* and *rr*, and more commonly *–djalibaa* after final *y* and *i*. Some expressions of *rr-DHalibaa* delete the rhotic, as in *yina-dalibaa* (*yinarr* 'woman'). While the form is generally described as a suffix and it is only found immediately after the word it qualifies the variation in realisation and intonation suggest that it was originally a separate word.

The suffix is found often in some recent sources, particularly the tapes and Sim, but not in earlier sources. It most likely was missed by the early recorders of the languages. Evans (1990: 138) suggests that in some languages the Privative suffix is derived from the word for 'bad', but there is nothing to suggest that pattern in YG.

The WN privative is *-DHalabaaN* (Donaldson, 1980: 107), clearly cognate with the YG. (119)(= (822)) - (121) show use of the suffix, as do (520), (1025), 3217B 1361.

(119)　Their children were always hungry.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JM/AD 8185 2435

　　　giirruu　　nham birralii-gal　　/ yuulngindi / banaga-y.la-nha
　　　true.very　that　child-PL.DIM　/ hungry　　/ run-CTS-PRS
　　　Those kids are (running around) hungry;　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

　　　dhuwarr-dhalibaa *yuulngindi banaga-y.la-nha /*
　　　bread-PRIV　　　　　hungry　　　run-CTS-PRS　　/
　　　with no food, hungry; running around;　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

nhama = Na?nga yuulngindi wila-y.la-nha

3.DEF = 3*?*THEN   hungry   sit-CTS-PRS

He's sitting down there nothing to eat, he's hungry.   AD

they are (sitting down) hungry.   JG

(120)   Soon there will be no meat left.   CW/AD 5130 3085

maayrr = laa ngiyaningu dhinggaa gi-gi   //

none = DIR   1PL.DAT   meat   be-FUT //

There will be no meat for us;   JG

dhinggaa-dhalibaa *ngiyani yanaa-y.la-y*

meat-PRIV   1PL   walk-CTS-FUT

we'll be without meat.   JG

(121)   There are no clouds.   JM/FR 2438B 1988

maayrr gundaa / **gundaa-dhalibaa** *nhama gunagala.*

none   cloud / cloud-PRIV   3.DEF sky

The sky has got no cloud in it.   FR

There are no clouds. The sky is cloudless.   JG

2.4.1.3   *–bil* 'W.LOT: with a lot'

The YG suffix *-bil* is generally translated 'with a lot'. Its form is invariant. No GR examples have been found. The WN cognate is formally identical and has the same gloss. Donaldson (1980: 112) has:

> When a place, object or person is in some way remarkable for a characteristic, suffixes
> are used which include some extra information, in addition to meaning 'having' or
> '(being) with'. These suffixes function grammatically like *–buwan*.

WN also has *-girr* 'nasty with' *–bura* 'with prominent' *–bidjaal* 'with big'.

YG *–bil* has very limited occurrence in the early sources and its use there is likely derivational. There are a number of other *-bil*-final words which may also be examples of derivational use, or accidental occurrence of *-bil* word finally: see Table 32. Parker has *dirrahbeel* probably 'showing off', just possibly *dhirra-bil*. Sim has '*dhirrabilaay* and *dhirrabil*; smiling, grinning, smirking; lit. 'with lots of teeth''. The *-aay* is unexplained, and *dhirra* is not the usual word for 'tooth', so this is possibly a fossilised use of the suffix. FR has *bidjaay-bil* (mud-*bil*) 'covered in mud' (2437B 2837), *dhaymaarr-bil* 'earth-*bil*' in 'mouth full of dirt' (2436A 2442).

The difference between *–bil* and *–Biyaay* likely has both a factual component (*-bil* implies greater quantity) and a discourse component (the speaker uses *–bil* to emphasise the notable or unexpected or amusing nature of the 'having') but the full traditional difference will never be fully known, since the evidence is so limited. There are a number of instances where FR in particular uses *–bil* and *–biyaay* in the same answer, usually with *–biyaay* first; e.g. (123). I assume the second form he gives is his

preferred option. In (124) FR uses *gungan-bil* 'water-*bil*' a number of times to describe 'wet clothes', but changes to *gungan-biyaay* to describe 'wet ground', and then gives an explanation based on 'in' contrasting with 'on' which does not really help to distinguish the two suffixes.

At 5129A 1602 CW and AD are discussing the blood (*guway*) spilling over the *gilaa's* face (*ngulu*). AD describes it as: *guway-biyaay ngulu.* CW asks: Can you say *guway-bil?.* AD replies: '*guway-biyaay* means a lot'. See also (1066). There seems to be overlap of use between the two suffixes.

No instance of multiple NP components marked with -*bil* have been found in YG. Donaldson (1980: 112) points out that in WN multiple component NPs have -*bil* on only one component: *wurran baamirr-bil* 'hair long-*bil*', making it different from non-derivational case suffixes. This may be the result of language decline. Examples of -*bil* are seen in (122) - (125), Table 32, (73), (1066) and probably (1055).

(122) The fish isn't very good to eat.   JM/FR 1853A 2458

   gagil nhama biirrnga,   **buya-bil**
   bad   3.DEF bony.bream, bone-W.LOT
   The Bony Bream is no good, he got a lot of bones.   FR

   (123) and (124) show -*bil* and -*Biyaay* in the same elicitation.

(123) nose, runny   JM/FR 1850B 1830

   mirril, **mirril-iyaay** *muyu,* **mirril-bil**
   snot, snot-COM   nose, snot-W.LOT
   You are a snotty nosed devil.   FR
   Snot, snotty nose, snot everywhere.   JG

(124) wet   JM/FR 1851A 2466
(a)   **gungan-bil** *nginu*   *bayagaa*
   water-W.LOT 2SG.DAT clothes
   You got wet clothes, your clothes are wet.   FR

   The ground is wet. (JM)   JM/FR 1851A 2555
(b)   *dhaymaarr* **gungan-bil;**   *or* **gungan-biyaay** *dhaymaarr*
   ground   water-W.LOT, or water-COM   ground
   Practically the same thing; ground got water on it, that's the difference; clothes got water in it.
                                                                          FR

(125) The man says: I have some burrs in the sole of my foot, they are hurting me.
                                                                          JM/AD 3218B 1752

   giirr＝bala nganunda / dhina-ga nhalay / bindiyaa / bindiyaa-gu dhuwi-nyi /
   true＝CTR 1SG.LOC / foot-LOC this   / prickle / prickle-ERG stick.in-PST /

   burrulaa-gu bindiyaa-gu dhuwi-nyi / nham＝bala ngay   /
   many-ERG   prickle-ERG stick.in-PST / that＝CTR   1SG.DAT /

*dhina bayn / bindiyaa-dhi / **bindiyaa-bil***

foot   sore / prickle-ABL / prickle-W.LOT

That's the bindiyaa sticking in my foot and hurting it.   AD

A lot of bindi-eyes stuck in my foot, and my foot is sore, full of bindi-eyes.   JG

Table 32   (Possible) examples of *–bil* 'with lot'[33]

Original	Gloss	Base	Source
Derivational use			
buwabil	possessions		GYY Dictionary
dhirra-bil *dhirra-bil-aay*	showing off	?*dhirra* 'flash';	Emu and Bustard l 82; Sim
dhunbil	sinews	cf. *dhun* 'tail'	GYYD
Inflectional use			
gamugamuu-bil	(meat) covered with maggots	maggot	3218B 2159
dhaymaarr-bil	(meat fell on ground) **got dirty**; my face/my clothes **is/are dirty** (after falling)	dirt	3220A 341 2436A 2442 2436A 2667
nhay-bil	(tree) with lot of knots	knot	1852A 1220
bidjaay-bil	covered in mud, all over mud	mud	2437B 3379
nhulaan-bil	slimy	slime	2437A 1536
yuu-bil	dusty (clothes)	dust	1851A 3476

Another example of derivational use is the town name Coonamble. AD5052 394 gives a story describing the situation that led to the name Coonamble (*gunambil*), based on *guna* 'excrement' (with a homorganic nasal preceding the suffix, indicating that this is a Wayilwan word). A plaque in the main street gives another version of the derivation, presumably with the same meaning. It has: 'name for the site of the first cattle camp on the bank of the river'. The suffix may be involved in Boggabilla (*bagay* 'creek') but the final 'a' is unexplained. It may be the Locative suffix. In WN *dhigarr-bil-a* (*dhigarr* 'spear') is 'echidna', who, in a story, was speared many times in the back. The YG name *bigibila*, retains the last two syllables, but *bigi* is unanalysed. Kangaroo and emu sinews, *dhunbil*, consist of many individual fibres which were separated and then used to form rope. *Dhun* is 'tail, penis' and also occurs in *dhun.gayrra* 'forked lightning', so *dhunbil* can be analysed as 'having lots of long bits'.

There are numerous instances of *–bil* in transcripts of the JS tapes, but this generally seems to be his pronunciation of *–biyal* 'just, only' (see §15.3.5), especially

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[33] The distinction drawn here between derivational and inflectional is based on the predictability of the meaning of the word.

(1055). In (126) AD seems to correct himself, changing from –*biyal* to –*bil*, although either suffix is understandable in translating the elicitation.

(126)   Some places are stony and some are sandy.   JM/AD 3220B 3140
        minyaaya.waa nhamalay / gagil dhaymaarr / walanbaa /
        somewhere   there   / bad ground   / hard   /

        maayama-biyalxx / **maayama-bil**
        stone-JUST(error) / stone-W.LOT
        Some places are bad ground, hard, just rock (corrects), covered in rocks.   JG

2.4.1.4   -*nginda* 'WANT/need'; Caritative case

The suffix -*nginda* is glossed 'WANT' and is commonly translated 'need/want'. It can also be referred to as Caritative case.

It is found most commonly on nouns, but also on interrogatives and verbs: see §11.2.2.1. With nouns the resulting word could be regarded as an adjective. It is typically a second predicate rather than part of an NP. In both Wangaaybuwan and YG –*nginda* is never found followed by a further case inflection. There are no YG examples of multiple use of the suffix in NPs.

The suffix is rare in early sources, but *bungun-nginda* 'wing/arm-needing' is found twice in Parker including in (127). -*nginda* is relatively common in the tapes, with around 100 instances.

The most common use is on nouns: (127) - (129); and interrogatives: (130), (131). Use on a verb is relatively common (132). Examples elsewhere in the thesis include: (232) (*minya-nginda* – 'what-need'); (182) (*dhii-nginda* 'tea-wanting'); 5129A 1742 (*buya-nginda* 'bone-wanting'); (919) (*dhinggaa-nginda* 'meat-wanting').

(127)   (The Bustard is taunting the Emu, and says:) *Wahl boonoong ninderh doorunmai.*   Parker l 19
        waal **bungun-nginda** *dhuurranmay.*
        not   wing-WANT   chief
        (Every bird flies.) The Dinewans, to be the king of birds, should do without wings.   Parker
        The king does not need wings.   JG

(128)   I don't want it // i.e. the axe is not mine   SW p 101
        wa:l ŋaia ðamija: ŋindɛ
        waal ngaya **dhamiyaa-nginda**
        not 1SG   tomahawk-WANT
        I don't want the tomahawk.   JG

(129)   Could you say he died from thirst?   CW/AD 5056 641
        gungan-nginda / *nhama, maadhaay balu-nhi*
        water-WANT   / 3.DEF, dog   die-PST
        It was from lack of water that the dog died.   JG

(130)　I don't know what did the girl hit his mother for.　　　　　　　AD/CW 3998B 1477

　　　minya-nginda=waa *nhama / birralii-djuul-u, ngambaadhi nguungu buma-y*

　　　what-WANT=IGNOR 3.DEF / child-DIM-ERG, mother.PD　3SG.DAT hit-PST

　　　I don't know what she wanted, that kid, that she hit her mother.　　　　JG

(131)　Why (you) are those two men hitting each other　　　　　　　SW p 98

　　　minjnja ŋinda nama ðɛin bumalawanna?

　　　minya-nginda *nhama dhayn buma-la-waa-nha*

　　　what-WANT　3.DEF man　hit-RECP-MOV-PRS

　　　What are those men fighting for?　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(132)　here sleep: you and I are sleepy old uncle　　　　　　　SW p 99

　　　ðandou̯wi ŋinda ŋa:ja gilanna gar̃ougɛi mu:r̃

　　　dhanduwi-y.nginda *ngaya gi-gi.la-nha garruugii muurr*

　　　sleep(verb)-WANT　1SG　be-CTS-PRS uncle　　??

　　　I need to have a sleep, Uncle.　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

There is an example very similar to (132) at AD5056 1461.

Minya-nginda is often followed by a suffixed second person pronoun, e.g. *minya-nginda=nda* 'what-WANT=2SG' and (133).

(133)　Why do you two keep on fighting?　　　　　　　CW/AD 5131 1821

　　　minya-nginda=ndaali, *buma-la-y.la-nha*

　　　what-WANT=2DU,　　hit-RECP-CTS-PRS

Historically, the suffix seems to be composite, with the initial element *–ngin* found in words like *galingin* 'thirsty' (*water-ngin*) and *yuulngin* 'hungry' (*yuul* is rare as an independent word for 'food') and probably in *ngingin* 'sexual desire' (Mathews 1903, 276). The forms *–nginda* and *–ngindi*, formally, can be analysed as *-ngin* and the appropriate forms of the Locative and Ablative suffixes after *n*. However synchronically there seems to be no distinction in meaning: *yuul-ngin* (~20 instances) and *yuul-ngindi* (~40 instances) are both common on the tapes, with no difference in meaning found. The common way of translating thirsty is *gungan-nginda* (*gungan* 'water'). So *-ngin*, *-ngindi* and *-nginda* are all found with no clear distinction in meaning. (134) shows *–ngindi* and *–nginda* used about the same situation, so presumably with the same meaning. *–nginda* is the only currently productive form. *Yuulngindi* is also found in Laves (225) and Sim points out the *yuulngin/yuulngindi* variation, noting that the *di* is optional, i.e. he noticed no difference in meaning.

(134)　I am hungry for a meal of emu.　　　　　　　JM/AD 8184 1660

　　　giirruu　ngay' ***yuulngindi*** */* ***dhinawan-nginda*** */* ***dhinawan-nginda*** *ngaya, yuulngindi /*

　　　true.very 1SG　hungry　/ emu-WANT　　/ emu-WANT　　1SG,　hungry　/

　　　bamba ngaya dhinawan dha-li.gu

　　　energy 1SG　emu　　eat-PURP

　　　I am really hungry, need some emu, I want emu; hungry; I could really eat some emu.　JG

There is an exact formal and semantic equivalent in WN (Donaldson, 1980: 113) glossed 'caritative'. However Donaldson points out a use that is not found in the YG sources, with *–nginda* suffixed to pronouns, demonstratives and personal names. She has the example *nginuu-nginda* 'you.OBL-*nginda*', 'lonely for you'. The OBLique form of the pronouns has O, IO and POSS function. I assume that 'wanting you' in YG is *nginunda-nginda* (2SG.ACC-WANT).

Donaldson says (p 115) '-*nginda* is a suffix with idiosyncratic qualities', and had been abandoned when she began fieldwork, functionally replaced by *wandidma-li*, a verb based on English 'want'. There is a Wiradjuri cognate, the free word *ngindi* 'want'.

The following two suffixes, -*wan* and *-giirr/-guwaay*, are not classified as case suffixes.

2.4.1.5   *–wan* 'with.prominent'

This rarely found suffix has been discussed in Giacon (2001: 146). It is most commonly found with derivational use, as in the noun *dhina-wan* 'foot-with.prominent' 'emu', and once forming an adverb *barraay-wan* 'straight away' from the adverbal use of *barraay -* 'quickly', rather than from its adjectival use 'quick'. Its meaning when used with an adverb is 'very'.

Ridley (p 21) glosses 'strong'. Sim (1998: 32) has 'prominent, emphatic/emphasised' but later (1998: Appendix: 8) has '-*wan* is similar to *burrul* ('big'), but "emphasised" is a better translation'. A common path for formation of names such as *dhinawan* is for an adjective to be reanalysed as a name. The fact that -*wan* is found on an adverb, albeit only once, suggests that other similar suffixes may similarly be more productive than the limited extant records show.

Most of the corpus occurrences of -*wan* so far found are given in Table 33. It is possible that the words given in the later section of the table are not occurrences of the suffix, but coincidently end with *–wan*.

Table 33　　Tokens of *–wan* 'with.prominent, strong, very'

Suffixed	Meaning/gloss	Base	Gloss	Source
Confirmed instances of *–wan*				
dhinawan	emu (foot-strong/prominent)	*dhina*	foot	Ridley, Sim, many
biiwanbiiwan	chest puffed out or expanded, Poss. arms thrown out; braggart, boasting Black-faced Woodswallow (bird)	*bii*	chest The bird has a prominent white chest.	Sim
biiwanmali	puff out, inflate chest	*bii*	chest	Sim
nhuwiwan	Western grey kangaroo	*nhuwi*	stinking	Sim
barraaywan	straight away	*barraay*	quick	Sim
Possible instances of *–wan*				
barrawan	a sedge, a bandicoot	*?barra* *?barra-li*	split, thread, sharpen	Dictionary
wadhaagudjaaylwan	birth spirit	*?*		Dictionary
buuwan	black paint	*?buu*	ball; ?breath/air'	Dictionary
Gugurruwan	birthing tree, Lake name	*?gurru*	hole	Dictionary

-wan may be part of YR *–wan.gaan* 'very' §6.4.5. A counter-indication is that GR has *-wan* in *dhinawan*, but the GR cognate of *–wan.gaan* is *-ban.gaan*, so there may not be a relationship between *-wan* and *-wan.gaan*.

2.4.1.6　　　*-giirr* YR/GR; *-guwaay* GR 'LIKE'

Another suffix which does not fit neatly into a major category is *-giirr*[34] YR/GR; *-guwaay* GR 'like'. It has been discussed in Williams (1980: 140). The most common use is to form a secondary predicate and it rarely forms adnominals: opals are *yuluwirrii-giirr maayama* '<u>rainbow-LIKE</u> stones' (AD, FR/CW 5129A 2591). It is also found with derivational use: Phonologically *-giirr* can be regarded as a suffix, since it does not have separate stress.

(135)　He runs fast, like a horse.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　CW/AD 3996A 791

　　　　bamba nham' banaga-y.la-nha / **yaraamaan-giirr**
　　　　hard　that　run-CTS-PRS　　／ horse-LIKE

---

[34] *-giirr* is a homophone of *giirr* 'true' (§15.1.2.1) but the two are clearly distinguished by their position. *giirr* is clause-initial, and *–giirr* is suffixed to a nouns

However similar suffixes in other languages have a broader range of functions, and this, combined with the very limited YG evidence, suggests the YG suffix also had a wider use.

2.4.1.6.1 *-giirr*, Yuwaalaraay

Sim & Giacon (1998: 31) gives the forms of the suffix as *-giirr* and *–djirr*, and its meaning as 'likeness to'. He (p 47) has *wayamaa-giirr-aa* 'old man' (old.man-*giirr*-*aa*) which possibly includes the form but is currently unanalysable. (136) - (138), from Sim, Wurm and AD, show the most common use of the suffix, as part of a secondary predicate. (138) is one of around 20 instances on the tapes.

(136) That kangaroo is as big as a man. (standing like a man)   Sim p 43

nhama bawurra   burrul-bidi **dhayn-giirr** warra-y.la[-nha]

3.DEF   kangaroo   big-AUG   man-LIKE   stand-CTS[-PRS

(137) What is he carrying? It looks like a kangaroo.   SW p 84

minjaga wɔmbalaːnna / bauɽa giːɽ ŋaɽawaːnna

minyagaa   wamba-laa-nha //   **bawurra-giirr**   ngarra-waa-nha

something   carry-MOV-PRS //   kangaroo-LIKE   look.M-MOV-PRS

(138) They are going to fight with their hands, one woman walked out, they are going to fight with
 their hands.   JM/FR 2440A 141

giirr-Na?nga   // buma-la-waa-nha   bulaarr.Na / **dhayn-giirr**

true = 3?NOW   // hit-RECP-MOV-PRS   two.PRON? / man-LIKE

They fighting now, like two men.   FR

The two of them are fighting now, like men.   JG

On the tapes the suffix is not explicitly sought - both informants use the suffix spontaneously, indicating that it was a common part of the language even at a late stage. Dodd's (5058 906) use of 'grapes-*giirr*' to describe *milaan* 'yam' shows that the suffix was still productive in the 1970s. I have heard *-giirr* used in recent years by YG people in Walgett, Lightning Ridge and Sydney suffixed on English words, for instance: 'she swims *fish-giirr*' and 'he looks *Barry-giirr*'. The speakers did not realise they were using a Yuwaalaraay suffix. (139) gives some other tape examples.

(139) More YR examples of *-giirr* 'like'
 (a) *yinarr-giirr* 'woman like' 'He's got long hair, like a woman.'   JM/FR 2437A 1717
 (b) *maadhaay-giirr* 'dog-like'. 'They going to bury him like a dog.'   FR/JM 2440A 606
 (c) *bibirrgaa-giirr* 'pig-like' 'That big tall man was snoring like a pig.'   AD/JM 3217B 1086
 (d) *bibirrgaa-giirr* 'pig-like' 'I laid in the mud like a pig.'   AD/JM 3219B 3674
 (e) *bibirrgaa-giirr* 'pig-like' 'Eat like a pig.'   AD 5130 1705
 Note: There is no Ergative case suffix on 'pig' in the 2 examples with transitive verbs.

The suffix can also follow nominalised verbs: e.g.: *balu-ngindaay-giirr* 'die-SUB-*giirr*' in (961) ('(pick it up) as if it is dead').

It is found in a small number of names: *Baan.giirr* (*baan* 'mistletoe') is both 'Black-tailed native-hen' and the location Bangate. *Imbergee*, a waterhole, is from *buyudjiirr* 'lower.leg-LIKE' (Sim & Giacon, 1998: 31). Walgett may be *wal-giirr,* analysis not known.

There are a number of particles which include *-giirr*, the basic one being YR *yalagiirr* 'like' and also forms derived from *yalagiirr* §5.4. Parker (Emu-Bustard) has *boorool luggeray Dinewan* 'big like the emu' (*burrul yalagiirray dhinawan*). There seem to be two phrasal structures, with similar meaning: a nominal followed by *-giirr/-guwaay*, and the same word preceded by *yalagiirray/yalaguwaay*. 'Big like a kangaroo' can be translated: *burrul bandaarr-giirr* or *burrul yalagiirray bandaarr* (*burrul* 'big', *bandaarr* 'kangaroo').

2.4.1.6.2   *-giirr/-guwaay;* Gamilaraay

The only GR example of *-giirr* found is *murrigir* 'like a man' (*mari-giirr*), given as a single word, not in a sentence (Mathews MS 8006/3/9 Bk3 p17). GR also has *-guwaay* in particles/manner adverbs which include the meaning 'like': §5.4. Ridley (*Gurre Kamilaroi*) has *yealokwai* 'like' (*yiyalaguwaay*) four times (140) each time as part of a second predicate. *Yealokwai* corresponds to YR *[yi]yala-giirr*, indicating correspondence between *giirr* and *guwaay*.

(140)   Ridley examples of *yealokwai* 'like'

   (a) *murruba yealokwai ngerma* 'good like him' (*marrabaa yiyalaguwaay ngiyarrma*)) (twice)

   (b) *yarine yealokwai giwir* 'come down like men' *(yaarrinyi yiyalaguwaay giwiirr)*

   (c) *giwir yealokwai ngindai* 'men like you' (*giwiirr yiyalaguwaay ngindaay)* (2 examples)

The GR evidence is very limited, and it is possible that GR used both *-giirr* and *-guwaay* with the same functions, perhaps as alternatives or perhaps in different dialects.

Donaldson (p 249) describes the Wangaaybuwan clitic, *-gulaay* 'like', clearly cognate with the GR *-guwaay*. It

   marks a constituent in topic position as a simile. It indicates reference to something 'like' the reference of the form to which it is attached.

The meaning is very like the YG particles, however the WN lexeme is different in that it attaches to the first constituent of the clause, and to a wider range of word classes than is attested for YG.

-gulaay is found on nouns, pronouns, interrogatives and verbs, and is found on case marked words in (141) (142). (143) shows it having scope over a sentence, attached to the sentence-final verb.

(141)   Wangaaybuwan examples of *-gulaay* 'like'

   (a)   *ngindu-gulaay*   'you-LIKE'   'like you'

   (b)   *minyang-gu-gulaay*   what-DAT-LIKE   'like *(the* track) of what'

      (c)   *minyang-**gulaay***   'what-LIKE?'

      (d)   *biyaga-buwan-du-**gulaay***   tobacco-COM-ERG-LIKE   'like someone with (plenty of) tobacco.

    Wangaaybuwan

(142) *yarudhaamiyi=dju buma-la-nhaara=nam-bulaa **garii-ga-gulaay***

     dream+PAST=I   hit-RECP-CIRCUM=3ABS-DU truth-LOC-LIKE

     I dreamt the two of them were fighting each other as if it was real.   Donaldson 9-42 p 250

(143) *Nina-laa dhibi **ginda-nha-gulaay***

     this-EST bird   laugh-PRS-LIKE

     (It is) as if this bird is laughing.   Wangaaybuwan   Donaldson 9-43 p 250

There is also a Wiradjuri form *–guliya* 'like', with probably similar use. However it is attested as deriving a noun rather than an adjective. It derives *maying-gulia* 'likeness, image of a person' from the noun *maying* 'person' (Günther sentences 36 and 5.4): 'I made a man's <u>likeness</u> with charcoal' and 'don't you <u>people-like</u> make'! These sentences presumably translate a biblical injunction against making images.

Many other languages have a similar construction, sometimes called semblative case or suffix: cf. Dench (1995: 134). Wilkins (1989: 157) discusses Arrernte *arteke* 'semblative'. The properties are similar to WN *-gulaay*. He gives syntactic and morphological reasons for not analysing *arteke* as a case suffix. The Arrernte semblative, like the WN, can also attach to pronouns and to case markers. In the Arrernte dictionary (Henderson & Dobson, 1994) *arteke* has virtually the same meaning as *-giirr/-gulaay* and it is found after Ergative and Dative marked nouns, and after a verb, often having scope over a phrase or clause. The dictionary does not give a part of speech for *arteke*, but Wilkins (p 347) classifies it as a particle.

The consistency of properties of semblative markers in other languages suggest that, since there is no evidence from the YG sources, the YG description should incorporate these widespread features.

2.5   Approaches to case description

The grouping of cases into various categories such as core and local cases has been outlined in §2.1.1. Wilkins (1989: 154) gives background to this classification.

The case analysis used here varies from that used in the main previous descriptions of central New South Wales languages. Firstly I have included derivational cases, which are not analysed as cases in Williams and Donaldson. Secondly I have taken the classical approach to case description, which leads to a different analysis of core cases from that presented in Williams and Donaldson. The reasons for this are given in §2.5.1. Thirdly, there are different analyses of individual cases. In contrast with the analysis in Williams (1980: 36) I have Ergative case with ergative and instrumental functions, rather than separate cases, and I separate Dative and Allative cases.

Australian Grammars often describe an Instrumental case, which is formally identical to the Ergative, or in fewer languages identical to the Locative case, in fewer again a derivational suffix meaning approximately 'having' covers the instrumental sense and in a small number there is a formally distinct instrumental suffix (Blake, 1977: 44). When instrumental and ergative functions have the same forms, they can be described as separate cases because they can be separated on syntactic and semantic grounds as Williams (1980: 36) says 'may be' done, and as Blake (2001: 48) does in Kalkatungu. It is however consistent with the classical approach to case description to define this as one case, Ergative case, with ergative and instrumental functions. Breen (2004: 77) has this analysis, calling the case 'Operative'. Similarly Goddard (1983: 39) has a Locative case with locative and instrumental functions.

Dative and Allative cases have different forms for sub-classes of nominals, and so are separate cases. These cases are formally distinguished in pronouns, Personal Declension suffixes, the GR suffixes and probably in *minya* 'what', as seen in Table 34. For instance with first person singular the forms are *ngay* (Dative) and *nganunda* (Allative). For most pronouns the Dative case ends in *-ngu* and the Allative ends in *-ngunda*. (144) shows that the Allative pronoun is distinct from the Dative (*ngay* 'my') and has the same form as the Locative. As well there are differences in the GR suffixes (see Table 8) with Dative being *-u* after *l/rr*, but the Allative suffix is invariant *-gu*. Table 34 makes the Dative/Allative differences clear, and also points out the syncretism between Allative and Locative found in some nominals.

(144) One white man came to my camp.   SW p 73

     *bijəḍ nama wanda na:wana **ŋanunda walaigu***

     *biyarr nhama wanda 'naa-waa-nha **nganunda   walaay-gu***

     one   3.DEF   white.man come-MOV-PRS 1SG.LOC/ALL camp-ALL

     One white man is coming to my camp.   JG

Table 34   **Distinction of Dative and Allative case**

Case function	Case	Basic nominal	Pronoun: 1SG	Personal Declension: *ngambaa* 'mum'	*minya?* 'what?'	GR suffix *yinarr* 'woman'
possession	Dative	*gilaagu*	*ngay*	*ngambaangu*	*minyangu?*	*yinarr-u*
recipient	Dative	*gilaagu*	*ngay*	*ngambaangu*	*minyangu?*	*yinarr-u*
goal	Allative	*gilaagu*	*nganunda*	*ngambaangunda*	*minyagu*	*yinarr-gu*
location	Locative	*gilaaGa*	*nganunda*	*ngambaangunda*	*minyanga??*	*yinarr-a*

In tables of one subclass of nominals the various cases may not be given separate columns – for instance Locative and Allative case pronouns have the same form, so those two cases are shown in one row.

2.5.1   Alternative approaches to core cases

There have been two main approaches to analyses of the core cases in descriptions of Pama-Nyungan languages. I firstly consider the 'classical' approach to case description, which I follow, and then an alternative approach. This topic has been extensively discussed, for instance Goddard (1983: 22), Wilkins (1989: 163) and Blake (2001: Chapter 2).

The concept of case is used in the description of many languages, including classical languages such as Greek and Latin, and modern languages such as German and Turkish. The description of cases in these languages is generally based on the classical approach, which has a number of principles:

- All words with the one grammatical function are in the same case, irrespective of their word class or subclass. For instance any S: Subject of an intransitive verb; is Nominative case, whether a noun, pronoun, demonstrative or interrogative. Also any adjective modifying the S is also Nominative case.

- A case is typically named after the core function it signals. Ablative case has that name because it signals 'movement from'.

- A number of grammatical functions can be signalled by one case. For instance Ablative in Latin, and in YG and many Aboriginal languages, signals a range of function. Blake (2001: 3) points out this distinction.

> it is necessary to make a further distinction between the cases and the **case relations** or **grammatical functions** they express. These terms refer to purely syntactic relations such as subject, direct object and indirect object, each of which encompass more than one semantic role, and they also refer directly to semantic roles such as source and location, where these are not subsumed by a syntactic relation and where these are separable according to some formal criteria.

- Case syncretism is common. In other words a number of cases can have the same form within nominal subclasses. E.g. in YG Nominative and Accusative nouns have the same form. In German there is widespread case syncretism, with Nominative and Accusative articles the same except in Masculine singular.

- Cases are distinguished on the basis that some class of nominals distinguishes the forms. For instance while Standard German determiners distinguishes Nominative and Accusative only in masculine singular (not in Feminine, Neuter or any plural) this one distinction makes them separate cases. As Comrie (1991: 41) puts it: 'the tradition of describing Latin operates essentially on the principle that if any nominal evinces a formal case distinction, then this case distinction must be carried over to all nominals.'

Goddard (1983: 22) points out that this classical concept, found in Indo-European linguistics, 'is that a 'case' is, roughly speaking, a class of nominal forms mutually interchangeable in certain semantic or syntactic contexts. … (which) must be rigorously distinguished from case-marking – which deals with the realisation or signalling of the category.'

The classical tradition of placing weight on the formal case distinction has been adopted by some for the description of core cases in Australian languages. S: Subject of an intransitive verb is Nominative case, A: Subject of a transitive verb is Ergative and O: Object of a transitive verb is Accusative.

An alternative approach (I will call it the Dixon approach) is taken in Dixon (2002:152) and is also found in his earlier works e.g. (Dixon, 1977) and in others, often his students, including Williams (1980) and Donaldson (1980). In this approach cases are named on the basis of common **forms** in a nominal subclass, and different subclasses of nominals can have different cases for the one relation or function since core cases display a number of syncretism patterns: see Table 35. For first and second person pronouns the Nominative and Ergative have the same form (e.g. *ngaya* 'I'), for other nominals the Nominative and Accusative share a form (e.g. *gilaa* 'galah' and *minya?* 'what?').

So in the Dixon system *ngaya*, whether the S of an intransitive verb or the A of a transitive verb, is one case, his Nominative, whereas in the classical system it would be Nominative and Ergative respectively. Elsewhere Dixon has Absolutive case where the classical system has Nominative and Accusative. The Dixon approach, in YG, results in one case system for nouns and third person pronouns and another system for the first and second person pronouns. The different approaches are exemplified in Table 35.

Table 35   **YG core cases: Classical and Dixon analyses**

Semantic role	Classical cases	Standard nominals	Dixon cases		1st and 2nd person pronouns	Dixon cases
Agent	Ergative	*gilaa-gu*	Ergative		*ngaya* 'I'	Nominative
Subject: Intr verb	Nominative	*gilaa* 'galah'	Absolutive		*ngaya* 'I'	
Object	Accusative	*gilaa*			*nganha* 'me'	Accusative

The Dixon system does have some advantages, pointing out the similarity in form, but it also has disadvantages. Using the classical system means that there is case harmony between replaceable elements and between agreeing elements. In (145), in the classical system, both the subject 'I' and the agreeing adjective, 'alone' are Ergative, while the Dixon approach has the pronoun 'I' as Nominative and the 'agreeing' adjective as Ergative.

(145)   I ate all the goanna myself   JM/AD 8184 3331

        gurra-y   *ngaya*   *ngaama, dhuulii*   */ biyaduul-u*

        eat.all-PST   1SG.**ERG** that,   goanna-ACC   alone-ERG   Goddard case system

        eat.all-PST   1SG.**NOM** that,   goanna-ABS   alone-ERG   Dixon case system

In (146), in the classical approach both the pronoun A, *ngaya*, and noun A, *bigibila-gu*, are Ergative case, whereas using the Dixon approach the pronoun is Nominative and the noun is Ergative. The Dixon system also has difficulties in languages (e.g. Gumbaynggirr) where some pronouns have three forms corresponding to A, S and O role, since it needs a further set of terminology to describe the cases of these pronouns, whereas they fit neatly into the classical system.

(146)   I/The echidna heard the dog.   JG

        buruma   *ngaya/bigibila-gu*   *winanga-y,*

        dog-ACC   1SG.**ERG**/echidna-ERG   hear-PST   Goddard case system

        dog-ABS   1SG/echidna-ERG   hear-PST   Dixon case system

3   Nominal derivation

This chapter considers derivational[35] nominal suffixes and two nominal derivational processes, reduplication and compounding. All the suffixes considered in §2 have to do with the relation of one nominal to another word. The suffixes considered in this chapter do not create a form that relates to another word, rather they modify the meaning of the original word. I adopt Donaldson's (1980: 99) classification of these suffixes into two groups. The first set of suffixes (number, size, status) give further information about the referent of the main nominal: **2** dogs, a **big/small** dog, etc. The second group of suffixes create a new nominal whose reference is generally not related to that of the root. For instance using the suffix *-barra* can create a word which refers to a group of people from plant names.

Derived nominals with predictable meanings can also take on new meanings. For instance *wii-bidi* 'chest-BIG' transparently means 'a big chest' but is also the name of a gecko. *Balabalaa* (*balaa* 'white' reduplicated) is predictably 'whitish' but also means 'butterfly'.

Also considered briefly are a number of word final forms that may be, synchronically or historically, suffixes. There is also a brief look at some other languages to indicate if YG suffixes have been lost, or if there are suffixes and processes common in other Australian languages that YG might adopt.

3.1   Derived nominal has the same reference as the root

Most of the suffixes in this section refer to number, size and qualities such as seniority and status.

3.1.1   Quantity in other languages

Number marking in Aboriginal languages has features which are quite different from English. A survey of number marking in other languages helps in analysing the YG data and also indicates how complete the data is.

It is common in Aboriginal languages that there is no obligatory marking of number except for pronouns. Number is mostly marked by suffixes, but can also be shown by reduplication. Number

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[35] Number and quantity suffixes are considered in this chapter even though it is debatable whether they are derivational.

suffixes often differentiate singular, dual and plural, and often also indicate qualities such as size or maturity.

In WN under the heading 'No change in reference' Donaldson (1980: 99-106) has three singular suffixes (*-DHul* Diminutive, *-gaa* Immature and *-bidi/giran* Augmentative), two plural suffixes (*-galgaaN-* Diminutive and Immature and *-galaan* Augmentative), as well as dual, group, reciprocal plural, 'party' and Proper name suffixes. This is considerably more such suffixes than are found in YG.

Many languages have number marking strategies that are very restricted in their use. Hercus (p.c.) points out

There is another 'special' suffix *-mul* in Wemba Wemba which occurs only with *lerk* 'woman' to form *lerk-mul* 'the woman mob'. There is also one other special reduplicating plural *gal-wil-gal* 'a mob of (useless) dogs' (*gal* 'dog'); the meaning of *wil* is not known.

She (p.c.) also notes that Baakantji has the pluralizing suffix *-naara* which is only used with *muurpa* 'child', and Wemba Wemba has a special reduplicated form in the word for children: *paingkuk* 'child'; *pengpengkuk* 'children'. It is common in Australian languages (Koch, (p.c.)) to have a plural marker which is used only on 'child' and a small number of related concepts or words. Dench, (1995: 97) commenting on languages from the Pilbara region, notes that 'only one idiosyncratic plural form has been discovered in Martuthunira to date'. *Kupuyu* 'little' has plural *kupiyaji'*. He also points out: 'all languages of the area show different plural forms for either or both of the words 'child' and 'little'. Wordick (1982: 51) points out that in Yindjibarndi there is one dual number marker, many (10+) plural markers of which *–rraa* is used only with *mangkurla* 'child'.

3.1.2 Quantity and size

YG has no obligatory marking of number (number is inherently included in pronouns). Number suffixes often indicate qualities such as size or maturity as well as number. Unlike case marking, in most sources there is no need for all constituents of an NP to have the same number marking: e.g. (153). Mathews' comment (1902: 138) that 'adjectives succeed the nouns they qualify, and take the same inflexions for number and case' may reflect usage at that time, or a simplified analysis.

YG has a number of strategies for signalling number, including suffixes (plural, diminutive plural, dual, singular and 'all'), grammatical marking (including numbers and quantity words: *bulaarr* 'two' and *burrulaa* 'many' are by far the most common), reduplication and marking on the verb (*-aaba-li* 'TOTal' §9.1.2). The use of one, more, or none of these seems to be largely governed by the nature of the referent, with animacy a major factor, and by discourse considerations.

Number is more often marked on nouns referring to humans, less frequently on those referring to other animates and rarely on those referring to inanimates. Examples of marked number are included in the discussions of the various forms. Examples of unmarked number on animates include 'strangers' in (246), '(you) boys' in 2440A 1849 (but it has *ngindaay* '2PL'); 'emus' in 8187 642, 'emus' and 'turkeys' in 3220B 665 ('emus are bigger than turkeys'); 'women' in 8187 245. (147) has unmarked

plural on inanimates, 'trees' and (163)(b,d,e) have no plural on 'spears' but the NP contains numbers and the modifying adjective is marked for number.

Demonstratives are not marked for number, and interrogative pronouns have not been found marked for number (but can be in some other languages). The common plural suffix on human referents is *-galgaa*, apart from on *birralii* 'child'. The suffix *-gal* is found only on *birralii* 'child' and in very few other instances.

The markers *-DHuul* and *-bidi* generally encode both size and singularity, and (163)(e) is a rare instance where one is followed by other number suffixes. Table 36 gives the main quantity suffixes and words, apart from numbers. (147) shows that number marking is not obligatory.

Table 36   **YG Number and size: suffixes and some words**

Form	Number/meaning	Notes
-galgaa	plural	mostly on human, but not obligatory; rare on other animates, also on *ngayagay* 'other'; use elsewhere is marked
-gal	plural	on *birralii* 'child'; once on *birray* 'boy'
-gaali	dual	common derivational use; e.g. *gulayaali* 'pelican' (net-two); *wirrigaali* 'goat' (dish-two, referring to the udder)
-DHuul	singular	also diminutive meaning; cf. *bubaay, badjin* 'small'
-bidi	big	cf. *burrul* 'big'
-Buu	all	See §15.3.3
-ili	affectionate diminutive	rare
burrulaa	many	cf. *burrul* 'big'
maayrr YR /marayrr GR	none/nothing	

(147)   Water is dripping from the **trees**.   JM/AD 3218A 540

   giirr nhamalay   / gungan / maalaa.bidi-dji / gaarri-y.la-nha

   true   3.DEF + lay / water   / big.tree-ABL   / go.down-CTS-PRS

3.1.2.1   Quantity information in sources

The sources vary in the way they show number information encoded. There may have been dialectal variation across the YG area. Ridley does not use number suffixes, sometimes marking number by *burrulaa* 'many', *bulaarr* 'two', or leaving it unmarked. MathewsGR (p 261) states: 'nouns have no special inflection for the dual and plural numbers, but these are represented by introducing a word meaning two, or several, as *bular* (*bulaarr*) 'two', *gunubila* 'several' (unknown elsewhere, but cf. *ganu* 'all')'. In his vocabulary (p 278) he has *gunabila* (sic) as 'few'. However in MathewsYR we find: 'Number. There are three numbers, the singular, dual and plural. *Wan*, a crow;

wangali, a couple of crows; *wanburala*, several or many crows (*Waan*, *waan-gaali*, *waan burrulaa*).' Similarly Wurm has no number suffixes in his GR, but that is consistent with the overall grammatical simplification found there. In YR he has the suffixes *–galgaa* 'plural', *–gal* 'dim.plural' and *–gaali* 'dual'. This may indicate a GR-YR difference, but it is more likely that the GR knowledge had declined. The main information about number suffixes is from the AD/FR tapes.

3.1.2.2   *-galgaa* 'PLural'

The common plural suffix is *–galgaa*. It is found mostly on names of adult referents, less commonly on animal names, and rarely on nouns referring to inanimates. It contrasts with *–gal* and *–gaali* (below). Typical use on human referents is seen in (148), 3999A 1182 and 3219B 2937. The suffix can have more specific meaning: 'all' (149) and 'many'.

It is found in Tindale, Sim, Wurm and the tapes. Of the 170 occurrences in the tapes, 120 are on *dhayn* 'man/person' or *yinarr* 'woman'. Other instances include: 9 times on *ngayagay* 'other' and 5 times on *bubaay* 'small' (when these have human or animal reference); on *bandaarr* 'kangaroo' (363) and on *guduu* 'cod' (5131 2321), (8184 422). It is found with non-animate reference only on *wugan* (911) and *muyaan* (2440A 705), both 'wood', but the suffixed form mostly refers to 'pieces of wood', for a fire. Other examples include (292), (363), (336), (1072).

(148) shows the common multiple marking of plurality, which is signalled by both the pronoun (which occurs twice) and the suffixed noun. In (149) AD specifically comments that the plural *dhayn-galgaa* means '**the lot of** them'. The first NP 'two men' has a singular pronoun and no dual marking on 'men'.

(148)   The women collected yams yesterday.   CW/AD 5057 272
     *giirr ngiyama / ganugu   yinarr-**galgaa**-gu / milaan / ganugu   ngiyama mawu-nhi*
     true there   / 3PL.ERG woman-PL-ERG / yam   / 3PL.ERG there   dig-PST
     The women dug up yams.   JG

(149)   We gave food to them all.   CW/AD 3997B 1000
     giirr nguum'   **bulaa-yu dhayn-du** */ dhinggaa / dhuwarr /*
     true 3ERG.DEF two-ERG man-ERG / meat   / bread   /
     They, the two men, meat and bread.   JG

     *wuu-dha-nhi   nguuma?   / dhayn-**galgaa**-ga*
     give-CTS?EAT-PST 3ERG.DEF? / person-PL-LOC
     dhayn-galgaa means 'the lot of them'.   AD
     The two men, give it to the lot of them. (Locative is unusual with 'give') AD
     They, the two men, gave to the people.   JG

-galgaa is rarely found on the names or adjectives which imply 'small/young'. Exceptions include a few occurrences on *bubaay* 'small', *birray-galgaa* (boy-*galgaa*),

which is found once (as is *birray-gal*) and (152) shows the suffix on a reduplicated *miyay* 'girl'. (In fact *miyay* and *birray* are rarely used by informants, with *birralii* 'child' used to translate 'boy' and 'girl' in the vast majority of cases). (163)(e) is one of the few occurrences of *–galgaa* following a diminutive suffix. It also shows the tendency to have adjuncts which give extra information about arguments, here an adjective which has two size/quantity suffixes attached. At AD3218A 586 *gurru-galgaa* 'little hollows' (*gurru* 'hole') the suffix may have atypical use, with it possibly having diminutive meaning.

The degree of number marking varies, as seen in (150), which has 4 consecutive elicitations. All Objects are inanimate and unmarked for number. The Subjects are all human and plural. (a) has the plural indicated by *burrulaa* 'many', but not on the noun. (b) has a plural pronoun and *–galgaa*. In (c) the subject is not explicit; and in (d) the subject is explicit, twice, neither with a marker of plurality.

(150)   The other people were very noisy.   JM/AD 8184 3501

(a)   *girriinba-lda-nhi*   *ngiyama* **burrulaa**-*gu dhayn[-du]*
        make.noise-CTS-PST there   many-ERG   people[-ERG]
        A lot of people were making a lot of noise.   JG

        The young men were dancing all around the fires.   JM/AD 8184 3520

(b)   *giirr* **ganunga** *yulu-gi.la-nhi / nguwama / **dhayn-galgaa** / wii-nbarran-da*
        true 3PL   dance-CTS-PST / there   / people-PL   / fire-around-LOC
        A lot of people were dancing (there,) around the fires.   JG

        The women were clapping their hands together.

(c)   *nguwama=nga=bala / maa   / mara   / buma-la-ngila-nhi??*
        there=THEN=CTR   / hand(YR) / hand(GR) / hit-RECP-CTS(Wayilwan)-PST
        Others? were clapping their hands.   JG

        The old men were hitting boomerangs together

(d)   *giirr=bala* **wuulman-du** *nguuma / **wayamaa-gu** / barran   buma-lda-nhi*
        true=CTR old.man-ERG 3ERG.DEF / old.man-ERG / boomerang hit-CTS-PST
        The old men were hitting boomerangs.   JG

(151) shows the relatively common situation of CW checking a grammatical feature (here looking for diminutive plural, a feature found in WN), AD giving one answer, and CW checking the grammaticality of an alternative. The 'xx' indicates the tape has been stopped, and presumably there has been some discussion. The first AD response has *burrulaa* 'many' and the second *–galgaa* modifying the Object. The Subject is human, but plurality is not marked.

(151)   Men killed a **mob of little** possum.   CW/AD 5131 2248
        *giirr ngaama / **dhayn-du** / **burrulaa** mudhay ngaama buma-y*
        true that   / man-ERG / many   possum that   kill-PST
        The men killed a lot of possums.   JG

xx   **mudhay-galgaa** ngaama buma-y
tape.stopped possum-PL   that   kill-PST
CW Does it mean the same? AD Yes.
They killed possums.   JG

A rare pattern is seen in (152), where plurality is signalled three times, by the pronoun, by reduplication, and by –*galgaa* on the reduplicated word. The significance of the various patterns of plural marking is not clear.

(152)   The girls were paddling in the water.   JM/AD 8186 3585

giirr=bala nhama **ganunga** / **miyaymiyaay-galgaa** / wunga-y.la-nha
true=CTR 3.DEF 3PL   / girl.REDP-PL   / swim-CTS-PRS
The girls are swimming/paddling.   JG

(153) - (155) are examples where –*galgaa* does not have simple plural use. In (153) the GR *gaaynggal*[36] *burrul-galgaa* is translated 'most children'. It is likely that *burrul-galgaa* is 'most'. No other translation for 'most' is found in YG. (153) contrasts with Tindale's *gaaynggal-galgaa* 'many children' a few lines later, one of the few uses of -*galgaa* with 'child'.

(153)   ah! yea! kill children the greater part. (Said by the Brolga husband)   Doolan/Tindale l 19

ŋa kiːr! 'bumali 'gaingal 'puralgalgar

ngaa, giirr buma-li **gaaynggal burrul-galgaa**
yes, true kill-FUT baby   big-PL
Oh yes. (we will) Kill most of the children.   Doolan

Another non-plural use is seen in (154). AD, presumably looking for a translation for 'long grass', uses 3 forms: an NP including an adjective, a plural form, and a reduplicated form.

(154)   He walked through the long grass.   JM/AD 3220A 1288

giirr nhama=nha / **guyaarraala** buunhu / buunhu-**galgaa** / yanaa-nhi=nya /
true 3.DEF=3   / long   grass   / grass-PL   / go-PST=3   /

buunhubuunhu-gu / buunhu-ga
grass.REDP-ALL   / grass-LOC
That long grass, grasses?, he walked, ?through the grassy area, in the grass.   JG

(155) (=(38)) is a very rare example which has two 'plural' suffixes on one word: -*gal* and –*galgaa*. *Birralii-gal-galgaa* is said as one word, with no pause, and AD gives no indication he might consider it a mistake. This, with *burrul-bidi*, could be the correct way to encode the complex features: plurality (mob), junior status (boy/child) and bigness (big).

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[36] *gaay* is 'small' and *gaay-n-gal* historically likely incorporates the demonstrative plural -*gal* §3.1.2.3, but the word is currently used as a singular 'child'. It may have plural use here. *burrul* 'big' is also found in *burrulaa* 'many'.

(155)   A **mob of big boys** went swimming in the river.   CW/AD 5131 2264

    *giirr ngaam birralii-**gal-galgaa**, **burrul-bidi** / wunga-y.la-nhi ngiyarrma, gaawaa-ga*

    true that   child-PL.DIM-PL, big-AUG   / swim-CTS-PST there,   river-LOC

    The big boys, great big, were swimming there, in the river.   JG

Fossilised use of the suffix is found in *gawugalgaa* 'small insects' (*gawu* also 'egg'). Sim (1998: 12) says *gawugalgaa* refers to 'any swarm of small insects, e.g. as seen around a lamp at night, a cloud of midges, etc.'

Formally *–galgaa* can be analysed as *–gal* (PL.DIM) + *-gaa* (SENIOR §3.1.2.8), but even if correct this analysis is historical rather than synchronic.

3.1.2.3   *–gal* 'PL.DIM: plural + diminutive'

The diminutive[37] plural suffix *–gal* is found mainly in YR, almost exclusively on *birralii* 'child': around 180 instances of *birralii-gal* in the tapes, including (156) (= (25)), (150), 2438A 1438. It is found once on *birray* 'boy' (FR2435B 738), and once as *-al* (157)*,* which is likely its form after final *rr* and *l.* Current GR has the word *gaaynggal* 'child'. This likely includes *gaay* 'small' and *-gal*, but the structure, with the homorganic nasal preceding the suffix, may have been borrowed from WN or Wiradjuri.

(156)   *gaarrima-wu ngaya gi.yaa.nha gaa-gi＝nga   / warangana / birralii-**gal**-gu   ngay*

    camp-ALL   1SG   going.to take-FUT＝NOW / honey   / child-PL.DIM-DAT 1SG.DAT

    I am going to take it home to the camp for my kiddies now.   FR/JM 2438A 1931

    I am going to take the honey to the camp now for my kids.   JG

(157)   2 small boys; many small boys.   Sim Appendix

    *bulaarr dhugaa-djuul-**aali** birray-**gaali**; burrulaa dhugaa-djuul-**al**   **birraybirraay***

    two   small-DIM-DU   boy-DU;   many   small-DIM-PL.DIM? boy.REDP

    Two, two little ones, two boys; a lot, of little ones, boys.   JG

In (157) *-aali* is clearly an allomorph of the dual suffix *-gaali*, and *–al* fills the same slot in the second phrase. Number is marked three times in the first phrase: by *bulaarr* and by two suffixes.

Wurm has the word 'children' many times. It is translated *birralii* twice (p 34, 72); *birralii-gal* around 15 other times and *birralii-galgaa* once (p 72).

Sometimes *birralii-gal* has further unanalysed suffixes. In *biřaligalla* 'all the children (will swim)' (Wurm: 73), the final vowel is currently unanalysable. In

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[37] The fact that *-gal* is found on a number of stems whose meaning includes or implies smallness suggests that its use is restricted to such stems. The fact that it is rare except on *birralii* may suggest that it is not a diminutive plural, rather one restricted to use on words for 'child'.

*birralii-**gal-u**-ngu* (158) the *–u* in is probably a reflex of *–Buu* 'Total', §15.3.3, and *-gal-u* probably means 'all'.

(158)   *ganuŋu biřaligaluŋu bujuma*   SW p 79

        *ganungu birralii-**gal**-u[u]-ngu   buyuma*

        3PL.DAT child-PL.DIM-TOT2?-DAT dog

        The dog of those (all) children.   SW

FR does not use the suffix *-gal* in his first 20 or so tapes, and it is possible he (re)learnt it from Ernie Sands, who was recorded after him on tape 1988A, where Sands (1988A 2366) says: "*birralii-gal* 'a lot of children'; *birralii* 'one'". FR then uses *birralii-gal* a number of times in 2435B, including (156).

Use of the suffix is not obligatory for plurality, as seen in (159), (160).

(159)   How many children have you?   JM/FR 1852B 1974

        minyangay nginu   / ***birralii***

        how.many 2SG.DAT / child

        How many children have you?   FR

(160)   He hit the girls.   CW/AD 5130 3668

        *giirr nguu buma-y / **birralii-djuul** ngaama*

        true that hit-PST / child-DIM   there

        He hit that little child/ those little children.   JG

There is a homophonous suffix glossed 'mob' discussed in §3.2.4. There is a GR word *bambugal* 'fingers, toes' which may include a fossilised form of the suffix. Fingers and toes are referred to as 'hand-child', 'foot-child' in a number of Aboriginal languages.

There are uses of the suffix which are not fully analysed. In (161) the elicitation subject is singular. AD's response uses a plural pronoun, the standard plural, *-galgaa* on an adjective, then the diminutive plural, *-gal* and then a singular pronoun, *=nda*. I have no explanation for the variation, but it may be that *-gal* is not used on adjectives.

(161)   You silly boy, stand somewhere else.   JM/AD 3220A 3462

        giirruu   ***ngindaay** wamba-**galgaa** bubaay / birralii-**gal** /*

        true.very 2PL   mad-PL   small / child-PL.DIM /

        You are really a mad little lot, you kids.   JG

        *minyaaya.waa / ngaarrigula   'naa-ya / ngiyama=**nda** warra-la-y   minyaaya.waa,*

        somewhere   / over.there.ALL go-IMP / there=2SG   stand-CTS-FUT somewhere

        Go somewhere, go over there, and you(1) stand there.   JG

3.1.2.4   *-gaali* 'DUal'

The suffix *–gaali* indicates duality. There is no indication that it also includes information about size or maturity, but see Sim's comment (§4.4.3) that it indicates some natural pairing. The final element is variously recorded as *i* and *ay*. I will use *i*

in this discussion. There is an allomorph *-aali* after *l* and presumably after *rr*. While *lg* and *rrg* are permissible clusters, a number of *g* initial suffixes drop the *g* after these apicals. There is an identical free form, which I analyse as a pronoun (§4.4.3). The suffix is found in MathewsYR (p 137): *wangali*, (*waan-gaali*) 'a couple of crows'; Ridley (p 6): *mullionkāle* 'with an eagle in motion' which I interpret as *maliyan-gaali* 'two eagles'; Sim, Wurm and perhaps 15 occurrences in the tapes.

On the tapes JS uses the free pronoun *gaali.nya* 'they two' (see §4.4.3) frequently, often in the story of Emu and Brolga. MathewsYR (p 138) has *Uregali burulali* 'a couple of large men' (*yuurray-gaali burrul-aali* 'senior.men-DUAL big-DUAL), with the suffix on both elements of the NP. The suffix occurs on an afterthought in (162). *Dhayn.gaali* could presumably be Ergatively marked (*dhayn-gaali-dju*) but apparently does not need to be.

(162) The men dug the hole together.   CW/AD 5130 163

    giirruu   ngaam **bulaa-yu** */ gurru mawu-nhi / dhayn-du /* **dhayn-gaali**

    true.very that   two-ERG / hole dig-PST   / man-ERG / man-DU

    The two men dug the hole. The men, two men.   JG

Sim (163) has two occurrences of the suffix in a list of similar sentences, where the number and size of spears varies. The dual and plural suffix occur only on the sentence final adjunct adjective. The information is redundant, since number has already been expressed. (163)(e) also has the plural suffix, *-galgaa*. There is an unexplained suffix *-ul* in (163)(c).

(163) (a) Give me 2 spears.   Sim Appendix p 4

    bulaa ngay bilaarr wuu-na   Sim

    bulaarr *ngay*   *bilaarr wuu-na*

    two   1SG.DAT spear give-IMP

    (b) Give me 2 big spears.

    Bulaa ngay bilaarr wuuna, burrulalay.   Sim

    bulaarr ngay   *bilaarr wuu-na, burrul-***aali**

    two   1SG.DAT spear give-IMP big-DU

    (c) Give me 3 big spears.

    Gulibaa ngay bilaarr wuuna, burrulul[38].   Sim

    gulibaa ngay   *bilaarr wuu-na, burrul-***ul**

    three   1SG.DAT spear give-IMP big-?

---

[38] One examiner asks whether the suffix *-ul* may be related to *gulibaa* '3'.

(d) Give me 2 small spears.

bulaa ngay bilaarr wuu-na, dhugaadjulaalay   Sim

*bulaarr ngay   bilaarr wuu-na, dhugaa-**djuul-aali***

two   1SG.DAT spear give-IMP, small-DIM-DU

(e) Give me 3 small spears.

Gulibaa ngay bilaarr wuu-na, dhugaadjulgalgaa   Sim

*gulibaa ngay   bilaarr wuu-na, dhugaa-**djuul-galgaa***

three   1SG.DAT spear give-IMP, small-DIM-PL

(f) Give me 1 small spear.

Biyaduul ngay bilaarr wuuna, dhugaadjul.   Sim

biyaduul ngay   bilaarr wuu-na, dhugaa-djuul

only   1SG.DAT spear give-IMP small-ONE

(206), from Wurm, has both the Dative pronoun and noun: *gaalingu* and *birralii-gaali-ngu*. *Birralii-gaali* also occurs in (212) and (729).

It is likely that fossilised forms of the suffix occur. *Gulayaali* is 'pelican' (*gulay* 'net (bag))' and there is a story of the pelican having two nets; *mangun.gaali* 'goanna' and *murrayin.gali* 'corroboree leader, dance leader' (Sim).

3.1.2.5   *-DHuul* 'DIMinutive, ONE'

The suffix –*DHuul*[39] is found on nouns and adjectives, with a number of broad semantic effects, most commonly indicating singular number. At other times it adds a diminutive meaning. The form is first considered and then the more detailed semantics. The allomorphs of *-DHuul* are set out in the Table 37.

-DHuul is mostly realised as *-duul* after *rr* and *l*. However at times the *rrDH* cluster is simplified to *d*, particularly in what might be fossilised forms of the suffix, such as *biyaduul* 'alone' (*biyarr* 'one') and common combinations such as *yinaduul* (*yinarr* 'woman'). *Y-final* words also have variant realisation. *Bubaaydjuul* and *bubaadjuul* are both found, with the second less common (*bubaay* 'small'). *Birraydjuul* is common, but there is one token of *birradhuul* (*birray* 'boy') in Ridley.

The most common semantic effects of the suffix on a noun are to add the meaning 'one' or 'small' and in a few instances 'just/only'. With adjectives it can derive a noun meaning 'a person or thing with that quality'. Less commonly it has a softening effect on the adjective: *warranggalduul* in Table 39. With both nouns and adjectives at times there is no discernible effect. It may be that the suffix merely emphasises singularity or smallness, particularly when suffixed to words that already have a diminutive sense.

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[39] See Nash (2014) for the use of *-DHuul* in YR placenames. There are many such YR names, and many GR names with *-Baraay*.

There are other poorly understood uses and a few instances where it occurs as part of a nominal with plural reference. The suffix is often open to several interpretations, as seen in the translations of examples.

Table 37   *-DHuul* 'DIMinutive, ONE' allomorphs

Example	Suffix form		Example	Root gloss
After	Yuwaalaraay	Gamilaraay		
a, u	*-dhuul*	*-dhuul*	*gaba-dhuul*	good
i, y	*-djuul*	*-dhuul*	*birralii-djuul, birralii-dhuul*	child
y2	*y̶-dhuul*[40]	*y̶-dhuul*	*birra-dhuul*	boy
rr	*-duul, r̶r̶duul*	*-duul, -dhuul, r̶r̶duul*	*yinarr-duul, yina-duul*	woman
l, n	*-duul*	*-duul*	*dhayn-duul*	person

Table 38 gives the more common occurrences of the suffix, and Table 39 a few less common examples. *-DHuul* is found most commonly on terms for people and on words which already have a diminutive sense.

The most common occurrence, on *birralii* 'child', at times has diminutive effect and at times emphasises singularity. **Diminutive**: *birralii-djuul* is translated 'baby' in 3217A 3049; 'little boy' in (1096) (895) (281) (317); 'little fellow' (referring to a kangaroo) in 3217A 1356. **Singularity**: *birralii-djuul* is translated 'boy' in (1015) (230); 'girl' in (130).

The semantics are unclear since other informants commonly use *birralii* as 'baby', as AD does at times. Some words, particularly person words that include 'smallness' in their meaning, rarely occur without *-dhuul,* for instance *miyay* 'girl' (1052) (1071) and *birray* 'boy' (166), (721). There are other words such as *bubay, badjin* 'small' and *ngayagay* 'other' which very frequently occur suffixed with *-DHuul.*

The second most common occurrence, *dhayn-duul,* (*dhayn* 'Aboriginal man, person') is found with singular meaning (a man) in (316) (319) (409) (504) (481). The suffix can be used to emphasise singularity. Sim has *dhayn-duul* 'just one man'. The diminutive meaning of *dhayn-duul* is less common, but is seen in (164).

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[40] There is often variation in *ay*-final words with other suffixes. Ridley has (p 18) *birri* (*birray*) 'boy' and *birridūl* (*birraydhuul* or *birraydjuul*) 'boy/youth' but on p 14 has *birradul* 'youth' (*birradhuul*). Mathews has (GR: 275) *mea* (cf. *miyay*) 'girl' and *mēadjyul* (*miya-djuul*) 'maid' cf. Ridley (p 14, 18) *miē* and *miēdūl* 'girl'. (*miyay, miyaydhuul*). 'The variation in the root is clear.

YR *ngayagay* 'other' is generally found as *ngayaga* when suffixed, but it may be that these are fossilised forms rather than instances of a currently productive process. *ngayagay* is found in Ergative *ngayaga-djuul-u* 26 times and *ngayagay-djuul-u* 13 times on the tapes.

(164) *dhaay yanaa-ya, dhayn-duul*
      to.here go-IMP,   man-DIM
      Come here little dark fellow.   FR/JM 1988B 3731

Table 38   **Most common occurrences of *-DHuul* in the tapes**

Root Gloss	Suffixed form	Glosses	Num in Tapes
child	*birralii-djuul*	one child, little child, baby	250
man, person	*dhayn-duul*	one man, little man	160
woman	*yinarr-duul, yina-duul*	one woman, little woman	40
girl	*miyay-djuul*	one girl, little girl	40
boy	*birray-djuul*	one boy, little boy	20
other	*ngayagay-djuul* *ngayaga-djuul*	other, other one; another one	25 10
small	*bubay-djuul, badjin-duul*	small, little one, baby	40
one	*biya-duul*	alone, by self	30
sad, pitiful	*ngarragaa-dhuul*	sad (person)	7

Table 39   **Less common occurrences of *-DHuul***

Suffixed form	Gloss	Analysis	Gloss or description	Source/Notes
birradul	youth	*birray-dhuul*	having something of the boy left	Ridley: 14
miēdūl	maiden	*miyay-dhuul*	having something (not much) of the girl left	Ridley: 14
warunŋguldūl	somewhat mighty	*warranggal-duul*	strong-diminished	Ridley: 14
Moobidule	tatoo	*mubirr-duul*	*mubirr 'scar'*	Milson
yarralduul	place name, stony place	*stone-duul*	*yarral 'stone'; a noun*	
gabadhuul	good	*gaba-dhuul*	*gaba 'good'; an adjective*	

    The suffix has not been found on nouns or adjectives that specifically include bigness as a quality. So **wamu-dhuul* (fat-one) and **burrul-duul* (big-one) are not found, whereas those adjectives are the most common with *–bidi* 'big'. The noun *maalaa* 'tree' is commonly found in *maalaa-bidi*, but never in *maalaa-dhuul*, suggesting the *maalaa* itself indicates largeness. However the suffix is found on *warranggal* 'strong' Table 39, with *warranggal-duul* glossed 'somewhat mighty'. This suggests that it might be used on other adjectives to lessen their force: so *wamu-dhuul* might be 'plump' and *burrul-duul* 'biggish': *wamu* 'fat', *burrul* 'big'.

    Use of *–DHuul* to derive a noun which represents a person from an adjective is relatively common, as is its use to derive an adjective that modifies a person noun.

Ridley, in *Gurre Kamilaroi*, has: *tunggordul* and *baindul* 'lame man' (*dhan.gurr* 'lame'; *bayn* 'sore/sick'). Milson (p 5) has *Naragathule* 'poor fellow' (*ngarragaa* 'pitiful, poor') and Wurm (p 100) *bubadju:l* 'small one' (*bubaay* 'small') and suffixed *ngayagay* YR / *ngaragay* GR 'other' are common, translated 'another'. FR says: '*badjinduul* means small, little fellow, something like that' (1850A 2133) and '*badjinduul* is a little fellow, little boy, little girl; *dhuul* makes it little; fellow' (1849A 1190). He then, in both instances, uses the phrase: '*badjinduul birralii:* little kid', where *badjinduul* has adjectival use. This use of the suffix is seen in *buyabuya-dhuul-i* in (165).

(165)   The cranky woman took a handful of her hair.   JM/FR 2438A 997

   *yiiliyaanbaa-gu nhama, buurra-y   dhaygal / **buyabuya-dhuul-i** / dhaygal-i*

   savage-ERG   3.DEF, pluck-PST hair   / thin-DIM-ABL   / head-ABL

   The savage woman pulled the hair out of the thin woman.   FR

There are numerous examples where the suffix seems to have no impact on the meaning of an adjective. Laves (MS2188-9-12p095) has *kaba dul* 'good' (*gaba-dhuul; gaba* 'good'). Sim has *gagildjul* 'unhappy, despondent' (*gagilduul; gagil* 'bad'). 1848B 353 has *badjinduul maayama* 'little stone' (*badjinduul, badjin* 'little').

There are other uses of the suffix which I merely list. Ridley (p 14) has two uses which do not fit with the main uses described. Firstly in *yarralduul* the suffix forms an adjective from a noun. Secondly in "*birradul*" and "*miēdūl*" (*birra-dhuul* and *miyay-dhuul*) the suffix forms a word referring to the end of boyhood/girlhood, not a diminutive.

> *-dul* is an adjective suffix: as "*yārul*" a stone "*yaruldūl*" stony. *–dul* is used with a
> diminutive meaning; thus, "*warunŋgul*" mighty, "*warunŋguldūl*" somewhat mighty or
> strong, *ŋaragē*, other; *ŋaragēdūl*, another; "*birradul*" (youth) and "*miēdūl*" (maiden),
> meaning having something of the boy, and having something (not much) of the girl left.

In contrast in *Gurre Kamilaroi* Ridley has *miedul* (*miyay-dhuul)* as 'little girl' a number of times, with the suffix clearly having diminutive use.

Suffixed forms regularly occur as afterthoughts, as in (145) and *dhugaa-djuul* in (163)(f) which also has *biyaduul* 'just one/alone'. It is not clear if the suffix in *biya<u>duul</u>* emphasises '<u>just</u> one', 'one <u>little</u>', or whether it has some combination of these functions.

In most instances the suffix is used only when the referent is both singular and small. There are exceptions. In (163)(e) *-djuul* is followed by *-galgaa* 'plural', so presumably has only diminutive effect. (166) has 'girls' translated with *-DHuul*. In (1073) *birralii-djuul* translates 'children/kids', with unexpected plural use. Sim has *bulaarr-djuul* 'only two' (*bulaarr-duul*), where the suffix seems to have limiting rather than diminutive effect. (167) has a range of unusual number features. Each word of

two three word phrases has explicit number reference (*bulaarr, –aali* and *–gaali* in (a), *burrulaa, -al* and reduplication in (b)) but, relevant to the present discussion, it has two instances of *-DHuul* followed by a non-singular suffix: *dhugaa-djuul-aali* with a dual, *dhugaa-djuul-al* with a diminutive plural, and (163)(e) has *dhugaa-djuul-galgaa*, with the plural suffix.

(166) The girls all hit him.   CW/AD 5130 3697

    *giirr ngaama / birray-djuul ngaama / buma-lda-nhi / nguwama / **miyay-djuul-u***

    true that   / boy-ONE   that   / hit-CTS-PST / there   / girl-ONE?-ERG

    That boy, the girl/girls were hitting him.   JG

(167) 2 small boys;   many small boys.   Sim Appendix p 4

    bulaarr dhugaadjulaalay birraygaali   burrulaa dhugaadjulal birraybirraay   *Sim*

(a)   *bulaarr **dhugaa-djuul-aali** birray-**gaali***

        two   small-DIM-du   boy-DU

(b)   *burrulaa **dhugaa-djuul-al**   birraybirraay*

        many   small-DIM-PL.DIM boy.REDP

The suffix is used a number of times in address terms, as in (168), an early instance from Parker, and (169), both with a suffixed adjective forming an adjective.

(168)   *Wombah ninderh byjundool boonoong.*   Parker l 36

    wamba nginda badjin-duul bungun

    mad   2SG   little-DIM   wing

    (I haven't cut my wings at all;) You are mad, stumpy wings.   JG

(169)   His mother said: 'You silly boy, you dropped the yamstick'.   JM/FR 2437B 3480

    wamba-dhuul birralii, minya-gu=nda   wana-nhi dhiinbaay

    mad-ONE   child,   what-PURP=2SG throw-PST yamstick

    You silly boy, why did you chuck the yamstick away for?   FR

The suffix has idiosyncratic uses. Milson (p 3) has *Naraguthule* 'second finger' (*ngaraga-dhuul-i?* 'other-one'); *buyuma-dhuul* (dog-*dhuul*) is 'glutton, glutton-bloke'(5130 949 AD). It is fossilised in a number of words, most commonly *biyaduul/milanduul* 'alone, one' (*biyarr, milan* 'one'). These words tend to vary in form, with Sim, for example, having *biirrduul* 'alone, by yourself'; '*biyaduul* and *biyarrduul* 'one', all based on *biyarr* 'one'.

There are a few place names that include *–DHuul*. Sim lists *milduul* 'Mildool' (*mil* 'eye') and specifies that 'it does not mean 'little eye', but something like 'eye there''; *garradhuul* (*garra* 'crack, split') 'because of the cracks there'; and *warranggalduul* 'Angledool'; (*warrang* 'powerful') 'because of some feature of the river there when in flood'. Ridley (p 26) has *Tarīldūl* (commonly called Drilldool) (*dhariilduul*) 'having reeds'.

There is a general tendency across languages for diminutives to have affectionate connotation. Ridley (p 39) also has an instance of affectionate use: *gūlīrdūl* 'my love'[41]

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[41] *Gulirdul* (*guliirrduul*) occurs as 'sweetheart' in a Gamilaraay translation of 'Long way to Tipperary' in *The Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts* (Barcaldine, Qld. : 106

(*guliirr-duul* 'spouse-DIM') and FR2440A 722 uses *gaba-dhuul* (*gaba* 'good') for 'good little (camp)', and there are other similar uses of *gabadhuul*. The WN cognate, -*DHul*, can be used with affectionate connotation, even of things that are not small. It seems -*DHuul* is similarly used in YG. An unexplained use in YR is *gulibaadhul* 'a few or more than 3' (*gulibaa* 'three') (Sim).

3.1.2.6   -*bidi* 'AUGment/big'

The following is largely taken from Giacon (2001: 119; 4.2.2.3). The common suffix -*bidi* is attached to adjectives and nouns. It has no allomorphs. On nouns and some adjectives (e.g. *wamu* 'fat') it is usually translated 'big', on other adjectives it has an intensifying effect (<u>great</u> big, <u>really</u> savage, <u>really</u> deep). With some words, especially *maalaa* '(big) tree', there is generally no difference in the translation between the suffixed and unsuffixed form. The suffix may be used to indicate maturity as well as size: FR (841) uses *burrul-bidi* in 'you are a big boy. You can wash your clothes yourself' (*burrul* 'big'). It contrasts with –*DHuul* 'Diminutive'[42].

The suffix is not found with dual or plural suffixes, and rarely with non-singular reference. A few nouns have been found which can have both -*bidi* and -*DHuul* as suffixes; *dhayn-bidi* and *dhayn-duul* (*dhayn* 'man') and *maayama-bidi* and *maayama-dhuul* (*maayama* 'rock'). The combination of -*bidi* and -*DHuul* in one phrase is not found: so **burrul-bidi dhayn-duul* 'one big man' is not found.

-*bidi* is rare in most sources. It is not found in GR sources nor in YR sources before Wurm, who has one example (*maalaabidi*), and Sim, who only heard the suffix in the combination *burrul-bidi*. It occurs around 250 times on the tapes, from both FR and AD. Almost half the tape occurrences are as *burrul-bidi* 'great big'; (*burrul* 'big'). Another 70 occurrences are in the fairly fixed expression *maalaa-bidi* '(big) tree', (*maalaa* occurs around 10 times without –*bidi*.) There are 30 *wamu-bidi* 'big-fat'. The suffix is found on: body-part terms (e.g. *mubal* 'stomach', *ngay* 'mouth', *ngamu* 'breast' and *yili* 'lips', the last probably with a sexual connotation); geographic terms (e.g. *gurru* 'hole', *gaawaa* 'deep water/river, *mayama* 'stone'); animal names (*guduu* 'cod', *wuulaa* 'lizard); and rarely on other words. (170) has typical uses of -*bidi*.

(170)   The big fellow had a big stomach.   JM/AD 2832B 1692
     giirr=bala ngiyama / burrul-bidi dhayn / mubal-bidi
     true=CTR there   / big-AUG   man   / stomach-AUG
     There's a big man there, big stomach.   JG

1892 - 1922), Saturday 13 November 1915, page 9:

http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/printArticleJpg/79753840/4?print=y

[42] Koch (p.c.) points out that 'It is common in Australian languages for 'very' to be expressed by 'big', i.e. 'big' can modify an adjectival sense to intensify it.' -*Dhuul* (above) has in at least one instance the opposite effect, weakening the meaning of an adjective.

There are many examples of adjectival use of *burrul-bidi*: (155), (96) (with ergative suffix), (136), (831), (847). There are a few examples of 'nominal-*bidi*' used as an existential statement: AD3994A 868 translates *nhan-bidi* (*nhan* 'neck') as: 'you got a big neck' and FR1849B 3552 has: '*burrul-bidi*; - ooh, he's a big one' (*burrul* 'big').

One idiomatic use has been found: *dhalay-bidi* 'tongue-big' = 'talkative person'. Table 40 lists some occurrences of the suffix.

Table 40   **Examples of *-bidi* 'big'**

Category	root+ *-bidi*	Gloss	Root gloss	Number in tapes
adjective	*burrul-bidi*	great big	big	120
noun	*maalaa-bidi*	big tree, tree	tree, big tree	70
adjective	*wamu-bidi*	big fat	fat	30
body parts	*mubal-bidi* *yili-bidi*	big guts big lips	stomach lips	
adjectives	*yiiliyaan-bidi* *gagil-bidi*	really savage no gloss	savage bad	
people	*yungiirr-bidi* *dhayn-bidi*	cry-baby big man	cry-baby man	
geographic terms	*gumbugan-bidi* *nhaadiyaan-bidi* *gaawaa-bidi*	high hill no gloss really deep (water)	(sand) hill log deep water	
Animals	*guduu-bidi* *wuulaa-bidi*	big cod lizard	cod lizard	

(171) shows alternative translations of the one English sentence, with (a) *–bidi* and (b) *–baa-wan.gaan* alternative intensifiers.

(171)   That dog is more savage, is really savage.   CW/AD 5131 199

(a)   *nhama maadhaay,* **yiiliyaan-bidi** */ yii-li   nguuma   nginunha*
         3.DEF   dog,   savage-AUG   / bite-FUT 3ERG.DEF 2SG.ACC
         He'll bite you.   AD
         That dog, he's really savage. He'll bite you.   JG

(b)   **yiiliyaan-baa-wan.gaan** *nhama, maadhaay*
         savage-baa-VERY   3.DEF,   dog
         He's really savage, that dog.   AD

AD8185 1471 has *burrul-bidi* referring to 'two big fat goannas' perhaps the only use of YG *-bidi* with non-singular reference. The suffix is probably found in fossilised form in *wiibidi* 'gecko (lizard)' (*wii* 'fire').

It is found in one dialect of WN, with meaning 'big' when suffixed to nouns and indicating singular number. It and *-DHul* are used on adjectives in WN to form modified comparisons (a lot bigger, a little bigger) with the standard of comparison in Ablative case.

(172) It is a lot smaller than an eaglehawk.   Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1977: 123: 4-45)

bubay-bidi=na maliyan-di   ga-ra

small-AUG=3   eaglehawk-CIRC be-PRS

(172) is from Donaldson's thesis and the published grammar (1980: 101: 4.45) has a parallel sentence with *baamirr-dhul* (tall-diminutive) 'a little taller', and states: 'contradictory combinations (such as *bubay* 'small' *-bidi* 'big': jg) are not used, except in sentences which make comparisons[43] of size'.

This use is not found in YG but could be adapted into YG, and so *gaba-dhuul* (*gaba* 'good') would be 'a little better', and *gaba-bidi* would be 'a lot better', in appropriate contexts.

YG does have the suffix used in a comparison in (173) (bigger) and (136). (173) shows that the informant struggles with comparisons.

(173) That fellow is bigger than the other kangaroos.   JM/AD 3217A 1433

ngaarrma=badhaay / ngaam',   burrul / bandaarr / burrul-bidi=bala ngaama=nga

3.ANA.DEF=MIGHT / 3.ANA.DEF, big   / kangaroo / big-AUG=CTR   3.ANA.DEF=THEN

ngaam=bala   ngayagay-galgaa, bubaay-galgaa=bala ngaama bandaarr

3.ANA.DEF=CTR other-PL,   small-PL=CTR   that   kangaroo

All them other little kangaroos and this big fellow, he's the biggest.   AD

That a big kangaroo, really big, and those others are smaller kangaroos. (lit)   JG

That kangaroo is the biggest/is bigger than the others.   JG

(136) translates 'as big as a man' with *burrul-bidi dhayn-giirr.*

As might be expected, just as *-DHuul* has affectionate connotations, *-bidi* has pejorative ones. *Gagil-bidi* (bad-*bidi*) is found twice in the tapes, with no precise translation, but negative connotation, and *gaba-bidi* (good-*bidi*) is not found.

-Buu

The suffix *-Buu* 'TOTal' is discussed at §15.3.3. *-Buu* is similar to number and quantity suffixes in that it does not change the reference of the word, but quantifies it, for instance 'us' to 'all of us'.

3.1.2.7   *–ili* 'DIMinutive, little' (affectionate use)

This fairly rare suffix is defined by Sim (1998: 87) (see Giacon, 2001: 118: §4.2.2.2) as 'diminutive, affectionate, exactly as in John<u>ny</u>'. It occurs in *dhagaan-ili* 'little older brother' (*dhagaan* 'older brother'), which is also the familiar name of the owlet nightjar (a bird) and the name has an affectionate connotation. It is also found in *Ganhanbili* (*Ganhan* 'pig weed'), the name of one of the Creator's wives. The two examples and Sim's description all involve kin terms or names. This is not a productive suffix in the YG sources.

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[43] Koch (p.c.) points out that comparison in Australian languages is usually by one of two forms. The more common is: 'This one is (big), that one is (small)'; the other is 'This one is (big) from that one.'

3.1.2.8   *-Gaa* 'senior'

This treatment of the suffix builds on that in Giacon (2001:121; §4.2.2.7). The suffix *–Gaa* has at least two uses. The first is to indicate that a person is older or has some status. Examples are set out in Table 41 and then discussed. An associated possible use is as a Proper name marker. There may also be another homophone, with as yet unanalysed use.

The suffix *is -gaa,* except presumably after *rr* when it is *-aa.* The form after *l* is uncertain, but *yaayngarralgaa* 'clock' (*yaay* 'sun' *ngarral* 'looker') suggests the form there is *-gaa.*

Table 41   **Examples of *-Gaa* 'senior'**

Example	Analysis	Gloss	Source
dhilaagaa	brother-*gaa*	older brother	FR
yinarr-aa	woman-*aa*	head woman, lady, a title of respect woman with camp of her own	FR Parker
yinarr-aa-galaa	woman-*aa-galaa*	head woman, lady, a title of respect	Sim
Mullyangah Mullian-ga	wedgetail.eagle-*gaa*	Chief/wisest of the *maliyan*	Parker 1898

The effect of the suffix is discussed by informants. FR discusses the difference between *dhilaa* 'brother' and *dhilaagaa* 'older brother' on a number of occasions including 5053 1138, where he says that the second means: 'brother too, but an old man'. There he also points out that *yinarraa* (woman-*aa*) was used of Mrs Parker and adds: 'it's like when the queen give you 'Dame' or 'Lady', you different to an ordinary woman'. Parker (1905: 146) has *yinarraa* as 'woman with camp of her own'. A speculative analysis of *wayamaa* 'old man, old person' is that the *-aa* is historically from *-Gaa*, perhaps with *waya* 'left' also part of the etymology.

The suffix also occurs in *Mullyangah/Mullian-ga* (*Maliyan.gaa*) 'chief/wisest of the *maliyan* 'Wedge-tail eagles'. Here the suffix could also be an indication of seniority or it could be a Proper Name marker.

Many Aboriginal languages have a Proper Name marker and many others do not. Hercus (1994: 88) points out a proper name suffix *–nha* in Arabana/Wangkangurru but did not find one in Baakantji. (The Proper name marker in Western Desert languages is *-nya.*) Breen did not find one in Yandruwantha. *-Gaa* is similar in form to the WN Proper name marker, *–gaN*, (Donaldson, 1980: 105) which is added to all uses of names except vocative use. It may be that *-Gaa* has changed meaning, or the proper name use may have been one of the early post-colonisation losses. One indication that

YG did not have a proper name marker is that the suffix does not appear on the names of characters in stories - Parker's or others'.

The existence of another suffix -*Gaa* is more speculative and is based on the occurrence of compound words which include –*Gaa* and whose meaning is related to the unsuffixed form, or at least could be related to that meaning. Table 42 shows many such words, and others where no base is suggested. At times (*bayagaa, walaaygaa*) there is little or no difference between the meaning of the two words. No consistent meaning has been found for the potential suffix. The form -*aa* is an allomorph of both -*Gaa* and -*Baa* §3.2.1, so of uncertain origin, for example in *bibilaa*.

Table 42   Examples of -*Gaa* (unknown function)

Example	Gloss	likely/possible Root	Gloss
Root reasonably clear			
bayagaa	clothes	*baya*	clothes
birran.gaa	stone axe	*birra*	axe handle
bununggaa	armband	*bungun*	arm
buwarrgaa	dead person's things	*buwarr*	sacred things
yaayngarralgaa	clock	*yaay; ngarral*	sun; watcher
walaaygaa	bird's nest	*walaay*	camp, nest
bibilaa	belonging to the *bibil* country	*bibil*	bimble tree
Root not known or uncertain			
wirringgaa	woman	possibly WN;	
galinggaa	sheep intestines	cf. *gali*	water
ganagaa	wart	*gana*	liver
gidjirrigaa	budgerigar	cf. *gidjiirr*	yellow
gundhilgaa	town	*gundhi*	house
mugiin.gaa	sandfly	cf. *mungin*	mosquito
budhuulgaa	white-faced heron		
garraagaa	white-faced heron		
yarudhagaa	matrilineal totem		
dhuwaarrgaa	thunder	*dhuwarr?*	bread
wurrugaa	owner		

3.1.2.9   -*galaa* 'old'

The YR suffix form -*galaa* has been found only a few times, all of them listed in Table 43. All examples incorporate the meaning 'old'. Wurm's (p 59) has *wayamaa-galgaa* 'old man, can't do anything'. This suggests the suffix has to do with ability. Sim (1998: 44) has the same word in a sentence translated 'that old man is the strongest of us all'. These are inconsistent, but do not affect the basic meaning.

WN has a formally similar *-galaan* Augmentative plural (Donaldson, 1980: 100), used to mark plurality in 'things that are remarkable for their size' and *-galaaN* 'late (deceased)' (p 106), generally used on kin terms to refer to deceased persons. Neither of these corresponds closely to the meaning of the YG suffix, which is singular.

Table 43 **Examples of** *-Galaa* **'old'**

Form	Gloss	Base	Root Gloss	Source
wayamaagalaa	old man	*wayamaa*	old man old man + strongest	Sim: 1 Sim: 44
wɛːmaː gəla.ʰ *wayamaagalaa*	old man, can't do anything	*wayamaa*	old man	Wurm: 59
yinarraagalaa	old woman	*yinarraa*	old woman senior woman	Sim: 1
yɔᵘmbiː gəla.ʰ *yambuligalaa*	old woman	*yambuli* *(yambi)*	old woman	Wurm: 59
Possible instances				
guwaygalaa	red soil	*guway*	blood	
dhan.-galaa-dhil[44]	message bird, grave digger bird	*dhawun??* *-dhil*	earth ??bird	Sim
gunagalaa	toilet	*guna*	shit	

3.1.2.10   *-aala* 'very?'

The potential suffix *-aala* is found only on one word, so it is quite tentative. It is included here as an example of a form that may be assigned a use in YG, and that could be clarified with study of other languages. *Guyaarraala* '(very) long/tall' is found around 30 times on the tapes, clearly derived from *guyaarr* 'long/tall' and with the suffix likely adding the meaning 'very'. The same word is recorded by Wurm as *gujaːḏla* (*guyaarrla*), but *rrl* is not permissible in YG, so this is likely a casual realisation. At 2437B 427 FR has *guyaarrala* and *guyaarraala* with variation in the form.

3.1.2.11   Reduplication

Plurality and perhaps other size/maturity information is conveyed by reduplication for a small number of YG words: *miyay* 'girl' *birray* 'boy', indefinites and possibly interrogative pronouns. For other reduplication see §14 and Giacon (2001:141; §4.3).

Reduplicated indefinites have universal meaning: see §14.3.2. One example from there is *minyagaa* 'something' > *minyaminyagaa* 'all, everything' (*minya* 'what').

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[44] See Giacon (2013: 265) for more on this potential suffix.

Arrernte interrogatives have a similar process which produces both universals and plural interrogatives (Wilkins, 1989: 132).

The reduplication of *miyay* and *birray* follows a non-standard process: the word is repeated to the right, and the vowel of the diphthong lengthened, producing *miyaymiyaay* and *birraybirraay*. The sources record two effects, diminutivisation and plurality, as well as derivational use of the forms as names; see §14.3.1.

3.2   Derived nominal has different reference from root[45]

This section considers a number of (historically at least) suffixes which derive nominals, mostly from other nominals. The most common is *–Baa* 'DOMain'. The form and meaning of some is clear, but uncertain for others. The root is clear in some examples, e.g. *yaay* 'sun' *yaay-baa* 'summer', but not in others. Many of the suffixes considered derive nominals which refer to people.

3.2.1   *–Baa* 'DOMain'

The suffix *–Baa* is glossed 'DOMain' since it often derives forms which have a meaning like 'time of, place of, context of', for instance *walaaybaa* 'campground' (*walaay* 'camp/shelter'); *yaaybaa* 'summer' (*yaay* 'sun'). At other times the suffix seems to add no extra meaning to the root. There are also *-Baa* final words where the putative root has not been attested, e.g. *budhanbaa*[46] 'black duck' (*budhan* is not known).

The meaning of the suffixed form is sometimes predictable from the root: *maayama-baa* 'place with a lot of stones' *maayama* 'stone'; but often not: *gulabaa* 'coolabah tree', *gula* 'fork in tree'; presumably the tree has forks; *barranbaa* 'Brigalow tree', presumably a source of wood for *barran* 'boomerang'. Milson (Table 47) has the only instance of *yinarrbaa* 'woman-*baa*', which presumably means something like 'womanhood'. In other instances the gloss 'DOMain' does not describe the effect: e.g. *dhalay-baa* 'sharp' 'tongue-*baa*.

Donaldson (1980: 118) discusses the Wangaaybuwan suffix *–baaN –* 'DOMAIN' which derives inflecting forms (nominals) such as *ngurram-baa* 'camp-*baa*' 'homeland, tribal territory' and adverbial forms such as *yurru-m.baa* 'rain-*baa*' 'in rainy weather' and *dharriyal-baa* 'heat-*baa*' 'in summertime'. See (174).

The form of the YG suffix varies, but not consistently. Some *y* and *rr* final words have *-aa* and other *-baa*.

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[45] The heading is adapted from Donaldson (1980: 107).

[46] *Budhanbang* also occurs in Yuin languages, e.g. Ngarigu, so is not likely to have a YG analysis.

Table 44   *-Baa* after final *rr* and *y*

Word	Gloss	Base gloss	Word	Gloss	Base gloss
yaay-baa	summer	sun	*manday-aa*	male	penis, testicles
dhandarr-aa	winter	ice, frost	*gunidjarr-baa*	female	mother
buurr-aa	bora	string, rope	*buurr-baa*	full man	string, rope

l-final roots add *-aa*, e.g. *burrulaa* 'many', but *lb* is a permissible cluster.

Table 45 has examples of clearly derivational use of *-Baa*, Table 46 possible instances of *-Baa*, Table 47 some further examples from Milson, a short early source.

Table 45   *–Baa* suffix: root known

Suffixed word	Gloss	Root Gloss	Source
The suffixed word has a different meaning			
dhandarr-aa	winter	frost/ice	
yaay-baa	summer	sun	
yayaay-baa	summer	sun	
gunidjarr-baa	thumb	mother	
gunidjarr-baa	female/ mother one	mother	Reece
buwadjarr-baa	father (in heaven)	father	Laves
manday-aa	buck, male	penis?, step	
buurr-aa	initiation process	string/rope	
buurr-baa	full man	string/rope	Ridley: 18
barran-baa	Brigalow (tree)	boomerang	
dhalay-baa	sharp	tongue	
gawu-baa	egg yolk	egg	
gula-baa	coolabah tree	fork	
gurruu-baa	deep	*gurru* 'hole'	
mayama-baa	place with a lot of stones	stone	
wagi-baa	plain (country), clear (ground), bald (head)	open ground	
walaay-baa	camp-ground/nest/home country	camp/nest	
warragil-aa	unswerving	straight	Sim
Yaraan-baa	station name	*yarran*: a tree	
yiiliyaan-baa	savage	*yii-li* 'bite' *yii-li-yan* 'biter?'	

Table continued on next page.

Suffixed word	Gloss		Root Gloss	Source
The suffixed word has the same meaning as the root				
murrgu-baa-ga *murrgu-ga*	both 'near *murrgu* trees'		she.oak-*baa*-LOC she.oak-LOC	Wurm 70
guwiin-baa	close		close	
gaban-baa	light		light (rare)	
madhan-baa	heavy		heavy	
yurrul-aa	(the) bush		bush	Sim
murru-baa	good (cf *maaru* 'good')		good	Mathews: 262

Table 46   *–Baa* suffix: 'Base' unknown or speculative

Suffixed word	Gloss	Root/Analysis	Root Gloss	Source
giliinba[a]	clean	*giliin*	clean	
baayanbaa/ *baayambaa*	mate	*?*		
budhanbaa	black duck			
-DHalibaa	PRIVative	*dha-li?*	eat??	
dhugaalubaa	shrimp			
giibaabu	early in the morning		be?-*baa*-TOT	
ngarrawidhalba	father in law			
ngandabaa	snake	cf. *nganda*	tree bark	
wayambaa	turtle	*?wa-y*	be in	
wiyaybaa	stranger, foreign		?	
ila:lu ba:gou	long time ago	*yilaalu-baa-ga-wu*	long.time-*baa*-LOC-TOT?	Wurm 99

(174) indicates that *yayaaybaa* is a nominal, with Ergative inflection, unlike the corresponding Wangaaybuwan which is an adverbial.

(174)   The thunder tells them that warm weather has come.   JM/AD 8184 1111

   *giirr ganugu yayaay.baa-gu / guwaa-lda-nha ganunga / **yayaay.baa** gi-yaa-ndaay*

   true 3PL.ERG summer?-ERG / tell-CTS-PRS   3PL   / summer   be-MOV-SUB

   The ?heat tells them that it summer is coming.   JG

   The AD elicitation in (175) indicates the productivity of the suffix, the uncertainty of the speaker about its use, and the fact that there are a number of similar suffixes. AD initially uses *bidjaay-baa* to translate 'muddy place', and then changes to *bidjaay-gaa*, suggesting *–gaa* is more appropriate. This use of *-gaa* is not understood.

(175)   This place is muddy and that place is dry ground.   JM/AD 3220B 3187

   nhalay=nha-la?? / bidjaay-baa / bidjaay-gaa /

   here = 3-la??   / mud-baa   / mud-gaa   /

ngaarri-gili = bala-??ngu / dhaymaarr / nhalay = bala bidjaay

distant-SIDE = CTR-?? / ground / this = CTR mud

This is muddy, that's ?good ground on the other side but this is mud. JG

Table 47 shows that the suffix is frequent in Milson's limited corpus. Table 48 has Wangaaybuwan examples.

Table 47 *–Baa*: examples in Milson

Suffixed word	Gloss	Analysis	Gloss	Page
Yenirbagh meaee	young woman	*yinarr-baa miyay*	woman-*baa* girl	3
Groolebah	7 (number)	*guruli??-baa*		3
Boondoba	all about	*?bundaa-baa*	*?bundaa-gi* 'fall'	5
boorillabah	a deal of	*burrulaabaa*	many-*baa*	11
moogoobah	blunt	*mugu-baa*	blunt-*baa*	11

Table 48 *–Baa* suffix: Wangaaybuwan examples

Suffixed word	Gloss	Root Gloss	Source
ngurram-baa	one's homeland	camp	
Ngiyam-baa	language name	word	
gunam-baa	young of any bird or animal species	shit	Donaldson: 180

3.2.2 *-barra* 'belonging to the country of' 'typical of'

The suffix is discussed in Giacon[47] (2001: 131; §4.2.3.9). The most common occurrence is in Parker, who gives three examples of the suffix: see Table 49. The suffix occurs mostly in the names of groups of people or in adjectives meaning 'belonging to the country of…'. Neither *garrii* 'tree orchid' or *nhungga* 'kurrajong' are visually dominant in country, but may be chosen because they are important in other ways. According to Dixon (1980:324) 'the affix *–barra* 'pertaining to, belonging to (a place) occurs in Yidiny, Dyirbal and in most of the languages south of these two in Queensland the names of local groups within tribes typically involve *–barra*'.

The use of presumably the same suffix in *guwaymbarra* 'red' suggests a broader meaning: *X-barra* is something that is typically associated with X. The homorganic *m* in *guwaymbarra* suggests that the word is borrowed from Ngiyambaa.

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[47] Two other examples of *-barra* there are now not seen as accurate: The *barra* in *gayiya-barra* 'spider web' is likely 'thread' and *dha-l-barra* 'eats' is actually a mishearing of Wayilwan *dha-l-ga-ra* 'eats'.

Table 49   Examples of *-barra* 'from country of'

Form	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Notes
Use as 'from the country of ..'				
garrii-barra	from tree-orchid country	*garrii*	tree orchid	Parker:
nhungga-barra	from kurrajong country	*nhungga*	kurrajong	1905
mirrii-barra	from lignum country	*mirrii*	lignum	p 145
Other likely use				
guway-m-barra	red	*guway*	blood	

3.2.3   *-gayaluu* 'inhabitant of'

This suffix has been found twice, both in Sim. He has (1998: ix): '*Narrin.gayaluu*, inhabitants of the Narran River' and (1998: 31) glosses the suffix as 'inhabitant of'. There is a WN cognate, *-giyaluN-* (Donaldson, 1980: 116) glossed 'belonging to'. Some WN examples are given in Table 50. *Burrba-ng-giyalu* indicates an experience people have had and shows that the meaning is not restricted to inhabitants of a place. The WN suffix can inform wider use of the YG suffix.

Table 50   Examples of Wangaaybuwan *-giyaluN-* 'belonging to'

WN form	analysis	Gloss
ngurra-ng[48]-giyalu	camp-*giyalu*	(their) wives (cf. English 'house-wife')
burrba-ng-giyalu	bora-*giyalu*	men who have been through the rules
bilaarr-giyalu	she-oak-*giyalu*	people from the she-oak country
gali-nj-djalibaa-giyalu	water-PRIV-*giyalu*	people from the dry country

(176) has two other YG words whose form and analysis may suggest that there was variation in the form of the suffix, or another suffix with similar meaning. The evidence is not clear, and there are other possibilities, including that this suffix is actually *-gaali* 'dual'.

(176) *garra-gali*   animal like a little rat   lives in *garra* 'ground cracks'

    wagaay-gaali   Richard's pipit (a bird)   lives on the *wagaay* 'open country/plain'

3.2.4   *-gal* 'mob'

The suffix *-gal* 'diminutive plural' has been discussed in §3.1.2.3. Another use, or a homonym, discussed in Giacon (2001: 133; 4.2.3.11), is considered here, and a further use of the form is discussed in the next section. This suffix *-gal* is used to create a nominal which refers to a group of people: people from an area or with a

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[48] See 13.6 for the homorganic nasal found before some Wangaaybuwan suffixes.

characteristic. The YG evidence is limited but consistent and is set out in Table 51. Sim (1998: ix) has:

> JR (Mrs Jinny Rose) referred to three main northern groups of Yualeiai by the names *Narrin.gayaluu, Bugaarragal* and *Baluun.gaal,* i.e. literally inhabitants/people of the Narran, Bokhara and Balonne (Rivers). Whether these were 'original' names I do not know.

In the YG cosmology all animals and people belong to one of *dhurrun.gal,* 'the furry ones', *giinbalgal* 'the scaled ones' (*giinbaligal* in Sim) or *dhigayaa* 'birds', with two of those names including *-gal.* The suffix also occurs in *wululgal* 'noisy mob'. A number of Aboriginal languages have a similar use of *-gal,* for instance the Sydney language with words such as Gadigal.

Table 51　Occurrences of *-gal* 'mob' (and other uses)

Suffixed	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Source/Notes
Historical classification of people				
dhurrun.gal	the furry ones	*dhurrun*	fur	Sim et al.
giinbalgal	the scaled ones	*giinbal*	scale (reptile, fish)	Sim et al.
People: of a place or with a characteristic				
Bugaarragal	Bokhara mob	*Bugaarra*	Bokhara river	Sim
Baluun.gaal	Balonne mob	*Baluun*	Balonne river	Sim
wululgal	noisy mob	*wulul*	noise	Sim: 26

3.2.5　　*-gal:* 'unknown effect'

There are a significant number of other words which are *-gal*-final, many listed in Table 52. At times these may be examples of *-gal* 'dim plural' or 'mob'; for instance: *gaaynggal* 'child', now not marked for number, is historically likely *gaay-ng-gal* or *gaany-gal* child-PL.DIM, using a Wangaaybuwan suffixing pattern which includes a homorganic *ng*, and similarly for *buunggal.* However in many instance the semantics do not fit those two suffixes, so suggesting a further *-gal.* In at least one instance, *gurrugal,* it seems to derive an adjective from a noun and this may be the case also for *warranggal.*

Table 52　Other possible instances of *-gal* 'unknown effect'

Suffixed	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Source/ Notes
Probably suffixed (at least historically)				
dhirragal	teeth on edge mouth wrinkled up	*dhirra*	flash; *dhirra* 'teeth' in some languages	
baranggal	ankle	*??barran*	boomerang	
bigal	navel	*??bii*	chest	
burrunggal	coolabah tree grub	*burrun*	type of moth	

Table continued on next page.

Suffixed	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Source/ Notes
buunggal	native potato	cf. buu	ball/testicle	
gaaynggal	baby	gaay	small	
Gawubuwan Gunigal	Boobera Lagoon, Macintyre River	cf. gunii guniinii	mother queen bee	
gurrugal	round	gurru	round (hole)	Ridley: 31
warranggal	strong, powerful	cf. warra-y warran	stand tree stump	
wurunggal	peep hole	cf. wuru-gi	go in	
bambugal	fingers, toes			
More speculative examples				
dhaygal	head	??		
bin.gal	fish fin			
bin.gawin.gal	needlewood tree			
dhalagal	frilled lizard	?dhalay	tongue	
dhan.gal	shelly log	?dhaan	lean	
dhanggal	large mussel			
dhinggal	foetus, seed	cf. dhii	meat	
giigal	scab	?gii	heart	
giirrgal	tomahawk			
gilgal	small waterhole			
Guligal	bee droppings, placename	Guli	placename, a grass	
gumbilgal	bark container	gumbi	a water weed	
munggal	only			cf. mugal
mugal	only child			cf. munggal
murragal	bird trap			
nhaagal	bora ground spirit			
wanggal	toy roller	wangga-li	to roll tr	nominalisation of verb
waygal	woven bag	cf. wa-y	be in	
yugal	song	cf. yu-gi; yuga-li	cry; celebrate	
Possibly related				
wayagaal	left-handed	waya	left hand	

3.2.6   *-DHaan* 'skilled at'

There is limited YG evidence found for a suffix *-DHaan* which derives a nominal referring to a person who has a particular skill. (177) translates 'good hunter' with *dhiidhaan* (*dhii* 'meat, game'). Ted Fields (p.c.) remembered *dhiidhaan* (or *dhaydhaan*) as 'leader of the hunt' but could not remember *–dhaan* being attached to other words. Parker (1905: 147) has *wulbuldaan* – 'game; riding on bent branch' (*wulbun* 'bendy stick'), with the suffixed word, as recorded, referring to a game, not a person. Finally *ngarraadhaan* 'bat' may be from *ngarra-li* – 'see'; the name a reference to its ability to 'see' at night.

(177)   Good hunter that man.   (GR) SW p 15

     ðiðaːn nama maɽi

     dhii-dhaan   nhama maɽi

     meat-dhaan 3.DEF   man

There is a WN suffix *–ngaan* 'skilled at catching' (Donaldson, 1980: 117) which was accepted only on the name of creatures 'whose flesh is esteemed as food, provided there is some skill involved in hunting it', for instance *girrbadja* 'kangaroo'. If nothing else it shows that suffixes with the meaning 'skilled at' are found. There is insufficient evidence to determine the precise meaning of the YG suffix, but the examples suggest it was broader than the WN suffix.

3.2.7   *-gaalu* 'pretend'

The suffix *–gaalu* is discussed in Williams (1980: 45). She glosses it 'make believe'. It is added to nouns to indicate that an object is, in pretence, something else: for instance I can be a 'pretend-doctor' and a stick can be a 'pretend horse'. There is an identical suffix in Wangaaybuwan and the YR instances on the tapes are a result of explicit elicitation for this suffix by CW, who was aware of the WN suffix. At 5131 2736 CW asks: 'the boy was pretending to smoke tobacco' and *biyaga-gaalu* 'tobacco-*gaalu*' is added by AD as an afterthought, perhaps after some off-tape discussion. The other tape use is *yarraamaan-gaalu*, used after CW had asked for 'she is riding a pretend horse' (5131 2487). Again AD only says this after some off-tape discussion. CW (p 45) has a further example, *walaay-gaalu* 'pretend camp' (see the WN below).

Donaldson (1980: 117) gives WN case marked forms: doctor-*gaalu-dhul-u-dhu* 'doctor-pretend-DIM-ERG-1SG.ERG' in 'I spoke as a little make-believe doctor'; and *nganung-gaalu-dhi* ('miamia/shed-*gaalu*-ABL') 'in a make believe house'.

3.2.8   *-(b)iyan* 'blossom of, fruit of'

This suffix is discussed in Giacon (2001: 135; §4.2.3.14) and is treated only briefly here. It is found in words referring to a plant product such as flower, fruit, bean pod or

manna. The word may or may not contain the name of the plant. The actual form of the suffix varies considerably, indicating that the suffixed forms have long been seen as monomorphic words. Table 53 has examples.

Table 53   Examples of *-Biyan,* 'product of'

Example	Gloss	Source plant	Plant gloss
birraa-wiin	whitewood blossom	*birraa*	whitewood tree
dharraa-biin	manna on bark	*dharraa*	flaking bark
gagilaarriin	carbeen blossom	*gaabiin*	carbeen
bambul-ngiyan	bumble tree blossom	*bambul*	bumble tree
bunbarr-iyan	rosewood fruit	*bunbarr*	rosewood
gurrulay-ngiyan	river wattle blossom	*gurrulay*	river wattle

3.2.9   *-dhaa* '?feminine'

In YG gender is generally not marked morphologically, but by the use of separate terms such as *gunidjarr*[49] 'mother' *buwadjarr* 'father' and so on, as pointed out in MathewsGR (p 261). However some Aboriginal languages have a suffix which marks feminine, e.g. *-gan* in Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008: 272). In YG there is a clear relationship between male and female section terms, as seen in the Table 54. The female term is formed by adding *–dhaa* to a modified form of the male term. Other occurrences of *–dha[a]* with this meaning might include *yarudhagaa* 'matrilineal totem' possibly *yaru-dha[a]-gaa*, with *–gaa* 'senior' as discussed elsewhere and the meaning of *yaru* unknown.

Table 54   Male and Female section terms[50]

Male	Female	Probable Derivation
Marrii	*Maadhaa*	*Ma[a][rrii]dhaa*
Gabii	*Gabudhaa*	*Gab[u]dhaa*
Gambuu	*Buudhaa*	*[Gam]buu-dhaa*
Yibaay	*Yibadhaa*	*Yiba[ay]-dhaa*

3.2.10   *–ngaa*

The suffix *–ngaa* is relatively common in kin terms, as seen in Table 55, although there is often some modification of the putative base. This may be due to the poverty

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[49] McConvell (2008: 316) discusses the suffix *-(ny)jarr* in kin terms.

[50] Koch (p.c.) points out that these masculine and feminine section names are shared with other languages including Ngiyambaa, Wiradjuri and Muruwari, so it is not likely they have an etymology in YG.

of the historical sources, so that the form of the original is not accurately known, or as in the case of 'nephew' not known. As well there is *bulaangaa* 'pair', which also possibly has the suffix. No consistent meaning has been found for the suffix, and its restricted occurrence and specialised use indicates that it is not productive.

Table 55   *–ngaa*: Kin and other use

Suffixed	Gloss	possible primitive	Gloss
bawanngaa	granddaughter	*baawaa*	sister
galimingaa	grandson	*galumaay*	younger brother
gunubingaa	nephew	*?gunu-bi-ngaa*	
gunugayngaa	nephew	*?gunu-gay-ngaa*	
nganawayngaa	grandchild	*nganuwaay?*	potential spouse
bulaangaa	pair	*bulaarr*	two

A number of tentative and potential suffixes are listed in Appendix B: Background material.

3.3   Compounding

YG nominal compounding has been discussed at some length in Giacon (2001:172; §5.1). A brief treatment is given here. Table 56 gives examples which show the variety of structures found in YG compounds. A '?' question mark indicates a speculative analysis. Formally, a nominal compound consists of two or more lexical stems, each of which may also exist as a free or bound morpheme. YG free morphemes found in compounds are typically nominals or nominalised verbs.

Compounds of three or more elements are found, in YG most typically in bird names; see Giacon (2013). Bird names also often include onomatopoetic elements, which are rare elsewhere. Compounds often have idiosyncratic meaning, i.e. it is not predictable from the elements of the compound.

It is sometimes not possible to determine if a particular name is a compound or phrase. For instance YG 'slow worm' is *bina-dhi-wuubi-yan* or *bina-dhi wuubi-yan* ('ear-enterer'; ear-ABL + perhaps a nominalisation and modification of *wuu-gi* 'go.in').

Table 56 has a number of compounds which show noun-adjective order and a recent compound, *gumba-djina*, which is adjective-noun. This supports the view that noun-adjective is the traditional YG order. Table 57 shows compounds found which include the morpheme *dhun*, illustrating how productive compounding can be.

Table 56   **Examples of YG compounds**

Structure	Word	Analysis	Gloss	Notes
noun-adjective	*dharra-wawul*	thigh-narrow	Place name; Terewah;	a narrow branch of Narran Lake
	wirri-gaali	dish-two	goat	from the shape of the udder
noun-noun (whole-part)	*bungun-bundi*	arm-hitting.club	Red-wing Parrot	Perhaps a reference to its strong wing-beat when flying
	yulu-wirri	(finger).nail-dish?	rainbow	
	mirri-ngamu	dog-breast	jagged spear	?
noun + nominalised verb	*bidjaay-mamal*	mud-sticker	Fairy Martin	bird with mud nest
adjective-noun	*gumba-djina*	very hard-foot	walks a lot	Sim's nickname; recent
noun-?	*ngulu-gaayirr*	face/forehead-?name	plaited net headband	
three elements	*galimaramara*	water-hand-hand	Flock Bronzewing	refers to the unusual way the bird can land on water
onomatopoeia	*buyuwaalwaal*	leg-dog.sound-dog.sound	Black-winged Stilt	bird has long legs and 'yaps'.

Table 57   **YG compounds probably including *dhun* 'tail/penis'**

Word	Analysis	Gloss/Notes
dhun-barra	tail-split	welcome swallow (a bird)
dhun-barr	tail-?	grass seed when ready for grinding; fairy grass
dhun.gayrra	tail-?	chain lightning
dhun.gul	tail-	a vegetable
murru-n-dhun-mal-i	backside?-tail + verbaliser?-i?	descending colon; the final i is unusual; only one source so the form may not be accurate
dhun-midjirr	tail-umbrella bush?	a native rat

3.3.1   Nominalisation of verbs

There are a number of process which form nominals from verbs, discussed in §9.3.

4   Pronouns

4.1   Introduction

YG personal pronouns share features with those in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. They are obligatorily marked for number (singular, dual or plural) but in the stem, not with number suffixes as used with other nominals, where number marking is generally optional. They have case forms which are different from those of standard nominals. Many of these forms can be analysed as having the Personal declension case suffixes §2.2.6, for instance *-ngu* 'Dative'. There are suppletive forms, particularly in first and second person singular core cases. Some pronouns have clitic forms.

Except for a few suppletive forms, and some exceptions in third person pronouns, YG pronouns have a regular derivational pattern. Non-core case forms are derived from the Ergative. The Dative is the Ergative plus the suffix/final syllable *-ngu*. The Allative and Ablative are built on the Dative by adding *-nda/-ndi*. The use of the Dative forms as an 'Oblique stem' (Dixon, 2002:318) is common cross linguistically. First and second person Accusative pronouns mostly add *-nha/-nga/-nya* to the Ergative. Dual YG first and second person pronoun stems end in *-ali* or *-aali*, likely reflecting the dual suffix *-gaali*, which as a free morpheme is a third person dual pronoun. Third person dual pronouns, however, are formed by adding the Personal Declension suffixes to *bulaarr* 'two' and *gaali*.

First and second person pronouns have syncretism of Nominative and Ergative case, while third person has syncretism of Nominative and Accusative, like other nominals. It was established in §2.5 that pronouns have syncretism of Allative and Locative. YG pronouns are not found in derivational cases.

There are other major differences between deictic reference to first and second person and deictic reference to others, usually referred to as 'third persons' - a group that actually includes other animates and inanimates. First and second person reference is to participants that are directly involved in the discourse and so generally human and easily identified. Third person reference applies to a much wider range of situations. The identity of the referent may be established in a number of ways: in the text (anaphoric), by gesture (ostensive) or may be shared knowledge. In YG deictic reference to 'third persons' can be by pronouns, demonstratives, or often no explicit

reference (null anaphora), the latter particularly so for third person singular core cases. This is very different from first and second person reference.

For each first or second person number and case there is a unique pronoun which is easily identified. It has no other function. Many third person pronouns are transparently derived from or related to quantity morphemes (*bulaarr* 'two', *-gaali* 'two', *ganu* 'all') and some demonstratives are derived from some third person pronouns.

As common in Australian languages YG distinguishes first person inclusive and exclusive, but YG is relatively unusual in that exclusive pronouns distinguish Nominative and Ergative, unlike the inclusive. YG pronouns of all persons can be used in inclusory constructions.

4.2   Syntax

Pronouns are typically in second position in the clause and unstressed[51]. When there is more than one pronoun the Subject pronoun (Nominative or Ergative) precedes other pronouns: (178), and pronouns are regularly adjacent (178). When a pronoun is the focus of a sentence it takes first position: *ngaya* and *nginda* in (376), (200) has *nguu* '3SG.ERG' first and various pronouns are clause first in (242) - (244). Clitic pronouns have less prominence than free pronouns in second position, and are more commonly used when the participant has been previously mentioned: cf. *nhama* and later =*nha* in (231) and possible *ngaya* and =*dhu* in (225).

While zero anaphora[52] of third person core case pronouns is common, particularly for singular pronouns, this does not apply when there is a change in transitivity in successive clauses. Then a Nominative pronoun occurs with the intransitive verb and an Ergative pronoun with the transitive, as in (179) and perhaps in (180). Third person pronouns in the IIP (Initial Intonation Phrase, §10.2.2.1) can be the sole representations of an argument but they can also cross reference other representation of the argument later in the clause. Such cross-referencing pronouns are found in other Australian languages including Warlpiri[53]. In YG they are not obligatory. Examples are given in §4.3.2.

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[51] This is similar to the position of clitics in classical languages described by Wackernackel (1892) and known as Wackernackel's law.

[52] The extensive use of zero anaphora for third person arguments, particularly for Nominative and Accusative, occasionally for Ergative, but not for other cases is discussed at §10.2.4.

[53] A more general comment about such structures is found in Blake (1987: 159) 'Where an entity is referred to by more than one word, for instance a noun and an adjective, a generic and a specific or a pronoun and a noun, the reference is often made discontinuously with the more general word appearing earlier in the clause and the more specific word later.'

(178) shows the subject pronoun in second position, preceding another pronoun.

(178)   They are hiding from them.   JM/FR 1853A 3206

   guuma-y.la-nha **ganunga** **nginundi**

   hide-CTS-PRS   3PL   2SG.ABL

   They are planting/hiding from you.   FR

(179)   *boollarh noo garwannee. Baiyan neh woggee goo nahnee.*   Parker l 42

   bulaarr **nguu**   *gaa-waa-nhi,   baayan*=**nha** *wagi-gu   'naa-nhi*

   two   3SG.ERG   take-MOV-PST, soon2=3   plain-ALL go-PST

   Then she went down (from the ridge) to her camp, taking only two children. Parker

   She was taking two. Then she went out into the plain.   JG

(180)   He is lazy.   JM/FR 2437B 2320

(a)   *garrimay-a*=**nha** */ yilawa-y.l[d]a-nha*

   camp-LOC=3   / sit-CTS-PRS

   He stays at the camp.

(b)   *waal* **nguu**   */ waal* **nguu**   *yanaa-y.la-nha, ngaaluurr bayama-li.gu*

   not   3SG.ERG / not 3SG.ERG go-CTS-PRS   fish   catch-PURP

   He stops in the camp all day, and he won't go to catch fish.   FR

   and he doesn't go to catch fish.   JG

Dative pronouns with possessive function are typically not in second position since they generally follow the possessed nominal, sometimes with a gap between the two, as in (266).

An exception to 'Subject-Object order' is 5057 1712, an interrupted elicitation where AD responds to 'they beat me all up' with *giirr nganha ganugu* 'true 1SG.ACC 3PL.ERG' and then stops. I would expect that, as with most other word order rules, 'subject first' is subordinate to 'focus first', so that in this sentence the speaker is focussing on himself as the victim. In (281) (316)s *ngaya* is in 3rd position, after demonstratives which likely are functioning as Accusative pronouns.

Bound pronouns are a common feature of Australian languages including YG. The forms are given in §4.3.3 and the evidence for them in §4.5.

4.3   Pronoun Paradigms

The forms of free and bound pronouns are given here. Discussion and evidence for the forms and their uses is found later.

4.3.1   First and second person pronoun paradigm

Table 58 lists the YG first and second person free pronouns, with the simpler, inclusive forms of first person dual and plural. Exclusive first person forms, other phrasal forms and bound pronouns are discussed later.

Table 58   YG first and second person pronouns

Case/ Person-Num	Nominative Ergative	Accusative	Dative	Locative Allative	Ablative
First person					
Singular	*ngaya*	*nga-nha*	*ngay*	*nganu-nda*	*nganu-ndi*
Dual-Incl	*ngali*	*ngali-nya*	*ngali-ngu*	*ngalingu-nda*	*ngalingu-ndi*
Plural-Incl	*ngiyani*	*ngiyani-nya*	*ngiyani-ngu*	*ngiyani-ngunda*	*ngiyani-ngundi*
Second person					
Singular	*nginda*	*nginu-nha*	*nginu*	*nginu-nda*	*nginu-ndi*
Dual	*ngindaali*	*ngin-aali-nya*	*ngin-aali-ngu*	*nginaali-ngunda*	*nginaali-ngundi*
Plural	*ngindaay*	*nginaay-nya*	*nginaay-ngu*	*nginaay-ngunda*	*nginaay-ngundi*

4.3.2   Third person pronoun forms[54]

As already discussed third person reference is more complex than first and second person reference. First and second person pronouns only have animate reference. While most pronouns in Table 59 have predominantly animate reference =*nha* commonly has both animate and inanimate reference. Any one English third person pronoun can have many YG translations, particularly for the core cases, especially Nominative and Accusative. Actual pronouns are frequently used, as are clitic pronouns. There is common zero anaphora, and demonstratives are also used[55].

Table 59 has YG third person pronouns as currently analysed. The Gamilaraay forms in particular are based on a small number of examples. The variety of forms of the dual pronouns indicates that there was variation here. The variation could be synchronic, diachronic, semantic or have elements of all three. The Ergatives are cognate *nguru* GR and *nguu* YR. The dual forms are transparently derived from *bulaarr* 'two' and the dual suffix -*gaali/gaalay*, albeit by different process in YR and GR. The plurals are derived from *ganu* 'all'. All Nominative and Accusative third person pronouns have an element *Na* (where *N* = *nh, ng, ny* or *n*), mostly word finally.

Pronouns mostly incorporate Personal Declension case suffixes. The exception is the Ergative case, where some forms are suppletive (*nguu, nguru*), some are irregular (*galaadhu*) and others the regular case forms (*bulaayu, ganugu*).

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[54] Much of the discussion here is based on YR data. I assume the conclusions also apply to GR, where data is scarce.

[55] However as pointed out in §5 demonstratives can have many functions, and it is often not clear when they have pronominal function.

Table 59   **YG third person pronouns**

Ergative	Nom	Acc	Dative	Locative	Ablative
Yuwaalaraay singular					
nguu	*=NHa*		*nguungu*	*nguungunda*	*nguungundi*
Gamilaraay singular					
nguru	*=NHa*		*ngurungu*	*ngurungunda*	*ngurungundi*
Yuwaalaraay dual					
gaaladhu	*gaalanha*		*gaalayngu*	*gaalayngunda*	*gaalayngundi*
bulaayu	*bulaarrnga*		*bulaarrngu*	*bulaarrngunda*	*bulaarrngundi*
Gamilaraay dual					
nguru-gaalay	*nhama-gaalay*	*nhama-gaalaynya*	*nguru-gaalayngu*	*nguru-gaalayngunda*	*nguru-gaalayngundi*
Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay plural					
ganugu	*ganunga*		*ganungu*	*ganungunda*	*ganungundi*

There are significant differences between the YG third person pronouns and the much simpler Wangaaybuwan pronouns. WN third person deictic representation is by clitic pronouns listed in Table 60 (WN has no free third person pronouns), zero anaphora or demonstratives. WN has fewer forms and number is marked by suffixes, not by changes in the base.

Table 60   **Wangaaybuwan third person bound pronouns**[56]

Function	Case form	3rd singular	dual	plural
A	Ergative	*=lu, =yu*	add *-bula* e.g. *=lubula*	add *-gal* e.g. *=lugal*
S, O, IO	Absolutive	*=niN-* (visible) *=naN-* (other)		
POSS	Genitive	*=luguN-*		

4.3.3   Clitic pronoun forms

Many Australian languages have pronouns predominantly in second position (Mushin & Simpson, 2008), with the pronouns being reduced. In Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson 1980:124) some first and second person bound pronouns are reduced forms, others are the full free forms, but without the typical stress. The only WN third person pronouns are bound pronouns. Some other languages have clitic pronouns, sometimes on auxiliaries (which are refered to as 'catalysts' in Warlpiri).

YG has a number of clitic pronouns, overwhelmingly found on the first word of the clause. Apart from the first person singular they are transparently related to their free

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[56] Donaldson (1980: 126), adapted.

form equivalents. Second person Nominative/Ergative clitics omit the first syllable of the free forms. First person singular Nominative/Ergative *=DHu* is not derived from the free form *ngaya*. First person Nominative/Ergative dual and plural forms are rare, but inclusive forms consist of the final syllable of the free forms, and exclusive clitics consist of the inclusive clitic form plus further suffixes. Third person clitics vary. Representation of third person singular Nominative/Accusative is with the clitic *=NHa*, null anaphora or demonstratives such as *nhama*. There is no free form pronoun as such.

Second person clitic pronouns are found across the YG area. There are numerous YR examples but the GR evidence consists of one paradigm in MathewsGR (p 266) and 3 instances of the singular in Ridley. The Third person Nominative/Accusative singular clitic *=NHa* is very common in YR but no examples have been found in GR. There is limited evidence for first person Nominative/Ergative clitic pronouns. There is at least two examples of likely YG clitic Dative pronouns: (239), (240), and a tentative example of a clitic first person dual pronoun: *=lii* in Table 68.

Blake (1987: 100) points out that the languages adjoining YG have 'bound pronouns', except those to the east of GR. Dixon (2002: Map 8.1) includes YG in the languages which have bound pronouns. One interpretation of the YG system is that it had a fairly full set of bound pronouns, covering a wide range of person, number and case, and that much of this has recently been lost, possibly as part of the normal process of language change, possible as part of language decline, or possibly as a result of both. If decline is the main reason for the loss, then it would be appropriate to posit an expanded set of bound forms for rebuilt YG. Alternatively YG could have been in the process of acquiring bound pronouns.

Table 61 shows the current maximal list of YG clitic pronouns, from very common to very rare forms. Note that *=NHa* (third person) is both Nominative and Accusative. The evidence for first and second person clitic pronoun forms are discussed at §4.5 and for *=NHa* at §4.4.2.1.

Second position pronouns, reduced or not, are often followed by clitics: (e.g. *=laa* 'DIRectly' (181), *=nga* 'then', *=NHa* '3'). The *=bala* 'contrast' and *=badhaay* 'might' clitics more frequently attach to pronouns in first position, presumably since the pronouns are the focus, and these clitics refer to the word they are attached to. Examples include: *ngaya=bala* (23) (375); *nginda=bala* (118) both in (376); *ngaya=badhaay* (1023), *nginda=badhaay* (915). In this analysis reduction of the first syllable is a prerequisite for classification of pronouns as clitics and the glossing of them as such, (preceded by '='), for instance *=nda* 1SG, from *nginda*. The free form YR third person Ergative is *nguu* and while the vowel often shortened when the

pronoun is in second position this is not a segment deletion, so I have not glossed it as a clitic[57].

Table 61   Reconstructed YG clitic pronoun paradigm

	Clitic forms		Full forms	
First person				
	Nominative	Ergative	Nominative	Ergative
Singular	=*DHu*		*ngaya*	
Dual.Incl	=*li*		*ngali*	
Dual.Excl	=*li-nya*	=*li-lu*	*ngali-nya*	*ngali-lu/yu*
		=*li-nguru* GR		*ngali-nguru* GR
Plural.Incl	=*ni*		*ngiyani*	
Plural.Excl	=*ni-nya*	=*ni-lu*	*ngiyani-nya*	*ngiyani-lu/yu*
Second person				
Singular	=*nda*		*nginda*	
Dual	=*ndaali*		*ngindaali*	
Plural	=*ndaay*		*ngindaay*	
Third person[58]				
Singular	=*NHa*			
		=*nugu*	*ganugu* Table 68	

(181)   meet or come together   JM/FR 1850B 1037
    minyaaya **ngaya=laa** *nginunha ngarra-li*
    where.LOC 1SG=DIR   2SG.ACC   see-FUT
    Where will I see you?   FR

4.4   Evidence for pronoun forms and functions

4.4.1   First and second person pronoun forms

While the pattern of first and second person pronouns is clear, enabling the full paradigm to be set out, some forms are very common and others rare: *ngaya* occurs well over a thousand times in the tapes, *nginaalingu* once and *nginaalingunda/nginaalingundi* never. The forms found are the same across almost all sources. The forms *ngaya, nginda* and *ngali* are clear on the tapes. Ridley and Mathews both have: *ŋaia, ngaia* 'I', *ŋinda, nginda* 'you, singular' and *ŋulle, ngulli* as we (dual, inclusive), clearly the same as the forms in the Table 58. MathewsGR (p 264) has *nginnangu* and *nginana*, recognisable as the current *nginaayngu* and

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[57] Also the tape transcriptions do not regularly record a distinction between [ŋu] and [ŋu:].
[58] (240) suggests that there may be a Dative clitic =*ngu*.

nginaaynya. MathewsYR (p 139) has *ngeanengu* recognisable as *ngiyaningu.* However Mathews also has forms which at first glance vary from those in the table. This may be a result of his orthography, abbreviation by the speaker, mishearing by Mathews or they may be actual variants. For instance there are a number of examples in Mathews where the first person plural 'base' seems to be *ngani* rather than the standard *ngiyani.* E.g. his YR (p 139) has Accusative *ngannino* (cf. *ngiyaninya*). This may contain an alternative, relic first person stem, *ngani*, which is the first person plural in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 56). There is other rare variation in first and second person pronoun forms. Austin (1993a: 69) points out that Tindale (line 18) contains *'ŋaleiki'ŋundi* (*ngali-gi(i)-ngundi*) 'from us two' similar to the Wangaaybuwan Ablative *ngaligiinydji* (the usual YG form is *ngalingundi*). This suggests that he was recording a dialect of Gamilaraay which had some features in common with Wangaaybuwan.

There are numerous examples of pronouns throughout the thesis. (182) shows non-verbal, Nominative use of *ngaya* and *nginda.* (and the formally similar Caritative suffix *–nginda*).

(182) (You say:) would you like some tea, and I say 'no'   AD/JM 2833A 2539
       yaama **nginda** *nhama dhii-nginda? waal＝bala* **ngaya** *dhii-nginda, waal*
       ques   2SG   3.DEF tea-car   no＝CTR   1SG   tea-car,   no
       You want any of this tea? No, I don't want any.   AD

(183) shows *ngaya* and *nginda* as Ergative (and *nginunha* as Accusative) and (184) has *nganha* '1SG.ACC'.

(183) I hear you speaking, miimii.   JM/AD 2832B 1558
       giirr **ngaya** **nginunha** *winanga-lda-nha / miimii // guwaa-lda-ndaay* **nginda** *gaay /*
       true 1SG   2SG.ACC hear-CTS-PRS   / granny // tell-CTS-SUB   2SG   word /
       I can hear you, granny, when you were talking,

       ngaama＝yaa-wu / dhayn-galgaa buma-la-ngindaay
       that＝POT-DIST   / man-PL   hit-RECP-SUB
       I just tell you that I .. heard them fools fighting and I was going to tell you that tell you I heard
        them fighting ..   AD
       about those men fighting.   JG

(184) *guwaa-la* **nganha** */ buma-ndaay* **nginunha**
       tell-IMP 1SG.ACC / hit-SUB   2SG.ACC
       Tell me if he hits you.   FR/JM 2437A 1762

While there is syncretism of Nominative and Ergative in first and second person, the agreeing adjective *biyaduul* shows *ngaya* is Nominative in (185), and Ergative in (186).

(185)   I camped at the creek while I was on my way here.   JM/AD 2833B 1371

   giirr **ngaya** *nyiyama dhanduwi-nyi,* **biyaduul**

   true 1SG   there   sleep-PST,   alone

   I slept/stayed there by myself.   JG

(186)   I ate all the goanna myself.   JM/AD 8184 3331

   gurra-y **ngay'** *ngaama,*   *gurra-y*   */ dhuulii /* **biyaduul-u**

   eat.all-PST 1SG   3.ANA.DEF, eat.all-PST / goanna / alone-ERG

Mathews and Ridley do not have Locative and Ablative forms of the pronouns in their published material, but MathewsYR (p 140) refers to their existence: 'there are forms of the pronouns meaning "towards me," "away from me," etc. ' and he has examples in MathewsMS (e.g. 3/9bk3p12).

There is common elision of *ngaya* to *ngay'* before word initial *ng* and *y*. e.g. *ngaya yanaay* 'I will go' is often realised as *ngay'yanaay* or even *ngayanaay* and *ngaya nginunda* (1SG 2SG-LOC) is realised as *ngay' nginunda*. In at least one instance (AD6216 1138) the first person dual pronoun has a long final vowel, *ngalii*, whereas it is normally *ngali*. The variation may be due to the influence of the Ngiyambaa cognate, *ngalii*.

4.4.2   Singular third person pronouns

Table 59 gives third person singular pronouns as currently analysed. Table 62 shows a range of forms analysed as third person singular pronouns in earlier sources. Only the current analysis and Wurm have separate forms for the Nominative and Ergative,[59] and have syncretism of Nominative and Accusative. Also in the current analysis a distinction is made between demonstratives (-*ma* or -*lay*-final) and pronouns. Demonstratives are often used with pronominal function. There are many Australian languages which use demonstratives for all or some third person pronoun function, cg Wangaaybuwan: Table 60.

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[59] It is unclear why earlier sources have *nguu* or *nguru* as Nominative. Sim (1998: Appendix: 2) lists it as Nominative in his pronoun paradigm, but give no example sentences. Williams (1980: 48) has a sentence with *nguu* as the Subject of *banaga-y* 'run', an intransitive verb, but I have not found that sentence in the tapes. There *nguu* is used with reflexive and middle verbs, but in situations where these verbs are transitive, i.e. any Subject will be in Ergative case. For instance in (194) the presence of a body-part object likely makes the verb transitive. (194) is followed by the sentence 'They did hit themselves.' where the subject is *ganunga*, clearly Nominative, but there is no expressed object, so there the reflexive verb is intransitive. In (180) *nguu* is the subject of *yanaay*, an intransitive verb. However the final verb is *bayamali* 'catch', which is transitive, and Fred Reece may have associated *nguu* with this verb. The false start to the response may also have led to a performance error. No instances have been found of *nguu/nguru* as the subject of simple intransitive verbs such as walk/run/stand, either in the tapes, in the many examples in Wurm or elsewhere.

Ridley, the oldest source, does not list any of the currently recognised forms. He has *ngiyarrma,* a demonstrative, as the root of his paradigm. *Ngiyarrma* is also used extensively as a pronoun in Greenway, who was a source for Ridley, and is listed as a pronoun in Mathews. There are demonstratives derived from pronouns: *nhama* from *nha* and *nguuma/nguruma* from *nguu/nguru* are very common. Mathews has *nha* as a free form, Accusative only, whereas the current analysis has *=NHa* as an enclitic pronoun, Nominative and Accusative, based on its usage in later sources.

An example of earlier analysis is seen in Mathews (n.d. MS 8006/3/9 Book3 p 4) which has ' *Yerma bumalda* 'he is hitting'; *ngooroo* for *yerma* if close' implying that both *yerma* (*ngiyarrma*) and *ngooroo* (*nguru*) are Ergative, with the difference in meaning having to do with distance. I interpret the first sentence as having a Ø Agent and *ngiyarrma* 'there', whereas *nguru bumalda[nha]* is simply 'she/he is hitting'. *Ngiyarrma* is common in recent YR, but not with pronominal use. It may be that it was common in GR with pronominal use, but more likely that Mathews and Ridley did not recognise zero anaphora but expected explicit pronouns, and interpreted *ngiyarrma* as a pronoun when in fact it had other uses.

Table 62   **Third person singular pronoun forms in various sources**

Case	Erg	Nom	Acc	Dat	Loc	Abl
Gamilaraay						
Ridley	*ngiyarrma* (he/she)		*none*	*ngiyarrngu*		*ngiyarrngundi*
Greenway	*ngiyarrma*		*ngiyarrma*	*ngiyarrmangu* possessive *ngiyarrmagu* dative function		
Mathews	*nguru*		*nhama*	*ngurungu*		
MathewsMS	*ngiyarrma; nguru*					
Yuwaalaraay						
Parker	*nguu*			*nguungu*		
Mathews	*nguu*		*nha*	*nguungu*		
Sim	*nguu*		*nhama*			
Wurm	*nguu*	*~nhama*		*nguungu*	*nguungunda*	*nguungundi*
Williams	*nguu*		*nhama*	*nguungu*	*nguungunda*	*nguungundi*
Tapes	*nguu*	*=nha*		*nguungu*	*nguungunda*	*nguungundi*

4.4.2.1   Nominative/Accusative third person singular pronouns

Third person singular Nominative and Accusative YG pronominal reference is often by use of the clitic =*NHa*,[60] (see also 5.3.3) but this is also used for non-singular and for non-animate reference, as are demonstratives. Williams did not discuss *(=)NHa*, either as a bound or free bound form and (1980: 47) found no third person singular Accusative, but points out 'third person pronouns, especially singular forms, are frequently replaced by the demonstratives *nhama*' (see §5.3 for *nhama*, but other demonstratives such as *ngiyarrma* are also used with this function). Mathews (1902: 139) lists *nha* as the third person singular Accusative pronoun and does not indicate that it needs to be cliticised. Historically **nha* was a free form which has developed in 2 ways – as clitic =*nha* and as demonstrative bound root.

In recent sources =*NHa* occurs as a clitic, functioning as a Nominative/Accusative pronoun and sometimes cross-references arguments in these cases. (187), (188) (twice) and (189) have it in Nominative case (and *ngaama* as a locational in (189)). (191) also has *nhama* Accusative. (190), (196), (231) and probably (192)(b) have =*NHa* Accusative.

(191) may have =*NHa* Accusative, but an alternative analysis, supported by the AD translation, is that =*nya* is an allomorph of =*nga* 'then', with Ø representation of the S of 'run'. The =*Na* in (192) might also be =*nga* 'then'. Such uncertainties are common.

(187)	*miṇana*			SW p 12
	*minya=**nha***			
	what=3			
	What's this?			SW

(188)	*ngiyama=nga=**nha*** *wila-nhi / yinggil=**Na** gi-nyi*			AD/JM 3220A 1953
	there=THEN=3 sit-PST / tired=3 get-PST			
	He was tired and sat down there.			JG

(189)	Why has he gone into the bush?			JM/AD 3218A 1724
	*minya-gu-ma=**nha** ngaama / yurrul-gu 'naa-nhi*			
	what-PURP-DEF=3 there / bush-ALL go-PST			
	What did he go there for, in the bush?			AD

(190)	I will see him tomorrow.			CW/FR 3217A 988
	*giirr ngaya=laa=**nha** / ngarra-l.ngayi-y*			
	true 1SG=DIR=3 / see-MORN-FUT			

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[60] The clitics =*NHa* and =*nga* 'then' can both adapt to the preceding segment and they can occupy the same position in the SIC, so it is often not possible to distinguish which clitic is intended. At times =*Na* is used to indicate that it is not clear which nasal is present.

(191)   Make him go. (a horse)   CW/AD 3996A 1468

        buma-la=badhaay nhama / barraay=nya,   banaga-y

        hit-IMP=MIGHT   3.DEF / fast=3?THEN?, run-FUT

        (telling you to hit him; You) hit him then he'll go.   AD

        How about you hit him. // Hit that one!   JG

(192)(a) shows the A referred to first by a pronoun and then explicitly, and (192)(b) likely shows the Subject pronoun preceding the Object pronoun.

(192)   This dog, spewed all the meat up.   CW/AD 5056 480

(a)   *giirr **nguu**   / **maadhaay-u** / burrul, dhinggaa dha-ldaay /*

        true 3SG.ERG / dog-ERG   / big,   meat   eat-SUB

        The dog which ate a lot of meat,   JG

(b)   *giirruu   ngiyama **nguu=Na**   gaawi-y*

        true.very there   3SG.ERG=3?THEN vomit-PST

        spewed it all up.   AD

        it up/ spewed up then.   JG

Examples of *nha* are given in Table 63 (I assume that *nha-* and *nga-* are variants). The combination *nhama=nha* is common, often translated as a singular pronoun 's/he, him her, etc.'. See also §5.3.3.

Table 63   **Instances of *NHa* 'this, that'**

Original	Gloss	Standard	Source
nha	this		MathewsYR: 140
nha	this		MathewsGR: 264
nuggili	this side	*nha-gili*	MathewsYR: 142
ngagili	this side	*nga-gili*	Sim
ŋubbo	this	*nha?nga-buu*	Wurm
nābū	here (beside me)	*nha-buu*	Wurm
nungurrage	that other	*nha-ngaragay*	MathewsGR
ngungaraguli	beyond you	*nga-ngarraagulay*	MathewsGR
nuddhai	this way	*nha-dhaay*	MathewsGR
nhama=nha	he/she		common, tapes

Mathews has *nha* as an independent word in (193). However the Subject of (193) would be in Ergative case, so there is some error or incomplete analysis here. It may be that *nha* there has adverbial use, and there is zero anaphora of the Agent. The usual 'cut' is *garra-li*, so the verb is also unclear.

(193) *Nha ngunna kurriduldha.*

    nha nganha garrida-lda-nha??garra-lda-nha

    that 1SG.ACC ??/cut?-CTS-PRS

    This touching me.   Mathews

    That is cutting me. ?   JG

4.4.2.2 *nguu/nguru*.[61] Ergative third person singular pronouns

The third person singular Ergative pronouns are the cognates *nguu* YR and *nguru* GR. Non-Nominative/Accusative third person singular pronouns are derived from these two (see following section). Like *NHa*, and unlike dual and plural third person pronouns and first and second person pronouns, they form demonstratives when suffixed with *-ma* and *-lay: nhama, nhalay, nguuma, nguulay*. Like *NHa* and demonstratives *nguu* sometimes cross references an explicit argument of the verb, as in (192)(a), (271), (266) - (268); (426), (863). Unlike Williams (1980: 47) I analyse *nguu* as only Ergative, not also Nominative. Williams may have analysed *nguu* as Nominative because of sentences like (194) (see footnote 59). While reflexive verbs are often intransitive, it seems they are transitive when there is an expressed object, as here.

(194) *buma-ngiili-nyi / nguu   dhaygal*

    hit-REFL-PST   / 3SG.ERG head

    He hit himself on the head.   FR/JM 1989A 95

    He hit his (own) head.   JG

It seems that often second position *nguu* is phonologically reduced, without independent stress and sometimes the vowel is shortened. The specifics of these changes have not been determined in detail.

Nguu is very common in the tapes and in most YR sources. There are rare sentence examples of GR *nguru* but it is common in Mathews' paradigms, as an independent word and in compounds. Ridley (p 7) has the derived demonstrative *ŋūruma* (*nguru-ma*) which he glosses 'that by you (iste[62])'. The gloss does not seem to be accurate. There is a likely example of *nguru* in Milson but none in Laves, Tindale or Wurm. The examples below illustrate features of the YR pronoun, and I assume these also apply to GR.

(179) is an early example of *nguu*. It, (195), (196) and (197) have typical features including *nguu* in the second position. In (195) and (197) and *nguu* and *nha(ma)* contrast in consecutive clauses signalling a change in transitivity. In (196) *nguu* is coreferential with Accusative *=nha* in the previous clause.

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[61] As elsewhere, for convenience often just the Yuwaalaraay form is used in discussion.

[62] Iste, in Latin, is 'that near you, referring to a person or thing away from the speaker but close to the listener'.

(195) He reached the camp and put the meat that he had killed on the ground.   JM/AD 3220A 1915
　　　*giirr＝bala＝**nha** dhurra-y / ngaama **nguu**　　/ bandaarr gaa-g.uwi-yaa-nhi*
　　　true＝CTR＝3　　come-PST / there?? 3SG.ERG / kangaroo bring-BACK-MOV-PST
　　　He came back. He was bringing the kangaroo.　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(196) I hit him because he took my meat.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JM/FR 2436B 3701
　　　*bamba ngaya＝**nha** buma-y / dhaygal-i ngaya＝**nha** bamba buma-y /*
　　　hard　1SG＝3　　hit-PST / head-ABL 1SG＝3　　hard　hit-PST　/
　　　I hit him hard, I hit him hard on the head.　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

　　　*dhinggaa **nguu**　　ngay　　manuma-y*
　　　meat　　3SG.ERG 1SG.DAT steal-PST
　　　I hit him on the head pretty hard because he stole my meat.　　　　　　FR
　　　He stole my meat.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(197) *gaba nhama maadhaay, waal **nguu**　　yii-lda-nha*
　　　good 3.DEF dog,　　　not　3SG.ERG bite-CTS-PRS
　　　That's a good little dog, he won't bite.　　　　　　　　　　　FR/JM 1850B 1270
　　　That's a good dog. It doesn't bite.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

　　There are a few instances where the change of transitivity is not marked, as in (198) where S in the second clause is likely not realised.

(198) He drank a lot of water and felt better.　　　　　　　　　　　JM/AD 3219B 458
(a)　*giirruu　ngiyama **nguu**　／ bamba　ngaam'　／ gungan ngawu-nhi /*
　　　true.very there　　3SG.ERG / w.energy 3.DEF.ANA / water　drink-PST　/

(b)　*ngiyama＝nga gaba gi-dja-nhi*
　　　there＝THEN　good get-EAT-PST

　　There are instances where *nguu* is not in second position. It is found in third position after *giyaanha* 'going to', and after *nhama* in (199). In (200) *nguu* is in first position likely because *nguu* is the focus of the sentence (cf. Mushin and Baker (2008)). In (201) *nguu* is not in second position in the IIP, but is second in the next intonation phrase.

(199) *wagi nhama **nguu**　　guwaa-lda-nha*
　　　lie　3.DEF　3SG.ERG tell-CTS-PRS
　　　He's telling you a lie.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　FR/JM 1850B 3052
　　　He/she is telling lies.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(200) ***nguu**　　gaa-nhi*
　　　3SG.ERG take-PST
　　　He/she took it.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　FR/JM 1853B 3061

(201) *giirr ngiyaningu / dhinggaa **nguu**　　wuu-nhi*
　　　true 1PL.DAT　／ meat　　3SG.ERG give-PST
　　　He gave us some meat.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　FR/JM 1988B 2635

(202) and (203) illustrate some common questions. One is the confusion between the third person clitic =*NHa* and the time suffix =*nga*. Another is the order of *nguu* and these clitics. In (202), and commonly in previous examples, =*NHa/*=*nga* follows *nguu*. In (203) the order is reversed. This may be a pragmatic use to emphasise either the 'now', the 'she' or both. It does show that the order is not absolutely fixed.

In (202) the *nga* in *bulaarrnga* is the Personal Declension Accusative suffix. *Bulaarrnga* is common. It may be that *ngaarringaarri*=*nga* also includes the same suffix, and so has personal reference, something like 'them far away'.

(202) *yilaa nguu*=*nha   ngarra-y / **ngaarringaarri.nga** / bulaarr.**nga***
      soon 3SG.ERG=3 see-PST / far.away.?pron   / two.pron
      Then he saw them, off in the distance, the two of them.   AD 3217A 1182

(203) *giirr*=**nga?Na** *nguu   / yaya-laa-nha*
      true=THEN?3 3SG.ERG / rouse-MOV-PRS
      She's starting to rouse now.   FR/JM 2440A 123

4.4.2.3   Other cases - third person singular pronouns

As mentioned, the Dative is derived from the Ergative, and local cases from the Dative. The YG forms are relatively common: *nguungu* (Dative) is seen in (204), (802), 8186 976; *nguungunda* (Locative) in (230), 8187 642, and *nguungundi* (Ablative) in (204), (61). Again they are most commonly in second position. Pronouns based on GR *nguru* are seen in Table 62.

(204) Take the meat away from that fat man.   JM/AD 3217B 2732
      *dhinggaa **nguungundi** gaa-nga / garriya **nguungu** wuu-dha-ya*
      meat   3SG.ABL   take-IMP / don't   3SG.DAT give-CTS?EAT-IMP
      Take all the meat away from that fat man and don't give him any.   AD

4.4.3   Dual third person pronouns

There is limited information about dual third person pronouns. This, and the fact that there are three sets of these pronouns (with initial *bulaarr* 'two', *gaalay* 'pair' and *nguru* '3.ERG') means this analysis is to some extent uncertain. Table 59 gives three complete paradigms. Notable features are the use of *gaala/gaalay* in both YR and GR, the use of Personal Declension case suffixes on *bulaarr* 'two' to form pronouns[63], and the GR duals whose stems consist of singular third person forms plus -*gaalay*. The existence of three dual paradigms contrasts sharply with the one paradigm found in all sources for first and second person pronouns.

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[63] Parker has *milan-ngu* in 'give **to one**.' with the kin term Dative when reference is to a person.

The limited information available suggests that these pronouns follow the usual pronoun syntactic patterns. YG dual pronouns are generally realised and rarely if ever have zero anaphora. This is similar to other languages, as Blake (1977: 15) points out. He also gives *pula* as a common dual form, similar to *bulaarr* in YG.

Bulaarrnga is realised as the phonologically modified *bulaanga* at times, including at 3217B 2098.

The form *gaalay/gaala* is common in dual pronouns. In YR it forms the stem of one paradigm, in GR it is suffixed to a singular pronoun form. It is related to the suffix -*gaali* 'two' (e.g. *birralii-gaali* 'two children in (212)), which also is rarely found as a free morpheme – see Milson (p 8) for a possible example. It shows the variation between final *i* and *ay* found elsewhere. *Gaali* is phonologically, and perhaps etymologically, related to other duals, the widespread and very old form *ngali* (first person) and *ngindaali* (second person). The other stem is *bulaarr* 'two'.

The Dative and local cases are formed by adding the Personal Declension suffixes -*ngu*, -*ngunda* and -*ngundi*. There is variation in forming the core cases. In the Nominatives *gaala.nha*[64] may have =*NHa*, the clitic 3SG pronoun, *bulaarrnga* (Nominative and Accusative) includes the Personal Declension suffix -*nga*. The Gamilaraay form is like most first and second person pronouns, forming the Accusative by adding -*nya* to the Nominative (or a slightly modified Nominative).

The Ergatives are also formed by different processes. *Gaaladhu* has (*y*)-*dhu*, using the same suffix as the Ergative of *minya* 'what'. This is not the Personal Declension Ergative. *Bulaayu* is both the regular and Personal Declension Ergative, and the GR *ngurugaalay* suffixes *gaalay* to the singular Ergative pronoun.

Most textual examples of *gaala[y]/gaali* '3DU' are from Wurm, including (205) (= (649)), (206) and (207). (206) contrasts the pronominal and nominal Dative suffixes, -*ngu* and -*gu*.

(205) *jallu naga:lanna bumallawannna*   SW p 81
       yaluu=nha **gaala.nha** *buma-la-waa-nha*
       again=3   3DU   hit-RECP-MOV-PRS
       beginning again the same two to fight   SW
       Those two are starting to fight again.   JG

(206) *ga:liŋu bujuma biṛaligaligu*   SW p 79
       gaalingu *buyuma birralii-***gaali-gu**
       3DU.DAT dog   child-du-DAT
       the dog of those (2) children   SW
       Their (2) dog, the two kid's.   JG

[64] The use of *gaalanha* in inclusory constructions is discussed in §10.4.4.

(207)   *ŋjɛːɹi gaːlaðu bumali*   SW p 93

            *ngiyarri?? **gaaladhu** buma-li*

            there?   3DU.ERG hit-FUT

            They 2 will hit.   SW

      YR: *bulaarr* 'two' *Bulaarr* is found as a numeral, with standard nominal suffixes, and also as a pronoun 'they two', with Personal Declension case suffixes. Table 64 shows the attested and expected case suffixes for the two uses, with the unattested pronominal suffixes based on other pronoun paradigms. Forms not attested are marked #.

Table 64   **Nominal and pronominal use of *bulaarr* 'two'**

Case/Use	Ergative	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Locative	Ablative
Standard	*bulaayu*	*bulaarr*		*bulaarr-gu#*	*bulaaya*	*bulaayi#*
Pronoun	*bulaayu*	*bulaarrnga*		*bulaarrngu?*	*bulaarrngunda#*	*bulaarrngundi*

      Both the Personal Declension Ergative and the standard Ergative are *bulaa-yu*. Personal Declension Nominative *bulaarrnga* is very common (5129A 2774, 5130 1461 and many more) the Accusative less so (3219B 2634, 8186 2349). Other cases are rare, with only the Ablative (AD3217A 2506, 5128 2506) found so far in the tapes. The standard Nominative *bulaarr* is common (3220B 912, 3220B 2592) as is Accusative use (3994A 204, 3994A 310). At times it is impossible to distinguish Personal Declension *bulaarrnga* from *bulaarr* followed by =*nga* 'then'.

      The form of the Dative is uncertain. There is no instance of *bulaarr-gu*, the expected nominal form and only one instance of the expected pronominal form *bulaarrngu,* in an uncertain text, 8185 233, as the object of 'tell'. It is not an expected use of the Dative, but does indicate AD had some familiarity with the form. The standard Locative, *bulaaya*, is found (3218B 3802 'twice', 3220A 3600 'for two days') but no pronominal Locative. The pronominal Ablative *bulaarrngundi* is found, but not the standard form.

      (208) shows standard nominal/adjectival use of *bulaarr* and (209) pronominal use of *bulaarrnga*. (210) has *bulaarrnga* (Nom) and *bulaayu* (Erg), both pronominal, with no mention of 'two' in English.

(208)   The two men were talking to each other.   CW/AD 5057 629

           *giirr nhama **bulaarr** dhayn / gaay guwaa-la-y.la-nhi*

           true 3.DEF two   man   / word tell-RECP-CTS-PST

(209)   *Baiyan boollarhgneh gwallannee.*   Parker l 44

           *baayan **bulaarr.nga** guwaa-la-nhi*

           soon2 3DU   talk-RECP-PST

           And again the two of them were talking.   Parker

(210) The boy and girl sat down next to one another and ate their meat. JM/AD 3219A 3660
  *giirr ngaam **bulaarr.nga** wila-nhi / bamba ngiyarrma **bulaa-yu** / bigibila dha-y*
  true there 3DU sit-PST / with.energy there two-ERG / porcupine eat-PST
  They had a good feed of porcupine.   AD
  They sat down and had a good feed of porcupine/echidna.   JG

Many examples of *bulaarrnga* are with reciprocal verbs, as in (208), (209) and (211), and similarly with *gaalanha* in Wurm. (212) has *bulaarr* - adnominal rather than pronominal and (213) has the usual Ergative form of *bulaarr* used as a pronoun.

(211) *waal **bulaarr.nga** yaluu buma-la-nhi*
  not 3DU again hit-RECP-PST
  They never fought no more.   AD/JM 3219A 3407

(212) (The two children) They will come back later on. CW/AD 5129A 2321
  *giirr ngaama yanaa-w.uwi-y dhaay / **bulaarr** / **birralii-gaali***
  true that go-BACK-FUT to.here / two / child-DU
  These come back directly, them two little fellows.   AD
  They will come back here, the two children.   JG

(213) In the story of Guniibuu (Robin red-breast) two people had hidden a kangaroo from a hunter and
  were waiting for him to go.   JM/AD 3996B 1521
  *yilaa=bala ngaama=nga / yanaa-ngindaay dhayn / ngii.muu, **bulaa-yu** / dhuwima-y*
  soon=CTR that=THEN / go-SUB man / from-?, two-ERG / pull.out-PST
  When the man had gone they (two of them) pulled it out (the kangaroo). JG

The GR paradigm is found only in MathewsGR. All forms are based on the GR singular third person singular paradigm followed by a dual suffix, *-gaalay*. The core cases contain the bases *nhama* (Nominative), and *nguru* (Ergative). Case marking occurs after the dual suffix. The case marking in the core cases is unique in distinguishing Nominative (*nhamagaalay*), and Accusative (*nhamagaalay**nya***), creating the only 3-way core case distinction so far recognised in YG, apart from exclusive pronouns. Dative and Local cases have Personal Declension suffixes.

I interpret Mathews' Dative*, ngurungullingu,* as an error, with *ngurugullingu* (*nguru-gaali-ngu*) being the correct form, since all his other third person duals and plurals are formed with *gaali* (dual) or *ganu* (plural) after *nhama* or *nguru*.

A possible origin for these is a phrasal Dative with both constituents case marked, *ngurungu gaalingu* dual and *ngurungu ganungu* plural, which have then been reduced to Mathews' forms, which I interpret at *ngurugaalingu* and *nguruganungu*.

Table 65 gives the forms actually found in the sources. MathewsYR is presumably based on his *yuari*[65] 'that (further)' and on *bulaarr* 'two'. *Yuari*[66] has not been recognised elsewhere and the forms based on it are not included in the paradigms.

Table 65   **YG third person dual pronouns in sources**

Case	Ergative	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Locative	Ablative
MathewsGR		*ngurugale*	*nummagalena*	*ngurungullingu*		
MathewsYR		*yuwari*	*bulanga*	*yuwaringu*		
Parker (YR)		*boollarhgnah*	*boollarhgnah*			
AD/FR(YR)	*bulaayu*	*bulaarrnga*	*bulaarrnga*	*bulaarrngu?*		*bulaarrngundi*
Sim (YR)	*gaaladhu*	*gaalanha*	*gaalanha*	*gaalayngu*	*gaalay-ngunda*	*gaalay-ngundi*
Wurm (YR)	*ga:laðu*	*ga:lana/ ga:lan̓a*		*ga:liŋu*	*ga:lɛŋunda*	
Sands (YR)	has only one form, *gaali-nha* in a number of case roles.					

MathewsGR (p 268) has *yagale!* 'calling attention to two people' This is *yaa*, a vocative particle, followed by *gaali/gaalay*. These typically have third person use, but Koch (1994: 58) points out that in the Western Desert language Ngaanyatjarra third person forms are used with imperatives, i.e. with second person function, and it may be that a similar pattern is found in YG vocatives.

The number of paradigms and the variation within the paradigms indicate that there were many ways of expressing YG third person duals. It is quite likely that actual usage was even more varied than suggested in Table 59. It is possible both YR and GR used the three paradigms. No conditions have been found that would govern a choice between the two YR paradigms. However Sim (p.c.) points out that *gaalay* refers to a pair, a group of two with some natural bond, such as a married couple, rather than simply indicating a number.

4.4.4   Plural third person pronouns

YG third person plural pronouns are given in Table 59. They are relatively straightforward compared to other third person pronouns. They consist of the nominal *ganu* 'all' with the Personal Declension case suffixes. They are used mainly for personal reference, and occasionally with other uses. Variation in the limited GR evidence is considered later as is non-pronominal use of these forms.

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[65] *yuwari* may well be a mistake: In p 140 Mathews has *yuari* 'That (further)' which is probably *ngaarri* 'far', and *yuwari* may be a representation of the same word. Nothing like *yuari/yuwari* occurs in any other pronoun list, and there are other instances where initial *y* in Mathews likely represents *ng*.
[66] It is found in Laves as a demonstrative: see Table 89

Nominative *ganunga* is seen in (178), (152), (950) and elsewhere. Accusative *ganunga* is rare, even with human reference. One instance is (214) (= (174)) which also has *ganugu*, the Ergative, but the example is unclear: the function of *ganugu* is not pronominal, since it is not replacing a noun, but may be adnominal. The meaning of *yayaaybaa-gu* is also not clear:*yayaaybaa* usually refers to 'summer'.

(214)   The thunder tells them that warm weather has come.   JM/AD 8184 1111

   *giirr ganugu   yayaay.baa-gu / guwaa-lda-nha **ganunga** / yayaay.baa gi-yaa-ndaay*

   true 3PL.ERG summer?-ERG / tell-CTS-PRS   3PL.ACC / summer   be-MOV-SUB

   The ?heat tells them that it summer is coming.   JG

In general Accusative English 'them' seems to be translated with Ø, with a demonstrative or optionally with *ganungawu* when it has human reference. The form *ganungawu* is common, consisting of *ganunga* suffixed with a reflex of –*Buu* 'all', and is more commonly translated 'all of them/they all'. Nominative *ganungawu* is seen in (215)(b) and Accusative in (215)(c).

(215)   They drank the water, all of them drank the water.   CW/AD 5130 3321

(a)   *giirr ngaama   **ganugu**, gungan ngawu-nhi*

   true there∕that 3PL.ERG, water   drink-PST

   They, all of them, went to the river.

(b)   *giirr **ganunga-wu,** bagay-gu yanaa-nhi*

   true 3PL-TOT2   river-ALL go-PST

   I hit all of them with a bundi.

(c)   *giirr ngaya **ganunga-wu** ngaam', bundi-dju buma-y*

   true 1SG   3PL-TOT2   there,   club-ERG hit-PST

(214), (215)(a) and (216) show the Ergative, *ganugu*. (217) has an example of the Dative *ganungu*. The Locative is rare, with (218) perhaps the only certain occurrence. There *ganungunda* seems to agree with *walaadha*. The Ablative, seen in (219) is also rare.

(216)   The women had a lot of children. JM/FR 2435B 490

   *burrulaa birralii-gal   **ganugu** gaa-waa-nha*

   many   child-PL.DIM 3PL.ERG bring-MOV-PRS

   They bringing a lot of kids with them.   FR

(217)   *Goomblegubbondoo birrahleegul oodundi gunoonoo garwil.*   *Parker I 43*

   *gumbulgaban-du birralii-gal-gu   wuu-dha-ndaay **ganungu** gaawil*

   turkey-ERG   child-PL.DIM-DAT give-CTS∕eat-SUB 3PL.DAT regurgitate∕vomit

   Where the Gumbulgaban (turkey, bustard) was feeding her children.   Parker

   The turkey was feeding her children (with regurgitated food).   JG

(218) When the sun was setting I arrived at the camp.   JM/AD 8184 3446

    yayaay wuu-waa-ndaay / yalagiirrmawu / ngay dhurra-laa-nhi /

    sun   go.in-MOV-SUB / then   / 1SG come-MOV-PST /

    walaa-dha / **ganungunda**

    camp-LOC / 3PL.DAT

    When the sun was setting I was arriving at their camp.   JG

(219) The dog ran away from all of them.   CW/AD 5128 2417

    giirr ngaama maadhaay banaga-nhi / **ganungundi**

    true there   dog   run-PST   / 3PL.ABL

    The dog ran away from them.   JG

While Nominative and Accusative have forms that incorporate *-Buu* 'Total' (see §4.7 for its use with pronouns) the other forms do not, and their translations can include 'all' as in (220). The phrase *nguuma ganugu* suggests that plural pronouns do not take the demonstrative suffix *-ma* 'DEFinite', but that demonstrative effect is achieved by having a modifying singular demonstrative such as *nguuma*.

(220) All of them ate the meat.   CW/AD 5130 3241

    giirr **nguuma** **ganugu,** *dhinggaa ngaarrma dha-y.*

    true 3ERG.DEF 3PL.ERG, meat   there   eat-PST

These pronoun forms also have adnominal use, generally with human reference, as seen in (221), where *ganungawu* seems to qualify *ngiyani*, and perhaps (222). (222) follows a similar dual example given in (206). The structure of *birraliigalungu* is not clear. The *-u* might be a reflex of *–Buu* 'all' and is followed by the Personal Declension suffix.

(221) *gannuŋou njɛ:ni*   SW p 77

    ganunga.wu ngiyani

    3PL.TOT2   1PL

    all of us SW

(222) *ganuŋu biřaligaluŋu bujuma*   SW p 79

    ganungu birralii-gal-u??-ngu?? *buyuma*

    3PL.DAT child-PL.DIM-??-DAT dog

    the dog of those (all) children   SW

It seems that the unsuffixed form, *ganu*, can also have pronominal use. MathewsGR (p 268) has *ya-ya-gunna* (*yaa-yaa ganu* 'hey, all (you)') 'calling attention to several people'; cf. *yaa gaali* above. Likely Ergative, pronominal use of *ganu* is seen in AD2438A 2121 and AD3998B 1664). The standard Locative *ganu-ga*, rather than Personal Declension form *ganungunda*, is used at AD8186 1245 in 'they told **the others**'.

The very limited GR information is summarised in Table 66, which also includes Mathews YR information. (Later YR sources largely have the forms found in Table 59). Ridley has *ŋārma* 'they' in his paradigm. Both Ridley and Greenway, in their texts, often have Ø for 'they'. They rarely use plural pronouns in their Gamilaraay, but often using *burrulaa-buu* 'all' and *ganungawu* 'all', the latter modifying nominals.

Table 66   **YG third person plural pronouns in early sources;**

Case	Nominative (Ergative)	Accusative	Dative	Notes
Ridley/ Greenway	*kānuŋo/kanuŋo (ganunga??ganungawu)*		*kānuŋo (ganungu)*	generally 'all'
	ŋārma (ngaarrma) Ø			mostly Ergative
MathewsGR	*Ngurugunnaga (nguru ganunga)*	*Nummagunnunga (nhama ganunga)*	*Ngurugunnungu (ngurungu [ga]nungu)*	
MathewsYR	*Gunnugu (ganugu* ERG*)*	*Gununga (ganunga)*	*Gunnungu (ganungu)*	

Current orthogarphy shown in (brackets).

Ridley's *kānuŋo/kanuŋo* are found in *Gurre Kamilaroi*. His forms do not distinguish Nominative, Accusative and Dative, and have pronominal and adnominal use, with human and inanimate reference: ('Eve is the mother of **all**.' 'God made **everything**.') He has (p 7): 'Indefinite pronouns' *kānūŋō*, 'all' (*ganungawu*); *gūnō* 'all'. It seems highly likely that *kānū* and *gūnō* represent the same morpheme.

Mathews' GR forms are clearly combinations of the third person singular forms (*nguru, nhama*) and *ganu* forms, paralleling his dual forms. He does not differentiate Nominative and Ergative, or show the syncretism between Nominative and Accusative. It is not clear that these were widespread GR forms, but they do have similarities to Wangaaybuwan, where the dual and plural (suffixed) third person forms are the singular with a dual or plural suffix. I have interpreted these as phrases, partly on the basis of another example he gives (p 266) 'let them beat' *Nguruwunnagunnaga bumulli*, likely *nguru wana ganunga bumali* 'he/she let them hit-FUT'. Without text examples it is difficult to know how the Mathews structure would be used. It seems that Mathews' *gunna* and *gunnu* represent *ganu*.

4.5   First and second person clitic pronouns

First and second person clitic pronouns found are Nominative/Ergative case, except for two likely Dative examples discussed later. The clitics occur predominantly, but not solely, on the first word of the clause, when that word is *a* and *u*-final, and after all other clitics except =*NHa* '3'. The clitics occur most commonly on interrogatives and particles. These second person clitics are the only bound pronouns Williams (1980:

52) gives, and she suggests that they are 'found almost exclusively on … negatives and interrogatives', both of which are sentence-initial morphemes.

4.5.1 First person clitic pronouns

Table 67, part of Table 61, shows first person clitic pronouns. Only Nominative and Ergative forms are found. As with free pronouns I assume that inclusive bound pronouns do not distinguish Nominative and Ergative[67]. However first person dual and plural free, exclusive pronouns do distinguish Nominative and Ergative (§10.4.5) so I assume the bound forms do. YG exclusive forms (free and bound) are best understood as inclusory constructions (ICs): see §10.4.4. For instance the dual exclusive Ergative -*li-lu*, consists of -*li*, a suffixed form of *ngali* 'dual' and -*lu*, an element which is singular, third person and Ergative.

Two Mathews paradigms are the only sources for dual and plural first person clitic pronouns. These paradigms include inclusive and exclusive forms, but they are used with *buma-li* 'hit', so will be Ergative. There are no attested corresponding Nominative forms. The expected Nominative forms in Table 67 are marked #.

Table 67   **YG first person clitic pronoun paradigm**

	Clitic forms		Full forms	
	Nominative	Ergative	Nominative	Ergative
Singular	=*DHu*		*ngaya*	
Dual.Incl	=*li*		*ngali*	
Dual.Excl	=*li-nya#*	=*li-lu* =*li-nguru* GR	*ngali-nya*	*ngali-lu* *ngali-nguru*
Plural.Incl	=*ni*		*ngiyani*	
Plural.Excl	=*ni-nya#*	=*ni-lu*	*ngiyani-nya*	*ngiyani-lu*

Singular first person clitics are found in a number of sources, mostly earlier ones. Williams does not include first person bound pronouns, and they are very rare in the later sources.

Mathews' YR and KW (Kawambarai, a dialect of Gamilaraay) paradigm examples are presented in Table 68. (Second and third person evidence is included here for convenience.) I do not regard the paradigm as totally accurate. He does not have clitic pronouns in the corresponding GR paradigm.

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[67] One examiner points out that it is 'dangerous to assume the case marking on bound pronouns will match that on the corresponding free forms'. However, in the absence of any YG evidence to the contrary that seems the most like situation.

In Table 68 the YR examples are given on one line, the Kawambarai on the following line. Notable differences include the non-realisation of the present tense suffix, *-NHa*, in KW, the use of *nguru*, GR 3SG.ERG, in KW (contrasting with YR *nguu*), and the variation between YR and KW in the 1PL.EXCL. I interpret *=ni-yu* as *=ni* '1PL' and *-yu[u]* as 'TOTal' and *=ni-yiyal* as '1PL' *=ni* and *-yiyal* 'just': See §4.7.

Table 68   **Some clitic pronouns in MathewsYR**

	Gloss	Original	Analysis
Singular	**YR** = Yuwaalaraay; **KW** = Kawambarai		
1st Person	**YR** I beat	*Bumuldunnadhu*	*buma-lda-nha =**dhu***
=dhu	**KW** I beat	*Bumuldadhu*	*buma-lda =**dhu***
2nd Person	**YR** Thou beatest	*Bumuldunnindu*	*bumaldanh?i =**ndu***
=ndu	**KW** Thou beatest	*Bumuldandu*	*buma-lda =**ndu***
3rd Person	**YR** He beats	*Bumuldunnangu*	*bumaldanha =**ngu(u)***
=ngu, =nguru	**KW** He beats	*Bumuldanguru*	*buma-lda =**nguru***
Dual			
1st Person	**YR** We, incl, beat	*Bumuldunnali*	*bumaldanha =**li(i)***
=li[i]	**KW** We, incl, beat	*Bumuldali*	*buma-lda =**li***
=li[i]-yu	**YR** We, excl, beat	*Bumuldunnaligu*	*buma-lda-nha =**li(i)-yu***
=li[i]-nguru	**KW** We, excl, beat	*Bumuldalinguru*	*buma-lda =**li.nguru***
2nd Person	**YR** You beat	*Bumullundhale*	*buma-lda-nha =**ndaali***
=ndaali	**KW** You beat	*Bumuldandale*	*buma-lda =**ndaali***
3rd Person	**YR** They beat	*Bumulbulaia*	*bumal(lda-nha) bulaayu*
bulaayu, [=]gaali	**KW** They beat	*Bumuldagale*	*buma-lda =**gaali***
Plural			
1st Person	**YR** We, incl, beat	*Bumuldunnane*	*buma-lda-nha =**ni***
=ni[i]	**KW** We, incl, beat	*Bumuldanē*	*buma-lda =**nii***
=ni[i]-yu	**YR** We, excl, beat	*Bumuldunnanēu*	*buma-lda-nha =**ni-yu***
=ni[i]-yiyal	**KW** We, excl, beat	*Bumuldaneyel*	*buma-lda =**ni-yiyal***
2nd Person	**YR** You beat,	*Bumuldunnadai*	*buma-lda-nha =**ndaay***
=ndaay	**KW** You beat	*Bumuldandai*	*buma-lda =**ndaay***
3rd Person	**YR** They beat	*Bumuldunnagunnagu*	*buma-lda-nha ganugu*
ganugu =nugu	**KW** They beat	*Bumuldunnugu*	*buma-lda =**nugu***

There is considerable evidence for *=DHu* as the first person bound form in a range of YR sources. Mathews has an Ergative example in Table 68 and (224) and a

Nominative one in (223).[68] He (p 141) gives a number of verb paradigms ('I beat (a while ago/yesterday)'; 'I am beating myself'; etc.) in which all the YR forms are *dhu* or *dyu*-final. Laves has Nominative use in (225) (226). Laves gives a number of texts including (225) which neatly contrast the suffixed and free forms of the pronoun. AD5055 561 translates 'when I go hunting' with *maniila-y.ngindaay=dju* 'hunt-SUB-1SG. AD5057 1061 has *yaluu=dhu* 'again I'. It seems that AD has retained an earlier usage, perhaps influenced by the use of *=DHu* in Wayilwan which he also spoke. There are possible GR instances of *=dhu*. *ngali=dhu* in (906), from Wurm, who also has (p 17, in his GR) *maṟunḍu* 'well I'; possibly *maaru-n?-dhu, maaru* 'well' and with the *n* unexplained. Use of *=DHu* in YG seems to have decreased.

(223) Strong I am.   MathewsYR p 140
       *Wallun**dhu** ginye,*
       *walan=**du?dhu** gi-nyi*
       strong=1SG   be-PST

(224) I will beat presently   MathewsYR p 141
       Bumullidyu
       *buma-li-**dju***
       hit-FUT-1SG

(225) I'm hungry   Laves 116
       yualngindi ngaia ginji   yual ngindi dyu ginji
       *yuulngindi ngaya gi-nyi yuulngindi=**dju** gi-nyi*
       hungry   1SG   be-PST hungry=1SG   be-PST

(226) Eat I would.   Laves 116
       dalinginda ðu ginji
       *dha.li-nginda=**dhu** gi-nyi*
       eat-WANT=1SG   be-PST

The form *=DHu*[69] is identical in form and meaning to the WN first person singular clitic, which is clearly from the WN free pronoun *ngadhu,* whereas in YR the free form is *ngaya*. The YG dual[70] forms (*-li* and *–ligu*) are similar to the WN suffixes, but the YG and WN plurals are quite different, with WN suffixing the full form of the pronoun.

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[68] I would have expected the stop to be assimilated to *d* after *n*.

[69] The origin of *=DHu* is uncertain. It may be that CNSW languages had a Nominative/Ergative distinction in first person singular, possibly *ngaya/ngadhu,* and that this distinction has been neutralised, with *ngaya* retained in YG and *ngadhu* in Ngiyambaa, but both languages have retained the *=DHu* clitic.

[70] The Mathews material was given in (Capell, 1962)(Capell, 1962)(Capell, 1962)Capell (1962: 17) with modified spelling, and in Williams.

The dual and plural inclusive bound forms *–li* and *-ni* are the final syllable of the respective free forms, *ngali* and *ngiyani*. The vowel is likely short, but could be long as is the WN bound forms, *-lii* and *-nii*.

However the form of the exclusive bound forms is less certain. The only actual examples are Mathews', in Table 68. The YR dual is given as *-li-gu* and the plural as *-ni-yu*. The free exclusive, Ergative pronouns are *ngali-lu* and *ngiyani-lu[u]* (§10.4.5). It seems likely that the *-gu* is an error (it is not found elsewhere as an exclusive suffix), and *-yu* a realisation of *–Yuu* 'all': (see §4.7.), which is easily misinterpreted as an exclusive suffix.

Mathews' WR suffixed dual exclusive is *-li-nguru*, adding the third person Ergative pronoun to the inclusive. His plural is *-ni-yiyal*. This incorporates *yiyal* 'just' (see §15.3.5) which is not a marker of exclusivity.

The variety of suffixes given (*-gu, -yu, -nguru* and *-yiyal*), the ease with which these can be misinterpreted, and the consistent use of *-lu* in free, exclusive, Ergative pronouns suggests that the actual bound, exclusive, Ergative forms are *-li-lu* (*-li-nguru* in GR) and *-ni-lu*, as listed in Table 61.

4.5.2 Second person clitic pronouns

Second person Nom/Erg clitic forms: *=nda, =ndaali, =ndaay* are very common throughout the sources. They are derived from the free pronouns by deletion of the first syllable, as seen in Table 69, which also shows the corresponding WN clitics.

Table 69 **Common second person YG clitic pronouns**

	YG		Wangaaybuwan
	full pronoun	Nom/Erg clitic	Nom/Erg clitic
Singular	*nginda*	*=nda*	*=ndu*
Dual	*ngindaali*	*=ndaali*	*=ndu=bulaa*
Plural	*ngindaay*	*=ndaay*	*=ndu=gal*

The most common occurrences, after clause initial particles and interrogatives which are *a* and *u*-final, are exemplified in (227) - (230). Other positions are relatively common, e.g. (231) (232). The suffixes have been found on all word final segments, often with phonological modification when the word ending is not *a* or *u*. (233) - (238).

(227)   Where are you?   JM/FR 1853A 199

    *minyaaya=**nda**   / minyaaya   nginda,*
    where.LOC=2SG / where.LOC 2SG
    Where are you?   FR

(228) Do you remember when you fell into the mud this morning? JM/FR 2437A 1815

*yaama=**nda** winanga-y.la-nha bidjaay-a=**nda** bundaa-ngindaay*

ques=2SG remember-CTS-PRS mud-LOC=2SG fall-SUB

Do you remember when/that you fell in the mud? JG

(229) Find the camp before you light a fire. JM/AD 3218A 1368

(a) *waaluu=**nda** wii wiima-ldaay / ngiyarrma ngiyani=nga wila-y.la-y /*

not.yet=2SG fire make-SUB / there 1PL=THEN sit-CTS-FUT /

(b) *yalagiirrmawu=**nda** wii wiima-li /*

that.time=2SG fire make-FUT

You can make a fire there after when we sit down. AD

Don't be making the fire yet. We'll sit down, and then you'll make the fire. JG

(230) Don't let the boy go near the bad man. JM/AD 3219A 106

*garriya=**ndaay** nhama yanaaynbi-la, birralii-djuul / guwiinbaa-ga nguungunda /*

don't=2PL 3.DEF let.go-IMP, child-DIM / close-LOC 3SG.LOC /

Don't let him (go) near him (because he is a dangerous man). AD

Don't let the kid go near him. JG

The bound forms are not in first position in both parts of (231), (232). The position of =*nda* in (231) means it is not after *rr*, a non-favoured position.

(231) Miimii (Granny), how are you going to kill that snake? JM/AD 3220B 1989

*gulaarr gi.yaa.nha nhama=**nda** ngandabaa buma-li*

how going.to 3.DEF=2SG snake hit-FUT

How are you going to kill that snake? JG

*minya-dhu gi.yaa[nha]=**nda**=nha buma-li*

what-ERG going.to[abbrev]=2SG=3 hit-FUT

What will you kill it with? JG

(232) What did the boy eat it for? CW/AD 3998B 1072

*minya-nginda / minya-gu=bala nhama=**nda** bandaarr dha-lda-nha?*

what-WANT / what-PURP=CTR 3.DEF=2SG kangaroo eat-CTS-PRS

What are you eating that kangaroo for? AD

The next examples show the clitics following word final sounds other than *a* or *u*, but such cases are very rare, with often only one or two instances.

l

The sound in (233) is unclear, but it seems the *l* has been deleted before the clitic, and (234) shows a similar deletion in GR after *gamil* 'no'. *lnd* is not a permissible consonant cluster.

(233)   (The mother said to the girl; you naughty little girl,) you must be friends, or I am going to give
    you a hiding.   JM/AD 3219A 3586.

    *waa/waal=**ndaali** gaba gi-gi.la-nha, bamba=laa ngaya nginunha badha-y*

    not=2DU   good be-CTS-PRS, hard=DIR 1SG 2SG.ACC hit.punish-FUT

    If you two are not good I will thrash you (one).   JG

(234)   *'kaminda burula: nguðaruldeigo*   Tindale l 14

    *gami[l]=**nda** burrulaa ngudha-rru-lda-y.gu*

    not=2SG   many   feed-??-CTS-PURP

    Then you won't have to feed so many.   Tindale

n

(640) has *minya-ngin=**ndaali*** 'what-want-you.2'

rr

(235) has the clitic on a *rr* final word, and again it seems the *rr* is not actually
realised, at least in some pronunciations of this.

(235)   Miimii, how are you going to cross the river?   JM/AD 8184 1802iimii

    *galaa/galaarr=**nda** gi.yaa.nha nhama / ngaarri.gili-dja yanaa-y / baawan-da*

    how=2SG   going.to 3.DEF / far.side-LOC   go-FUT / Baawan-LOC

    How are you going to get to the far side of the Barwon?   JG

y

(236) shows the suffix after word final *y*, with no phonological modification. A
similar example is found at 2895A 25, where AD says *gaa-g.uwi-y=nda* 'take-back-
FUT-2SG'

(236)   *bawi-lda-ya=badhaay=**ndaay** / bawi-lda-ya ngindaay*

    sing-CTS-IMP=MIGHT=2PL   / sing-CTS-IMP 2PL

    How about you sing. Sing you lot.   (English JG) AD/JM 2832B 2493

i

(237) is one of the rare examples with *i=nda*.

(237)   Who do you want to see?   JM/AD 3219B 847

    *ngaandi=**nda** gi.yaa.nha ngarra-li /*

    who.acc=2SG going.to   see-FUT /

    *yal/yiyal??=bala=**nda**   / dhaay 'naa-waa-nhi*

    just=CTR=2SG   / to.here come-MOV-PST

    Who are you going to see? Or were you just coming here?   JG

(238) shows another rare occurrence, where the pronoun is attached to an *a* final
word, but the *a* is not realised.

(238) The old man says: you two be quiet, you can come here for a little while, but we don't want to
        feed you.   JM/AD 3219B 2792

nguwama ngindaali, dhaay yanaa-waa-ya,   baluwaa / nguwam'=**ndaali** wila-ya

here   2DU   to.here come-MOV-IMP, slowly   / here=2DU   sit-IMP

Come here you two, and sit down here quietly.   JG

The examples show how readily the clitic form of the pronouns and the free forms alternate.

The only evidence for first and second person clitic pronouns in other than subject function are two possible bound Dative forms. The first is seen in (239), from Wurm's GR: The suggested form and translation differ from Wurm's: *ndaali* rather than *dhali*, and dual rather than plural translation. However there is no other likely interpretation of what he presents. A less certain example is seen in (240).

(239) *namaðalingu buŕuma*   SW p 19

nhama=**ndaalingu** buŕuma

3.DEF=2DU.DAT   dog

your (plural) dog   SW

your (dual) dog   JG

The second example has *-ngu* in a situation where the 2SG.DAT, *nginu*, would be expected. AD8185 3701 has what I hear as *giirr ngaya-ngu yilama-ldaay* 'true 1SG-*ngu* cook-SUB' ('when I cooked it for you'). The *-ngu* then may be a suffixed form of *nginu*, but at this stage that remains a very speculative analysis. Wangaaybuwan has suffixed Dative/Accusative second person singular =*nuu*.

4.6   Third person clitic pronouns

Unlike first person singular and second person clitics, third person clitics do not have synchronism of subject of transitive verb and subject of intransitive verb. Instead, as discussed above, the clitic =*NHa* is used for both subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs. As for subjects of transitive verbs, the YR form =*ngu* sometimes appears in the IIP, apparently a reduced form of the full pronoun *nguu* §4.4.2.2. As well the same syllable –*ngu* appears once in a context where it arguably acts as Dative clitic, similar to the second person Dative clitics discussed above. (240) is from a song sung to young children. The *ngu* is likely a reduced form of the Dative pronoun *nguungu*. As this is from a song the use of a Dative clitic may be an archaism. The Dative *nguungu* occurs around 200 times on the tapes, but no corresponding suffixed form has been found there.

(240) *Oonahgnoo Birrahlee.*   Parker (1905: Chap 7)

wuu-na=**ngu**   birralii

give-IMP=?3SG.DAT child

Give to him/her, child.   Parker

The phonological attachment of full third person pronouns forms to the first word of the clause is also suggested by some MathewsYR examples (p 140, 145). His 'they (plural) beat', *Bumuldunnagunnagu* is *bumaldanha ganugu.* 'they are beating'. His 'they (dual) beat', *Bumulbulaia* may end with *bulaa-yu* 'two-ERG'. (But the reduced verb form, presumably *bumal,* is not understood).

4.7   Pronominal suffixes

I here consider two suffixes, *-yiyal* and *-Buu*, that have been misinterpreted when used with pronouns, and a potential suffix, *-wayaal.*

4.7.1   *-Yuu* 'TOTal'

The suffix *-Yu[u][71]*, which I analyse as a reflex of *–Buu* 'TOTal' (§15.3.3), is very common in both older and tape sources. I will show the vowel length as recorded in transcripts, but use the more common long vowel in discussion, except for *-wu* on third person plural. The forms recorded are *-yu[u]* after *i, -uu* after *y* and *rr* and *-wu* after *a*. The main meaning is 'all possible' so the translations 'all' with plural pronouns and 'both (of)' with dual pronouns. It is also sometimes translated 'together'. Common examples are shown in Table 70.

Table 70   **Pronouns with *-Yuu* 'TOTal'**

Base pronoun	Gloss	Suffixed pronoun	Gloss	Uses found
ngali	1DU.NOM.ERG	*ngali-yuu*	both of us	Nom/Erg/Inc/Exc
ngiyani	1PL.NOM.ERG	*ngiyani-yuu*	all of us	Nom/ Erg/Inc/Exc
ngindaay	2PL.NOM.ERG	*ngindaay-uu*	all of you	rare; Nom/ Erg
bulaarr	two	*bulaarr-uu*	both of them	Nom/Acc
ganunga	3PL.NOM.ACC	*ganunga-wu*	all of them	Nom/Acc

I will firstly show more recent examples of the suffix then give earlier analyses which tended to see it as having inclusive function, or more rarely exclusive function. (241) - (244) show the suffix on first person pronouns: dual in (241) (242), plural in (243) (244), with Nominative case in (241) (243), and Ergative case in (242) (244). In (241) I interpret *ngali-yuu* as elaborating *ngali.* It is possible that it is a correction.

(241)   Will you come fishing with me?   JM/AD 2833B 1442

    *yaama nginda yanaa-waa-y / **ngali, ngali-yu[u***

    ques   2SG   go-MOV-FUT / 1DU,   1DU-TOT2

    ngali-yu means me and you (AD then uses *ngali* with the same reference)   AD

    Will you go with me, (2), the both of us?   JG

---

[71] Both *-yu* and *-yuu* are found. I assume they are variants, but this may not be the case. For instance *-yu* may be Nominative and *-yuu* Ergative.

(242) We two saw our faces in the river.   JM/FR 2439A 1027

    ngali-yuu *ngarra-y ngulu ngalingu gungan-da*

    1DU-TOT2 see-PST face   1DU.DAT water-LOC

    We both saw our face in the water. (inclusive use)   FR

(243) *ŋjɛːnai juː buɾulaː janaːwai guŋangu*   SW p 96

    ngiyani-yuu *burrulaa yanaa-waa-y gungan-gu*

    1PL-TOT2   all   go-MOV-FUT water-ALL

    We, all will go over to the water.   SW

(244) *ngɛnijuː ðali nama ði*   SW p 15

    ngiyani-yuu *dha-li   nhama dhii*

    1PL-TOT2   eat-FUT 3.DEF   meat.

    We all will eat this meat.   SW

Many instances of first person pronouns with *-Yuu* have clearly inclusive reference, e.g. (241) and at 1853A 3837 where FR uses *ngali-yuu* as explicitly inclusive, and Ergative. There are many more instances where first person pronouns with *-Yuu* are most likely inclusive, e.g. *ngiyani-yuu* in (243), (244). However (245) is one of the few examples where *ngiyani-yuu* clearly has exclusive use. So inclusive meaning is a common implication but not an entailment of use of the suffix.

(245) All of you went back to the camp.   CW/AD 3997A 2013

    ngiyani-yu; ngiyani-yu means 'all of us'.   AD

No examples have been found where the *-Yuu* and *-lu* (which forms an Ergative exclusive: §10.4.5) co-occur. In (246) Dodd firstly uses *-yuu*, but then changes it to *–luu*, suggesting he had to choose between *-Yuu* and *-luu*.

(246) The strangers asked for some food.   JM/AD 8187 1557

(a)   *giirr ngaama   / wiyaybaa-gu dhayn-du / miinba-lda-nhi /*

       true 3ANA.DEF / stranger-ERG man-ERG / ask-CTS-PST   /

(b)   *ngaam=bala   ganugu guwaa-y / waal **ngiyani-yuuxx** /*

       3ANA.DEF=CTR 3PL.ERG say-PST / not   1PL-TOT2   /

(c)   *waal **ngiyani=luu,** wuu-dha-y.la-nha*

       not   1PL=3ERG   give-EAT-CTS-PRS

       They said they're not going to give any away.   AD

       The strangers were asking, but they said: 'we are not going to give (you any)'.   JG

Second person use of *–Yuu* is rare. Wurm (p 77) has *ŋindɛju* 'you all' (*ngindaay-uu*) (given as a single word, so no case specified) and Sim (1998: Appendix: 2), in a paradigm, has the same form as second person plural Ergative. I interpret *ngindaay-uu* as '2PL.NOM/ERG'. *-Yuu* has not been found with second person dual, but I would expect it can be used there with translation 'both of you' corresponding to the first person use. See also (248) - (250).

Third person pronouns with *-Yuu* have two functions, as pronouns and as modifiers of other nominals, creating phrases like 'all the children'. Pronominal use of *bulaarr-uu* is relatively common and is seen in (247), where it is Ergative. In (248) - (250)[72] *bulaarr-uu* modifies Nominative and Accusative pronouns, adding the meaning 'both'. All examples of *bulaarr-uu* are from FR.

(247)   They were both yelling.   JM/FR 2438A 1180

        bulaarr-uu=*nga gaga-laa-nhi dhayn*

        two-TOT2=THEN call-MOV-PST man

        Both of them were singing out for the men.   FR

(248)   You are two silly women.   JM/FR 2438A 1219

        bulaarr-uu ngindaali *wamba*

        two-TOT2 2DU   mad

        You're both mad.   FR

(249)   He (policeman) will shut you both up.   JM/FR 2438A 1278

        yalaagaa-gu=*badhaay / nginaalinya*, **bulaarr-uu nginaalinya** *wa-li*

        gaol-ALL=MIGHT   / 2DU.ACC,   two-TOT2 2DU.ACC   put.in-FUT

        He's going to put both of you in the lock up.   FR

(250)   *dhabi-ya*   **bulaarr-uu**=**nda**

        be.quiet-IMP two-TOT2-2SG

        Stop it the two of yous.   FR/JM 2436A 545

        Be quiet, both of you.   JG

Third person plural pronouns are built on *ganu*, which has rare independent use as 'all' (e.g. Wurm p 3). The Nominative/Accusative pronoun is *ganunga*. The form *ganungawu* is relatively common. The *-wu* was earlier thought to be a distortion but on closer examination it is found that almost all instances have explicit reference to 'all'. I therefore analyse *-wu* as an allomorph of *-Buu*. At 5057 1643 the translation includes the word 'together', suggesting an alternative gloss for *-Buu.* This is an area for further investigation. (251) (=(661)) shows *ganungawu* with pronominal function. *Ganungawu* also modifies 'meat' in (252) and 'camps' in (57). Surprisingly it is also found modifying a first person plural pronoun, *ngiyani*. Wurm (p 81) has *gannuŋou njɛːni* (*ganunga.wu ngiyani*) 'all of us'.

(251)   *ngiyama*=*nga* **ganunga-wu** / *bayama-nhi*

        there-THEN   3PL-TOT2 / catch.M-PST

        They all got caught in the net. (the ducks)   AD/JM 8187 1295

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[72] (250) has *bulaarr-uu* with a suffixed singular pronoun, not the expected dual form. FR does not use the suffixed second person dual and plural, *-ndaali -ndaay*, likely a sign of language loss.

(252)   All the meat was eaten.   JM/FR 2438A 839

(a)   ***ganungawu*** = *nga*   // *ganugu   dha-y   dhinggaa*
        (3PL.TOT2)all = THEN // 3PL.ERG eat-PST meat

(b)   ***ganungawu***   *ganu.xx, ganugu   dhinggaa dha-y*
        (3PL.TOT2)all all.error, 3PL.ERG meat   eat-PST
        They ate all the meat.   FR

The unsuffixed form *ganunga* is at times translated 'all', but considerably less frequently than *ganungawu*. *Ganunga* is 'they' in (965) and (966) and 'they all' in (65).

It seems that third person Ergative pronouns do not have a form incorporating -*Yuu*. *Ganugu* is both 'they' and 'all of them' (Ergative): the latter in (215).

The suffix has, understandably, at times been misinterpreted as an exclusive or inclusive marker (see §4.5.1). Unlike the actual YG inclusive/exclusive markers it does not differentiate Nominative and Ergative. Table 71 shows –*Yuu* interpreted as inclusive and exclusive in earlier sources, with my comments.

Table 71   **Earlier interpretations of pronouns with -*Yuu***

Source	Form	Gloss	Analysis	Notes
Dual				
MathewsYR	*Ngulliyu*	We2, exclusive	*ngali-yuu*	usual translation: 'both of us'
Plural				
MathewsGR	*Ngeaneyu*	We, exclusive	*ngiyani-yuu*	'all of us' – not excl
Sim	*ngiyanayu*	We, inclusive	*ngiyani-yuu*	'all of us' – not incl

4.7.2   *yiyal* 'just'

The particle *yiyal* 'just' is considered in §15.3.5. It is found as a pronoun suffix in a number of early examples including some in Table 68 and Table 172. Mathews at times interprets it as an inclusive marker. The actual meaning is context dependent. 'Just us' can have many meanings, including inclusive or exclusive. I have not found any pronoun + *yiyal* instances in the tapes, where *yiyal* generally limits the meaning of a sentence, (e.g. 'I was just walking') rather than of an argument (*'just me was walking').

Sim records a further post-pronoun particle/suffix, whose basic meaning remains elusive. He (1998: appendix p 2) has

> The particle *wayal* added to 1st person inclusive Plural forms the exclusive.
> *Ngiyaniwayal*, added to 2nd exclusive Plural forms emphatic exclusive: *ngindaaywayal*
> affirms the exclusive.

Sim re-examined his notes and now concludes (p.c.) that the basic meaning is not exclusive. The particle includes the 'ignorative' suffix *–yaa*, the form may be *–waayaal* or *–wayaal*, and, on the basis of limited information the best interpretations are: *ngindaaywaayaal* 'most of you, you all but not me' and *ngiyaniwaayaal* 'most of us', perhaps 'all of you but not me'. This suffix may be a reflex of *-yiyal*. I have come to no conclusions about it.

4.7.3 Questions about pronouns

In addition to the third person pronoun forms already discussed there are forms found on the tapes and in earlier sources which are similar in form and location and for which there is currently no analysis. As at other times there can be uncertainty about the actual form, partly because the words are often in the IIP, so unstressed and often said quickly and casually. The realisation of *nguuma* blends readily into that of *nguwama* 'there' and at times it is difficult to distinguish *nguuma* and *ngaama*. These three forms are all found in second position in the clause. In producing a transcription it is generally necessary to make a choice, so at times the transcription has the 'best fit' rather than a sure representation of a word. As Ridley (p 5) pointed out, in these languages [a] and [u] are often difficult to distinguish and at times vowel length is uncertain and at times it is not clear whether there is a long vowel or diphthong. Some currently unanalysed forms are transcribed *ngumu/nguumu/nguumuu, ngaamu/ngaamuu*. These suggest a suffix *-mu[u]* which can be attached to *nguu* and probably other pronouns or morphemes. Below are examples which point to the existence of this form. The very tentative conclusion is that these forms at times represent the combination of two *u* or *uu*-final pronouns.

In (253) AD begins with *nguumuu*, but after a pause uses two third person singular Ergatives, *nguuma* presumably with instrumental function and *nguu* with Agent function. It may be that *nguumuu* combines the instrumental demonstrative *nguuma* and the pronoun *nguu*.

There are other indications of such combined forms, including the Wurm example (254).

(253)   The boy hit his sister with a stone.   CW/AD 3998B 156

(a)   *giirr **nguumuu** // giirr **nguuma**   **nguu** buma-y / dhaygal-i* / CW: once_more
       true ??   // true 3ERG.DEF 3ERG hit-PST / head-ABL /

(b)   *giirr **nguuma**   **nguu** buma-y / dhaygal-i / maayama-gu*
       true 3ERG.DEF 3ERG hit-PST / head-ABL / rock-ERG
       CW He hit her on the head with a stone. AD Yeah.
       He hit her on the head with it. He hit her on the head with a stone.   JG

Milson has (p 9) 'himself' *gnooroo gnoomoo* (probably *nguru nguumu*). This suggests the existence of the form, but does not help analyse it.

Wurm has *ŋumu* or *numu* around 5 times. (254) involves a double possessive '<u>my</u> <u>brother's</u> spear' and the Wurm gloss (this brother's) suggests that *nguumu* has both demonstrative and possessive function. The fact that *galumaay* is not case marked supports this analysis. (254) is GR, and so *ngumu/nguumu* is not based on the GR pronoun *nguru*.

(254)   *ŋai numu galumɔi numu bila:r*   (GR) SW p 15

         ngay   nguumu galumaay nguumu bilaarr

         1SG.DAT 3SG.?? brother 3SG.?? spear

         mine this brother's this spear (i.e. this spear is my brother's spear)   SW

The form *nguumu/nguumuu* is relatively common in the YR tape transcripts, but there is often more or less uncertainty about the form. In (24) *nguumu* cross-references *birralii-djuul-u* 'child-DIM-ERG' and at 2833A 382 it cross-references *birralii-gal-u* 'child-PL.DIM-ERG', but at other times it may have some Dative or instrumental component. The YR form is potentially based on the pronoun *nguu*. The form *ngaamu* is seen in (802).

5   Demonstratives

5.1   Introduction

YG demonstratives are a closed word class. They consist of a demonstrative forming root (e.g. a root with case such as *nha* Nom/Acc, or one that specifies distance such as *ngaarri* 'far') and contain one of the two demonstrative suffixes *-ma* 'DEFinite' and *-lay* 'OSTensive'. Some have further elements such as *-baa* 'up'. The most common demonstrative in recent sources is *nhama*, generally translated 'that' or 'there' and occasionally 'this' or 'here'. While the analysis here builds on previous ones (Williams, 1980: 87) it is clear that YG had more forms than described here and that this analysis does not capture the full features of YG demonstratives.

5.1.1   Definition of demonstratives

While there is general agreement that demonstratives include what are generally called demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives some linguists give a broader definition, for instance Diessel (1999: 2) points out that:

> Many studies confine the notion of demonstrative to deictic expressions such as English *this* and *that*, … but the notion I use is broader. It subsumes not only demonstratives being used as pronouns or noun modifiers, but also locational adverbs such as English *here* and *there*.

For reasons that will become apparent the notion of demonstrative in this study is even broader. As well as considering YG equivalents of expressions such as English *this, that, here* and *there* it also considers YG manner terms translated *like this, like that* and some time terms such as '*at that time*'.

Diessel (1999: 2) lists syntactic, pragmatic and semantic features in his description of demonstratives:

> First, demonstratives are deictic expressions serving specific syntactic functions….
> Second, demonstratives generally serve specific pragmatic functions. They are primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation (often in combination with a pointing gesture), but they may also function to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. More specifically demonstratives are often used to keep track of prior discourse participants and to activate specific shared knowledge. ...
> Finally, demonstratives are characterised by specific semantic features. All languages have at least two demonstratives that are deictically contrastive: a proximal demonstrative

referring to an entity near the deictic centre and a distal demonstrative denoting a referent that is located as some distance to deictic centre.

5.1.2   Demonstratives in other languages

As will be seen later the interpretation of the data on YG demonstratives is far from complete, so some examples of demonstratives from other languages will be briefly considered. Some aspects of demonstratives vary considerably as Dixon (2002: 335) points out:

> The forms of demonstratives vary widely - sometimes between languages in a group, and sometimes even between dialects of a language.

In many Australian languages demonstratives have a nominal-like structure. There is a root which often incorporates a two or three way distinction in distance, followed by a case morpheme. For instance the Wangaaybuwan demonstratives listed in Table 72 (Donaldson, 1980: 135 Table 5.2.1) have a proximal/distal distinction: *ngi-* for close and *nga-* for distant. Wiradjuri demonstratives (Grant & Rudder, 2010) have a 3 way distance distinction, *nginha* (close to speaker) *nganha* (further) and *nganhi* (distant).

At times the distance distinctions are not marked word initially. In Pitta Pitta (Blake, 1979: 194) third person pronouns are suffixes by *-yi* (near the speaker), *-ka* (further away) or *-aarri* (further away again).

Demonstrative roots can also indicate other information, such as visibility or previous mention in discourse.

Demonstratives often have case. Table 72 shows the basic case forms of Wangaaybuwan demonstratives. Many of these however are not the usual case suffixes. Wangaaybuwan demonstratives can also mark number, using the standard nominal markers *-bulaa* 'dual' and *-gal* 'plural'

Table 72   **Wangaaybuwan Demonstrative case forms**

Case form	'this'	'that'
Erg/inst	*ngilu*	*ngalu*
Abs	*ngina*	*ngana*
Dat	*ngigu*	*ngagu*
Loc	*ngini*	*ngani*
Circ (Abl)	*ngidji*	*ngadji*

A further feature of demonstratives is that they can be semantically complex, for examples with one word corresponding to an English phrase such as 'over that way' or 'from up here'. This is achieved in part by the use of suffixes on simpler

demonstratives. YG, Wangaaybuwan and Wiradjuri demonstratives all incorporate 'up' 'down' and 'side' suffixes in at least demonstratives, as seen in Table 73.

Table 73   **Suffixes in demonstratives in CNSW languages**

Gloss	Language		
	YG	Wangaaybuwan	Wiradjuri
up	*-baa*	*-ynja*	*-wal*
down	*-daa*	*-DHarr*	*-dar; -dhar* *-dhar-ngura* 'underneath' *-dya-guwur* 'underneath'
yonder	*?-gulay; -malay*	*-yN* 'yonder'	*-yany* 'through'
side	*-gili*	*-ngurr*	*-nguwur -guwur* *-nguwur-ma* 'behind'
through		-	*-gulung* 'this way, through here'
towards	*-biil* rare: Table 218	*-biil*	
further		*-wa*	*-wa(-laa)*

In Australian languages often one demonstrative form has both nominal and adverbial (locational) use. For example Wilkins' (1989: 110) points out that in Arrernte 'all (spatially deictic demonstratives) can have both nominal and adverbal uses'. Thus, a form like *nhenhe* can mean either 'this' or 'here''. Donaldson (1980: 136) states that it is often 'more convenient' to translate a Wangaaybuwan demonstrative with an English Locative adverb, e.g. WN *ngina* is 'this' or 'here' and *ngana* 'that' or 'there'. Hercus (p.c.) points out that Arabana generally uses locational adverbs where English uses demonstratives: for instance 'this (girl)' is translated with *nhiki* 'here'. See also Guugu Yimidhirr (Diessel, 1999: 14).

The YG demonstrative is still not fully analysed but seems to be less straight-forward than those referred to above. All YG demonstratives include one or both of the suffixs *-ma* 'definite' and *-lay* 'ostensive' (§5.2.4). Other suffixes such as *-baa* 'up' are also used in demonstratives.

Some demonstrative roots (indicate case, for instance nha (Nominative/Accusative) and *ngii* (Ablative). At least one indicates distance (*ngaarri*). The function of others, e.g. *ngiya* and *ngaa*, are uncertain. The root *yalagiirr* 'like' is used in demonstratives that relate to actions ('**do it like** that') rather than objects.

The most common YG demonstrative is *nhama* (*nha-* Nom/Acc, *-ma* 'definite'), most commonly translated 'that' or 'there'. There are very rare demonstratives such as ngii-baa-ma (Ablative-up-definite) 'from up there'.

There remains much that is not understood about YG demonstratives, and the descriptions of demonstratives in other languages may help to further describe YG. For instance there are features of Arrernte for which, at this stage, no YG parallel has been found. Wilkins has (1989: 111): 'the single form *nhenge* 'remember' which indicates that an entity has been mentioned previously'. This may be helpful in further analysis of *ngaama*, and he also points out 'a certainty/uncertainty distinction' which might also be relevant for further analysis of YG demonstratives.

A more complex system of demonstratives is found in Martuthunira (Dench, 1995: 109). It has more distance distinctions, more cases and topic-tracking demonstratives as well as six adverbial demonstratives, which have a proximal-distal distinction, as well as a locational/non-specific/non-visible distinction. The existence of this system supports the view that YG had a more complex system than currently known.

5.1.3   Limitations to the description of YG demonstratives

While this analysis of YG demonstratives is more detailed than previous ones there are a number of reasons why it is far from a complete analysis. Demonstratives are generally a complex part of language and so a full description would take more time and space than is possible in this work. Secondly, as pointed out above, demonstratives relate to the speech situation. However study of YG demonstratives is not based on speech situations but on previous analyses or texts which do not capture the details of the speech situation. So, at the most basic, it is often not possible to know whether a referent is near or distant, let alone seeing the gestures or other context which are often vital to understanding the function of a particular demonstrative.

The recorded YG demonstrative system is quite extensive and it is clear that historically it was more extensive, as Mathews' (1903: 268) comments make clear. His note indicates the extent and complexity of the system and strongly hints that he did not fully understand it.

> NOTE.-It should perhaps be mentioned that in all the expressions illustrating the several grammatical cases in the Kamilaroi and other languages herein described, the demonstrative pronouns are purposely omitted, for the two-fold object of saving space, and avoiding confusion by introducing any more words than the sentence really required. For example, where I have given "*Murridu mindere kauai*" (man at padamelon threw) (*mari-dhu mindarri?? garawi-y*) would be expressed by the black fellow: "this man-in-front at yonder-on-left padamelon threw," or as the subject might require. These remarks apply to every example of aboriginal sentences throughout the several languages contained in this article.

The few sentence examples in Mathews are of little help in understanding the use of complex demonstratives. Any current analysis also needs to take account of

probable misinterpretations in earlier sources. Ridley (p 36) has *ŋutta* (which I interpret as *ngadaa* 'down there') as 'there, on the right'. While Mathews uses 'on left' and Ridley 'on the right' these two terms are generally not found in specification of location in Australian languages, again suggesting that these writers had not fully understood the terms they were describing.

Often there is a many-to-one correspondence in glosses and translations, indicating that the full meaning of a YG demonstrative has not been captured. 'Over there' in Wurm's English corresponds to around 10 YG words and at times there is no corresponding word in the YG. At 5055 772 CW gives the elicitation sentence; 'I saw the boy come from behind the rock'. A series of elicitations follow, about the boy's actions. Each of AD's responses has a demonstrative. These include *ngaama*, *ngiyama*, *ngaama=nha*, *ngaarrma=nha*, *nhama* and possibly *ngaama=nga* (*=nga* 'then'). They are all translated 'he/him', or not translated. This illustrates both the range of YG demonstratives and the limited understanding we have of the distinctions between them.

5.1.4 Morphology and semantics of YG demonstratives

The structure of demonstratives is: (demonstrative-forming root)((non-demonstrative suffixes))(demonstrative suffixes), with the double brackets indicating non-compulsory elements. Demonstrative-forming roots are listed in Table 74 and have a range of functions. Both types of suffixes are given in Table 75. The demonstrative *ngaarribaama* 'up there' includes the root *ngaarri* 'far' the non-demonstrative suffixe *-baa* 'up' and the demonstrative suffix *-ma* 'Definite'. These elements are also found in the demonstrative *ngaarrima* 'over there' and in *ngaarribaa* 'up'. The last describes a direction, but not a specific location, and so is not a demonstrative. The demonstrative suffixes can co-occur as *-ma-lay*[73]. Some other word classes can take the *-ma*, 'Definite' suffix, including interrogatives: see §6. Demonstrative can be formally defined as non-interrogatives which include a demonstrative suffix: *-ma* or *-lay*.

YG demonstratives do not take case suffixes, unlike those in many other Australian languages, but there are at least four suppletive roots which indicate case. Some rare demonstratives with case suffixes are discussed later. There are rare examples of demonstratives which do not fit the pattern given above.

Demonstratives in a particular language generally differentiate along a number of categories. Those clearly found in YG include distance: (near/far from the speaker); and height: up/down. Possible YG categories include ostensive (being pointed to or

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[73] The glosses *-ma* 'DEFinite' and *-lay* 'OSTensive' do not define the functions of these suffixes, which are not fully understood.

otherwise indicated). In Wangaaybuwan and Wiradjuri movement is also encoded in demonstratives, while Wangaaybuwan demonstratives also indicate whether the referent is visible.

At this stage the semantics of some YG demonstrative-forming roots not clear. While the meaning of some complex demonstratives is compositional, this is not always the case.

5.1.5   Syntactic uses of demonstratives

Diessel (1999: 4) has four grammatical/pragmatic functions for demonstratives: pronominal, adnominal, adverbial (locational) and identificational, the last used in expressions such as 'this is an..'. As common in Australian languages, some YG forms are used for all four functions. For instance *nhama* has pronominal use (280) 'do that'; adnominal use (285) 'that woman', locational use (283) 'there' (and see *nhama* in (35) (36)), and identificational use in (255).

(255)   That's the mate of the bloke who killed my dog.   JM/FR 2437A 3714

    nhama *miirrgala / dhayn-gu   buma-ldaay / ngay   maadhaay*

    3.DEF   mate   / person-DAT hit-SUB   / 1SG.DAT dog

    That's the mate belonging to the man who killed my dog.   FR

Many YG demonstratives have both nominal and locational function. Some YG demonstratives have time use, some can have both personal and non-personal reference and some can qualify pronouns. For instance the combination *nhama=nha* (that/there=3) is common as is *ngaama=nha* (256).

(256)   He went to the side of the river.   CW/AD 5055 863

    giirr **ngaama=nha** *yanaa-nhi ngaarrigili-dja*

    true 3.ANA.DEF=3 go-PST   far.side-LOC

    He went to the far side. (That there one went to the other side.)   JG

YG demonstratives, with locational function, are a major way of linking and situating discourse. It is likely demonstratives can also be largely semantically empty forms which are part of an individual discourse style. Arthur Dodd uses sentence initial *giirr nhama/giirr ngaama* much more frequently than other sources, and it seems to parallel his use of sentence initial *ngarru nginyaa* in his Wayilwan tapes with both phrases often seeming to be semantically empty.

5.1.6   Pragmatic uses of demonstratives

Diessel (1999: 6; Chap 5) discusses the pragmatic uses of demonstratives:

    demonstratives are primarily used to draw the hearer's attention to entities in the speech situation (exophoric function), but they may also serve a variety of other pragmatic functions (endophoric functions)

The endophoric functions he lists are anaphoric, discourse deictic and recognitional. Anaphoric demonstratives are co-referential with an NP in the previous discourse. Discourse deictic demonstratives refer to a chunk of the surrounding discourse. Recognitional use of a demonstrative indicates that the speaker and hearer are familiar with the referent due to shared experience.

The multiple possible functions a demonstrative can have, the relatively free YG word order, the frequent use of zero anaphora and the relatively optional nature of many discourse connectives often make it impossible to decide the function a demonstrative has in any particular occurrence.

These multiple functions of demonstratives are well exemplified by *nhama*. It is translated by the speakers as an English locational 'there/here', as an English Nominative and Accusative adnominal demonstrative 'that/this', and also as a Nominative pronoun: 'he/she/it' and as an Accusative pronoun 'him/her/it'.

Complex English translations of a single demonstrative, such as 'that there' in (257), are relatively common. At 2833A 1863 AD says *nginu nhama mil* (*nginu* 'your', *mil* 'eye') and translates it 'that's your eye there' suggesting both 'that' and 'there' as simultaneous translations for *nhama*.

(257) Put down that tomahawk.   JM/FR 2438A 3106

    wiima-la   **nhama**   *giirrgal*   *// baburr nginda = laa nginu   garra-li*

    put.down-IMP there?3.DEF tomahawk // foot   2SG = DIR   2SG.DAT cut-FUT

    Put **that there** tomahawk down, you might cut your foot.   FR

    Put down that/the tomahawk. You might cut your foot.   JG

AD also translates *nhama* as 'that there' at 3218A 2685: 'whose boot is **that there** on the ground'. The expressions 'that there' and 'this here' are common in Walgett Aboriginal English. These uses may reflect similar uses in non-standard Australian English, (and in Cockney English), the meaning of demonstrative in Aboriginal languages, or both.

5.1.7   **Co-occurrence of demonstratives**

Multiple YG demonstratives are often found in the one clause, mostly clause initially or nearly so. The co-occurrence of a number of demonstratives with a range of possible functions makes it difficult to determine the function of each. Most commonly demonstratives with an (apparently) locational use such as *ngiyarrma* are first in the clause, as are time and manner deictics. When used adnominally or pronominally they are frequently in second position in the clause: see §4.2

The co-occurrence of multiple demonstratives and pronouns is seen in (258) (part of a story about a man killing and cooking an emu) where these are the first three or four words of each clause. The example also illustrates the common locational

framework of YG discourse, both in the constant use of *ngiyarrma*, and in AD's use of 'there' in his translation of (a) and (b).

(258)   AD describes cooking an emu.   JM/AD 5130 923

(a)   ***ngiyarrma nguu   ngaama=nga*** / *buurra-y*   //
      there   3SG.ERG that=?THEN / pluck-PST //
      He plucked him there and;   AD

(b)   ***ngiyarrma nguu=Na*** / ***ngaarrma***, *gurru mawu-nhi* / *dhawuma-li.gu*
      there   3SG.ERG=3 / there?,   hole dig-PST   / cook-PURP
      dug a hole there (to cook it) and,   AD 5130 930

(c)   ***ngiyarrma nguu=nha?nga***   / ***ngaam*** *bamba   dha-y* / *buyuma-dhuul*
      there   3SG.ERG=3?THEN / there? w.energy eat-PST / dog-DIM (=glutton)
      He gulped it down (ate with energy), the glutton.   AD 5130 945
      He plucked him, and then dug a hole to cook it. And then he ate it up, the glutton.   JG

5.1.8   Demonstrative phonology

There is a general discussion of phonology in §13. There is variation in the pronunciation of many demonstratives, partly because they typically occur in the IIP (Initial Intonation Phrase) where they are mostly unstressed, but there is also replacement of elements, particularly initial consonants. This often makes it difficult to determine the actual form of the word. There is frequent adaptation of word initial nasal to the preceding sound: *ng* and *nh* regularly > *n* after apicals and *ny* after *i* and *y*. The final *ma* in demonstratives is often elided to *m*. (259) - (263) show elision and adaptation of the initial consonant. (There are also unexpected examples of elision where there is a pause after the *nhama* as in (445)).

(259)   *dhaymaarr=bala* ***nham'*** *bidjaay-biyaay*
        ground=CTR   3.DEF mud-com
        That ground's all mud.   AD/JM 2833A 622
        But that ground is muddy.   JG

(260)   ***nham'*** *mudhay*
        3.DEF possum
        that possum   AD/JM 3218B 2554

(261)   The women are smiling.   JM/AD 3218B 2597
        nham=*badhaay=nga=bala* / *yinarr-galgaa=bala nhamalay yaluu gindama-y.la-nha*
        3.DEF=MIGHT=THEN=CTR / woman-PL=CTR   there?   again laugh-CTS-PRS
        they, those women, are laughing again.   JG

(262)   *garigari* ***nyama*** *dhayn*
        afraid   3.DEF man
        He is afraid.   AD/JM 3219A 159
        That man is afraid.   JG

(263) *barraay* **nyam'** *buugalaa bayama-la*
      fast   3.DEF ball   hold-IMP
      Hold that ball fast.   AD/JM 3217A 582
      Catch that ball quickly.   JG

At times it is also difficult to distinguish word initial nasals. At times it is not clear whether a particular word is *nhama* or *ngama*. The tape at 3220B 2929 has been listened to by a number of people, with some hearing *marragulay* and others *ngarragulay*.

Another area of uncertainty concerns vowel length, particularly the contrast between *a* and *aa* in the first syllable. The word *ngaarri* is found as an independent word and with a number of suffixes. There length of the first vowel varies and is at times unclear.

There are other sets of 'words' and suffixes which may be allomorphs or separate morphemes. Four sets are given below, each with a gloss.

Allomorphs or separate morphemes?

ngiyarrima, ngiyarrma, ngiyama   anaphoric 'there'

ngaarrma, ngaama   'that?'

ngaarrima, ngaarrma   'over there'

-lay, -li, -la, l'   'visible?'/pointed out (OSTensive)

More details about these are given when each morpheme is discussed.

5.2   Demonstrative morphemes

YG demonstrative stems are given in Table 74, suffixes found in demonstratives are given in Table 75 and some of the derived forms are given in Table 76. Table 77 lists manner and time demonstratives.

5.2.1   Demonstrative roots: Summary

As discussed YG demonstratives consist of a root and one or more suffixes. Table 74 includes the roots recognised in this analysis, with glosses for the root and for the derived form suffixed with *-ma* 'DEFinite', when the gloss is known. Roots which include case information are listed first, then those with location or other deictic information. *Nha* is included twice, because at times it carries case, but at other times seems to form case-less locationals 'there/here'. The roots are discussed in more detail later.

The analysis of *ngaa* and *nga* is uncertain. It is likely that *ngadaa* 'down' consists of *nga*, a variant of *nha*, and *-daa* 'down', so is not a root. *Ngaama* may be a reduced form, derived from *ngaarrima*.

Table 74   **YG common demonstrative roots**

Base (YR/GR)	Gloss	Case	*+ma*	Gloss/comment
Nominal/locational deictics				
Root has case				
nha	3SG	Nom/Acc	*nhama*	that, this, (here/there)
nguu YR, *nguru* GR	3SG.ERG	Erg	*nguuma*	she/he/it; with.it
nguwa	place	Loc	*nguwama*	there
ngii YG, *ngiri* GR	from	Abl	*ngiima*	from there
Root does not have case				
nha	3SG		*nhama*	here/there (that, this)
ngaarri	far		*ngaarrima*	over there
ngiyarri	?in discourse		*ngiyarrma*	there (discourse)
marra	?close			one instance
marra?	?distant		*marrama*	over there
Manner deictics				
yalagiirr YR *yalaguwaay* GR	so, as, like		*yalagiirrma* *yalaguwaayma*	like that
Related form				
ngArrA	other		N/A	
Other				
?ngaa[74]			*ngaama*	that?
ngarribaa	up		*ngarribaama*	up there
?nga-daa	down		*ngadaama*	down there

The glosses are indications of the meaning of the demonstratives, not a detailed description. Demonstratives formed from roots which signal case contrast with other YG nominals, which mark case word finally. The paradigm of case marked demonstratives roots is defective, with no Dative or Allative case. However the rare Dative forms *ngiyarrngu*, *ngiyarrimangu* (see below), derived from *ngiyarri*, are found, and they may fill that slot in the paradigm. Some other roots do have Allative forms, e.g. *ngaarri-gu-lay* (far-ALL-OST) 'over that way', so it may be that there was no Allative demonstrative root.

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[74] =*nga* 'then' may be a variant of *ngaa*, and cf. the WN root *nga* 'that' Table 72.

There is limited evidence for describing *ngArrA* 'other' as a demonstrative root, with *ngarraagulay* 'an/the other way/direction' the only demonstrative that incorporates *ngarraa*. *NgArrA* has not been attested with the suffix *-ma* 'DEFinite'.

Manner deictics are included in Table 74 since they share many of the properties of demonstratives, including the suffixes they can take.

5.2.2 Demonstrative suffixes: Summary

Table 75 lists demonstratives suffixes and demonstrative root-forming suffixes. The function of demonstrative suffixes is not totally certain, and may also vary from situation to situation. If there are a number of likely glosses the more likely one is given first. Non-demonstrative suffixes such as *-gu* Allative found between the root and final suffix are also listed, as is *-uu*, a time suffix, and *-Buu* 'total'. *-ma-lay* and *-gu-lay* are the most common of many compound suffixes found in demonstratives and related forms.

Table 75   Demonstrative forming suffixes

Form	Main uses/meaning	Example	Gloss
Demonstrative suffixes			
-ma	known	*ngaarri-ma*	that, far
-lay	near speaker? ostensive?	*nguwa-lay*	here

Table continued on next page.

Form	Main uses/meaning	Example	Gloss
Demonstrative root forming suffixes			
-gu	Allative	*ngarri-gu*	over that way
-baa	up	*ngaarribaa*	up.there?
-daa?	down?	*ngadaa*	down
-gili	side	*ngaarrigili*	far side
-uu	time	*yalagiiyu[u*	now
-Buu	total	*ngaarribuu*	very long ago
Suffix combinations			
-ma-lay	identifiable + visible?	*nhama-lay*	that
-gu-lay	Allative + visible?ostensive	*ngaarri-gu-lay*	over that way

5.2.3 Demonstratives: Summary

Table 76 gives the main demonstratives found. A 'Y' indicates the combination of root and suffix is found. 'WR' indicates the form is found only in Ridley. Some forms not listed in the table are given after it.

Table 76   YG demonstratives: base + suffix

Root	Suffix / Gloss	Ø	ma	lay	malay	gu	gulay	gili	baa	buu	other
					Combination is found						
nha	DEF?	Y	Y	Y	Y			Y		WR	
nguu	3SG.ERG	Y	Y	Y							
nguwa	LOC	Y	Y								
ngii	FROM YR		Y	Y					Y		
ngiri	FROM GR								Y		
ngaarr[i	far		Y			Y	Y	Y	Y	WR	-baa-ma
ngiya[rri			Y						Y		-ngu WR -ngundi
ngaa	anaphoric?		Y								
maRa	close										
ngarraa	other						Y				

Other forms found include:

nha-ngaragay	this/that other	ngaragay 'other'	MathewsGR
ngarribaali-gu	unglossed	likely ngaarri-baa-lay-gu	3216B 1820
(go) ŋa:rigali;	(go) away from here	ngaarri-gaa-li/lay	SW p 90:
(go) ŋa:rigalagu	SW has 'chase away'	ngaarri-gaa-la-gu	(355), (356)

ŋa:rigalagu likely contains -gaa 'unknown/indefinite' -lay 'Ostensive' and -gu 'Allative'.

Table 77 lists some of the manner roots and demonstratives found. The paucity of GR examples is clear.

Table 77   Manner and time demonstratives

Root	Suffixes / Gloss	Ø	-ma	-lay	-uu	-ma-wu[u
			Combination is found			
yalagiirr YR	like	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
yiyalaguwaay GR	like	Yes				
yiyalima GR- Ridley	like	Yes				

5.2.4   Demonstrative suffixes - details

The functions of Demonstrative suffixes are now discussed, then complete demonstratives, consisting of roots and suffixes.

5.2.4.1   *-ma* 'DEFinite'

The suffix *-ma* is glossed 'DEFinite. It is very common on demonstratives, and is also found on interrogatives. The current analysis is that *-ma* emphasises that the speaker expects the hearer knows the identity of what is being discussed[75], whether because it has been previously mentioned, or because it is being pointed to, or is shared knowledge. Its use with interrogatives indicates that *-ma* can be used when the speaker does not have definite information but the hearer does.

The suffix is found on interrogatives. With the suggested analysis *minya?* is 'what?' and *minyama?* makes it clear that the asker expects the hearer to know the answer. The same interpretation fits Sim's (1998: 40) translation of both *minyaayi=dhaay* and *minyaayi-ma=dhaay* as 'from where?' (Where.ABL=(*ma*)=to.here). The second could be used in the question: 'where did **you** come from?', where it is clear the hearer knows the answer. I assume the use of *-ma* in demonstratives to be similar. Since *ngaarri* is 'far' *ngaarrima* is 'over there (you know where)'.

-ma is suffixed to a number of word classes, including third person singular pronouns. With pronouns most instances are on pronouns in core cases, but others are found. A Dative example is seen in 5.3.3 and the demonstrative *ngiyarrma* is found in Dative case.

The suffix *-ma* is also likely a historical formative in the interrogative *yaama*.

Two examples show that *-ma* is used on other than interrogatives and demonstratives. At 8186 1727 where '(he opened the bag and pulled) everything (out of it)' is translated with *minyaminyamagaa.* (*minya* 'what'; *minyagaa* 'something'; *minyaminyagaa* 'everything') and the *-ma* is presumably used because the whole story has been about the fire that is hidden in the bag, and so the details of 'everything' are clearly known. However the location of *-ma*, before *-gaa*, is not currently accounted for. At 2832B 3181 AD responds to 'what kind of bird was that? with *minya-ma* 'what-*ma*', indicating that he expects the other person to know, and then says; *barriindjiin-ma-yaa* 'peewee-*ma*-INDEF', which I presume indicates that he expects that the questioner knew the bird was a peewee.

Other instances of *-ma* are found in (264) (= (754)), where clearly the questioned knows the answer, in (189) and (1012). The suffix is also found in (899) but there the meaning is not so clear; '(they all said:) how can we get the fire (from the pelican)?' The question is addressed to themselves, and they do not know the answer.

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[75] Simpson (p.c.) points out that in Mudbarra *-ma* indicates that a referent has been previously mentioned. It can be attached to pronouns. However in YG *-ma* seems to have a wider use.

(264) Where are you all?   CW/AD 5055 1823

  minyaaya-ma   _ngindaay gii-b.aaba-y // ngindaay means 'all of you'_
  where.LOC-DEF 2PL   get-TOT-PST // 2PL
  Where were you all?   JG

The suffix occurs in _nhama_, the most common demonstrative in recent sources. The difference in the meaning of =_NHa_ and _nhama_ is not clear, since both seem to assume the hearer knows the identity of the referent. =_NHa_ is found only as a clitic in recent sources, and it may be that _nhama_ has replaced it as a root form. -_ma_ often contrasts with -_lay_ (next section), as in the pairs _nhama_ 'that', _nhalay_ 'this', _nguwama_ 'there', _nguwalay_ 'here'. -_ma_ is found on many compounds derived from demonstrative roots, for instance _ngaarri-baa_ 'up': _ngaarribaa-ma_ is 'up there'. The only demonstrative root -_ma_ has not been attested on is _ngarraa_ 'other'.

5.2.4.2   -_lay_ 'OSTensive'

The demonstrative suffix -_lay_ is less common. It is found only on demonstrative stems, unlike -_ma_. Its meaning is not clear but the current tentative gloss is 'OSTensive'. Many uses of -_lay_ fit the assumption that the speaker is pointing to or in some other way indicating the referent, particularly when it occurs after other demonstrative suffixes, as in _ngaarri-gu-lay_ 'out that way' and _nha-ma-lay_, which refers to a distant object. When it occurs on a simple stem 'nearness to the speaker' is the more obvious interpretation, as in _nha-lay_ 'this/here', rarely 'that' and _nguwa-lay_ 'here'. In those instances -_lay_ generally, but not always, contrasts with -_ma_, which almost always indicates distance from the speaker: so _nha-ma_ 'that, there', and _nguwa-ma_ 'there'. The fact that *_ngaarri-lay_ 'distant-lay' is not attested supports -_lay_ meaning 'close to the speaker'. Another possible meaning of -_lay_ is that the referent is visible.

The sources often have a final -_li_ on demonstratives, which I interpret as a variant of -_lay_. The suffix -_la_ is found in a number of demonstratives and may be an allomorph of -_lay_ but this is far from certain. No obvious gloss has been found for this form and I leave it for later investigation.

5.2.4.2.1   -_ma-lay_, -_gu-lay_

The compound suffix -_malay_ is relatively common. The meaning of the suffix is difficult to determine from the sources, but it may mean 'definite and pointed to', although the referent is often 'definite and visible'. These are the best current interpretations and neither of them is consistent with the -_lay_ indicating 'near the speaker'. The most common occurrence is in _nhamalay_, generally glossed 'that'. The use of -_lay_ with other suffixes is discussed when those suffixes are discussed.

The compoiund suffix *-gulay* is also relatively common. It seems to indicate a direction, perhaps direction that the speaker is actually pointing to or otherwise showing.

It may be that the meanings of the compound suffixes *-ma-lay* and *-gu-lay* are not compositional.

The following are not demonstrative suffixes, but occur, or potentially occur, in demonstratives.

5.2.4.3   *-gu* 'Allative'

The Allative suffix *-gu* is discussed in §2.2.4. It forms stems with some demonstrative roots, for instance *ngarraa-gu* 'other-ALL' 'over there' and *ngaarri-gu* 'far-ALL' (no gloss); (both at 3219B 948). I assume *ngarraagu* could be better glossed as '(to) somewhere else' and *ngaarri-gu* as '(to) far away'. The demonstratives *ngaarrigulay ngarraagulay* are presumably derived from *ngaarrigu* and *ngarraagu.* They occur most frequently in the set phrase *ngaarrigulay ngarraagulay,* 'far-*gulay* other-*gulay*' an idiom often translated 'this way and that'. In these contexts the meaning 'near speaker' for *-lay* is not possible. These forms are often found with verbs such as 'go', 'take' and 'throw'. In one instance at least (example after Table 76) *-gu* occurs after *-lay.* The effect of this suffix order is not known.

While *ngaarrigulay* 'over that way', likely refers to an indicated direction, *ngaarrimalay*, also glossed 'over that way', likely refers to a distant, and pointed to location.

5.2.4.4   *-daa* 'down'

There is limited YG evidence for the suffix, but the cognate in WN and WI (Table 73) supports this analysis. The form *ngadaa* 'down' is *nga-daa,* with a suffix *-daa* indicating down, just as *-baa* is 'up'. The suffix could be further used in YG. So *ngadaama* would be 'down there': cf. *ngarribaama* 'up there' and *ngiridaa* 'from below'. It may be that the suffix is also found in *bundaa-gi* fall, since *bun* is a verb-root-initial element and in *binda-y* 'hang'. Both verbs include the concept of 'down'. See §9.5 for the compound nature of many YG verb roots.

5.2.4.5   *-baa* 'up'

There are homophonous suffixes *-baa* 'up' and *-Baa* 'Domain', the latter considered at §3.2.1. The most common occurrence of *-baa* 'up' is in *ngaarribaa* 'up'. It also occurs in *ŋirriba* 'from above' (*ngiribaa*) (Ridley: 36). *-baa-ma* occurs in (354) with *ngarribaama* as part of the translation of '(I see honey) up there'. *Ngaarribaa* 'up' contrasts with *ngarribaama* 'up there'. *-baa-ma* is also found in *nyiirri-baa-ma=dhaay,*

'(swooped) down' AD3220B 2452, with *nyiirri* probably a reflex of *ngii-*. It is likely that the *-baa* 'up' could be used on other demonstrative roots.

The form is also found in *guwiinbaa* 'close' (*guwiin*, also 'close') but this may be a different suffix. Milson (p 5) has *bow* 'above', which may be the suffix *–baa*.

The suffix is not found in YG verb roots. It is likely coincidence that YR *baa-y* 'hop' is formally similar to the suffix. Both YG and WN have a transitiviser *-ba-li*, and a small number of the verbs so formed include the concept of up, for instance YG/WN *wamba-li* 'carry', WN *ganaa-ba-li* 'put on shoulder' (*ganaa* 'shoulder'); *garul-pa-li* 'rear, as in a snake rearing up' (?*garul* 'stone') WN does not have verb roots with a final long vowel.

5.2.4.6   *-Buu* 'TOTal'

The suffix *-Buu* 'Total' is discussed in §15.3.3. It adds a meaning like 'totally' or 'as much as possible'. It is not found with demonstratives, but is found with demonstratives roots, with most instances in the old sources. Examples of *-Buu* are given in Table 78. These are all given in wordlists, apart from the AD token, which occurs in the sentence 'over there the water is shallow'. I assume the suffixes *-ma* and *-lay* could be used with these words, so forming demonstratives. For instance with *ngaarribuugulay* 'totally far away over there' being similar to, but stronger than *ngaarrigulay*.

Table 78   Locational use of *-Buu* 'TOTal'

Original	Gloss	Standard	Analysis	Source
nābū	here, (beside me)	*nha-buu?* *ngaa-buu?*	here-totally = very close	Ridley: 36
urribuu	far	*ngaarribuu*	far-very; = very far	Ridley: 36
ngaribu				MathewsGR: 268
nubbodha	more this way	*nha-buu-dhaay?*	*-dhaay* 'to.here'	MathewsGR: 268
murrabu	that (behind)	*maRa-buu*	?	MathewsYR 140
	over there	*ngaarri-buu*	far-very; = very far	AD3217B 919

5.3   Details of demonstratives

This section deals with the details of demonstratives, beginning with those formed from third person singular pronouns *nguu*(YR)/*nguru*(GR) Ergative, then the Nominative/Accusative *nha*. The form *ngaama* is treated next. The relatively common *nguwa* 'place' and *ngii/ngiri* 'FROM' are then considered. After the case forms *ngaarri* 'far', *ngiyarri* (meaning unclear) and then *ngArrA* 'other' are considered, followed by a number of less common and uncertain roots. Manner and time demonstratives are considered at the end of the chapter.

5.3.1   Pronouns as demonstrative-forming roots

Demonstrative based on personal pronouns are found in other languages. For instance in Pitta Pitta (Blake, 1979: 194) 'third person pronouns are almost always followed by (one of three) deictic clitics'. These clitics refer to proximity to the speaker, something relatively far from the speaker, or ever further from the speaker.

In YG the simple third person singular core case pronouns are *=NHa* (Nom/Acc) and *nguu/nguru* (Erg). When suffixed with *-ma* or *-lay* these are demonstratives which can function as pro-nominals or ad-nominals (pronouns or adjectives) and with animate and inanimate reference. They can modify singular or plural nominals.

The most common forms are *nhama* 'that', *nhalay* 'this' (Nominative, Accusative) and *nguuma*[76]*/nguruma* (Ergative) with *nhamalay* and *nguumalay* much less common. There are numerous examples of *nhama* and fewer of *nhalay* throughout the thesis.

The conditions governing the choice of the simple pronoun or the corresponding demonstrative are not clear. It may be that there is some element of choice for the speaker. On p 97 Wurm has a short narrative. In the first line reference is made to 'a good dog' and no demonstrative is used. The dog is referred to in each of the following 4 sentences, with *ŋuuma ma:daiju* (*nguuma maadhaayu*) if the verb is transitive, and with *namma ma:ðai* (*nhama maadhaay*) if the verb is intransitive. In many other similar situations simple *nguu* and *=nha* are used.

There are rare examples of demonstratives which include non-core case pronouns. 5.3.3 lists *ngiyarrima-ngu, nguulay-ngu* and *ngurungu-ma.* The first two have the Personal Declension Dative suffix after the demonstrative suffix, and in the third that order is reversed.

5.3.2   *nguu/nguru* (Ergative pronouns) + *-ma/-lay*

Demonstrative suffixes are common on the Ergative third person singular pronouns *nguu* (YR) and are found on *nguru* (GR), with *-ma* much more common than *-lay.* *Nguuma* has pronominal use in (265) (269), seems to have adnominal use in (266), and in (267) (268) where it follows the co-referential noun, and probably has cross-referencing use in (270), (271).

(265)   He held it.   CW/AD 3994B 470

      giirr **nguuma**   *bayama-lda-nha*
      true 3ERG.DEF hold-CTS-PRS
      He is holding it.   JG

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[76] These words are often unstressed and it is sometimes unclear if the word is *nguuma* or *nguwama* 'there'.

Wurm has *ŋu:ma ŋuma* and *ŋuˈuma*, all of which I have transcribed as *nguuma*. In (266) *nguuma* can be interpreted as cross-referencing rather than adnominal, but Wurm's written material does not indicate pauses so this interpretation is not certain. In (266) the demonstrative precedes the noun and in (267), (268) it follows, but in all three, in (265) and twice in (269) the demonstrative is second, again illustrating the importance of this syntactic consideration.

(266) *wa:l **ŋu:ma** ma:dɛiju ŋɛi biɾali:gəl i:ðanni*   SW p 97

  *waal **nguuma**   **maadhaay-u** ngay   birraliigal yii-lda-nhi*

  not   3ERG.DEF dog-ERG   1SG.DAT child-PL   bite-CTS-PST

  The dog didn't used to bite children.   SW

  That dog of mine didn't bite children.   JG

(267) *ma:ðaiju **ŋuma** ðira gulalðanna*   SW p 98

  ***maadhaay-u** **nguuma**   dhirra gula-lda-nha*

  dog-ERG   3ERG.DEF flash   bark-CTS-PRS

  The dog quickly (in a flash) barks.   SW

(268) *ðɛinðu **ŋuˈuma** manumai ðanija: ðɛinði*   SW p 98

  ***dhayn-du**   **nguuma**   manuma-y dhamiyaa dhayn-di*

  person-ERG 3ERG.DEF steal-PST   tomahawk person-ABL

  He stole it from the other man.   SW

  That man stole the tomahawk from (another) man   JG

In (269) *nguuma* contrasts with *nhama* to mark the change of transitivity.

(269) While the dog was mad he bit the kid.   JM/AD 3220B 3662

  *maadhaay nhama wamba / yilaa **nguuma**,   birralii-djuul / nhama*

  dog   3.DEF mad   / soon 3ERG.DEF, child-DIM   / 3.DEF

  That dog was(is) mad. Then he the kid   JG

  bamba yii-y,   buyu-dhi

  hard   bite-PST, leg-ABL

  bit him hard, on the leg.   JG

In (270)(a) the first use of *nguuma* is cross-referential, as it is in (271). When asked for a similar sentence AD in (270)(b) firstly uses a Nominative form, but then seems to correct himself and again uses *nguuma*. The verb is middle with reflexive meaning, and CW's question suggests she expected it to be intransitive, but the subject is Ergative, as AD confirms when questioned.

(270) Say to me: He washed himself.   CW/AD 3995B 1869

(a)   *Yaama **nguuma** / nginu   **gulii-yu**   / wagirrbuma-nhi?*

  ques   3ERG.DEF / 2SG.DAT spouse-ERG / wash.M-PST

  Did he, your husband, wash (himself)?   JG

  That means: your husband washed himself; say just: 'he washed himself'.   CW

(b) *yaama / yaama nhama＝Na / yaama **nguuma*** *   / wagirrbuma-nhi?*

   ques / ques   3.DEF＝3   / ques   3ERG.DEF / wash.M-PST

   Did he wash himself?   JG

   CW ***nguuma****? AD yeah, **nguuma****.*

(271)   A little short man had caught two goannas.   JM/AD 8187 84

   giirruu **nguuma***, bubay-djuul-u dhayn-du* * / bulaarr / dhuulii bayama-y*

   true.very 3ERG.DEF, small-DIM-ERG person-ERG / two   / goanna catch-PST

In (272) *nguuma* and *nguulay* are adnominal to an Ergative Agent. They are in focus position, first in the sentence.

(272)   That man talks Ngiyambaa very well.   JM/AD 3220B 323

(a)   **nguuma***＝bala* **dhayn-duul-u** * / ngayaga-djuul-u / maayu / Ngiyambaa guwaa-lda-nha*

   3ERG.DEF＝CTR man-ONE-ERG / other-ONE-ERG / well   / Ngiyambaa speak-CTS-PRS

   That other man talks Ngiyambaa well.   JG

   This man speaks Muruwari very badly

(b)   **nguulay***＝bala* **ngayaga-djuul-u** *dhayn-du / Murruwari / maayu guwaa-lda-nha*

   3ERG.OST＝CTR other-ONE-ERG man-ERG / Muruwari / well   speak-CTS-PRS

   But this (other) man talks Muruwari well.   JG

While the vast majority of instances *nguuma* and *nguulay* have ergative (Agent) function there are clear instances of *nguulay* with instrumental function as in (273), and in the immediately following sentence in Wurm. In (274) *nguuma* likely has instrumental function, cross-referencing *bilaayu*. (It may be an error, 'he'.)

(273)   *ðinnaːwan ŋaja nuˈulɛi bilaːju ðunni*   SW p 98

   *dhinawan ngaya **nguulay** bilaa-yu* * dhu-nhi*

   emu   1SG   3ERG.OST spear-ERG pierce-PST

   I've speared an emu with this spear.   SW

(274)   I fight well with my spear and shield.   JM/FR 2437B 3838

   *gaba **nguuma***,   ngaya, giirr ngaya gaba gayawi-lda-nha, **bilaa-yu***

   good 3ERG.DEF, 1SG,   true 1SG   good pelt-CTS-PRS,   spear-ERG

   I can throw the spear very good.   FR

   I can hit it well with that spear.   JG

The combination *-ma-lay* occurs on pronouns. *Nhamalay* is common, found around 60 times in the tapes. *Nhamalay* and the sole occurrence of *Nguumalay* are seen in (275), with the pronouns in contrasting cases. Alternative translations indicate possible structures and the underlining shows the apparent NP structure, but even for YG the discontinuity of the NPs is surprising. The example may not be reliable.

(275)   *ŋaːndu namalei ŋuːmali ðɛinðuːl gɔːwawanna ŋanna walaigu ŋai*   SW p 100

   ngaandu *nhama-lay **nguuma-lay*** * dhayn-duul gawaa-waa-nha nganha*

   who.erg 3.DEF-OST 3ERG.DEF-OST man-DIM   follow-MOV-PRS 1SG.ACC

> *walaay-gu ngay*
> camp-ALL 1SG.DAT
> You fellow there follow me to my camp.   SW
> Who is that, that man is following me to my camp,.   JG

While *nguu* is a singular pronoun the demonstrative *nguuma* modifies plurals on a number of occasions: *bubaay-galgaa-gu* 'little ones' in (276) and *ganugu* '3PL.ERG' in (220). The singular pronoun *nguu* seems to modify the plural *birraliigalu* 'children' in (424). I have no explanation for this.

(276)   The children had eaten the possum.   JM/AD 3220A 2052

  giirr = bala **nguum',**   **bubaay-galgaa-gu** / **birralii-gal-gu?**   / *mudhay dha-lda-nhi*
  true = CTR   3ERG.DEF small-PL-ERG   / child-PL.DIM-ERG / possum eat-CTS-PST
  They, the little ones, the children, we eating the possum.   JG

5.3.3 lists most demonstratives which are pronouns suffixed with *-ma* or *-lay*. Other examples may well be found, particularly some formed from dual and plural third person pronouns. It does not include *nhama* and *nhalay* since *nha* does not generally occur as a free form.

5.3.3   *NHa* (Nominative/Accusative) + *-ma/-lay*

The Nominative/Accusative pronoun *nha*, found as a clitic in recent sources but reported as a free form in earlier sources, has been discussed at §4.4.2.1. Here I consider demonstratives are derived from *nha*. The most common form is *nhama*, less common are *nhalay* and *nhamalay*[77].

(277) shows Janet Mathews eliciting information about demonstratives. The common translation of 'that' and the expected translation of 'those' is *nhama*. If the details of the elicitation situation were known it would help to specify more closely the meanings of *ngaarrma* and *nhamalay*.

(277)   JM: **This**; this is hot.   JM/AD 3217B 2666
    AD: *nhalay*
    JM: **That**; that is hot.
    AD: *ngaarrma*
    JM: **Those**, give me those.
    AD: *nhamalay*

5.3.3.1   *nhama* 'that, there'

Nhama is the most common demonstrative in recent sources, with around 2000 occurrences. It is found over 400 times in Wurm as mostly as *nama*, occasionally as *nhama*. It is less frequent in earlier sources. This may indicate that the demonstrative

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[77] Williams (p 91) lists *ngaama* as a variant of *nhama*. I later examine the possibility that it is a distinct morpheme.

system found in the recent sources varies from that in older sources. *Nhama* has the phonologically conditioned forms *nham', nyama* and *nyam',* and the initial nasal tends to be realised as [n] after word final apicals.

The common translations of *nhama* reflect its multiple functions. It is commonly translated 'that' (pronominal/adnominal) and 'there' (locational). *Nhama* 'this' is found in Ridley (p 7); in Mathews (1903: 264) who translates it 'this fellow, at rest'; and in recent sources. *Nhama* is also translated as 'he/she/it' (Nominative) and 'her/him/it' (Accusative) and perhaps as 'the' in combination with a nominal. At times there is no translation of *nhama* given in the English. At other times it seems to have a discourse use: fairly semantically bleached and part of a formulaic sentence starting strategy.

Often it is not possible to determine the function of *nhama*, in part because of the common use of zero anaphora for third person singular referents in core cases. *Nhalay* and *nhamalay* presumably have the same range of uses, but there are fewer examples than of *nhama*. The form *nhama = nha, a* combination of a demonstrative and pronoun, is relatively common, mostly in second position.

5.3.3.1.1   *nhama* - examples

The sources have many examples of the different uses of *nhama*. (278) - (282) show *nhama* most likely with likely pronominal use, Nominative in (278), (288) (animate and inanimate) and Accusative in (279) - (282). *Nhama* is 'this' in (278), (280) and has human reference in (281).

(278)   *minja nama*   SW p 66, 90
        minya **nhama**
        what   3.DEF
        What is that? (p 66) What is this? (p 90)   SW

(279)   Do that!   JM/FR 1853B 369
        gimbi-la   **nhama**
        do-IMP   3.DEF

(280)   Catch this.   JM/FR 1853B 524
        nhama *bayama-la*
        3.DEF   catch-IMP

(281)   *dhiirra-y* **nhama**   *ngaya / birralii-djuul*
        know-PST 3.DEF?there I   / child-DIM
        I knew him when he was a little boy.   FR 2437B 1223

In (282) *nhama* and =*nya*[78] likely both refer to the horse. It seems likely that at times there is a choice between *nhama* and =*NHa*, with *nhama* preferred for the first mention and =*NHa* subsequently.

(282) Make him (a horse) go.   CW/AD 3996A 1476

(a)   *buma-la=badhaay* **nhama**   /
       hit-IMP=MIGHT   3.DEF?there   /
       Telling you to hit him.
       How about you hit him. // Hit that one!   JG

(b)   *barraay=**nya**, banaga-y*
       fast=3?THEN, run-FUT
       (You hit him) then he'll go.   AD 3996A 1480
       He will run fast then.   JG

Nominal use is clear in (278) - (282). Locational use is clear from the translation in (283), and in (284)(b), since *nhama* there cannot refer to 'snake', which is Ergative case (the Ergative demonstrative is *nguuma*).

(283) *burrulaa*   **nhama**   *dhigayaa*
       many   there?3.DEF bird
       There's a lot of birds **there**.   FR 1853A 1416

(284) (a) *dhuyu-gu   nginunha gaawa-waa-nha*
           snake-ERG 2SG.ACC   chase-MOV-PRS

       (b) *dhuyu-gu* **nhama**   *nginunha gaawa-waa-nh[a*
           snake-ERG there?3.DEF 2SG.ACC   chase-MOV-PRS
       The snake is chasing you.   FR 1851B 1750

At other times it is not possible to distinguish nominal function and locational function. In (285) *nhama* could be adnominal to 'woman', both Nominative, or could be a locational. In (286) *nhama* is likely locational, but could be adnominal to 'water'. Native speakers often have a locational interpretation of *nhama*, as seen in the translation of (286).

(285) *dhaala-nhi*   **nhama** *yinarr*
       be.sick-PST   3.DEF   woman
       That woman is very sick.   FR 2437B 444
       That woman is sick.   JG

(286) *gungan* **nhama**   *gaarri-y.la-nha*
       water   nhama   spill-CTS-PRS
       water leaking **there**,   FR 1988B 608

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[78] However the AD translation suggests that =*nya* may be a variant of =*NGa* 'then'

Whether it has locational or nominal function the use or not of *nhama* seems to depend on discourse considerations. For instance *nhama* with locational use is found in (284)(b) but not in the similar (284)(a). Considering pronominal function, zero anaphora of third person singular pronouns in core cases is common: see §10.2.4 and (287). There is often no way to determine the function of *nhama* in a sentence such as (288).

(287) *buðaigu galiawa:n*   SW p 17
       mudhay-gu   galiya-waa-nh[a
       possum-PURP climb-MOV-PRS
       for the possum he is climbing up   SW
       He is climbing (to get) the possum.   JG

(288) *nama gundiða ŋadjiḷa*   SW p 27
       nhama *gundhi-dha ngarri-y.la[-nha*
       nhama house-LOC   sit-CTS-PRS
       He is in the house sitting down.   SW

Often there is a combination of a demonstrative and a clitic pronoun, the most common being *nhama＝nha*, which is 'that/him' in (289). Because of the various uses of *nhama* the interpretation of *nhama＝nha* is not always clear. (289) has *nhama* in two clauses. The JS translation suggests that in the first it is an Accusative pronoun, 'him' and in the second a demonstrative, 'there', with the subject in the second clause realised by *＝nha*, i.e. *bindiyaa-dha nhama* forms a locational phrase. An alternative analysis is that *nhama* is 'there' in both clauses and that there is no explicit object in the first clause.

(289) At last he found the lizard.   JM/JS 3216B 684
       *bindiyaa-dha / nhama   nguu   ngarra-y / [bindiyaa-dha **nhama]＝nha** wa-y.la-nha*
       prickles-LOC / 3.DEF?there 3SG.ERG see-PST / prickles-LOC   there＝3   be.in-CTS-PRS
       He seen him, laying in the grass there.   JS

In (290)(a) (＝(792)) *nhama* could be interpreted as adnominal, but could be locational. A locational interpretation is more likely in (290)(b)(i) and a locational interpretation is given in the translation of (290)(b)(ii).

Similarly in (291) the pronominal function is taken by *＝nha* and the function of *nhama* is likely adverbial.

(290) Turn that log over.   FR/CW 5053 1702
(a)   *gayma-la **nhama**   nhaadhiyaan*
       turn-IMP   3.DEF/there log

(b)   *garra-la (i)**nhama**＝nha＝nga nhaadhiyaan / warangana (ii)**nhama** wa-y.la-nha*
       cut-IMP   there＝3＝THEN   log   / honey   there   be.in-CTS-PRS
       Cut that log open, there's honey in it.   FR
       Cut that there log now, there's honey inside it.   JG

183

(291)   He was sitting down by himself, over there. He was sitting down by himself.

CW/AD 3999A 602

giirr **nhama**=nha, wila-y.la-nhi, biya-duul

true   there=3,   sit-CTS-PST,   one-ONE

He was sitting (there), alone.   JG

There are many examples of *nhama* followed by other clitics and suffixes such as =*nga* 'then' and =*dhaay* 'to.here'. (292) shows *nhama* followed by three such clitics. The interpretation of this complex is uncertain. The form *nhama-dhaay* can be used as a warning 'watch out (~'something is coming') (293).

(292)   The women are smiling.   JM/AD 3218B 2593
        (Previous elicitation: The men are laughing)
        nham=badhaay=nga=bala / yinarr-galgaa=bala **nhama-lay** yaluu gindama-y.la-nha
        nhama=MIGHT=THEN=CTR / woman-PL=CTR   3.DEF-OST again laugh-CTS-PRS
        And there now, the women over there are laughing too.   JG

(293)   dhinawan **nhama**-dhaay yanaa-waa-nha
        emu   there-TO.HERE go-MOV-PRS
        The emu coming there.   FR 1852A 1893

5.3.3.1.2   *nhamalay* 'that there'

Nhamalay is relatively common in the tapes, with around 50 occurrences, and a further 30 transcribed *nhamali* which I assume are the same word. It has nominal and locational function. The semantics of *nhamalay* are unclear. With nominal use it most often has to do with a visible thing (294), (295) and (298), ('see that nest', 'climb that stone', etc.). With locational use it generally refers to a visible location. In (296) 'dog' is Ergative and so *nhamalay* is not adnominal but locational, and presumably referring to a visible location. In (297) the snakes are not visible, and the location is likely also not visible, so the use of *nhamalay* there is inconsistent with the working description: that *nhamalay* is used to refer to definite visible objects or locations, whose visibility is being emphasised.

(294)   bilaarr **nhama-lay/li** / guyaarraala
        spear   nhama-OST / long
        long spear he got   JM/AD 3219A 1120
        That spear is long. // That spear, it's a long one.   JG

(295)   This bambul is ripe.   JM/AD 3218B 2693
(a)   **nhalay**=badhaay=nga ngaam bambul   /
        this=MIGHT=NOW   ngaam native.orange   /

(b)   giirr=bala   **nhama.lay** gaba
        indeed=CTR 3.DEF.OST good
        This is good.   AD 3218B 2701
        This bambul, it is good now.   JG

(296) *maadhaay-u* **nhama-lay,** *bura / gayarra-gi.la-nha*

dog-ERG   3.DEF-OST, bone / look-CTS-PRS

He (the dog) is looking for his bone.   AD 3998A 284

(297) *giirr*   **nhama-lay,** *ngandabaa, wuu-waa-nha   dhaymaa-yi*

indeed nhama-OST snake   go.in-MOV-PRS ground-ABL

They all gone in the ground now, the snake.   AD 3996A 875

There the snakes are going into the ground.   JG

In the following example it is likely that the addressee is holding the meat.

(298) Put the meat down there.   JM/AD 3217B 2767

dhinggaa **nhama-lay/la??** */ wiima-la   nguwama /*

meat   nhama-LAY   / put.down-IMP there   /

Nhamalay also occurs in (275) and (277), both suggesting that *nhamalay* does not refer to things near the speaker.

5.3.3.2   *nhalay* 'this, here'

The word *nhalay* is formally a compound of *nha* (3SG.NOM/ACC) and *-lay* 'OSTensive'. It is most commonly translated as 'this' or 'here', but other translations such as 'that' are also found. It is not found in Ridley (he has *ŋummo* (*ngaama*?) or *numma* (*nhama*) as 'this'). It is found in MathewsYR (1902) as 'that (near)' and in MathewsGR (1903) as 'this'. Laves has it as 'this' and 'here', twice each. There are around 15 occurrences of *nali* 'this' in Sim. Wurm has *nali, nalɛi, nallɛi, ⁿallɛi* and *ŋallɛi* which are likely to be *nhalay*, but see below for discussion of the last. His translations include 'this' 'that', 'over there' and 'the'. It is not found in Tindale or Parker. The word occurs around 120 times in the tapes, transcribed as *nhalay* approximately 100 times, and around 20 as *nhali*. Williams (p 91) has it as *nhalay*. Table 79 shows older sources of *nhalay*, and two sources which have *nha* as 'this'.

Table 79   **Examples of *nhalay* in old sources**

Source	Original	Gloss	Analysis
MathewsYR	*nha*	this	
MathewsYR	*ngule*	that (near)	*?nhalay*
MathewsGR	*nha*	this	*nha*
Laves	*nalai*	here (baby is crawling), this	*nhalay*
Sim	*nali*	this	*nhalay*
Wurm	*nali*	this (dog)	*nhalay*
Wurm	*nalɛi / nallɛi / nallɛi*	this (house, spear, axe), up there	*nhalay*
Wurm	*ŋallɛi*	that (man there)	*??nhalay*
Wurm	*ŋalia*	here (stay)	*?nhalay*

Like *nhama*, *nhalay* seems to have a number of functions. Pronominal function is not common, but seen in (299). In (300) - (302) *nhalay* has adnominal function. The common nominal function translation is 'this'. *Nhalay* can have locational function, translated 'here' when there is no associated noun (304), or when there is a noun: (305), (306), (307). Often *nhalay* has no translation in English, as in (309) and (310) (a) and (b). (310) shows that *nhalay* can be optional in Yuwaalaraay, its use decided by discourse considerations, one of which is the YG tendency to have frequent locational reference. This is seen in (311), where the interviewer's 'this' is translated as *nhalay*, which Arthur Dodd then translates as 'here'. (312) has *nhalay* as both 'this' and 'here' in the English. The use of *nhalay* with reference to the speaker's body parts: (300), (309), (310); strongly supports that it indicates proximity to the speaker.

(299) **nhalay** *gimbi-la*
     this   do-IMP
     Do this[79]. FR 1853B 440

(300) **nhalay** *maa* - this hand   JM/FR 1852B 2379

(301) This is a good camp.   JM/FR 2437B 2047
     gaba **nhalay** *gaarrimay*
     good this   camp

(302) *gagil* **nhalay** *barran*   / *wana-gi*   *ngaya gi.yaa.nha*
     bad   this   boomerang / throw-FUT 1SG   going.to
     This boomerang is no good, I am going to throw it away.   FR 2439A 1667

(303) *ðamija: ŋu:ŋunda nallei wu:na*   SW p 100
     dhamiyaa nguungunda **nhalay** *wuu-na*
     axe   3sg   this   give-IMP
     Give him this axe.   SW

(304) It's not here, I must look in another place.   JM/AD 3218B 825
     waal=bala **nhalay** *wi-y.la-nha* / *minyaaya-waayaa ngaama*
     not=CTR   here   lie-CTS-PRS / where-IGNOR   that
     It is not here. I don't know where it is.   JG

(305) **nhalay** *gaarrimay*
     here   camp
     The camp is here.   FR 1989A 840

(306) *dhaay yanaa-ya maa, milaan* **nhalay***;*
     to.here go-IMP   Mum, yam   here
     Come here mum, there's a yam here.   FR 1849B 781

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[79] The structure of (299), (279) and (334), and the use of *gimbi-li* for 'do' is very reminiscent of English, and probably show the influence of English on FR's YR.

(307)   We all have a little meat here.   JM/AD 3219B 978

   *bubaay = bala ngiyaningu dhinggaa **nhalay***

   little = CTR 1PL.DAT meat here

(308)   What is this stone lying on the ground?   JM/AD 3218A 2688

   *minya = bala **nhalay** maayama / wi-y.la-nha / dhaymaa-ya*

   what = CTR this stone / lie-CTS-PRS / ground-LOC

(309)   numb; My hand's numb, and couldn't feel anything.   JM/AD 8185 83

   *giirr ngay maa **nhalay** / yuumbu gi-nyi*

   true 1SG.DAT hand this?here / numb get-PST

   My hands got numb.   JG

(310)   My stomach is empty and my inside is rattling.   JM/AD 8184 1676

(a) *mubal **nhalay** ngay / dhirranba-y.la-nha /*

   stomach this?here 1SG.DAT / shake.M-CTS-PRS /

(b) *mubal ngay dhirranba-y.la-nha*

   My stomach (here) is shaking.   JG

(311)   This meat belongs to him.   JM/AD 3218B 3364

   ***nhalay** = badhaay dhinggaa nguungu / nhalay wi-y.la-nha*

   nhalay = MIGHT meat 3SG.DAT / here lie-CTS-PRS

   Here's his meat laying here.   AD

(312)   *gaba = bala **nhalay** dhaymaarr*

   good = CTR this?here ground

   This is good ground here.   FR 1851A 2779

5.3.3.2.1   Questions: *nha* forms

There is variation in the source forms interpreted as *nhalay*, and it may be that they represent more than one morpheme. The final segment is variously analysed as a diphthong *ay*, or a vowel *i*. This variation is common in YG, so is not likely to indicate that there is more than one morpheme. There is considerable variation in the initial consonant. Table 79 shows it recorded as an apical, lamino-dental and velar. It may be that the forms currently grouped as allomorphs of *nhalay* are actually separate historical forms. Table 79 has velar-initial forms from both Mathews and Wurm (see also (313)) currently assumed to be allomorphs of *nhalay*. The gloss in (313) is 'up there', quite distinct from the usual 'here', also suggesting a different morpheme, perhaps with the word initial *nga* found in *ngadaa* 'down'. However the evidence at this stage is slight.

(313)   *ðamai gianna gunda: ŋalɛi ŋarãla*   SW p 97

   *dhama-y gi.yaa.nha // gundaa **nhalay??ngalay** ngarra-la*

   rain-FUT going.to // cloud here??   look-IMP

   It's going to rain: look at the clouds up there.   SW

Apart from the common *nhama, nhalay* and *nhamalay*, there are a number of rare forms derived from *nha*. Ridley's *nābū* 'here, (beside me)' and possibly his *ŋubbo* 'this' may be *nha-buu*, with the *-buu* 'total'; See §5.2.4.6, and so with meaning 'right here'. Mathews' *nubbodha* 'more this way'

may begin with the same word, but the *dha* is not clear. It may be a reflex of *-dhaay* 'to.here' (§15.6) but *-dhaay* is usually suffixed on a word that indicates distance, not proximity.

5.3.3.3 Discourse uses of *nhama/nhalay*

There is a common discourse pattern in Arthur Dodd tapes, where the initial reference to a close object involves *nhalay*, but once the identity is established further reference uses *nhama*. In (314)(a) *nhalay* is used in reference to the little fellow, but in (314)(b) the demonstrative is *nhama*. A similar pattern is seen in (315)(a) and continues in (b).

(314) That fellow is bigger than this fellow.   JM/AD 3217B 3078

(a) *ngaarrim-wan.gaan / burrul / **nhalay**=bala bubaay /*
  over.there-VERY? / big / this=CTR   small /
  The one way over there is a big fellow, but this one is small.   JG

(b) *garriya=bala **nhama** bubaay dhu-na*
  don't=CTR   3.DEF small pierce-IMP
  Don't spear the little fellow, (spear this big fellow).   AD

(315) This spear is mine.   JM/AD 3217B 3106

(a) ***nhalay**=bala ngay   bilaarr / ngay=bala   **nhama** bilaarr /*
  this=CTR   1SG.DAT spear / 1SG.DAT=CTR 3.DEF spear /
  This is my spear. That is my spear.   JG

(b) *guyungan, guyungan **nhama** ngay   bilaarr*
  (my.)own, (my.)own, 3.DEF 1SG.DAT spear
  That's my own spear, my own spear.   AD
  My own, that's my own spear.   JG

(316) illustrates again that the use of *nhalay* is not easily predicted. In (a) and (b) the man is referred to by *ngaama*. *Nhalay* is used in (c), presumably to indicate that the location of reference has changed, and is now 'here', rather than further away, where the speaker was previously looking.

> (Previous elicitations) Can you see the man walking from the tree towards the camp?
> Did you see that man?

(316) No, I can't see him yet, I am looking for him.   JM/AD 3219B 2436

(a) *waaluu **ngaama**   ngaya ngarra-y,*
  not.yet 3.ANA.DEF 1SG   see-PST,
  I can't see him yet.   JG

(b) *waaluu **ngaama**   ngaya ngarra-y, minyaaya-waayaa **ngaama**   / dhayn-duul gi-nyi*
  not.yet 3.ANA.DEF 1SG   see-PST, where-IGNOR   3.ANA.DEF / person-ONE get-PST
  I can't see him yet. I don't know where that man is.   JG

I see him now, he is coming closer   JM/AD 3219B 2459

(c) *oh / giirr ngaya = Na ngarra-y, **nhalay** / dhaay 'naa-waa-ndaay / guwiinbaa-ga nganunda*
     oh, / true 1SG = 3   see-PST,   here / to.here come-MOV-SUB / close-LOC   1SG.LOC
     Ah, I see him now, here, coming here, close to me.   JG

Table 80 shows the demonstratives just discussed which are formed from pronouns and a number of other rare but likely related forms.

Table 80   Demonstratives: pronouns suffixed with *-ma/-lay*

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Source/Notes
Common forms			
nguuma	that (adnominal, pronominal)	*nguuma*	YR: Tapes; Wurm; Laves; other
nguulay	with this (spear)	*nguulay*	YR: Wurm: 97,98; tapes
ŋūruma	that by you (iste)	*nguruma*	GR: Ridley: 7
nguruma	this fellow (in action)	*nguruma*	GR: MathewsGR: 264
nguumalay	(none given)	*nguumalay*	YR: Wurm: see (275)

Table continued on next page.

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Source/Notes
Rare forms			
ngiyarimanguu	(Give) it to him. (there)	*ngiyarrima-ngu*	YR: Sim
		ngiyarruma	YR: FR2436A 2120; form and use uncertain
nguulinguu	Give it to him. (here)	*nguulayngu*	YR: Sim: 41
ngurungu-ma	of this (camp)	*ngurungu-ma*	GR: MathewsGR: 267

5.3.4   *ngaama* ?anaphoric

The function of the demonstrative *ngaama* remains to be fully described, but (317) and other examples indicate that it is used predominantly as an anaphoric demonstrative, referring to a previously mentioned argument. This contrasts with *nhama* and *nhalay*, which may be used at the first mention of a referent: e.g. (278) - (282) for *nhama*: (299) - (302) for *nhalay*. This analysis contrasts with Williams, who has (p 91): "The form *nhama* alternates freely with *nyama* and *ngaama*." *Ngaama* occasionally has adverbial locative use, and it can be part of semantically fairly empty sentence-initial phrases that are particularly part of Arthur Dodd's personal style. I treat *ngaama, ngaarrma* and *ngama* as variants.

Ngaama is not found in all sources. It has the usual phonological adaptations of other demonstratives and their predominantly second position in the clause.

5.3.4.1   Examples of *ngaama*

(317) is a continuous narrative where CW gives the English and AD translates. Reference to participants can be explicit (e.g. *maadhaay* 'dog'), a pronoun, a demonstrative, both a demonstrative and explicit, or there can null anaphora.

Table 81 shows the reference made to the participants in each sentence of (317). When participants are first mentioned the demonstrative *nhama* is used (twice for *birralii*), or there is no demonstrative (twice for *maadhaay*). Subsequent mentions involve *nhama* (once), *ngaama* (8 times) or no demonstrative (4 times). There is a strong tendency in this passage to use *ngaama* for non-initial demonstrative reference to Nominative/Accusative participants.

The Dem/Pron column shows the Demonstrative or Pronoun used, the Expl(icit) column shows if the name of the participant (e.g. *maadhaay*) is used, or N/A indicates that there is no reference to that participant in the sentence. *Nhama, ngaama* or *=NHa* can be used when the participant is Nominative or Accusative, and *nguu* or *nguuma* when the participant is Ergative. No demonstrative or pronoun is used when the participant is not in a core case. Null anaphora is common.

Table 81   **Reference to participants in (317)**

	Participants				
	birralii 'child'		*maadhaay* 'dog'		
line	Dem/Pron	Expl	Dem/Pron	Expl	Notes
a	*nhama*	Yes	Ø	Yes	Dog: Ablative
b	*nhama*	No	Ø	Yes	Dog: Ablative
c	*ngaama x2*	Yes (1)	Ø	Yes	Dog: Ergative
d	*ngaama*	No	Ø	No	(null anaphora)
e	*nguu*	No	Ø	No	muyu 'nose' explicit
f		N/A	*nhama*	Yes	Dog: Nominative
g	Ø	Yes	*ngaama*	Yes	Dog: Accusative
h	*ngaama*	Yes		N/A	
i	*ngaama*	No		N/A	
j	*ngaama=nha, =nha*	No	*bunbun* 'grasshopper'		
k	*nguuma*	No	Ø	Yes	
	nguu	No	*ngaama*	Yes	*bunbun:* Accusative

The context for (317) is that Corinne Williams is eliciting translations of locational prepositions. There are at least six elicitations. The boy is previously mentioned, the dog not. Immediately preceding (317) are:

The boy hopped towards the river.

The grasshopper ran away from the fire; hopped away

The little boy ran away from the river.

(317) The little boy ran away from the dog.   CW/AD 3998A 1830

(a) *giirr* **nhama**, *birralii-djuul banaga-nhi, maadhaay-dji*

true 3.DEF, child-DIM   run-PST,   dog-ABL

The little child ran away from the dog.   JG

The boy was frightened of the dog.   CW/AD 3998A 1843

(b) *giirruu*   **nhama** *garigari gi-gi.la-nhi maadhaay-dji*

true.very 3.DEF afraid   get-CTS-PST dog-ABL

He was afraid of the dog.   JG

The dog chased him.   CW/AD 3998A 1864

(c) *giirruu*   **ngam'**   *maadhaay-u gawaa-nhi / **ngam'**   birralii-djuul*

true.very 3.ANA.DEF dog-ERG   chase-PST / 3.ANA.DEF child-DIM

It caught him and tried to bite him.   CW/AD 3998A 1872

(d) *giirr* **ngaam'**   */ bayama-y / ngiyama=nga / yii-laa-nhi*

true 3.ANA.DEF / catch-PST / there=THEN   / bite-MOV-PST

It caught him and then was biting him.   JG

So the little boy hit him on the nose with a stick.   CW/AD 3998A 1890

(e) *nguwam=bala* **nguu**   */ giniy-u   / muyu-dhi buma-y / giniy-u   muyu-dhi buma-y*

there=CTR   3SG.ERG / stick-ERG / nose-ABL hit-PST / stick-ERG nose-ABL hit-PST

He hit him with a stick.   AD

He hit him on the nose with a stick, hit him on the nose with a stick.   JG

So the dog barked and ran away.   CW/AD 3998A 1913

(f) *giirruu*   **nham'** */ maadhaay / bamba   gula-y   / and banaga-nhi=nga*

true.very 3.DEF / dog   / with.energy bark-ERG / and run-PST=THEN

(*gula-li* 'bark' is usually transitive)

Then the little boy chased the dog.   CW/AD 3998A 1931

(g) *nguwama?=nga birralii-djuul-u gawaa-nhi* **ngaam'**,   *maadhaay*

there?=THEN   child-DIM-ERG chase-PST 3.ANA.DEF, dog

The boy jumped into the river.   CW/AD 3998B 8

(h) *giirr* **ngaam'**   *birralii-djuul / gaawaa-ga / bumbaali-nyi /*

true 3.ANA.DEF child-DIM   / river-LOC / jump.in?-PST /

And he swam to the other side.   CW/AD 3998B 20

(i) *ngaarrigulay* **ngaama**   *wunga-nhi*

over.that.way 3.ANA.DEF swim-PST

When he got to the other side he got out. CW/AD 3998B 32

(j) *giirr* **ngaama=Na** / *ngaarrigili-gu* / *yanaa-ngindaay* / *ngiyama=nga=**nha*** / *dhuurra-y*

true 3.ANA.DEF=3 / far.side-ALL / go-SUB / there=THEN=3 / come-PST

He saw a grasshopper. CW/AD 3998B 51

(k) *giirr* **nguu** / **nguuma** *bunbun* *ngarra-y* /

true 3SG.ERG / 3ERG.DEF grasshopper see-PST /

He threw a stone at the grasshopper. CW/AD 3998B 60

(l) *giirruu* **ngu[u** / *bamba* **ngaam'** *bunbun* / *gayawi-y*

true.very 3SG.ERG / with.energy 3.ANA.DEF grasshopper / pelt-PST

Not all examples of *ngaama* clearly show its anaphoric role. For instance the tapes give no indication that the participants of (318) and (319) have been previously mentioned.

(318) The boy let go of the dog (it was tied up). CW/AD 3997B 2268

nguwama nguu **ngaama** / *birralii-djuul-u* / *maadhaay* **ngaama** *yulaa-ldaay*

there 3SG.ERG 3.ANA.DEF / child-DIM-ERG / dog 3.ANA.DEF tie.up-SUB

The child there, (let go) the dog that was tied up. JG

(319) I stabbed the bad man with a knife. CW/AD 3994B 1293

giirr ngaya **ngaama** / *nhaayba-gu* / **ngaarrma** *dhayn-duul* / *dhu-nhi*

true 1SG 3.ANA.DEF / knife-ERG / 3.ANA.DEF person-ONE / pierce-PST

I stabbed the man with a knife. JG

As with other deictics some uncertainty remains, but *ngaama* could be used as a participant tracking demonstrative, as illustrated above, not used to introduce participants, but for later tracking of them. There are other languages which have a range of participant tracking anaphorics. In Martuthunira[80] (1994: 114) Dench points out that 'the topic-tracking forms of the distal demonstrative play an extremely important role in maintaining text cohesion'. In Yankunytjatjara Goddard (1983: 53) calls *panya*

> the ANAphoric demonstrative, since its function is to direct attention to something with which the listener is already familiar but which is not present.

5.3.4.2   *ngaama*: form and sources

The form *ngaama* may be derived from *ngaarrima* (*ngaarri* 'far') via the intermediate form *ngaarrma*. Ridley's use of *ngaarrma* is very similar to Dodd's use of *ngaama*. The form *ŋārma* (*ngaarrma*) is common in Ridley, particularly in *Gurre*

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[80] Dench's table 'Anaphoric Demonstrative tracking in text' (1994: 115) provided the pattern for Table 81 here.

Kamilaroi, clearly intended to correspond to 'they' (Nominative and Ergative) and 'them' (Accusative).

Dodd however seems to regard *ngaarrima* 'over.there' and *ngaarrma* as equivalent. In (320) Corinne Williams is checking forms and Arthur Dodd correcting, and his final statement suggests that *ngaarrma* and *ngaarrima* are equivalent. There are other instances where *ngaarrma* and other *ngaarri* forms are used in adjacent phrases, referring to the one place, indicating *ngaarrma* is a reduced form of *ngaarrima*.

(320) *AD ngaandi-ma* **ngaarrma** *CW ngaani AD ngaandi* **ngaarrma**,
AD who-DEF   over.there CW ngaani AD who   over.there
CW *ngaandi* **ngaarrima**
AD no, **ngaarrma**, oh you could say **ngaarrima**, just the same, *ngaandi* **ngaarrma**
CW that means: Who's that over there?, AD yes

In contrast, recent use at least, suggests that *ngaarrima/ngaarrma* and *ngaama* are different words, not variants. AD does not use them as variants. At 3217B 2796 he has: **ngaarrima ngaama** *burrul-bidi dhayn* (over.there that big-BIG man), with the words adjacent, and so not having the same function. (321) has both *ngaarrma* and *ngaama*, with apparently different functions, even if the function of *ngaarrma* there is not clear.

(321) is the beginning of the story of others getting fire from a bird, in this version the pelican, since AD said he knew the YR, whereas he didn't know the YR for other birds JM suggested. However he still uses *biligin*, rather than the usual *gulayaali*.

(321) That little pelican was once a woman.   JM/AD 8185 2165
ngaarrma */ biligin   / **ngaarrma** / yilaalu **ngaama** yinarr gi-gi.la-nhi /*
ngaarrma / 'pelican' / ngaarrma / long.ago ngaama woman be-CTS-PST /
Long time ago it (the pelican) was a woman.   AD
That pelican there, long ago it was a woman.   JG

Ngaama is not found in Ridley and neither *ngaarrma* or *ngaama* in Mathews. Laves has *ngamang* (word final *ng* does not occur in YG, so likely a borrowing from Wiradjuri) that may be a variant of *ngaama*: *Ngaama* is found only once or twice in Wurm and is very rare in the Fred Reece tapes, however it occurs over one thousand times in the AD tapes.

This distribution indicates that *ngaama* may be a word that has developed or greatly expanded in Arthur Dodd's Yuwaalaraay, perhaps matching some feature of Wayilwan, the other Aboriginal language he was familiar with.[81]

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81 It is interesting to compare the demonstratives in Wurm and Dodd. In Wurm *nhama* (he mostly writes it *nama*) occurs over 400 times, *nguuma* 9 and *ngaama* 2 times. On the Dodd/Reece tapes *nhama* is found around 2000 times, *ngaama* 1000 (almost all in Dodd tapes) and *nguuma* around 240 times. I suspect that the Wurm tapes have a simplified form of the language.

As with *nhama* there are examples where the use of *ngaama* seems to be optional. In (322) and (323) there are interchanges between Dodd and Williams, where Williams questions the form of verb Dodd has used. He gives modified translations, with the verb changed, and with no *ngaama.* While in (323) *ngaama* could refer to 'them', there is no referent for it in (322).

(322)   Don't cover yourself up.   CW/AD 2915

(a)   *garriya* **ngaam'** *buluwa-ya*
      don't   ngaama cover.M-IMP
      CW: *buluba-ya* AD mm

      AD Don't cover yourself!
(b)   *garriya Ø buluwa-ya AD*

(323)   (a) **ngaama**   / *baga-dha wana-gi.la-y*
           3.ANA.DEF / bank-LOC throw-CTS-FUT
      Chuck them on the bank   (CW then says: "Once more")   CW/AD 3999 1095

      (b) *baga-dha wana-gi.la-y*
          bank-LOC throw-CTS-FUT

Other questions remain. The form *ngaama-ga* in (324) is not currently understood. It is most likely a performance error, which coincidently has the same form as a Locative. Perhaps AD started to say *garrangay*, and then changed the word order.

(324)   Some of the men went down to the river to catch some ducks.   JM/AD 8187 1193
      giirr ngaama   gulbirr dhayn / yanaa-nhi / **ngaama**-*ga??,   ngarra-li.gu garrangay*
      true 3.ANA.DEF few   man   / go-PST   / ngaama-LOC??, see-PURP   duck

5.3.5   *ngaarri* forms: 'DISTant, FAR'

The form *ngaarri* indicates 'distant' and is found as a word, but more frequently as part of the derived forms given in Table 82. Derived forms, demonstratives and others, generally include suffixes listed in Table 75, but a few other derivations are found. The semantics of the derived forms are not necessarily compositional. Table 82 gives typical glosses in the sources, which often do not capture the full meaning. For instance *ngaarri, ngaarrima, ngaarrimalay, ngaarrigu* and *ngaarrigulay* have all been translated 'over there'. Many of the forms in Table 82 are common, but some are rare, or found only once, or of uncertain form. It is also to be expected that there were other forms which have not been recorded. I assume that final *-li* and *-la* are allomorphs of *-lay* and that *ngarri* is a variant of *ngaarri*.

Table 82   *ngaarri* and derived forms

form	Suffix gloss(es)	typical gloss	comment/source
Common forms			
ngaarri	(distant)	far	common
ngaarri-ma	DEFinite	over there	common
ngaarri-ma-lay	DEFinite+OSTensive	over that way	common
ngaarri-gu	ALLative	over there+motion	rare
ngaarri-gu-lay	ALLative+OSTensive	over that way	common
ngaarri-baa	UP	up	common
ngaarri-gili	SIDE	far side	common
ngaarri-ngaarri	(reduplication)	very far away	few (reduplicated)
Rare/uncertain forms			
ngaarri-lay	OSTensive	over there	2895a; only instance
ngaarri-baa-ma	up+DEFinite	(up/over) there	SW: 70, 101; AD3217B 3607
ngaarri-baa-gili	up+SIDE	on top, above	rare
ngaarri-gala-gu	?+ALLative	(chase) away	SW: 90
ngaarri-buu	TOTal	very far	Ridley: 36, MathewsGR: 268
ngaarrima-nga-la		up over there (clouds)	SW: 102
Pronominal use?			
ngaarri=nha	3=DEF		SW: 96?
Question			
ngaarruuli		(the wind) turned round	3217B 1866

I will firstly give an interpretation of the various *ngaarri* forms, based on the morphemes they contain and on their use, then examples of the forms.

Ngaarri, by itself, indicates distance and can be translated 'at a distance, far away'. *Ngaarri-ma*, with the Definite suffix indicates a distant, known location and can be translated 'over there', indicating a location, not a direction. *Ngaarri-ma-lay* adds the Ostensive suffix, and so is presumably used of a known location which is also pointed out in some way by the speaker. *Ngaarri-gu* includes the Allative suffix, and indicates direction or movement to a distance. It could be used in sentences such as 'go away' or 'go far away'. *Ngaarri-gu-lay* adds the Ostensive suffix so presumably has the meaning 'over that way', with the direction indicated by the speaker.

Ngaarri-baa 'up' is not a demonstrative but *ngaarri-baa-ma* 'up there' is. *Ngaarri-buu* (*-buu* 'TOTal') presumably means 'very far'/'as far as possible'. *Ngaarri-gili* 'far side' is common.

The form *ngaarri-lay*, with the OSTensive suffix is found only once and is difficult to interpret. It occurs in a sentence which might be best translated 'will you come out

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hunting' so presumably the location is distant. That is inconsistent with the usual function of *-lay*. The reduplicated *ngaarringaari* seems to indicate a greater distance. Examples of *ngaarri* forms follow.

5.3.5.1 *ngaarri* 'far'

ngaarri and *ngaarrima* are often treated as equivalent in the sources, since the effect of *-ma* is not generally explicit. Ridley has *ŋurri* 'there (in front)'. *Ngaarri* is found 15 times in Wurm, often not translated, or apparently translated as 'the', and at other times as 'over there'. He also has 7 *ngaarrima* 'over there' (and a further 4 *ngaarrimalay*, also translated as 'over there' or in one instance not translated.)

Sim has *ngaarri* or *ngaarrigu* 'there, over there', and labels both *ngaarri* and *ngaarrima* as demonstrative adjectives and adverbs. (325) illustrates the adjectival use and indicates that Sim interpreted the two forms as equivalent.

(325) I hit that man. Sim p 41

    *Ngaya **ngaarrima/ngaarri**· dhayn buma-y.*
    1SG   that/distant   person hit-PST

However there are uses which differentiate the forms. Wurm (p 101) uses *ngaarri guwiinbaa* ('distant' 'close') as 'not far'. This use does not indicate a definite location. (326) has multiple uses of *ngaarri*, which are consistent with the meaning 'further', but as commonly one cannot be sure of the interpretation of *ngaarri* or of the final *ngaarrima*.

(326) (An)Other man says: No, that is a better one over there. JM/AD 3219B 1361

    *garriya＝bala nhama / yuruun gaa-nga / **ngaarri, ngaarri, ngaarri**＝bala*
    don't＝CTR   3.DEF / road   take-IMP / distant, distant, distant＝CTR
    Don't take that road, further, further, further,   JG

    *ngayaga-djuul-[g]u, yuruun, **ngaarri** / gaba, gaba gaba, gaawaa-gu **ngaarrima***
    other-ONE-ERG?ALL road,   distant / good, good, good, river-ALL   over.there
    The other road is the better one.   AD
    on the other one. The further road is good for the river. Over there.   JG

In (327) the Wurm English indicates a definite location, but the sentence suggests that the hearer does not know the location, since the speaker adds further information: 'on the right'.

(327) *ŋaːri (over there) ŋei bɔːdjɛḍ ðuːjaːla war̃eilla* SW p 90

    ***ngaarri** ngay   buwadjarr dhuuyaal-a warra-y.la[-nha*
    distant 1SG.DAT father   right-LOC   stand-CTS-PRS
    My father is standing over there, on the right side.   SW

In (328) *ngaarri* is used when the location is indefinite: 'out into the bush' and in (329) also the location can be interpreted as indefinite. In both sentences the YR specifies location and distance more than the English does.

(328) Go out into the bush, little boy. Bring back some wood.   JM/FR 2438A 2956

   dhuu-gu   yanaa-ya / **ngaarri** *yurrul-gu?u*

   firewood-PURP go-IMP   / distant bush-ALL

   You go to the bush and get some wood (and we'll make a fire.)   FR

(329) I wanted to warm myself near her fire   JM/AD 8185 175

   ngaarri*=bala ngaya yanaa-nhi nguungunda / guulaabi-y.gu / wii-dja nguungu*

   distant=CTR 1sNE go-PST   3SG.LOC   / warm.M-PURP / fire-LOC 3SG.DAT

   I went over there to her, to warm (myself) at her fire.   JG

5.3.5.2   *ngaarrima* 'over there: distant-DEFinite'

While the examples suggest *ngaarri* can be used when the hearer cannot identify the location, there are many examples which make it explicit that *ngaarrima* refers to a place the hearer can see. *Ngaarrima* is the most common of the *ngaarri* forms, with around 50 examples on the tapes. In most instances *ngaarrima* clearly has adverbial use, specifying a location, e.g. (330), (331).

(330) Can you see him, man standing over near tree.   JM/FR 2437B 1082

   yaama=nda ngarra-lda-nha dhayn **ngaarrima** */ warra-y.la-ndaay muyaan-da*

   ques=2SG   see-CTS-PRS   person over.there / stand-CTS-SUB   tree-LOC

   Can you see that man standing over there at the tree?   FR

(331) There's something shining over there.   FR/JM 1988A 1953

   minyagaa **ngarrima** *guya-lda-nha*

   something over.there shine-CTS-PRS

   Something is shining over there.   JG

There are examples where *ngaarrima* seems to have adjectival use, translated 'that'. It does not have case marking, and the sentences maintain their sense if 'that' is replaced with 'over there', as in (332), (333).

(332) That flower is red.   Sim p 46

   Ngaarrima *gurrayn guwaymbarra.*

   over.there flower   red

   The flower over there is red.   JG

(333) *buunhu-ga* **ngaarrima***=nga,   ngarra-la / dhuwinba-y-garra ganugu* **ngaarrima** *buunhu-ga*

   grass-LOC over.there=NOW, look-IMP / hide-PST-??   3PL.ERG over.there grass-LOC

   You go and have a look in that grass, I think they planted (it) in that grass[82].

                                                              FR/JM 2438A 3210

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[82] *-garra* may be from Wangaaybuwan 'I think'

After the sentences 'do this!' (*nhalay*) and 'do that!' (*nhama*), comes (334), where Fred Reece uses *ngaarrima* in a sense which clearly does not involve a visible space. The word *murrumbaa* is not well attested, so the meaning of '*ngaarrima murrumbaa*' remains somewhat obscure, but *ngaarrima* here may have the sense of 'quite (different)' – something 'distant' from other things being considered. It may be that *ngaarrima* also has temporal use, referring to a far time.

(334)   Do the other thing.   JM/FR 1853B 450

    ngaarrima *murrumbaa gimbi-la*
    over.there ?other   do-IMP
    Do that other thing.   FR

Ngaarrima-dhaay indicates that someone visible and distant is coming, as in (336).

5.3.5.3   *ngaarrimalay* 'over there'

Like *ngaarri* and *ngaarrima*, *ngaarrimalay* is also often translated 'over there'. *Ngaarrimalay* is very frequently used with verbs of looking and motion by the hearer, as in (335), (337), (338) and (339). I gloss both *ngaarrimalay* and *ngaarrima* 'over.there'.

(335) and (336), consecutive sentences, contrast *ngaarrima* and *ngaarrimalay*, as does (337) (part repeated in (554)). *Ngaarrima* refers to a location, *ngaarrimalay* to a direction of looking or movement: (335), (338), (339).

(335)   Look over there.   CW/AD 3999A 163

    ngaarrimalay *ngarra-la*
    over.there   look-IMP

(336)   I can see some people coming.   CW/AD 3999A 181

    giirr ngaya / ngarra-lda-nha, **ngaarrima**-*dhaay   yanaa-waa-ndaay, dhayn-galgaa*
    true 1SG   / see-CTS-PRS   over.there-TO.HERE come-MOV-SUB,   person-PL
    I can see people over there coming here.   JG

(337)   You, there's a snake over there (**ngaarrima**), lying rolled up.
     Don't go over there (**ngaarrimalay**).   SW p 98

(338)   *yaama nginda //* **ngaarrimalay**   *// ngarra-li.gu ngaama*
    ques   2SG   // over.there-LAY // see-PURP   that
    I want you to have a look, over there.   AD/CW 3994A 2405
    Will you (go) over there, to look at that.   JG

(339)   Don't crawl over there.   CW/FR 5053 1771
    garriya **ngaarrimali** */ dhuu-na*
    don't   over.there.? / crawl-IMP
    Don't crawl over there.   FR

However the idea that *ngaarrimalay* indicates a definite, known direction is challenged by at least one example. In translating 'out there a white man is chasing it' Wurm (p 99) uses *ŋa:rimalla ja* (*ngaarrimalay-aa: ngaarrimalay*-INDEF?POT), likely best translated as 'out there somewhere', clearly not referring to a definite location.

5.3.5.4　　*ngaarrigu, ngaarrigulay* 'over there'

The word *ngaarrigu* is rare, with uncertain interpretation in the examples. *Ngaarrigulay* is much more common. Formally *ngaarrigu* can be identified as 'distant-Allative'. As a separate word *ngaarrigu* is found once in Ridley (p 36) 'there', once in Laves with unclear use, once in Sim glossed 'there, over there', and is used 3 times by Arthur Dodd, once possibly translated 'that' (340), once as 'over there', and once not translated. There are a number of possible other occurrences but these are not clear. I have not found any difference in use between *ngaarrigu* and *ngaarrima*.

(340)　That is your spear　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JM/AD 3217B 3128

　　　nham=bala nginu　　**ngaarrigu**

　　　that=CTR　1SG.DAT　over.there

　　　That is yours over there.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

A morpheme by morpheme gloss of *ngaarrigulay* would be awkward, so I gloss it 'over there', as done for a number of words. Firstly I consider independent uses of the word, then use of it as part of an idiomatic pair. There are over 40 occurrences of *ngaarrigulay* on the tapes, and 2 in Sim, including (341).

(341)　*Wagi-guu gaa-nga ngaarriiguli.*　　　　　　　　　　　　Sim p 48

　　　Wagi-gu　　*gaa-nga*　**ngaarrigulay**

　　　outside-ALL take-IMP over.there.lay

　　　Take it outside.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Sim

　　　Take it outside over there.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

Most occurrences on the tapes involve the verb 'look' or a motion verb, as in (341), (342), (343).

(342)　He looked into the distance / long away / long way off across the plain.　JM/AD 3220A 1312

　　　ngaarrigulay *nguu*　　/ *bamba*　　*ngarra-laa-nhi*

　　　over.there　3SG.ERG / with.energy look-MOV-PST

　　　He was looking carefully over there/into the distance.　　　　　　JG

(343)　(Father says;) go over there.　　　　　　　　　　　　　JM/AD 3220A 3491

　　　ngaarrigula=*bala 'naa-ya,* **ngaarrigulay** / *garriya*=*bala dhaay 'naa-ya,*

　　　over.there=CTR　go-IMP　over.there　/ don't=CTR　to.here　go-IMP

　　　Go over there. Don't come here.　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

The sources do not show differences in meaning between *ngaarrimalay* and *ngaarrigulay*, with both used in very similar sentences: e.g. 'go over there' in (338) and (343), 'look over there' in (335) and (342). One would expect that *ngaarrigulay*

indicates movement to a distant place, whereas *ngaarrimalay* is more locative in meaning.

Another possible difference may be in the specificity of the direction. *Ngaarrigulay* implies movement away, but not necessarily in a direction which is explicit, known to the hearer, shown by the translations: 'outside' (341); 'into the distance' (342) ; and 'different directions' (344). This contrasts with *ngaarrimalay*, which generally refers to a more specific location or direction: cf. (338)- (339).

(345) shows both *ngaarrimalay* and *ngaarrigulay* used in the one context. The *ngaarrimalay* occurs immediately after Mathews' elicitation of 'over there', a specific location. Dodd then uses *minyaarruwaa* 'somewhere' which is explicitly non-specific, and then uses *ngaarrigulay* to describe the location or perhaps direction of the old man's walk.

(344) We all walked in different directions, looking for wood.   JM/AD 8185 590

  giirr nyinani.luu[83] *yanaa-nhi / gulbirr* **ngaarrigulay, ngaarrigulay,**
  true 1PL.??   go-PST   / few   over.there,   over.there,
  We (not you) went, a few out there, (others) over there.   JG

(345) I am here, and the old man has gone over there.   JM/AD 3220A 3762
  nhalay=badhaay=bala ngaya / ngaam=bala wuulman / **ngaarrimalay** */*
  here=MIGHT=CTR   1SG   / that?=CTR   old.man   / over.there   /
  I am here, and the old man over there   JG

  minyaarru-waa 'naa-waa-nha // wayamaa=nga **ngaarrigula**=*bala 'naa-waa-nhi*
  where.to-IGNOR go-MOV-PRS   // old.man=THEN   over.there=CTR   go-MOV-PST
  he is going somewhere. The old man was walking somewhere else.   JG

AD2833A 1660, when asked for a word for 'east', gives two glosses for *ngaarrigulay*. He says:

> There is no word for 'east'. Say 'up there' **ngaarrigulay**; 'out that way' **ngaarrigulay**.

The analysis of *ngaarrigulay* remains incomplete.

5.3.5.4.1   *ngaarrigulay - Xgulay*

There are around 30 instances on the tapes where two words, both ending in – *gula[y]*, form what seems to be an idiomatic expression, generally with a meaning like 'this way and that', 'backwards and forwards' or 'everywhere'. The most common pair is *ngaarrigulay ngarraagulay* as in (346) - (348) and (350).[84] Most frequently *ngaarrigulay* is first, but it is also found second, as in (349). Where a translation is

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[83] This is the form of the exclusive Ergative, but the verb here is intransitive, so the form is not appropriate.

[84] There are the usual word final variations: *-lay, -la, -li*. As well there is variation in the length of vowels in *ngarr.A*, which is likely 'other', a cognate of *ngaya* 'other' YR.

given by the informant the phrase refers to an extended area: 'everywhere' in (346), and the elicitation sentences also suggest an extended area, e.g. 'all over the ground' in (348).

In (351) the second word is ***ngiyarri-gula[y],*** and the meaning of the pair is different, referring to the separate locations of two people, rather than a path or area.

(346)   They all sang and danced together.   JM/AD 3219A 612

giirr ngiyama ganugu bawi-lda-nhi //
true there   3PL.ERG sing-CTS-PST //

*ngiyarrma=nga / **ngaarrigula[y] ngarragulay,** baa-y.la-ndaay / dhayn-galgaa*
there=THEN   / over.there   other.way hop-CTS-SUB / people-PL
They were singing, everywhere   AD
They were all singing while they were dancing all over the place, those people.   JG

(347)   The drunk man is staggering.   JM/AD 3220A 3424
*ngaa, **ngaarrigula ngarragula** bundaa-waa-nha*
yes,   over.there   other.way   fall-MOV-PRS
Yes, he is falling this way and that / all over the place.   JG

(348)   AD: When the sun rose, CW there was frost all over the ground.   AD/CW 8184 2829
giirr ngaama yayaay dhurra-ldaay / yalagiirrmawu ngaam /
true that?   sun   come-SUB,   / at.that.time   there? /

***ngaarrigula m/ngarragula** ngaa-??yay?? / dhandharr wana-ngindaay*
over.there   other.way   ??   / frost   throw??-SUB

(349)   The hawks / eaglehawks are circling in the sky.   JM/AD 3220B 3035
nhama=Na, maliyan / ngarribaa-[m[a / bara-gi-la-nha /
3.DEF=3,   eagle   / above-DEF?? / fly-??-CTS-PRS

***ngarragula ngaarrigulay** / minyagaa nhama / nguu   ngarra-y / dhaymaa-ya*
other.way over.there   / something 3.DEF / 3SG.ERG see-PST / ground-LOC
The Wedgetail eagles are flying around up there. All over the sky, and they see something on the ground.   JG

(350)   The stars were twinkling and the sky was clear.   JM/AD 8184 2586
giirr=bala ngaama / gawubarray ngaama ngaarrma,
true=CTR that,   / star   that   that?

***ngarrigula m/ng/nharragula[y]** gi-gi.la-ndaay /*
over.there other.way   be-CTS-SUB
The stars were all over the place.   JG

(351)   The two men stood some distance apart.   JM/AD 8185 2355

   *giirr yaluu / bulaarr.Na / warra-nhi **ngaarrigulay** / **ngiyarrigula[y]***

   true again, / two.pron   / stand-PST over.there   / ngiyarrigulay

   Again the two of them stood apart/one over this way, one over that way.   JG

Often the actual form of the word transcribed as *ngaarrigulay* is uncertain. Different people have heard the first sound of the one token as *m* or *ng*; often the length of the first vowel is unclear, and the last syllable is sometimes indeterminate between *lay* and *la*. Some of these features are illustrated in (350).

5.3.5.5   *ngaarri-gili* 'far side'

For *–gili* 'side' see §Table 218. It is found on a number of demonstrative stems. It derives a standard nominal which can take local case suffixes. Sim (1998: 42) has the following table:

	Allative	Locative	Allative	Base
other side	*ngaarrigiligu*	*ngaarrigilidja*	*ngaarrigilidji*	*ngaarrigili*
this side	*ngagiligu*	*ngagilidja*	*ngagilidji*	*ngagili*

In the tapes *ngaarrigili-dja* 'far.side-LOC' occurs 22 times and *ngaarrigili-gu/dju* 'far.side-ALL' 5 times. The locative use is shown in (352), part of (384).

(352)   Don't sit on that side of the humpy.   JM/AD 3218B 3506

   *garriya = bala **ngaarri.gili-dja** / **nguwa.gili-dja** wila-ya*

   don't = CTR   far.side-LOC   / this.side-LOC   sit-IMP

   You sit on this side of the humpy, not on the other side.   AD

   Don't (sit) on the far side, sit on this side.   JG

Sim's *nga-gili* again raises the question of the morpheme *nga-*. At this stage I am treating it as a variant of *nha*, but this may change with further study.

5.3.5.6   *ngaarri-ngaarri* 'far away'

The reduplicated form, *ngaarringaarri*, is rare. Williams has *ngaarringaarri[nga]* - 'right over there', translated as 'off in the distance; in (202). There are two instances in the tapes, neither of them with a clear translation. One may refer to a 'very long way' and possible meanings for the second instance, (353), include 'very long way' or 'long time'.

(353)   It was a long time before the boys came back to the old man.   JM/JS 3217A 2595

   ***ngaarringaarri** / 'naa-nhi*

   ngaarringaarri / go-PST

   They went ??far.away ??away for a long time??.   JG

For the effects of reduplication on different word classes see §14. It seems, from the limited examples, that the effect on demonstratives is intensification.

5.3.5.7 *ngArribaa* 'up'

The word *ngarribaa* 'up, above, high' generally has a short *a* in the first syllable, but at times the syllable length is indeterminate, and a few times long. I will consider *ngarribaa* and *ngaarribaa* as variants. The meaning of the word is not in question, rather its form, and its relation to *ngaarri*. The suffix *-baa* has the meaning 'up'. The meaning of *ngaarribaa* is simply 'up' or 'above', and 'distant/far' is not found in any translation. See (83) for *ngaarribaa* and (349) (727) for *ngarribaa*. Forms derived from *ngaarribaa* are rare, and include: *ngaarribaa-gili* 'up-side', translated 'on top of' at 8185 1515; and *ngaarribaa-lay*. There are around twenty examples of *ngaarribaali* (presumably a version of *ngaarribaalay*) including 2832B 2692 where AD uses it to translate '(the bird put his tail) in the air' and 2833B 761 where he uses it to translate '(walking) uphill'.

(354) is taken from both the Wurm notes and his tape. The translation of *ngaarribaa-ma/ngarribaa-ma* here and at 3217B 3607 is consistent with the gloss of *-ma* as 'DEFinite'.

(354)	*waṙa ŋanna ŋariba:ma ŋa:ja ŋarɛi*			SW p 101
	warangana ngay' ngarra-y, ngaarribaa-ma			AD/SW 2895A 26
	*warangana **ngarribaa-ma** ngaya ngarra-y*			
	honey	up-DEF	1SG see-PST	
	I see honey up there.			SW
	I saw honey up there.			JG

Sim has *ngarribaa* as 'east' and 'upstream' and also has it (p 28) in a number of phrases: *ngarribaa dhuni* 'mid-morning' and *ngarribaa bidjunda* 'middle of the day', the last including a locative, *bidjun-da* 'middle-LOC'.

5.3.5.7.1 Questions about *ngaarri*

Questions remain about *ngaarri* forms. The relationship of the forms *ngaarrima*, *ngaarrma* and *ngaama* has been discussed at §5.3.4. There are also *ngaarri*-initial forms which are currently unexplained. Three of these are from Wurm, two of them begin with *ngaarriga*. *Ŋa:rigali* in (355) could be a rendering of *ngaarrigulay*, a common form, and the literal gloss would be 'go over there/go far away', but it is more likely that the form finishes with *-galay* or *-gaalay*, which are not currently analysed. In (356) *ŋa:rigalagu* has the Allative suffix last, again suggesting a suffix *-gaalay*.

(355)	*na:ja ŋa:rigali*	SW p 90
	*'naa-ya **ngaarrigaali***	
	go-IMP far-?	
	Go away from here.	SW

(356) *na:ja ŋa:rigalagu*   SW p 90

     'naa-ya **ngaarrigalagu**

     go-IMP   far-??-ALL

     chase away   SW

     Go far away.?   JG

One instance of *ngaarrigulaa* is found, 3219A 3112, part of the translation of 'she was coughing and spluttering and spitting' includes *gunhugunhu dhu-dha-nhi, ngaarrigulaa-nhii* (*gunhugunhu dhu-dha-nhi* 'was coughing'), and *ngaarrigulaa* may be an adaptation of *ngaarrigulay*, before a further suffix, but the word is not understood.

The third unclear form from Wurm is *ŋaʲrinnu* in (357). I have assumed it is *ngaarrinu*, but the Wurm form might be *ngayirri-nu*, which however does not correspond to any recognised form.

(357) *bula:r̃ ŋaʲrinnu wa:n*   SW p 93

     bulaarr **ngaarri-nu??** *waan*

     two   distant-nu   crow

     two over there crow   SW

(358) uses *ngaarribaa*, but also has *ngaarrma* followed by *-gu*, possibly Allative or Dative, and a combination not found elsewhere.

(358)   When the sun was high in the sky, the visitors went back to their own country.

                                                 JM/AD 3219A 768

     giirr ngaama yayaay dhurra-ldaay / **ngarribaa**, *yilaa = laa ngaarrma /*

     true   there   sun   come-SUB   / above,   soon = DIR there   /

     When the sun had come up, and it was above,   JG

     ganunga / dhayn dharrawul-uwi-nyi / ngaarrma-gu ganungu

     3PL   / people return-BACK-PST / there-ALL   3PL.DAT

     they, the people went back, to their .. .   JG

5.3.6   *ngiyarri* and derived forms

The form *ngiyarri* occasionally occurs as a free word. There is a set of common derived demonstratives which seem to be variants, *ngiyarrma*, *ngiyama* and *ngiyarrima*. Table 83 lists these, some other uncommon derivations and some uncertain forms. The interpretation of these forms remains uncertain since no clear description of the meaning of *ngiyarri* has been found. The glosses for *ngiyarri* forms do not serve to distinguish them from other demonstratives. For instance both *ngiyarrma*[85] and *ngaarrima* are translated 'over there' and in some sources *ngiyarrima* is translated as 'he/she', just as *nhama*, *nguu* and *nguuma* are.

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[85] I assume that *ngiyarrima*, *ngiyarrma* and *ngiyama* are all variants, with identical use, and use *ngiyarrma* in discussion, irrespective of the form in examples. The reduced forms *ngiyarrma* and *ngiyama* are much more common. It is clear that *ngiyama* is a simplified form since there are many instances where a phrase is repeated, first with *ngiyama*, and then with *ngiyarrma* (e.g. 3219A 3169; 3220A 3149).

The tentative interpretation is that *ngiyarri* primarily serves to link discourse, referring to earlier sections of the discourse[86], and that other uses are derived from this. Like *ngaarri* 'far', *ngiyarri* is not found with the *-lay* 'OSTensive' or 'near' suffix.

There are a few instances in the sources which indicate pronominal use for *ngiyarri* forms, in particular a few case marked examples.

5.3.6.1 *ngiyarri*

Ngiyarri as an entire word, or with case suffixes, is rare and is glossed as 'there' and 'over there'. At 5055 398 AD contrasts *nguwalay* '(put it) here' and *ngiyarri* '(put it) over there'. *Ngiyarri-gu*, with an Allative suffix, is also translated 'over there'. *Ngiyarrigulay* is found once in *ngaarrigulay ngiyarrigulay* in (351), translated as 'some distance apart'.

Table 83   Summary of *ngiyarri* forms

Form	common gloss	comment
ngiyarri	there, over there	so not close; incompatible with *-lay*
ngiyarrima, *ngiyarrma,* *ngiyama*	over there, he,	the most common forms, pronominal use is rare
ngiyarrigu	over there	
Rare forms		
ngiyarringu	his	Dative; rare
ngiyarrimangu	his, to him	Dative; rare
ngiyarrigulay	none given	(351)
ngiyarri-baa,	up on top	5055 1038; *-baa* 'up'
ngiyarri=dhaay	'from the north'	3217A 3168; *dhaay* 'to.here'
Possible forms		
ngiya-laa-gu	none given	(372)
ngiyarrma-lay		3219B 3419
ngiyarrmala-ma-??,	?out there	3220B 554
ngiyarruma	location previously mentioned	2436A 2120
ngiyamuu		(373)

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[86] A very speculative suggestion is that *ngiyarri* is linked to *ngiyali* 'say' and *ngiya* 'word' in *Ngiyambaa*. It's meaning could then be 'that which has been or will be spoken about.' However this is often the meaning of other demonstratives. *Ngaarri* and derived forms are used with mention of a specific location, but less commonly than *ngiyarri* forms.

5.3.6.2 *ngiyarrma* 'there'

Previous discussion of *ngiyarrma* has been in terms of the English locationals 'there' and 'over there'[87], but the suggestion here is that it primarily refers to other parts of the discourse. It has anaphoric use, where *ngiyarrma* at the start of a clause or sentence serves to indicate continuity of location with the previous sentence, perhaps referring to a specific location. There is also cataphoric use. A particular anaphoric use is in subordinate clauses. *Ngiyarrma* is also used in what may be a relatively semantically empty way, to create a locational framework for discourse. It also has adnominal and pronominal use, but this is rare apart from Ridley. *Ngiyarrma* may also refer to time. *Ngiyarrma* includes the common *-ma* 'DEFinite'.

Anaphoric use is seen in (359) (360). The elicitation before (359) was: 'the girl scratched the boy and pushed him over' so the situation, and therefore a location, have been established. (359) then has 3 instances of *ngiyarrma*, but none is translated in English. This is consistent with the emphasis on location in YR discourse. (360) illustrates the common situation that the original location is in Locative case, here *wiinbarraan-da*.

(359)   They rolled together on the grass and fought and fought.   JM/AD 3219A 3319

       *ngiyarrma=Na buunhu-ga bulaarr.nga **?ngiyama** / yurringga-la-nhi /*

       ngiyarrma=3   grass-LOC   2.pron   ngiyarrma / roll-RECP?-PST   /

       On the grass the two of them pushed each other   JG

       *bayama-la-nhi / bamba **ngiyama**=nga*

       catch-RECP-PST / energy ngiyarrma=THEN

       and really grabbed each other.   JG

(360)   They sat around the fire and had a good feed   JM/AD 3219A 2939

       giirr ngaama ganunga / wila-nhi / wiinbarraan-da /

       true there? 3PL   / sit-PST   / fire.around-LOC /

       *yalagidhaay?? / bamba   ganugu **ngiyama** dha-y*

       right.round?? / w.energy 3PL.ERG ngiyama eat-PST

Use of *ngiyarrma* in relative clauses, which generally follow the main clause, is seen in (361). (361) is potentially ambiguous - *nguu* in (b) could refer to the woman or the child, and *ngiyarrma* may serve to disambiguate, but the mechanism is not understood.

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[87] For instance in a discussion of *ngiyarrma* CW asks if it means 'there', and AD agrees that it does. [5055 666: CW '*ngiyarrma* means there?' AD 'Yeah'.] It is regularly translated 'over there'.

(361)   (The woman) who ate the meat hit the children.   CW/AD 5055 1126

(a)   *giirr ngaam buma-y nguu   birralii / birralii-djuul /*
      true that   hit-PST 3SG.ERG child / child-DIM   /
      She hit the child, the baby   JG

(b)   **ngiyama** *nguu   dhinggaa dha-ldaay*
      ngiyarrma 3SG.ERG meat   eat-SUB
      who ate the meat.   JG

Cataphoric use of *ngiyarrma* is seen in (362)(b), (363), (364). In (362)(b) it refers to 'camp', in (363) both *ngiyarrma* refer to 'sandhill'.

(362)   I will lie down when I get home.   CW/AD 3997B 2419

(a)   *giirr ngaya=laa dhanduwi-y, yanaa-w.uwi-ngindaay ngaya* CW 'again'
      true 1SG=DIR   sleep-FUT,   go-BACK-SUB   1SG

(b)   *giirr ngaya=laa / dhanduwi-y **ngiyarrma** / walaay-gu / ngaya yanaa-w.uwi-ngindaay*
      true 1SG=DIR   / sleep-FUT   ngiyarrma / camp-ALL / 1SG   go-BACK-SUB
      I will sleep (there) when I go back to the camp.   JG

(363)   Those kangaroos belong to the hills.   JM/AD 3220B 1150
      *nhama=badhaay bandaarr-galgaa / **ngiyarrma** dhaay /*
      there=MIGHT   kangaroo-PL   / ngiyarrma to.here /

      *gumbugan-di / dhaay nhama / baa-waa-nhi / **ngiyarrma** ganunga / dhanduwi-y.la-nha*
      sandhill-ABL / to.here 3.DEF / hop-MOV-PST / ngiyarrma 3PL   / sleep-CTS-PRS
      The kangaroos come here from the sandhills, but they sleep there.   JG

In (364) *ngiyarrma* could be adnominal to *gungan*, or it could be seen as the tendency of YG to frequently include a locational demonstrative in sentences.

(364)   I am swimming under the water   JM/AD 3220B 1858
      *giirr ngaya gubi-y.la-nha / **ngiyarrma** gungan-da / gaawaa-ga /*
      true 1sNE swim-CTS-PRS / ngiyarrma water-LOC / river-LOC
      I am swimming, in the water, in the deep water/river.   JG

5.3.6.2.1   *ngiyarrma:* time use

In (365) both uses of *ngiyarrma* possibly refer to time. Neither use has an antecedent. It could be that '*ngiyarrma=nga, ngiyarrma ngayagadjuula*' is idiomatic for 'at some time, at other times' or even for 'sometimes'.

(365)   Some days we go hunting, some days we stay at home.   JM/AD 3220B 3297
      ***ngiyarrma**=nga,   ngiyani.Na wila-y.la-nha /*
      ngiyarrma=THEN?, 1PL.EXCL   sit-CTS-PRS   /
      Sometimes? we sit down,   JG

      *yaluu **ngiyama**   ngayaga-djuul-a maniila-y*
      again ngiyarrma other-ONE-LOC   hunt-FUT
      and at another times we will hunt.   JG

5.3.6.2.2   *ngiyarrma:* pronominal and adnominal use

The main indications that *ngiyarrma* or related forms have pronominal use are in Ridley, particularly in *Gurre Kamilaroi* and a small number of case marked forms - mostly Dative case.

Gurre Kamilaroi is highly simplified language, possibly composed by Ridley, and the many pronominal occurrences of *ŋērma* (*ngiyarrma*) in it are not a good indication of the traditional function of the word, but more likely reflect Ridley's analysis. His pronoun descriptions show incomplete understanding of GR[88]. He has (p 7):

Original	Gloss	Current orthography, Comment
ŋērma	he or she'	*ngiyarrma*
ŋērŋū or *ŋūndi*	his or her	*ngiyarrngu* (Dative) and presumably *(ngiyarr)ngundi* (Ablative)]
Demonstrative pronoun *ŋērma*	that yonder (*ille*)	*ille* is Latin and indicates distance from both speaker and hearer

The use of null anaphora for third person singular reference in core cases and the common use of locationals was probably not noticed by Ridley, and this contributed to his misinterpretation of the use of *ngiyarrma.* In (366) he seems to interpret it as an Ergative pronoun. This is very unlikely - no other third person pronoun has the same form in Accusative and Ergative. In (367)[89] Ridley interprets *ngiyarrma* as Accusative but again does not have the Agent in Ergative case.

(366)   *ŋerma gīr burula wĭbil murruba gimobi*   Ridley: Gurre l 26
        ngiyarrma *giirr burrulaa wiibil maarubaa gimubi-y*
        there   true   many   sick   good   make-PST
        He verily many sick well made.   Ridley

(367)   *baindūl ŋerma wĭnūŋailone*   Ridley Gurre l 113
        bayn-duul **ngiyarrma** *winanga-y.la-nhi*
        sick-ONE   there   hear.M-CTS-PST
        The lame man him was hearing.   Ridley
        The lame man was listening (to him).   JG

Ridley's '*ŋērŋū* or *ŋūndi* 'his or her'' (above) and (368)(b) show case marked forms of *ngiyarri* with pronominal use.

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[88] Ridley misunderstood some other deictics. He has *ngūruma* (*nguruma*) 'that by you' (This is Ergative, not location dependent). He also has *ŋutta* 'that yonder', likely *ngadaa* 'down'.

[89] The interpretation of Ridley text often raises questions. Here it seems likely that a middle form of the verb is being used, so there may be no object. It seems Ridley did not recognise middle forms of verbs.

(368)	(a) he (there)	*ngiyarima*	*(ngiyarrima)*	Sim p 42
	(b) (Give it) to him. (there)	**ngiyarimanguu**	(**ngiyarrimangu**)	

The interpretation of these examples is not clear. With two Datives, *ngiyarr-ngu* and *ngiyarrma-ngu,* it is possible that there were two pronominal paradigms, based on *ngiyarri* and *ngiyarrma*. However the data are very meagre. Sim's list also includes *ngiyarri-gu* '(put it) over there', which has the standard suffix *-gu* rather than the PD Dative suffix, *-ngu*, indicating that there were pronominal and non-pronominal *ngiyarri* forms.

The one example found of *ngiyarri-baa*, (5055 1038; *-baa* 'up') refers to a previously mentioned location 'up on the top of the tree'.

5.3.6.2.3   *ngiyarrma:* sources

Ngiyarri forms are not found in all the major sources. There are none obvious in Mathews or Wurm. There are over 500 instances of *ngiyarrma* in the Yuwaalaraay tapes, with only a few from Fred Reece, and a number of that few are in song, and so do not necessarily reflect his general language use. AD uses *ngiyarrma* and *ngiyama* frequently. Williams does not have *ngiyarrma*, but she (p 91) has '*nhirrma*, usually 'there' but also as nominal'. This may be her interpretation of the word given here as *ngiyarrma.*

5.3.6.2.4   *ngiyarrma:* questions

The function of *ngiyarrma* is often not clear, and there are also rare related forms whose meaning is not clear. The function of *ngiyarrma* in (369)(c) may be anaphoric, but this is speculative.

(369)   The two men caught a lot of fish, one of them was very very big.   JM/AD 3219B 1911

(a)   **ngiyam** *bulaa-yu dhayn-du / burrul-bidi guduu bayama-y /*
       there   two-ERG man-ERG / big-AUG   fish   catch-PST /
       The two men caught (a) very big fish.   JG

(b)   *giirruu   ngaam burrul-bidi-wan.gaan / guduu-bidi bayama-y /*
       true.very that   big-AUG-VERY   / fish-AUG   catch-PST /
       The caught really really big fish.   JG

(c)   **ngiyam**   *burrul-bibi-dju dhayn-du*
       ngiyarrma big-AUG-ERG   man-ERG
       that big fellow   AD
       That great big man (did).

In (370) Fred Reece seems to be testing his language and eventually rejects *ngiyarrma* and chooses *ngaarrima* as the more correct word for 'over there', perhaps because *ngaarrima* is more appropriate for ostensive use. This indicates that the two words have distinguishable functions.

(370)   Stand the straight stick over there   JM/FR 2437B 191

ngiyarrima ngiyarrma / ngaarrima?? / **ngiyarrma**

ngiyarrma, ngiyarrma / ngaarrima   / ngiyarrma

ngaarrima warrayma-la, muyaan nhama, warragil

ngaarrima stand-IMP   stick   3.DEF, straight

Stand that stick up straight over there.   FR

There are a number of *ngiyarri* derivations whose function is unclear. (372) includes *ngiya-laa-gu-bala* (the actual form is uncertain), likely related to *ngiyarri*[90]. (371) immediately precedes (372), so the location of the event has been established.

(371)   Put the wood over there and here is a firestick.   JM/AD 3219B 1145

*nhalay=bala=nga / yiyabiyaay gaa-waa-ya   / **ngiyama**=nda=nga   / gudhuwa-li*

this=CTR=THEN / firestick   take-MOV-IMP / ngiyarrma=2SG=THEN / burn-FUT

You can take this fire stick and make a fire over there.   AD

(372)   Put the wood (previously mentioned) over there and here is a firestick.   JM/AD 3219B 1158

*??**ngiya**=laa-gu=bala ngaamu / wugan wiima-laa-y*

??=DIR?-ALL=CTR   that   / wood put.down-MOV-FUT

(uncertain) Put that wood down over there.   JG

Ngiyarrma-li (probably *ngiyarr-ma-lay,* with the previously discussed *-malay*) is found at 3219B 3419 ('pick up the tomahawk and stand it against the tree'.)

At 3220B 554 AD uses a fairly indistinct word which I interpret as *ngiyarrmala-ma-?,* The word has anaphoric use, and is part of the translation of 'when he is **out there** hunting'.

FR 2436A 2120 has *ngiyarr**uma*** ('at the place already mentioned'). That is the only occurrence of this form.

(373) has *ngiyamuu*, which is also not found elsewhere. It might be an anaphoric Ergative, referring back to *bandaarr* and in agreement with *bandaayu*. There are other demonstratives which are *muu*-final and which are not currently understood.

(373)   The kangaroo jumped up to hit the dog.   CW/AD 3998A 1433

aa / bandaarr nhama   baa-nhi / maadhaay-a

aa / kangaroo there?3.DEF hop-PST / dog-LOC

The kangaroo hopped near the dog,   JG

ngiyamuu   / maadhaay buma-y , bandaa-yu

there??-ERG / dog   hit-PST / kangaroo-ERG

The kangaroo hit the dog.   AD

and then the kangaroo hit the dog.   JG

At 3217A 3168 AD gives *ngiyarri-dhaay* as 'from the north'. This use *ngiyarri* is not found elsewhere. As with other parts of the language, these rare forms and the limited sources indicate that the currently known *ngiyarri* forms are an incomplete record.

Some examples currently transcribed as *ngiyarri* forms may be reanalysed. The Ablative demonstrative root *ngii-* was only recognised long after the tape transcriptions and interpretations of

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[90] (372) includes Wayilwan *wugan*, and there may be Wayilwan influence in AD's use of *ngiyarrma*.

early sources were done, and some occurrences were initially glossed as *ngiya-* may be in future recognised as *ngii-* forms.

5.3.7 *nguwa* 'place' and derived forms

Another word from which demonstratives are derived is *nguwa* which I will gloss 'place'. The bare form *nguwa* is relatively frequent, as are *nguwama* (*-ma* 'DEFinite') and *nguwalay* (*-lay* 'OSTensive'). The other common form is *nguwa-gili* 'this side'. There are also some currently unanalysed *nguwa* forms.

Nguwa forms are much more commonly used ostensively than anaphorically, and often in apposition with locative nominals. *Nguwa* is not found with the Allative suffix, as some other demonstrative roots are.

Nguwa and *nguwalay* are typically translated 'here' and *nguwama* 'there'. There is nothing in the glosses to distinguish *nguwa* and *nguwalay*, but I assume that the latter is used when there is some ostensive action. The difference between *nguwa/nguwalay* and *nguwama* seems to be that the first two refer to the immediate vicinity of the speaker, and the later to a more distant location, often the location of the hearers, but not necessarily so. However 'close' and 'distant' are relative terms, context dependent. When used ostensively *nguwa* forms typically occur with stance or movement verbs such as *wila-y* 'sit'.

Nguwalay (377) and more frequently *nguwama* ((317)(g), (150)(b,c) are also used with discourse function, linking clauses. *Ngiyarrma* has a similar use, and the factors governing the choice between *nguwama* and *ngiyarrma* in such situations are not known. Table 84 gives common, rare and possible examples of *nguwa* forms.

Table 84   *nguwa* and derived forms

form	Suffix gloss(es)	typical gloss	comment/source
Common forms			
nguwa		here	fairly common
nguwalay	OSTensive	here	common
nguwama	DEFinite	there	common
nguwamawu	DEFinite+?TOTal	there	uncommon
nguwagili	side	this side	fairly common
Rare/uncertain forms			
nguwalay-la-ma	-la-DEF	this is where	(380)
nguwalay-la-m.bala	-la-DEF?-CTR		3218B 1574
nguwa-daa	down	there/down there	Sim: p37
ŋuari; nguwa-rri	*rri?*	over there	Laves; *??ngaarri*

Forms derived from *nguwa* have the usual word final phonological variations, but also wide variation in the realisation of *nguwa*. The final *-lay* is also transcribed at times as *–la* and *-li* and final *–ma* elides frequently. The variation in the realisation of diphthongs, and in the realisation of word initial *ng* has been discussed in §13.6.1. As a result of this variation there is considerable uncertainty about numerous instances now transcribed as *nguwama*. There are many instances where the tape transcription of one word has moved backwards and forwards between *nguwama* and *waama* and even *nguuma* on different hearings. The form *nguwamawu* has also been recorded. The additional syllable may be a word final distortion or may be a realisation of the *-Buu* 'TOTal' suffix.

Nguwa is found in Ridley (p 36 *ngowo* 'here'), MathewsGR and Laves. Wurm has the forms *nguwa* 'here', *nguwalay* 'here' and *nguwama* 'there'. Sim has *nguwali* 'here' and other less common forms. On the tapes *nguwa* is found around 20 times, *nguwama* 30 and *nguwalay* around 30. *Nguwa-gili* 'this side' is found around 10 times. A number of less common forms which are not well analysed are discussed at the end of this section.

5.3.7.1   *nguwa:* details and examples

Nguwa and *nguwalay* refer to places that are relatively close to the speaker. In (374) *nguwa* twice refers to 'on the speaker', in (375) (=(980)) it refers to an extensive area, the camp, but the context here is that the speaker is going away, so the contrast is between the camp and the speaker's future location away from the camp, as it is in (376) which has *nguwalay*. Similarly in (377) *nguwalay* contrasts the speaker's current and previous, distant location. *Nguwalay* is also used in the expression 'It will rain here', which can refer to an extensive area. The form *ngawumarr* in (374) is currently not analysed, but may be a variant of *nguwama*.

(374)   Sit on my knee.   JM/AD 3217A 1186

(a)   **nguwa**=*badhaay nganunda dhinbi-ya wila-ya // dhinbirr* means knee // **nguwa** *nganunda*
        place=MIGHT   1SG.LOC   knee-LOC sit-IMP //   // place   1SG.LOC
        Sit here on my knee,   JG

(b)   *dhinbi-ya wila-ya / giirr*=*badhaay nginda / gaba* **ngawuma[rr/d,** *wila-y.la-y*
        knee-LOC sit-IMP / true=MIGHT   2SG   / good place.rr??   sit-CTS-FUT
        Sit on (my) knee – you might be comfortable there.   JG

(375)   You stop, you stop here and mind the camp   JM/AD 3218A 1913
        nguwa=*badhaay*=*bala nginda / walaay ngarrangarra-la-y / ngaya*=*bala yanaa-y*
        place=MIGHT=CTR   2SG   / camp   look.after-CTS-FUT / 1SG=CTR   go-FUT
        You stop here look after the camp while I go away.   AD
        You will look after the camp here, and I will go.   JG

(376)   I must go but you must, but you must not go   JM/AD 3218A 1884

    ngaya, ngaya=bala gi.yaa.nha yanaa-y, nginda=bala **nguwalay** / *wila-y.la-ya*

    1SG,   1SG=CTR   going.to   go-FUT,   2SG=CTR   place.OST / sit-CTS-IMP

    I'll go, but you [are] not going, you stop   AD

    I am going to go but you stay here.   JG

(377) indicates that *nguwalay* can have a clause linking function.

(377)   I came in while you were talking   JM/AD 3220B 3538

    yiyal ngaya dhurra-y / **nguwali**=*nda*   *gaay guwaa-lda-ndaay* /

    just   1SG   come-PST / place.OST=2SG word tell-CTS-SUB

In (378) *nguwalay-dhi* may well be an error on Fred Reece's part, corrected to *nguwalay*, but perhaps not.

(378)   *Wadhuurr ngaya gi.yaa.nha* / *gimbi-li*   // **nguwalay-dhi** / **nguwalay** *dhuyul-a*

    windbreak 1SG   going.to   / make-FUT // place.OST-ABL / place.OST hill-LOC

    I am going to make a break on this little hill.   FR/JM 2438A 3555

    I am going to make a windbreak, here-?, here on the hill.   JG

(379) includes both *nhalay* 'this/here' which refers to a noun 'water' and *nguwalay* associated with a verb 'drink'. This suggests that *nhalay* has adnominal use in comparison with *nguwalay* which is more a locational.

(379)   We can get fresh water here.   JM/AD 3220B 3424

    giirr nhalay gaba gungan / *ngiyani* / *ngawu-gi* **nguwalay** *ngiyani*

    true this   good   water   / 1PL.ERG / drink-FUT place.OST 1PL.ERG

    This is good water and we will have a good drink here.   JG

(380) has the unique example of *nguwalay-la-ma*, a form for further investigation. The location is referred to later in (380) by *nguwama*.

(380)   This was where the pelican caught the crayfish   JM/AD 8186 458

    nguwalay-la-ma   *ngaama nguu*   / *gulaanbali-dju* /

    place.OST-LA?.DEF? that   3SG.ERG / pelican-ERG   /

    This is where the Pelican   JG

    burrulaa bayama-y **ngawuma** *yin.ga*

    many   catch-PST place.DEF crayfish

    caught a lot of crayfish.   JG

In (381)*nguwama* refers to the hearer's location. Anaphoric use, referring to a location established in the discourse, is seen (380).

As noted YG uses many more locational words than the equivalent English. In (381) the translation contains the word 'there' but not the elicitation. In (382) AD does not translate his own YR, but again there is no locational word in the elicitation sentence. The context for (382) is a distant part of the river, so *nguwama* is chosen.

(381)   What are you standing around for?   JM/FR 2437B 2591

    minya-gu=nda-wa??   / *warra-y.la-nha* **nguwama**

    what-PURP-2SG-?(perhaps the first syllable of *warra-y*)   stand-CTS-PRS place.DEF

    What are you standing there for?   FR

(382)   There were a lot of fish a little while ago   JM/AD 3218B 1888

    yilaa **nguwama.wu**   / *burrulaa* / *guduu* / *wunga-y.la-nhi*

    prox place.DEF.?TOT2/DIST / many   / fish   / swim-CTS-PST

    There were a lot of fish there a while ago.   JG

The situation of (383) is similar to that of (375) where *nguwa* is used, and (376) where *nguwalay* is used. However the initial contrast seems to be between the location of the speaker and that of the fire, so *nguwama* is used rather than the other forms. These choices are highly context dependent.

(383)   You two, come and sit down together beside the fire and I'll give you some porcupine to eat.

                                                                         JM/AD 3219A 3621

    ngindaali=badhaay **nguwama** / *guwiinbarraan-da wila-ya* /

    2DU=MIGHT   place.DEF / fire.around-LOC   sit-IMP /

    You two, sit around the fire. Sit there, but I will go.   JG

    ngawuma=*ndaali   wila-ya,   ngaya=bala=nga // 'naa-y,*

    place.def=2DU   sit-IMP,   1SG=CTR=THEN   // go-FUT

    You two sit there, but I will go.   JG

Nguwa-gili 'this-side' is a nominal which is generally found with Locative case marking, but there is no reason why it should not be used with other cases. (384) shows a straightforward use of *nguwagili*, and contrasts it with *ngaarrigili* 'far side'. (385) however is less clear, with a translation 'here alongside (of me)'.

(384)   Sit on this side of the humpy   JM/AD 3218B 3492

(a)   **nguwa-gili-dja** *walaay* / *wila-ya* / *walaa-dha ngay,*   **nguwa-gili-dja**

    place.side-LOC camp   / sit-IMP / camp-LOC 1SG.DAT place-SIDE-LOC

    Sit this side of my camp, humpy.   AD

    Don't sit on that side of the humpy   JM/AD 3218B 3506

(b)   *garriya=bala ngaarrigili-dja* / **nguwa-gili-dja** *dhanduwi-ya,* **nguwa-gili-dja** *wila-ya*

    don't=CTR   far.side-LOC   / place.side-LOC sleep-IMP,   place.side-LOC sit-IMP

    You sit on this side of the humpy, not on the other side.   AD

    Not on the far side, sleep on this side, sit on this side.   JG

(385)   [Mum to little boy]: Sit in front of me, little boy.   JM/AD 3217A 1132

    birralii-djuul / **nguwagili-dja** *nganunda* / *wila-ya* /

    child-DIM   / place.side-LOC 1SG.LOC / sit-IMP

    baluwaa **nguwagili-dja** *nganunda wila-ya*

    quiet   place.side-LOC 1SG.LOC sit-IMP

    Sit here alongside of me.   AD

    Kid, sit alongside of me; sit quietly alongside me.   JG

5.3.7.1.1 *nguwa:* questions

There are a number of unanalysed forms which probably involve *nguwa*. Sim (p 37) has *nguwadaa* in '(he sat) there' and (p 37) 'put the that spear down here' and in a few other examples. The first two are consistent with *-daa* 'down', so that *nguwadaa* is likely to be 'down here'. Laves (MS2188-9-12p039) has *ŋuari* in '(I've been drinking) over there'. This may be *nguwarri* with *-rri* unanalysed, or possibly *ngaarri* 'far'. The form *ngawumarr* in (374) is currently not analysed. *Nguwalay-la-ma* is found in (380), and *nguwalay-la-m.bala* at 3218B 1574. It is likely the *m* is pre-nasalising, which does occur at times. I have no analysis for these.

(386)   We are sitting near the river, we always sit here.   JM/AD 3218B 1568

   ??nguwalay-la-[m]bala ngiyani / wila-y.la-nha(wu) / baga-baa-ga

   place.OST-la = CTR   1PL   / sit-CTS-PRS.DIST   / river-??-LOC

   We sit here on the bank.   AD

As well there are a number of uncertain words in both the written sources and tapes which may be *nguwama*, but might also be *ngaama*, *nguuma* or perhaps other forms.

5.3.8   *ngii-/ngiri-* 'From' and derived forms

While *nguwa* is a free root with intrinsic Locative function the evidence suggests *ngii-*[91] YR is a bound root with intrinsically Ablative function. I gloss it 'FROM'. Examples are given in Table 85. Two GR examples have been found. One has *ngiri-*, consistent with the common *r > Ø* change between GR and YR, but the other has *ngii-*, the same form as YR.

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[91] In preparing the tape transcripts and interpreting earlier written sources uncertain forms were generally transcribed with known morphemes, and since *ngii-* was not analysed in earlier sources some instances of it may have been glossed as *ngiya-* forms, for instance *ngiima* interpreted as *ngiyama*, so further examples of *ngii-* may be found when transcriptions are revised. One would expect the usual phonological adaptations and variations in *ngii-* forms.

Table 85   *ngii-/ngiri-*: derived forms

Form	Suffix gloss(es)	(typical) Gloss	Comment/source
Common forms			
ngii-ma	DEFinite	from there/?that	common
ngii-lay	OSTensive	from here/?this	common
Uncommon forms			
ngii-baa	UP	from up	5055 1006; cf. uncertain *ngii-gu* at AD2833A 961
nyiirri-baa-ma-dhaay,	UP-DEF-to.here	(swooped) down	AD3220B 2452; form is different
ngiri-baa-dhaay	UP-to.here	from above	Ridley: *Gurre*. **GR**
ngii-ma = bala = nga	from.there = CTR = THEN	away from there	Tindale: 1 27: **GR**
Uncertain forms			
ngii-gu	?Allative	away from	AD2833A 961
ngii-mu	??	from there; from it	AD 2833B 424
nyii-nhawu, buwadja-yi		from?, father-ABL	AD5130 3601
minyaarru-ngi??		where from	Wurm: 64
ngi		here	Laves: MS2188-9-12p100

There are relatively few examples of *ngii-*. The more common are *ngii-ma* and *ngii-lay* mostly translated 'from that/there', 'from this/here'. They are found over 10 times each, mostly on the tapes. A rarer form is *ngiibaa* 'from up': (*-baa* 'up'). There are other examples that may include *ngii* but are currently unanalysable and there may well have been other forms not recorded or currently recognised.

Likely adnominal use of *ngiima* is seen in (387) and likely locational use in (388). (388) shows *ngiima* with *galiyay*, a verb which takes an Ablative location. (389) shows the Ablative used with *baay* 'hop', apparently to add the meaning 'across'. The verb *baay* does not usually take an Ablative location.

(387)   *na:ja ŋi:ma wala(i):dji*   SW p 90

      'naa-ya **ngiima**   *walaay-dji*

      go-IMP FROM.DEF camp-ABL

      Go away from this camp.   SW

(388)   His mother said: 'come down from that tree and don't be so silly'.   JM/AD 3219A 1185

(a)   *dhurra-la* **nyiima**, *dhurra-la* **nyiima**, **nyiima** =*nga* / *maalaa.bidi* ;

      come-IMP FROM.DEF come-IMP FROM.DEF FROM.DEF = THEN / big.tree   /

      Come (down) from there. Come (down) from there. From there now, the tree.   JG[92]

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[92] I would have expected *maalaabidi* in (388) to be in Ablative case.

(b) *waal* **ngiima** *galiya-ya,*
not   FROM.DEF climb-IMP,
Don't climb there.   JG

(389) Jump over.   JM/FR 1988A 1790

  baa-ya **ngiima**=*nga*   *nhaadhiyaan-di*
  jump-IMP FROM.DEF=THEN log-ABL
  Jump off that log. or Jump over the log.   FR

ngiilay is also commonly found with motion verbs. (390) shows both *ngiilay* 'from here' and *nguwalay* '(at) here' in the one sentence, referring to the same location.

(390) Go away from here.   JM/AD 3220A 3503

  yanaa-ya **ngiilay**,   *yanaa-ya / garriya*=*bala nguwalay wila-y.la-ya, yanaa-ya*
  go-IMP   FROM.OST, go-IMP   / don't=CTR   here   sit-CTS-IMP, go-IMP
  Telling him to go now.   AD
  Go away from here, go. Don't stay here. Go.   JG

Laves (12p038, 9-12p100) has two examples which do not fit the pattern outlined. He glosses *ngiilay* as 'here', with apparently Locative use in: 'I you wait for here'. He also has *ngi[i]* apparently as 'here', again with Locative use and as a free, not bound, form.

Ngii-baa/ngiri-baa 'from up' has been found twice. In (391)(b) it is not used with a motion verb, but indicates where the speaker was looking from. It contrasts with the likely, but uncertain *ngiyarri-baa* in (c). The second instance is in Ridley's *Gurre Kamilaroi*, with *ŋirribatai* in '(Immanuel) from above (came down)'. *Ŋirribatai* is likely *ngiri-baa-dhaay* 'FROM-UP-to.here', with *ngiri* the GR cognate of YR *ngii*. This is not a demonstrative but *nyiirri-baa-ma* is: Table 85 and (392).

(391) I saw the river underneath me, below.   CW/AD 5055 1006

(a) *giirr ngay' ngaama ngarra-y /*
  true 1SG   that   see-PST   /
  I saw it   JG

(b) **ngiibaa** *ngay' ma-y.la-ndaay / maalaabidi-dja*
  from.up 1SG   be.up-CTS-SUB / big.tree-LOC
  from up there where I was in the big tree.   JG

(c) *ngadaa.bali?*[93] *ngaama / gaawaa ngarra-lda-nhi ///*
  down.?   that   / river look-CTS-PST [pause]
  (I) was looking down at the river,   JG

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[93] *ngadaabali* is very uncertain, but may be *nga-daa-baa-lay*; there-DOWN-UP-OST '(looking) down from up here.'

(d) ngaya=bala **ngiyarri-baa** ma-y.la-nhi

1SG=CTR   there??-UP?? be.up-CTS-PST

I was way up on the top of the tree, looking down at the gaawaa.   AD

I was up there.   JG

(392), from the YR story of getting fire, includes a form very similar to *ngiibaa*. *Nyiirri* is probably related to *ngii*, but the meaning of the change is not clear.

(392) Wedgetail was flying around above, and   CW/AD 3220B 2452

nyiirri-baa-ma-dhaay=bala=nha wuuli-nyi   bamba   /

from?-up-DEF-TO.HERE=CTR=3 ?swoop-PST w.energy /

He come straight down (when he seen the meat, on the ground,) he flewed straight down (and picked it up and flew straight up in the air again and got away with the meat.)   AD

5.3.9   *marra* 'over.there2'

This section and the next deal with uncertain forms and meaning. In this section the rhotic is uncertain, and there may in fact be more than one form, or, less likely homophones, and the basic meaning or meanings are also uncertain.

The form, from the YR tapes, is *marra*, (even though Wurm's example in Table 87 has a retroflex rhotic) but there may also be another demonstrative *mara*, suggested by Ridley's *murra* 'there (at your hand)', with a different meaning. (cf. *mara* 'hand' GR). Glosses for the various *maRa*[94] forms include 'over there' 'here', 'that in front' 'that behind' and 'at hand'.

It is reasonably clear there is a form *marra*[95], whose basic meaning is some relatively distant location, since that fits most of the data, but this analysis may be revised. I gloss *marra* 'over.there2'. It is similar in use to *ngaarri*, 'distant' but 'far' and 'distant' are not found in glosses of *marra*. As with *ngaarri, marra* is not found with the suffix *-lay* OSTensive'. *Marra* is found in a wide range of sources. Table 86 gives more common or more recent examples and Table 87 contains examples from earlier sources.

The bare stem *marra* is glossed 'there (at your hand)' by Ridley, 'that' and 'that (in front)' by Mathews, and is found as 'over.there' at 3218A 3112, in the story of Wedgetail and Bowerbird. However the last may be in Wayilwan, since that language occurs in the story. *Marra* is also seen in (981) as 'out here', from the story of Emu and Brolga. At 3999A 79 AD has *marra* in '(there he [his] house), over there'.

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[94] Capital R indicates that the rhotic may be /r/ or /rr/.

[95] At times it seems as if *ngarra* and *marra* are variants.

Table 86   *marra* 'over.there2' and derived forms

Form	Suffix gloss(es)	Typical gloss	Comment/source
Main forms			
marra		over there, that; out here	
marra-ma	*-ma* DEFinite	over there; there	common
marra-dhaay	to.here		fairly common
marra-ma-dhaay	DEFinite-to.here		fairly common
marra-gu	Allative	over there	
marra-gu-lay	DEFinite=to.here	?over here	fairly common
Rare/uncertain form			
marram[binma]	??	that other mob	AD2440A 999

Table 87   *marra* in old sources

Source	Original	Gloss	Analysis
Ridley	*murra*	there (at your hand)	*mara*
MathewsYR	*murra*	that	*?mara*
	murra	that (in front)	*mara?*
	murrabu	that (behind)	*?marabuu; ??-Buu* TOTal
MathewsGR	*Murrangaragay*	that other	*marra ngaragay: ngaragay* 'other' (relatively common)
	murrugumadhai	round this way	*marragumadhaay*
Milson	*murrama*	(It's) here	*mara-ma*
	murra thy	(come) this way	*?marra dhaay*
WurmYR: 43	*maṟagu*	over there is flying (can no longer be seen)	*?mara-gu*

The form *marrama* is much more common. It is translated 'over there' in (393) and has the same meaning in (64) and AD5054A 1288.

(393)   I saw it over there.   CW/AD 3996A 248

giirr ngay' ngaama, **marrama**   */ ngarra-y //* **marrama** *means 'over.there'*
true   1SG   that,   over.there2 / see-PST   //

At 1852B 2541 FR has *marrama* in 'there's his house' which he contrasts with *nhalay* in 'here's his house'. AD3999A 57 has *marram=bala* and AD3996A 259, AD5054A 1288 have *marrama* 'over there' and AD3220B 2592 has *marrama* in 'that bird is sitting on its nest', with no explicit equivalent in the English. AD3218A 3325 has Bowerbird saying repeated *marram'*, then *ngaarrigu* and repeated *ngaarri*, then repeated *nhama* all seeming to have the translation 'over.there'. There is no obvious distinction in meaning.

The form *marrama-dhaay* is relatively common and is consistent with the meaning of *marra* indicating distance from the speaker.

The forms *marragu* and *marragulay* are relatively common. *Marragu* or *marra-u* is seen in (1036) as 'out here'. Wurm (Table 87) has *mar̃agu* 'over there', but a location that 'can no longer be seen'. At 3220A 41 AD translates: '(when I fell in the mud I left my yamstick) on the ground' saying the stick fell *marra-gu dhaymaa-ya* (*marra-*Allative ground-Locative). This use of *marra* may be consistent with a distant location, but is not obviously so. Nor do I have an explanation for the change of case between the two nominals.

In (394) *marra* may be followed by a Dative suffix and have pronominal function. This analysis is far from certain, and the fact that the Personal Declension Dative, -*ngu*, is not used suggests that *marragu* does not have pronominal function. *Ngaalima*, possibly a realisation of *ngaarrima*, in the same sentence, may also have pronominal function. The unanalysed suffix -*la* occurs twice in (394).

(394)   I'll give that yam to her.   JM/AD 8183 3065

   marra-gu-la=*badhaay*   *wuu-na* / *milaan ngaama* / *ngaalima-la*   *wuu-na,*
   that+close-DAT-la=MIGHT give-IMP / yam   that?   / that?-?DEF-LA give-IMP
   Give it to her. Give that yam to that one,   JG

   ngaama yinarr-duul-gu
   that   woman-ONE-DAT
   Give that to that little woman there.   AD
   to that little woman.   JG

The form *marragula[y]* is found a number of times, often paired with *ngaarrigulay* and with the phrase meaning something like 'this way and that' 'here and there'. At 5130 673 The cockatoo is '(jumping about) over there and over here' with 'over there' *ngaarrigula* and 'over here' *marragula??ngarragula*, (there is often uncertainty if the initial consonant is *m* or *ng*). At 2437B 1022 FR translates 'he walks this way and I walk that/the other way' with *marragulay* and *ngarragulay*. I take it that *marragulay* means 'this way', which could refer to the manner of walking or the direction. *Ngarragulay* is 'other.way'.

Other questions remain. A few uses of *marra* can be interpreted as having the meaning 'other', but this meaning is more commonly associated with *ngarra*, below. At 2440A 999 the form *marram[binma]* is used in translating 'that other mob' (the function of *[m]binma* is not known) but *marra* is likely 'other'. MathewsGR (p 268) has *murrugumadhai (mar[r]aguma-dhaay)* 'round this way'. The combination -*gu-ma* is currently unanalysed. As well the difference between *marra* and *ngaarri* remains unclear.

5.3.10 *ngarraa* 'ahead'; *ngARA* ?other

There seem to be a number of forms *ngARA*, with variation in the length of the vowels and in the rhotic.

The form *ngarraa* 'ahead' which is found in the tapes and Laves clearly has the meanings 'ahead' and 'in front'. *Ngarraa* may not be a demonstrative root since it is not conclusively found with the suffix *-ma* or *-lay* but it does occur with other suffixes found on demonstrative roots. (395) and (396) show *ngarraa*, and the contrast between it and *ngayaga* 'behind', which is likely *ngaya-ga* 'back-LOC': see §15.4.2.

(395)   Laves examples of *ngarraa*

(a)   *ŋara* or *ŋaˈraː* *(ngarraa)*   (You go) **ahead**.   MS2188-9-12p137 (also p50)

(b)   *naiaga*   *(ngayaga)*   (I'm coming) **behind**.

(c)   *ŋaraː*   *(ngarraa)*   **ahead**.   MS2188-9-12p137 et al.

(396)   The man will walk behind his wife.   JM/AD 3220A 389

   ngayaga nhama **gulii-ya**   nguungu 'naa-waa-nha / nhama dhayn-duul //
   behind   3.DEF   spouse-LOC 3SG.DAT go-MOV-CTS / 3.DEF   man-ONE   //
   That man is walking behind his wife.   JG

   ngayaga=bala=nha 'naa-waa-nha //
   behind=CTR=3.DEF go-MOV-CTS   //
   He's walking behind.   JG

   ngarraa=bala nguungu guliirr=Na yanaa-waa-nha
   ahead=CTR   3SG.DAT spouse=3   go-MOV-CTS
   He's walking behind his wife.   AD
   His wife is walking in front.   JG

In (397) the meaning of *ngarraa* is unclear but may be related to 'in front'.

(397)   (The best part was the pink meat) near the tail.   JM/AD 8184 3371
   ngarraa=badhaay dhiil-milan-da
   ahead=MIGHT   tail-CLOSE-LOC

The YR form *ngaya-* occurs in both *ngayaga* 'behind' and *ngayagay* 'other'. It may not be co-incidental then that *ngarraa* is both 'in front' and 'other'.

Derivations from *ngarraa* include *ngarraagu, ngarraagulay, ngarragili* 'other side', with *ngarraagulay*, 'other way/direction' being the most common. The form *ngarraama* is not found, I presume because 'other' and *-ma* 'definite' are not easily compatible. However it is possible for an 'other' to be definite, so *ngarraama* is possible. Also Sim (p 39) has *ngaarama* as 'it' in 'what's it alongside of?' I presume this is *ngarraa* 'other, in.front', and it supports the existence of *ngarraama*.

The form *ngarraa-gu* is rare. At 3219B 948 it is used to translate '(we all have a lot of water) **over there**' but again there is no indication of its precise meaning. Sim has *ngarraagu* in '(put it) there' and *ngarraaguwanu* as 'further over' (-*wanu* is currently unanalysable).

The form *ngarragulay* is common, with perhaps 50 examples. It is often consistent with the meaning 'away' (398) (111), or 'other way'.

(398)   Then I walked to the next camp.   JM/AD 8184 3416

 *yaluu ngay' / ngaama=nga / **ngarragulay**   / ngayaga-djuul-gu, walaay-gu yanaa-nhi*

 again 1SG / that=THEN   / other.ALL.OST / other-ONE-ALL,   camp-ALL go-PST

 Then went away again, to another camp.   JG

The meaning 'other' is seen in the common demonstrative *ngarraagulay* 'other way' seen in (399). AD here uses both 'away' and 'other way' in his English, but he also has two YR words, *ngarraagula(y)* and *minyaarruwaa*, so the precise meaning of each word is not clear. This use of *ngarraagulay* is consistent with 'in another direction'.

(399)   (That man is staring at me,) tell him to look somewhere else.   JM/AD 3218B 1964

 *wana nguu   **ngarraagula** minyaarru.waa   ngarra-lda-y /*

 let   3SG.ERG other.way   somewhere.ALL look-CTS-FUT /

 garriya=bala nganha / ngarra-lda-ya

 don't=CTR   1SG.ACC / look-CTS-IMP

 Tell him to look away, the other way, and tell him not to look at me.   AD

(400) has *ngarragulay* with a manner rather than direction meaning.[96]

(400)   (He) can't he throw it another way.   JM/AD 3220B 219

 *waalaa   / waalaa nguu   // **ngarragulay** / gayawi-lda-nha / maayu*

 why.not??can't?? / can't?? 3SG.ERG // other.way   / pelt-CTS-PRS   / well

 He can't throw it another way, properly.   JG

At 2833B 1300 'go and sit somewhere else' uses *ngarraagulay minyaarru-waa* (*minyaarru-waa* 'to somewhere') so *ngarraagulay* is likely 'to another place'. 3218B 825 uses *ngarraagula* in translating: '(it's not here, I must look) in another place'. *Ngarraagulay* is also found in 3219A 2585 '(the bad man had a lame leg and limped off) into the bush'. Both 'away' and 'to another place' are consistent with this use. A similar use is found at 3996B 1730, in the story of the *Guniibuu* 'Red-capped Robin', where the hunter, after questioning the others about his kangaroo '(went) away' *ngarraagulay*.

Many examples of *ngarraagulay* involve a contrast which might be glossed 'that way and the other way' as in (348) and at 2437A 703, where FR is warning someone

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[96] *Waalaa* is likely *waal-aa* not-ignorative 'I don't know if he can't'.

about a snake: 'don't come this way (*marragulay*) go round there (*ngarragulay*)', consistent with *ngarragulay* meaning 'another way'.

Ngarragili 'other side', found only in Sim, is also consistent with *ngarraa* 'other'. In the tapes 'other side' is *ngaarrigili* ('far side') or *gandaarr* ('far side of river').

Another variant, or perhaps a related word, is *ngaarra*. There are only a few instances on the tapes. A potential occurrence is the form *ngaangaarran*, which is likely based on a reduplication of *ngaarra*. It occurs in the story of *Bigibila* 'Echidna' (5129A 1355), who is telling the young hunters whose emu he is stealing to go further, to get the leaves for the fire. They ask, about a tree, 'this one?' and he says: 'no, *ngaangaarran, ngangaarraan-gu*' 'no, further, further on'. There is no firm analysis at this stage, but this could be a variant of *ngarraa* 'ahead'.

The GR sources have some evidence for ngARA, but they are likely to be more confused than the YG sources. In (395) and (396) YR *ngarraa* and *ngaya-* are distinct. The GR cognates are likely to be *ngarraa* and *ngara*, the second reflecting the $r > y$ change common between GR and YR. (GR does not have a cognate of *ngayaga* 'behind', but YR *ngayagay* 'other' corresponds to *ngaragay* GR.) The GR sources generally do not distinguish vowel length or rhotics, so it will generally not be possible to distinguish these two forms. Ridley (p 35) has *ŋurra* 'after', which is likely *ngara*. MathewsGR (p 264) has a number of likely related forms, Table 88, but they await further analysis.

Table 88   **Mathews forms with likely *ngarraa***

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Comment
Nhurragwannu	that farther one	*ngarra-gu-waa-nha*	uncertain: ahead?; *?-waa* 'indefinite'
Ngurragudhai	that (farther this way)	*ngarra-gu-dhaay*	
Ngungaraguli	beyond you	*nha-ngarra-gulay*	
ngaraguguddhera	Beyond that	*ngarraagugudh-??*	unclear

That is the conclusion of locational and anaphoric demonstratives. In composing YG there are constant choices to be made whether to use demonstratives and if so which ones. After a brief discussion of those choices some other unanalysed forms are given, and then manner and time demonstratives discussed.

5.3.11   Choice of Demonstratives

The factors governing the use of demonstratives and related forms is not well understood, so it is not possible to provide a comprehensive, or even substantial guide to use of these words in constructing new YG. The forms can generally be recognised in the YG sources, but that is very different from creatively using them. Nevertheless

some initial guidelines are now presented which can later be expanded on and corrected.

Nhama is the default definite demonstrative. *Nhalay* is used when the object is definite, being pointed to and near the speaker. *Nhamalay* is used with a definite and indicated object not near the speaker. *Ngaarrima* is used for a distant definite object when the distance is being emphasised and *ngaarrimalay* when the object is also being indicated. *Ngaarrigu* indicates direction, as do forms derived from it.

Nguwa forms are basically locative, with *nguwalay* referring to a place around the speaker and *nguwama* to a distant area. *Ngii-* forms are Ablative, and reasonably straight-forward in their use. A question remains as to whether *nguwa* and *ngii* forms have pronominal use: e.g. 'on this'; 'from this'. *Ngiyarrma* is problematic since we have no clear definition, but the indications are that it has mainly anaphoric use. It often seems equivalent to other forms. In particular there seems to be considerable overlap between the use of *ngiyarrma* and *nguwama*.

Ngarraa is here analysed as 'ahead' and also as 'other'. The uncommon form *marra* is similar in meaning to *ngaarri*, but with less focus on distance.

There is often a choice of which demonstrative to use, but there is also the question of when to use one or more demonstratives in a clause. YG generally uses many more demonstratives than are found in the equivalent English statement, but that is not all that helpful in making specific decisions.

5.3.12   Unanalysed and rare demonstratives

Questions remain about the more common demonstratives but there are many other forms found which are even less well understood. Some occur a small number of times, others only once, and some of these are likely to be just errors rather than actual words. Some have been listed in the earlier discussion. Others are listed here in Table 89 for later investigations.

Table 89   **Unanalysed or rare demonstratives**

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Note/comment
Ridley Wordlist (p 35-36)			
ŋuribu	very long ago	*ngaarri-buu*	*ngaarri* 'far' *buu* 'total'
ŋāribū	yesterday	*ngaarri-buu*	cf. very far, very long ago; uncertain
naialle	here	*?ngaya-lay?*	uncertain; cf. *ngaya* 'back' YR
aro	there	*?*	anaphoric l 59; 112; *Gurre Kamilaroi*

Table continued on next page.

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Note/comment
MathewsGR			
Nuggu	that	*nha-gu?*	*-gu.* Allative?, Ergative?
Nhai wurre	this (in rear of speaker).	*nhai?ngay warray [warray 'stand'];* cf. *ngayaga* 'behind'	unique
Nuddhai	this way.	*nha-dhaay*	unique
Ngunnundhi	this (in front of the speaker).	*nganundi* (1SG.ABL)	misinterpretation
Murrangurragai	that other	*mara-ngaragay*	
Laves			
yuari	over there Loc	*ngaarri??*	uncertain
ngaraba	above	*ngarraa-baa; ngarraa ?'*in.front'	possibly *-baa* 'up'
ngargu	he Erg	*ngaarr-gu*	unique
ngad*a'ma	(walking) down there	*nga-daa-ma*	indicate that *-ma* and *-lay* can follow *-baa, -daa* etc.
ngada'la	down	*nga-daa-la[y?*	
Wurm			
ŋa:nba:le	Collarenebri <u>over</u> <u>there</u> I go to work.	*ngaan-baa-lay?*	

At 3217B 1852 AD, in translating 'the wind changed direction and blew the fire another way' has *ngaya-lu, gayrra-nhi* (*gayrra-nhi* 'turn-PST'). The *ngayalu* is probably derived from *ngaya* 'behind', but the specifics are not clear. In the next sentence he uses *ngaarruuli=nga* (*=nga* 'now') and translates the sentence: 'It's burning right back now, it's turned round and burning right back'. *Ngaarruuli* is unanalysed but likely contains *-uu* (allomorph of *-Buu* 'TOTal') and *-li* as a variant of *-lay*.

The number of unanalysed forms which contain recognisable morphemes again suggests that the YG system of demonstratives and related word was extensive and detailed.

5.4 Manner and time words

YG has a series of manner and deictics derived from the 'manner bases' *yalagiirr* YR and *yalaguwaay* (and *yiyalaguwaay*) GR by using the usual *-ma* 'DEFinite' and *-lay* 'OSTensive' suffixes. There are time words derived from the manner bases and from demonstratives by use of a *-Cuu* 'time' suffix.

Table 90 shows the attested forms which include *yalagiirr* and *yalaguwaay*, and some hypothesised forms which would expand the paradigm. Table 91 contains less common GR manner words.

Table 90   **Main YG manner and time words based on *yala-***

Gloss	YR	GR	Notes
like	*yalagiirr*	*yiyalaguwaay*	
like that	*yalagiirrma*	*yiyalaguwaayma*	*-ma*
like this	*yalagiirray*	*#yalaguwaaylay*	*-lay*
the same	*yalagiirruu*	*#yalaguwaaybuu*	*-Buu* 'Total'
the same as that	*yalagiirruuma?*		
the same as this	*#yalagiirruulay*		
now	*yalagiiyu[u]*		
at that time	*yalagiiyuuma*		
at that very time	*yalagiiyuumawu*		
then, therefore	*yalagiirrmawu*	*#yalaguwaaymawu*	Very common.

5.4.1   *yalagiirr/yiyalaguwaay* and derived forms

Historically the forms *yalagiirr* YR/GR and *yiyalaguwaay* GR are complex, formed from *yiyal* 'just' and *-giirr* YR/GR, *-guwaay* GR 'like' (§2.4.1.6), with frequent deletion of the first syllable in later sources, i.e. in YR. The *a* following the *l* could be a Locative suffix, but the reason for using that is not clear. The words are compared with Wangaaybuwan manner forms later and alternative GR forms are also discussed then.

There are over 100 words based on *yalagiirr* in the tapes, the most common of which is *yalagiirrmawu* (>40) and *yalagiirrma* (>20). There are 12 *yalagiiyu* 'now'. These words are not found in the Fred Reece tapes. A few examples are found in Wurm. The GR sources are much more limited.

5.4.1.1   *yalagiirr/yiyalaguwaay* 'like'

The 4 occurrences of GR *yiyalaguwaay* in *Gurre Kamilaroi* well illustrate its use (and that of *yalagiirr*). They are used to make a comparison with an explicated referent (or manner). The examples are: *yiyalaguwaay ngindaay* '(we are men) like you' (*Gurre Kamilaroi* line 119); *yiyalaguwaay giwiirr* 'like men' (line 117) and *yiyalaguwaay ngiyarrma* 'like him' (lines 24, 86).

Bare YR *yalagiirr* is rare, so far found twice. In (401) the comparison is with a named object, the face, but the English translation does not capture the function of *yalagiirr*. (402) has both *yalagiirr* and *yalagiirrma* but the difference in meaning is not captured.

(401) You will frighten me if you pull faces like that. CW/AD 5058 1628

giirr nginda=laa nganha / giiyanma-li / **yalagiirr,** *ngulu nginu*

true 2SG=DIR 1SG.ACC / frighten-FUT / yalagiirr, face 2SG.DAT

You will frighten me, with such a face. JG

(402) Cook the wallaby like this. CW/AD 5128 2820

yalagirrma *ngaama / bandaarr // bandaarr / yilama-la,* **yalagiirr**

yalagiirrma that / kangaroo // kangaroo / cook-IMP, yalagiirr

5.4.1.2 *yalagiirr/yalaguwaay + -ma, -lay*

Yalagiirrma/yiyalaguwaayma are glossed 'like.that' and *yalagiirray, yiyalaguwaaylay#* are 'like.this', both referring to a way of acting. *Yalagiirrrma* also has consequential meaning: 'therefore, as result'. The sole example of *yiyalaguwaayma* is in a wordlist and glossed 'likewise' by Ridley. The form *yalaguwaaylay#* is not found, but formed by regular derivation.

YR *yalagiirrma* is common and is generally translated 'like that', 'in that manner'. This comparative use is shown in (402) (403) (part of (543)), probably in (404) and in sentences like CW/AD5058 731 'don't choke like that'; CW/AD5058 544 'don't carry the spear like that'.

(403) Don't dance like that. CW/AD 5058 1329

garriya=ndaay / **yalagirrma** *yulu-gi.la-ya*

don't=2PL / like.that dance-CTS-IMP

(404) You shouldn't do it. CW/AD 3998B 1415

waal nginda / **yalagiirrma** *gimbi-lda-y*

not 2SG / like.that do-CTS-FUT

Don't behave like that. JG

On the few occasions *yalagiirrma* introduces a consequence it has translations such as 'because' 'as a result' 'that's why'. For the present I assume that the *y* on the end of *yalagiirrma* in (406) is not significant. Nor will I consider further the use of the Ablative in (407), or consider whether other local suffixes could be used with *yalagiirrma.*

(405) That's why the gilaa has a red chest and a bald head. JM/AD 3218B 350

yalagiirrma *nhama=Na 'naa-y.la-nha, guwaymbarra bii*

like.that 3.DEF=3 go-CTS-PRS, red chest

That's why he has a red chest. / That's why he walks around, red chested. JG

(406) The sun is too high up in the sky and it is hot, that's why., JM/AD 3218A 2185

yalagiirrma[y */ ngiyani malawil-a wila-y.la-nhi*

like.that / 1PL shade-LOC sit-CTS-PST

We sitting in the shade there. AD

And so we were sitting in the shade. JG

(407)   That was why he was so fat.   JM/AD 8186 2156

    yalagiirrma-dhi / *nhama=nha wamu gi-dja-nhi*

    like.that-ABL   / 3.DEF=3   fat   get-EAT-PST

In at least two instances, (408) (409), *yalagiirrma* can be interpreted with a time connotation, but a manner interpretation is also possible. Time is more usually conveyed by *yalagiiyu and yalagiirrmawu,* discussed below. (408) occurs in a description of smoking a child who has been naughty. The child is 'choking with the smoke', so *yalagiirrma* could be 'then' or have a consequence interpretation: 'when he is like that'. Its function in (409) is not clear.

(408)   (A child is nearly choking from being smoked.)   AD/JM 3219A 1556

    yalagiirrma *ganugu* *yanaaynbi-y*

    yalagiirrma 3PL.ERG let.go-FUT

    Let him go then.   AD

    Therefore they let him go.   JG

(409)   That man looked at me as he walked past.   JM/AD 2833B 626

    giirr nganha / *ngaama* / *dhayn-duul-u, bamba*   *ngarra-y* /

    true 1SG.ACC / that?there / man-ONE-ERG, with.energy look-PST /

    That man really stared at me.   JG

    yalagiirrma / *ngaarriguli yanaa-waa-ndaay* / *bamba nganha*   *ngarra-laa-nhi*

    like.that,   / over.there go-MOV-SUB   / hard   1SG.ACC look-MOV-PST

    He was looking at me hard when he is walking along.   AD

    Like that, as he was walking over there. He was staring at me.   JG

(410) also contains a currently unexplained form*, yalagiirrama.* This could be *yalagiirr-LOC-ma*, or an error. However the word could be a nominal, 'a thing like that', the object of 'see', rather than an adverb.

(410)   I showed him the porcupine, and the constable really laughed.   AD/JM 3217A 1659.

    waal nguu   *yalagiirrama* *ngarra-y* / *yilaalu[u* /

    not   3SG.ERG yalagiirrama see-PST / long.time /

    He never ever seen a porcupine before in his life, [he said].   AD

    He had never seen such a thing before.   JG

Two examples have been found which are assumed to be *yalagiirray* 'like this'. Parker has *boorool luggeray Dinewan* (*burrul yalagiirray Dhinawan*), '(how can my children be) big <u>like</u> the emu's?' and Wurm (494) has *jalla girɛi maðði* (*yalagiirr-ay-ma-dhi*) 'this is why (I don't tie my dog up at night)'. The form in Wurm is analysed as having three suffixes: *-lay* 'OSTensive' *-ma* 'DEFinite' and Ablative. It suggests a richness of possible, but unrecorded, similar forms. Given the limited GR sources it is no surprise that no GR equivalent of *yalagiirray* has been found.

5.4.1.3   *yalagiirruu* 'the same'

Yalagiirruu includes the *-Buu* 'TOTal', suffix, so 'totally like' or 'the.same', in contrast to 'like'. The one clear occurrence is in (1085) '(hit me, and I will spear you in turn) the same way'. A possible occurrence is AD3220B 206, which has *yalagiirruu-m-bala* in response to 'he always throws it like that'. The *m* may be prenasalising or ellipsed *-ma*. If the latter then this is the only occurrence of *yalagiirruu-ma* 'the same as that'. The use of *-ma* and *-lay* on *yalagiirruu* and the hypothesised GR equivalent *#yalaguwaaybuu* is consistent with the use of these suffixes elsewhere.

5.4.1.4   *yalagidaay* 'right round'

The form *yalagiirr* also combines with *–dhaay* 'to.here' to form *yalagidaay*[97] 'around, right.round'; e.g. 'the boomerang went right round'. The combination does not seem to be compositional. The form is seen in (411) and (412).

(411)   The man threw away an old boomerang and it came back and cut off his head.

JM/AD 8184 2068

giirr nhama, wayamaa-gu / barran   / wana-nhi / ngaarrigulay /
true 3.DEF,   old.man-ERG / boomerang / throw-PST / that.way   /
The old man threw the boomerang right out there.   JG

yalagidaay = bala ngaama / barran   / gayrra-nhi,
right.round = CTR that   / boomerang / turn-PST,
The boomerang turned right round.   JG

yaluu-dhaay = nga?,   ngaarruuli, nguwama = Na = nga dhaygal-i buma-y
again = to.here = THEN? ???,   there = 3 = THEN   head-ABL hit-PST
It came back again ?from out there and hit him on the head.   JG

(412)   Turn around.   CW/AD 3994A 2767
yalagidaay = badhaay dhurra-la / yalagidaay / dhurra-la
right.round = MIGHT   come-IMP, / right.round / come-IMP
Will you turn around?   Ad
Turn right around. Turn right round.   JG

Yalagidaay is also found in translations of: 'look round everywhere', 'walk around the lagoon', 'twist round and round' and 'sit around the fire'.

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[97] Phonologically the boundary between the morphemes varies, but the most common realisation is *yalagidaay*, but *yalagidjaay* and *yalagidhaay* have also been recorded. The reason for the short *i* is not known.

5.4.2　　　Derived time forms

5.4.2.1　　*yalagiiyu* 'now'

Here I consider only time forms derived from YR *yalagiirr*. No time forms have been found derived from GR *yalaguwaay*. For other time words see §15.5. *Yalagiiyu*[98] is the common YG word for 'now', clearly derived from *yalagiirr* 'like' and *-Cuu* 'time' (see §15.5.6; see 13.3 for *rr > y* in YR). In a number of instances *–ma*, 'DEFinite' is suffixed to *yalagiiyu*. (413) shows the use of *yalagiiyu* while (414) hints that consequence, as well as present time, can be part of the meaning.

(413)　Now; I'm going now.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　CW/AD 3994B 3491

　　　*giirr ngay' yanaa-waa-nha / **yalagiiyu***

　　　true 1SG　go-MOV-PRS　/ now

　　　I am going; now.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(414)　That is why the crow is black.　　　　　　　　　　JM/AD 8186 1849

　　　*now / **yalagiiyu** / that's why / buluuy nyama=Na=nga gi-nyi*

　　　now / now　　/ that's why / black　that=3=THEN　　get-PST

　　　Now, that's why it is black now.　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

Yalagiiyuuma[99], with *-ma*, refers to a definite time: 'then', or 'that.time', as in (415). It is not clear whether *-lay* 'OSTensive' can be suffixed to *yalagiiyu*.

(415)　I will eat meat tomorrow.　　　　　　　　　　　　CW/AD 3996A 1539

　　　yaluu ngaya=laa / giibaabu　　　warray-ma-y.ngindaay.

　　　again 1SG=DIR　/ early.morning stand-??-SUB

　　　When I get up early in the morning.　　　　　　　　　　　AD

　　　***yalagiiyuu.ma** ngaya, dhinggaa dha-li*

　　　that.time　　　1SG,　meat　　eat-FUT

　　　Then I will eat meat.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(416) also illustrates *yalagiiyuma*, one of the rare *yalagiirr* words found in Wurm. The final *-wu* is possibly a distortion but more likely a realisation of *-Buu* 'TOTal', so a more precise gloss is 'right then', or 'right at that time'.

(416)　*jella giumoụ ŋali jɛnai*　　　　　　　　　　　　SW p 102

　　　***yalagiiyuuma-wu?**　ngali yanaa-y*

　　　that.time-DIST?TOT2 1DU　go-FUT

　　　That is the time we 2 will go.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SW

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[98] Final YR *rr* changes to *y* when some case forms are formed. The short final vowel is used in the GYY Dictionary. The sources vary, but final *uu* is more likely the traditional form.

[99] Words tend to keep final vowel length when a suffix is attached, so (415) is also a strong indication that what is commonly heard as *yalagiiyu* actually has a final long *'uu'*. (see also 3219B 2014)

5.4.2.2   *yalagiirrmawu* 'then'

The most common *yalagiirr* word is *yalagiirr-ma=wu[u*, which is generally translated 'then'. In most examples *yalagiirrmawu* appears to have a sense of logical consequence rather than specifying a time. Another possibility, consistent with most examples here, is that *yalagiirrmawu* refers to an extended time whereas *yalagiiyuuma* refers to a point in time. The actual occurrence of the word is at times uncertain, since the final *–wu* is often very faint, and may be a distortion rather than a significant morpheme.

The examples for *yalagiirrmawu* are necessarily complex, since the word is basically a clause/sentence level conjunction, and so a number of clauses or sentences are necessary to show the role of the word. In (348) and (417) *yalagiirrmawu* does not imply a time or logical sequence, but simultaneous events. In (418) - (421) *yalagiirrmawu* is associated with a strong sense of logical consequence.

(417) I am the same age as my mate/friend.   JM/AD 3220B 884
  *bulaarr / ngali.nya / **yalagiirrmawu**, bulaarr gaanga-nhi / ngali.nya*
  two, / 1DU.EXCL / that.time,   two   be.born-PST / 1DU.EXCL
  Two, we two were born at the one time   JG

(418) They [goannas] stay underground until they hear some thunder.   JM/AD 8184 1081
  *yes / **yalagiirrmawu** ngaama / ganunga dhanduwi-nyi /*
  yes, / that.time   that / 3PL   sleep-PST   /
  (When the cold comes they dig into the ground,) then they go to sleep,   JG

  winanga-lda-y ganugu murrumay / bamba   murrumay / dhurra-laa-ndaay /
  hear-CTS-FUT 3PL.ERG thunder   / w.energy thunder / come-MOV-SUB   /
  and they hear the thunder, the loud thunder coming   JG

  ***yalagiirrmawu**=bala ngaama ganunga / dhirra-laa-y   // dhirra-laa-y*
  that.time=CTR   that   3PL   / wake-MOV-FUT // wake-MOV-FUT
  They wake up then.   AD
  and then they will wake up.   JG

(419) The men can't see where they are walking because of the fog.   JM/AD 3219 A2167
  *wana ngaama guwa / bundaa-gi / **yalagiirrmawu**=nga, ngarra-lda-y*
  let that   fog / fall-FUT / that.time=THEN,   see-CTS-FUT
  Let this fog fall down and then they'll be able to see then.   AD

(420) The other people were very noisy.   JM/AD 8184 3501
  girriinba-lda-nhi ngiyama burrulaa-gu dhayn
  be.noisy-CTS-PST there   many-ERG   people
  Lots of people were making a racket   JG

  ***yalagiirrmawu** ngaya / waala dhanduwi-nyi*
  that.time   1SG / can't sleep-PST
  and so I couldn't get to sleep.   JG

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(421) They were fat children and she fed them well.   JM/AD 8185 2479

    giirr ngaama ganungu wamu gi-dja-nhi / wamuu ngu[u   / ngambaa-gu /

    true that   3PL.DAT fat   get-EAT-PST / fat?   3SG.ERG / mother-ERG /

    They got fat; she, the mother   JG

    maayu / dhuwarr ganungu, wuu-dha-nhi nhama birralii-gal-gu

    well / food   3PL.DAT, give-EAT-PST 3.DEF child-PL.DIM-DAT

    was feeding them well, the kids,   JG

    yalagiirrmawu.m = bala?? nhama = nga wamu gi-dja-nhi

    that.time.m = CTR   3.DEF = THEN fat   get-EAT-PST

    then/and.so they fat got.   JG

yalagiirrmawu 'that.time' and = *nga* 'then' are often found in the one clause. The effect of having the two time words is not understood. In (419) *yalagiirrmawu* is followed by = *nga* 'then'. In other examples like (421) *yalagiirrmawu* is followed by a demonstrative, which has = *nga* attached.

(422) (= (945)) contains what seems to be a case marked form, but may be a production error, with the *-ga* being part production of *ganunga*.

(422) The children looked at the dancing before they fell asleep.   JM/AD 3219A 752

    (AD talks of the children watching and the others dancing, then has:)

    yulu-y.aa-y.la-nhi,   ngarran gi-yaa-ndaay,

    dance-NIGHT-CTS-PST,   dawn   get-MOV-SUB,

    They danced all night, and when it was getting light   JG

    yalagiirrmawu-ga ganunga dhanduwi-y.aaba-y

    that.time-LOC?   3PL   sleep-TOT-FUT

    When its daylight that's the time they knocked off and gone to sleep.   AD

    Then they all went to sleep.   JG

Other *yalagiirrmawu* examples are: (637); (707) 'then emu picked up the sinews and ran away with them' and (945).

5.4.3   Other manner forms

This is a very brief consideration of alternative GR manner words. Table 91[100] lists forms which do not include the suffix *-giirr* or *-guwaay*. Historically it seems that there is little or no difference to the meaning between the simpler and longer forms. That is *yiyalayma* and *yiyalaguwaayma* seem to be semantically very similar. Milson has *yalla* (likely *yaalaa* or *yala*): see Table 91. The form is likely the same as Wangaaybuwan *yaalaa*[101] 'that's the way' (Donaldson p 137). It could be from a dialect of GR with similarities to WN, rather than a widespread GR alternative. Two possible derivation paths for the current YG forms are: from YG *yiyal* 'just'; from WN *yaay* 'thus' and *yaalaa* 'that way'.

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[100] The table also includes non-manner words, such as *yaliwunga* 'always' and *[yi]yaluu* 'again'.

[101] Other related WN forms include *yaay* 'thus' and *yaanhdhu* 'at this/that time' (Donaldson, 1980: 135).

Table 91   **Other GR manner and time words**

Original	gloss	Analysis	Source, comment
yalla	the same as this	*yala??yaalaa*	Milson
yalla	like (he speaks)	*yala??yaalaa*	Milson
jele	like (me), this way	*yalay?yaalay*	Tindale
jalei	(over) this way	*yalay?yaalay*	Tindale
yallaqui	like this	*yalaguwaay*	Milson
yalliboo	like that	*yalaybuu*	Milson; *-Buu* 'Total'
yallimall	that is right	*yiyal-i/ay-ma[l]*	Milson
Ridley			
yeäl /yeal	merely / only	*yiyal*	also YR; some have *yal*
yeälo/yealo	furthermore / again	*yiyal-a? //*	cf. *yaluu* YR
yeälima	as	*yiyal-i/ay-ma*	Not analysed
ellibu	also	*yiyal-i?-buu*	
yalwunga	always	*yaliwunga*	*yiyal-(i)-wu-nga?*

Only one example has been found that indicates that simpler forms were also found in YR. (423) is from Sim, but *-aylay* is unknown and the derivation of the meaning are currently not understood.

(423)   Our boomerangs are the same.   Sim

ngalingu barran   yiyal-aylay-gaali

1DU.DAT boomerang just-*aylay??*-DU.

5.4.3.1   Questions: *yalagiirr/yalaguwaay*

There are some forms related to those above which are currently not or incompletely understood. Some are listed in Table 91. *Yalagiirr-ay-ma-dhi* in (494) is another example.

5.5   Definiteness

It is not clear if YG has a pattern for marking definiteness. There are many examples which suggest it can be marked by the use of cross-referencing pronouns or by use of demonstratives, but there are also some examples of apparent definiteness where these deictics are not found.

A nominal is regarded as definite if the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the particular referent. There is sometimes syntactic marking of definiteness, for instance by the definite article 'the' in English. In the sentence 'who put the water on the table?' the speaker assumes that the hearer knows which water and table are being referred to; cf. Chafe (1970: 187). Not all instances or definiteness are marked with the definite article. In 'mum is coming home tomorrow' 'mum' is definite, identifiable, because she is unique. Personal pronouns and proper names are intrinsically definite.

In some Aboriginal languages demonstratives and pronouns are used to mark definiteness. Wangaaybuwan marks only absolutive (Nominative/Accusative) nominals as definite. It has only =*ni* (visible) and =*na* (other) as third person singular Absolutive pronouns. These also have dual and plural forms. Donaldson (1980: 127) points out:

> They [Third person absolutive pronouns] act as determiners, and are ADnominal as well as PROnominal.' .. 'A third person absolutive pronoun marks an absolutive nominal which it proceeds, not as closer to or further from the speaker, like the demonstratives do, but simply as definite, without any further deictic information.), … and their absence marks the nominal as indefinite.

In Arrernte as well, third person pronouns and their location marks definiteness. Wilkins (1989: 165) states:

> case is marked on the last element of a phrase, and when the NP is non-definite the final element of the phrase is a nominal, but when it is definite the final element will be a form of the third person pronominal.

Definiteness has not been discussed in previous YG studies, nor was the topic explicitly raised in elicitations. However one would expect YG to be similar to other Aboriginal languages and so mark definiteness, at least for some cases.

No absolute statement can currently be made about YG definiteness, but there is strong correlation between definiteness and the use of pronouns in the IIP to cross-reference a nominal, as in (424) (425) (426) (427). Further examples include (with the pronoun given): =*nha* in (1015) (730); *nguu* in (192) (794), *nguuma* in (266) - (268), *ganugu* in (795).

(424) *wa:l ŋu biřaligaldu winaŋalda*   SW p 86
       waal=**ngu** *birralii-gal-u*   *winanga-lda-nha*
       not=3ERG child-PL.DIM-ERG listen-CTS-PRS
       The children aren't listening.`   SW

(425) *gagil na biřaligal*   SW p 86
       gagil=**na**   *birralii-gal*
       bad=3NOM child-PL.DIM
       They are BAD CHILDREN.   SW

(426) They ran and ran the other way around the lagoon.   JM/AD 8186 1187
       waal nguuma gulaanbali-dju ngarra-li.gu
       not   3ERG.DEF pelican-ERG   see-PURP
       So that **the** pelican would not see (them).   JG

(427) *dhalaybaa   nhama   wiyayl*
       sharp   3.DEF   quill
       The quills are sharp.   FR 1853A 2355

But not all YG examples which have definite reference have cross-referencing pronouns. However in most instances there is a locative demonstrative which may make the reference of the nominal definite. In (428) (429) it may be that other deictics mark definiteness. *Ngiyama* in (428) may indicate the definiteness of *yinayu*, but *ngiyama* seems to commonly have locational meaning 'there', or be used to link discourse. It does not agree in case with *yinayu*. In (429) 'camp' is definite, possibly indicated by *nguwalay* 'here'.

(428) The woman made me wild.   CW/AD 5054A 757

    giirr ngiyama / yina-yu   nganha   / yiilay burranba-y
    true there   / woman-ERG 1SG.ACC / angry change-PST

(429) I am going hunting, you all stay at the camp.   JM/FR 2438A 230

    maniila-y ngaya gi.yaa.nha, ngindaay=bala nguwalay yilawa-ya gaarrimay-a
    hunt-FUT 1SG going.to,   2PL=CTR   here   sit-IMP   camp-LOC
    I'm going hunting, yous can all stop in the camp.   FR
    I am going to go hunting. You stay here, in the camp.   JG

However it seems that at times definiteness is not marked. In (430) and (431) the English object is definite and in (432) the Agent is definite, but none has a marker of definiteness in YR.

(430) Sweep.   JM/FR 1852A 1548

    biinba-la / biinba-la dhaymaarr
    sweep-IMP / sweep-IMP ground
    Sweep! Sweep **that** ground!   FR

(431) *yanaa-y.n.bi-la maadhaay*
    go-let-IMP   dog
    Let **the** dog go.   FR 1851A 1151

(432) The bird whistled.   JM/FR 1853B 2829

    dhigayaa-gu wiila-nhi
    bird-ERG   whistle-PST
    The bird whistled.   FR

Definiteness in YG remains a topic for further investigation.

6   Interrogatives, negatives, ignoratives

Interrogative clauses are polar or content questions. Polar interrogative clauses can be formed in two ways: firstly by intonation, see §13.10.1: the words are the same as the statement, but the intonation rises; secondly by clause initial *yaama*. Content interrogative clauses have clause-initial content interrogatives.

Interrogative words are considered as a group because they often share semantic, syntactic and morphological features. They typically occur clause initially. They can be suffixed with the definite suffix *-ma* (§5.2.4.1), the indefinite suffix *-Waa*[102] (§6.5.1) and the ignorative suffix *-Waayaa* (§6.5.2).

Interrogatives belong to a range of word classes. Interrogative pronouns, *minya* 'what' and derived forms are nominals. *Yaama* is a particle. Others such as *galawu* 'when?' are adverbs.

The current impression is that interrogative sentences formed with an interrogative word have the same intonation pattern as non-interrogative sentences, but this awaits further investigation.

There are some uses of YG interrogatives that do not correspond totally with their English glosses, for instance 'what is your name?' is asked using *ngaandi/ngaana* 'who': see (444). In both YR and GR there are interrogatives of uncertain form, or with alternative forms. All sources may reflect English influence in the recording or use of interrogatives.

The polar interrogative particle *yaama* is considered first, then content interrogatives, some formally derived from other interrogatives such as *minya* 'what'. Table 92 lists YG interrogatives.

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[102] It has been assumed that *-waa* and *-gaa* are lexically determined alternatives of the ignorative suffix. However the use of *-gaa*, not *-waa,* in *ngaanngunda-gaa* (450) suggests there may be a semantic difference.

Table 92   **Summary of YG interrogatives**

Form	Gloss
Polar interrogative	
yaama (yaa)	
Interrogative nominals: Nominative/Accusative form	
ngaandi/ngaana	who
minya	what
minyaarr	which
minyangay	how many
Interrogative adverbs: no case forms	
gulaarr/galaarr	how
gulAwu/galAwu YR wiyarruu GR	when
Other	
minya-gu, minya-dhi	what for, why

6.1   *yaama* 'QUEStion'; polar interrogative'

Yaama is infrequent in early sources. Ridley (p 35) has 'note of interrogation *yamma*' and: '"*yamma*" is placed at the beginning of a question'. MathewsGR (p 268) has ' *Yamma* and *yelle* appear to have the sense of 'if''.

The particle *yaama*[103] begins a polar question (433). The same question can be asked without *yaama* by using rising intonation. (434) (=(270)) has *yaama*. (435) is a hypothetical (constructed) equivalent, using question intonation and with word order changes to keep the pronoun/demonstrative in second position. (842) and (843) are other intonation questions.

(433)   You carry this for me, my basket/box.   LO/AD 6215 1087

yaama=nda nhama / **yaama nginda** means 'will.you' *nhama ngay*   box *gaa-waa-y*
ques=2SG   3.DEF / ques   2SG   3.DEF 1SG.DAT box carry-MOV-FUT
You carry my box along.   AD
Will you carry my box?   JG

(434)   Say to me: He washed himself.   CW/AD 3995B 1869

(a)   **Yaama** *nguuma* / *nginu*   *gulii-yu*   / *wagirrbuma-nhi?*
ques   3ERG.DEF / 2SG.DAT spouse-ERG / wash.M-PST
Did he, your husband, wash (himself)?   JG

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[103] See *yaa* 'question2' §6.1.1, which apparently previously had the same function. *Yaama* is formally a combination of *yaa* and *–ma* 'DEFinite': see §15.2.1.

(435)   He washed himself?   CW/AD 3995B 1869

(a)   *wagirrbuma-nhi nguuma   / nginu   gulii-yu*

        wash.M-PST   3ERG.DEF / 2SG.DAT spouse-ERG

        He washed, your husband?   JG

Other examples of *yaama* include (228), (241). *Yaama* is often followed by a second person clitic pronoun: (433) (241), but only rarely has the =*NHa* '3' clitic: (436): (The only 3 examples are from Reece.), and even *yaama nguu* ('Did s/he.ERG?') is uncommon.

(436)   Tell me whether he's coming or not coming.   JM/FR 2437A 3312

        yaama=nha *dhaay   yanaa-waa-nha*

        ques=3   to.here come-MOV-PRS

        Is he coming here?   FR

Yaama has idiomatic non-polar use. It has been used in YG area for many years as a single word greeting. (437) has a phrase which appears twice in Wurm, with slightly different translations, but clearly also a greeting. (438) also illustrates idiomatic use. If interpreted literally it would be 'Is that a match?'

(437)   *ja:maŋa*   SW p 95, 97

        yaama=nga

        ques=NOW

        how was it? how is it going?

(438)   *já:ma búrì*   SW p 10

        yaama *buri*

        ques   match

        Where is match?   SW

        Is there a match (for lighting a cigarette)?   JG

Yaamagaa, (–*gaa* 'indefinite') most commonly occurs translated 'perhaps/if' in indirect question: (439). In (440) it is used to make a suggestion, an implicit question and in (441) it indicates uncertainty.

(439)   I asked her for a spear. (tidied response)   CW/AD 5057 1851

        *giirr ngay' ngaamu / ngambaadhi ngay   dhaya-y / **yaama.gaa** ngay   bilaarr wuu-rri*

        true 1SG   that   / mother.MY 1SG.DAT ask-PST, / whether 1SG.DAT spear give-FUT

        I asked my mother if she would give me a spear.   JG

(440)   We might go swimming.   CW/AD 5131 572

        *aa / **yaama.gaa** / ngali wunga-y*

        aa / perhaps   / 1DU swim-FUT

(441)   Perhaps I will be fat.   Sim p 46

        yaama.gaa *ngaya wamu gi-gi*

        perhaps   1SG   fat   be-FUT

6.1.1 *Yaa* 'QUEStion₂'

In more recent sources polar questions are expressed by intonation or by use of the particle *yaama* §6.1. However in some early sources *yaa* by itself can form a polar question[104], a use lost in later sources[105]. The evidence at this stage is mainly from Milson (c.1840) with one potential example in Wurm. Milson's evidence (p 8) is presented in Table 93.

Table 93   **Milson: examples of *yaa***

Original	Original gloss	Analysis
Ya Ninda	Have You?	*Yaa nginda?*
Yandabooruldie	Did You eat enough?	*yaa=nda burrul dha-y*
ya geer	Is it ready? done? Did you get it? Will that do?	*yaa giirr*
ya geer booruldee	Did you eat plenty?	*yaa giirr burrul dha-y*
ya burra	Will it come off (bark)?	*Yaa buurra-y* (past tense)
ya connithoo	How far	*yaa ???*

On p 6 she has: '*yanda* is an abbreviation of *ya ninda* and seems to imply: will you, have you, did you, do you'. Wurm's (442) also suggests a free particle, *yaa* – but that depends on my translation of the sentence, so it is not the strongest evidence.

(442)   *já:nd∂ wí:βilì*   SW p 10
     yaa=*nda wiibi-li*
     pot=2SG be.sick-FUT
     You are sick.   SW
     Will you be sick?   JG

See also §15.2.1: =*yaa* 'POTential' which is formally identical and semantically related.

---

[104] *Yaama* then can be analysed as *yaa + ma* 'Definite' §5.2.2

[105] The analysis of *yaa* as a free morpheme is strengthened by the similar process seen with *nha* 'that/3' which is found only as a bound form in more recent sources (as *nha-ma* most commonly, which also adds -*ma* to a previous free form), but is found as a free form *nha* in Mathews. So quite possibly both *yaa* and *nha* have changed from free to bound YG forms in recent history.

6.2   Interrogative pronouns

YG interrogative pronouns are set out in Table 94. There is variation in the Nominative/Accusative forms: *ngaana* is used in Yuwaalayaay, *ngaandi* in Yuwaalaraay, and both in Gamilaraay. Other forms are the same in both languages. The table has the same forms as in Williams (p 55). Sim (1998: Appendix: p 3) has a full Yuwaalayaay paradigm.

Table 94   **YG interrogative pronouns**

Ergative	Nominative/Accusative	Dative	Locative	Ablative
ngaandu	*ngaana* Yy, GR *ngaandi* Yr, GR	*ngaanngu*	*ngaanngunda*	*ngaanngundi*

The forms can be interpreted as built on the root *ngaan-*, a common form for 'who?' in Australian languages (Dixon, 2002: 372), or at least in Pama-Nyungan languages (Koch, 2014a: Table 7). Both Nominative/Accusative forms, *ngaan-a* and *ngaan-di* are idiosyncratic: *ngaan* would be expected for these cases. However it is common for uninflected interrogative pronouns to take some kind of augment (Koch, (p.c.)). The other pronouns use the Personal Declension case forms: §2.2.6.

Interrogative pronouns occur clause initially since, unlike the common use of other pronouns, they are the focus of the sentence. Furthermore they provide the base for indefinites e.g. *ngaandi.yaa* 'someone Nom/Acc' and ignoratives e.g. *ngaandi.yaayaa* 'I don't know who'.

Ngaana (Accusative) is seen in (443), and *Ngaana* (Nominative) in (907). *Ngaandu* (Ergative) is seen in (446) and (10)).

(443)   **ŋaꞏna** *ŋinda giaꞏna ˈgayawili*   Laves 9-12p091
        ngaana   *nginda gi.yaa.nha gayawi-li*
        who.ACC 2SG   going.to   pelt-FUT
        who at you're throwing boomerang   Laves
        Who are you going to pelt?   JG

Ngaandi Nominative is seen in (444), which also shows the use of the 'personal' pronoun to ask about names.[106] Goddard (1983: 126) points out that in Yankunytjatjara:

> *ngana* 'who, what name?' is used to seek not only the identity of a person, but the identity of named places and other named things such as songs.

In (444) 'man's name' is referred to by a whole-part construction, not by a Dative.

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[106] Goddard (1983: 126) points out that in Yankunytjatjara: *ngana* 'who, what name?' is used to seek not only the identity of a person, but the identity of named places and other named things such as songs. There is no evidence about the YG practice in such instances.

(444) *ŋa:ndi* nama ḍe:inj gɛ:'r gigilana[107]   YR: SW p 93

      ngaandi nhama dhayn gayrr gi-gi.la-nha

      who   3.DEF   man   name be-CTS-PRS

      Who's that man coming over this way?   SW

      What is that man's name?   JG

The indefinite suffix - *Waa* is generally translated 'some' (445), but at times is given ignorative use (446), which is more commonly conveyed by the ignorative suffix (447). The English negative indefinites (no-one, etc.) are formed by the negative (*waal, gamil*) and the relevant YG indefinite, as in (448).

(445) shadow, somebody's shadow, on the ground;   CW/AD 3996B 376

      ngaanngu-waa, nham' / malawil

      whose-INDEF, 3.DEF / shadow.

      That is **someone's** shadow.   JG

(446) *ngaandi-yaa ngaama wiyaybaa dhayn*

      who-INDEF   that   stranger   man

      I **don't know** who that is, he is a stranger.   AD/JM 3999A 1458

(447) *ŋa:ndi jaja*   SW p 95

      ngaandi-yaayaa

      who-IGNOR

      I **don't know** who he is.   SW

(448) He (a pet emu) got used to me; he would stand halfway along the track, stopping people since

      (he) didn't want no-one to go near me.   AD/JM 5130 764

      waal nganunda **ngaandi.yaa** = badhaay yanaa-y-ga.y

      not   1SG.LOC   who.INDEF = MIGHT   go-FUT-??

      So that no-one would come near me.   JG

(449) and (450) show Locative and Ablative indefinite pronouns. The alternative forms seen in (450) are currently unexplained. The indefinites are later in the sentence in (448), (450).

(449) There's human blood on that spear.   JM/AD 3220B 948

      guway-biyaay nhama bilaarr nginu   / **ngaanngundi-yaa** *nhama dhurra-y*

      blood-COM   3.DEF spear 2SG.DAT / who.abl-INDEF   that   come-PST

      That spear come **out of somebody**, and blood on it.   AD

      That spear of yours has blood on it, it came out of someone.   JG

(450) (Be quiet,) or I'll give you to someone else.   JM/AD 8185 1141

      yalagiirrmawu ngaya = *laa nginunha wuu-rri* **ngaanngunda-gaa** / **ngaanngunda-waa**

      that.time   1SG = DIR 2SG.ACC give-FUT who.LOC-INDEF   / who.LOC-INDEF

      If you do (cry) I will give you **to somebody**.   JG

---

[107] This is an example of the whole-part construction considered in §10.4.2.4.

The YG evidence for interrogative pronouns is clear and relatively common. The GR evidence is fairly sparse. GR has both absolutive forms: *ngaandi* is found once in Ridley, and *ngaana* twice in MathewsGR. The total Ridley evidence is (1875: 7): '*āndi?* who? (*ngaandi*) 'hence the verb '*anduma*' tell who'' (*anduma* is not a verb, but *ngaandu-ma*, with –*ma* 'DEFinite' §5.2.4.1). MathewsGR has *ngandu* (*ngaandu*) in an Ergative role. He has *ngaanu* 'whose' and *ngannudnyi* 'who from?' (sic) which suggest an alternative, perhaps archaic, Dative, *ngaanu*. The common form is *ngaanngu*. There are a number of interrogative pronouns in Wiradjuri which include *nganu*, further indicating this form was found.

Mathews gives number marked interrogative pronouns in YR (1902: 139) (set out below) but not in his GR. However the forms do not show any of the expected patterns. This is the only currently found information about such number marking in YG. It is clearly found in other languages including Wangaaybuwan. It may well have been a feature of traditional YG but the evidence is slight.

Table 95   Number marked interrogative pronouns in Mathews

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Comment
ngana	Who (singular)?	*ngaana*	
ngananumma	Who (dual)	*ngaana nhama*	not dual, but: 'who is that?'
ngangananumma	Who (plural)	*nga-ngaana?* *nhama*	reduplication?, possibly *ngan-ngaana nhama.*

6.3   *minya?* 'what?' and derived forms

Minya 'What?' is the most common YG interrogative. There are similar forms in many Australian languages, often *minha*. YG *minyaarr* 'which' and *minyangay*[108] 'how much/how many' are presumably derived from *minya*. In YR the locational interrogatives are derived from *minyaarr*[109]. The records suggest that *minya* can occur in the full range of cases, although Desiderative is the only derivational case found. Fewer case forms of *minyaarr* and *minyangay* have been found, but again that likely reflects the sources rather than the possibilities of the languages. Table 96 shows the attested and hypothesised case forms of these interrogatives and the GR locational interrogatives (forms marked # have not been attested but are consistent with the paradigm).

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[108] This word suggests that the count/non-count distinction is not found in YG, and it is not common in other Australian languages.

[109] In GR they are derived from *dhalaa* (or *dhalaarr*) 'where'.

Table 96   **Case forms of some interrogatives**

Case	What	How.many	Which	WhereYR	WhereGR
Nominative	*minya*	*minyangay*	*minyaarr*		
Accusative	*minya*	*minyangay*	*minyaarr*		
Ergative	*minya-dhu*	*minyanga-dhu*	*minyaayu*		
Dative	*minya-gu*	*minyangay-gu*	*minyaarr-gu#*		
Allative	*minya-gu*	*minyangay-gu#*	*minyaarr-gu#*	*minyaarru*	*dhalaa*
Locative	*minya-dha*	*minyanga-dha*	*minyaaya*	*minyaaya*	*dhalaawu*
Ablative	*minya-dhi*	*minyanga-dhi*	*minyaayi*	*minyaayi*	*dhalaayi*
Purposive	*minya-gu*	*minyangay-gu#*	*minyaarr-gu**		
Desiderative	*minya-nginda*	Forms which would occur in this cell are not found, but all are probable.			
Comitative	*minya-biyaay#*				
Caritative	*minya-dhalibaa#*				

6.3.1   *minya?* 'what?'

The most common content interrogative is *minya* 'what?' It asks for the identity of a non-personal referent. Case forms found are given in Table 97. Ergative and Locative have irregular suffixes. The Dative might have been *minyangu*, however – *ngu,* the common irregular Dative suffix, is found only on personal pronouns, so this is unlikely. Sim is the only source. His Accusative *minyaa-nguu** is likely a misinterpretation of sentence-initial *minya = nguu*, *nguu* '3SG.ERG'.

Table 97   **Some *minya* 'what' case forms**

Case	Sim	Wurm	Tapes	Other	Analysis
Nom	*minya*		*minya*		*minya*
Acc	*minya(a)-nguu**		*minya*		*minya*
Erg	*minya-dhu*		*minya-dhu*		*minya-dhu*
Dat	*minya-gu*				*minya-gu*
All	*minya-gu*				*minya-gu*
Purp	*minya-gu*	*minya-gu*	*minya-gu*	Parker *Minyah goo*	*minya-gu*
Loc	*minya-dha*				*minya-dha*
Abl	*minya-dhi*	*minya-dhi*	*minya-dhi*		*minya-dhi*
Desid	*minya-nginda*		*minya-nginda*		*minya-nginda*

The Nominative/Accusative form is common, found in sentences like: *Minya nhama?* 'what's that?': (451), (452).

(451) In a story bigibila 'porcupine' hears something fall and asks: AD/CW 5129A 1277

    *aa / **minya** ngaama bundaa-nhi? bamba ngaam bundaa-nhi*

    aa / what there fall-PST hard that fall-PST

    What was that that fell? It fell with a crash. JG

(452) What did you see? CW/AD 3996A 223

    ***minya**=nda ngaama ngarra-y*

    what-2SG there see-PST

    What did you see? AD

The Ergative/instrumental form is fairly common, used to show an agent in (453) and instrument in (454), the latter being an indirect question.

(453) *bayn mubal gi-ngindaay / **minya-dhu-waayaa** / bayn burranba-y*

    sore stomach get-SUB / what-ERG-IGNOR / sore cause-PST

    That little fellow's stomach was aching and don't know what's the matter with him.

                                                  AD/JM 3217A 2542.

    I don't know what made his stomach get sore. JG

(454) Them kids think that I killed that bird, but, AD/JM 2832B 3146

    *waal=bala ngaya guwaa-y **minya-dhu-waa** ngaya buma-ldaay*

    not=CTR 1SG tell-PST what-ERG-INDEF 1SG hit-SUB

    I never told them what I killed him with. AD

Dative *minya-gu* is found with purposive function (455) (456) but not with other functions except in Sim (Table 97). The only examples of Allative (457) or Locative (458) case *minya* are also from Sim. The Locative suffix is *–dha*, not the standard *–ga*, and is similar to the Ergative *–dhu*. (See Table 5 for case allomorphs)

(455) *minjagunda ðurai* SW p 90

    ***minya-gu**=nda dhurra-y*

    what-PURP=2SG come-PST

    Why did you come? SW

(456) *mijna-gu ŋinda ŋami-lda* SW p 53

    ***minya-gu** nginda ngami-lda-nha*

    what-PURP 2SG look-CTS-PRS

    What are you looking for? SW

(457) To what did he walk? Sim p 39

    ***minya-gu**=nda ngaarrimali 'naa-nhi*

    what-ALL=2SG over.there go-PST

    What did you walk to? JG

(458) What's it alongside of? Sim p 39

    ***minya-dha** ngaarrama wi-y.la[-nha*

    what-LOC over.there lie-CTS[-PRS

Ablative case has the usual local (459) and causal (460) uses.

(459)   From what did he walk?   Sim p 39

     minya-dhi = *nda dhaay   dharrawuluwi-nyi*

     what-ABL = 2SG to.here return-PST

     From what (?what cause, ?what thing) did you come back here?   JG

(460)   Why won't you come?   CW/AD 5055 244

     minya-dhi-yaayaa

     what-ABL-IGNOR

     I don't know, why he didn't come.   AD

     I don't know why.   JG

Caritative case *minya-nginda* 'what-wanting' is common, often in *minya-nginda* = *nda* 'what do you want?', e.g. (130) (131) (133) (232).

6.3.1.1   *minyangay?* 'how many?'

Minyangay is a nominal which asks 'what amount': number or quantity. Evidence for *minyangay* is considerably less than for *minya*. It is found in earlier sources: Ridley: *minyuŋgai,* MathewsGR: *minyungai,* MathewsYR: *minyangi.* MathewsGR also has *minyangguddha* 'how many times?' (*minyanga* = *dha,* Locative). *Minyangay* is common in the tapes, commonly translated 'how many' but 'how much' is also found.

Sim's paradigm (1998: Appendix: 3) includes most of the non-derivational cases of *minyangay.* Table 96. The –*dhu* (Ergative) and -*dha* (Locative) suffixes are sometimes found on *(a)ay*-final words with deletion of the *y*. The Dative and Ablative suffixes have the standard forms, -*gu* and –*dhi*, but the Ablative also involves deletion of the final *y* before *dh*.

The form is also occasionally *minyanga*, twice in (461)[110]; when followed by a clitic and by an *ng*-initial word (*ngindu* is Wayilwan 2SG). FR1852B 1987 has: *minyangay* then *minyanga nginu* (How many have you?). AD3217A 917 has '*minyangay* = *nya* then *minyanga-ma'* (how.many = 3, how.many-DEF) in response to 'how many pieces can you eat?'.

(461)   You might ask me: How much you want? I'll ask you: AD/LO 6215 306.

     minyanga = *nda   / minyangay ngindu // minyanga-nginda // ngay' wuu-rraa-nha*

     how.many = 2SG / how.many 2SG   // how.many-WANT // 1SG   give-MOV-PRS

Sim has two idiomatic uses for Locative case, (462) and a similar structure for 'how many nights'. This suggests *minyangadha* as a suitable way of asking 'how long' with reference to time[111].

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[110] Alternatively the last *nginda* may be 2SG, and *ngay* may be 1SG.DAT.

[111] This is typical of Australian languages: 'how many (nights)?' for 'how long?'

(462) How many days?   Sim p 48

minyanga-dha-*waayaa yaadha [yaay-dha]*

how.many-LOC-IGNOR day   [sun-LOC]

I don't know how many days.   JG

Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 267) has *minyangalmay* 'what quantity' and it is also
used, in Nominative case, for time questions.

6.3.1.2   *minyaarr?* 'which?'

Minyaarr 'which' asks for one of a group to be selected, e.g. 'which camp?',
'which woman?' The case forms are given in Table 96, many hypothesised. It is
common with–*ma* 'DEF'. It is common in the tapes as are the (historically) derived
YG local interrogatives *minyaaya* 'where.at', *minyaarru* 'where.to' and *minyaayi*
'where.from'. *Minyaarr* is not found in Mathews. Ridley has *minnima?* 'which?', i.e.
minya-ma, not *minyaarr*. It is not found in Laves. Wurm has it twice: once in the
translation of: 'which is your father?' and in (463). The other examples show common
uses.

(463) *minja:r̃ gili-dja ŋinu bù:djẹḍ war̃ɛila*   SW p 90

minyaarr-gili-dja *nginu   buwadjarr warra-y.la-nha*

which-SIDE-LOC 2SG.DAT father   stand-CTS-PRS

which one standing around is your father   SW

What side is your father standing on?   JG

When *minyaarr* is found with –*ma*, it is often then repeated without the suffix.

(464) Which track?   JM/AD 3219B 1315

minyaarr-ma *ngaama / yuruun, minyaarr ngaama yuruun ngaama gaawaa-gu*

which-DEF   that   / road,   which   that   road   that   river-ALL

Where the road to the river?   AD

The Sim paradigm has the regular YR Ergative *minyaayu*. AD, in (465), his one
example has *minyaarru*, the GR Ergative.

(465) Which brother of yours took your father's meat?   JM/AD 3218A 1772

minyaarr-u, minyaarr-u-ma */ ngaandu-ma[a ngaamuu, dhinggaa …*

which-ERG, which-ERG-DEF / who.ERG-DEF that?,   meat   …

Which one, which one, who there?? (did it) meat.   JG

(466) contains the one instance found of *minyaarr* with the indefinite suffix.

(466) We don't know which one.   JM/FR 2437A 3269

minyaarr-aa */ minyaarr-aa nhama birralii*

which-INDEF / which-INDEF 3.DEF child

I don't know that kid. It is something like what you asked.   FR

I don't know which/who that child is. [That child is some-which].   JG

In Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 149, 266) *minyaarr* is 'which part', and used in
sentences like: 'which part of the rabbit did you eat?' and 'I don't know where he got hit

(on which part)'. *Wanhdha* (Donaldson, 1980: 267) is 'which, where' as in: 'which dog stole the meat?'. *WaNHDHa* is common as 'where' in many Pama-Nyungan languages (Dixon, 2002: 375). The WN Locative (Donaldson, 1980: 307) is *wandha-la* 'where(at)' and Dative (allative) *wandha-gu* is 'where to?'. *Wandhala* is presumably related to GR *dhalaa* 'where?'[112]

6.3.1.3   YR *minyaaya/minyaarru/minyaayi?* 'where?'

As seen in Table 96, forms derived from *minyaarr* are used as locational interrogatives in YR: *minyaaya* 'where.LOC', *minyaarru* 'where.ALL', *minyaayi* 'where.ABL'[113]. There are numerous instances of *minyaaya* and *minyaarru* in the tapes, fewer of *minyaayi*. *Minyaaya* occurs in early sources but not the other cases. (467) shows *minyaaya*. See also (575)

(467)	*minjaja: balla ŋinu: walai gilanna*				SW p 97
	minyaaya = *bala*	*nginu*	*walaay*	*gi-gi.la-nha*	
	where.LOC = CTR	2SG.DAT	camp	be-CTS-PRS	
	Where is your camp?				SW

(468) shows the use of the Locative with *dhaay* 'to.here' where the English has an Ablative construction. This contrasts with the use of Ablative *minyaayi* in (472).

(468)	Where do you come from?			Sim p 47
	minyaaya *dhaay*	*nginda*	*'naa-waa-nhi*	
	where.LOC to.here	2SG	go-MOV-PST	

Indefinite *minyaaya-waa* 'where.at-indef' is seen in Wurm (p 99): 'fire is burning somewhere else'.

Minyaarru 'where.to?' is seen in (469). (470) has an indefinite example, one of over 50 instances on the tapes[114]. Use with *–ma* 'DEF' is common, as is *minyaarru-waayaa* 'don't know where to'.

(469)	*minja:ru nama juṟu:n gianna*			SW p 101
	minyaarru *nhama*	*yuruun*	*gi-yaa-nha*	
	where.ALL 3.DEF	road	be-MOV-PRS	
	Where does this road go to?			SW

(470)   (I stayed behind to catch possums and) she (my missus) disappeared, was lost.

                                                    JM/AD 3219B 3334

	ngam = *bala* *ngay*	*guliirr* ***minyaarru-waa***	*yurrul-gu* *'naa-nhi* / *wanggara-nhi-yaa*	
	that = CTR 1SG.DAT	spouse where.to-INDEF	bush-ALL go-PST / get.lost-PST = POT	
	He might have got lost.			AD
	My wife went somewhere into the bush; maybe she got lost.			JG

---

[112] Dixon (2002: 332) points out that *wanhdha* is very common for 'where?' and that in a number of languages 'where? is derived from it by dropping the initial syllable.

[113] It is common in Australian languages for 'where?' to be literally 'which way'.

[114] (470) also illustrates AD's use of 'he' with feminine reference.

The YR Ablative interrogative is *minyaayi*. The form of the YR Ablative on words ending in *rr* varies, with both *–i* and ~~*rr*~~*-yi* found. E.g. the Ablative of *dhaymaarr* 'earth' is found as both *dhaymaarri* and *dhaymaayi*. However **minyaarri* is not found. *Minyaayi* is phonologically similar to *minyaay'*, the elided form of *minyaaya*, so at times it is difficult to determine the underlying form. In 1853A 258 *minyaay' ganunga* 'where are they?' *minyaay is* clearly Locative. In (471) *nyama* suggests the interrogative is *minyaayi*, as does the initial *y* in *-yaayaa* in (473).

(471) Where did that man come from?   JM/FR 1853A 578

      minyaay'   *nyama/nhama dhayn dhurra-y*

      where-LOC?ABL 3.DEF   man   come-PST

      Where did that man come from?   FR

(472) has the variously interpretable *minja:aj(i) (minyaay(i))*, most likely the Ablative, while in (473) the case of *minyaay* is unclear.

(472) *minja:aj(i) ŋinda ðai na:wanji*   SW p 90

      minyaa.yi *nginda dhaay 'naa-waa-nhi*

      where.ABL 2SG   to.here come-MOV-PST

      Where have you come from?   SW

(473) We all don't know this man.   JM/AD 3219B 2945

      minyaay'-yaayaa   *nhama-**dhaay** 'naa-waa-nhi*

      where-LOC?ABL-IGNOR there-TO.HERE go-MOV-PST

      (We don't know these two strangers,) don't know where they come from.   AD

Sim (1998: 41,47) has the ambiguous *minyaay-dhaay* and *minyaay-ma-dhaay*, where again *minyaay* could be from either *minyaaya* or *minyaayi*.

A number of YG translations of 'where from?' are found. *Minyaaya dhaay* 'where.LOC to.here' uses the Locative and *dhaay* (468). (471) seems to use just the Ablative *minyaayi* and (472) most likely has the Ablative plus *dhaay*.

The conditions governing the choice of structure are not certain. On the tapes, when the question is 'where did **you** come from?' in most or perhaps all instances some form of *minyaaya nginda dhaay* is used. Questions about a third party seem to use the Ablative, *minyaayi*.

6.3.2   GR *dhalaa/dhalaawu/dhalaayi?* 'where?'

The three cases of the GR locational interrogative are given in Table 96 and much of the evidence for them in Table 98. (474) shows the Locative and (475) the Allative. The Locative is *dhalaa* except for one *tala:ra* (*dhalaarr-a?*) in Tindale. There are at least four instances of the Allative, *dhalaawu* (perhaps *dhalawu*), likely lenited from *dhalaa-gu*, which has the Allative suffix on the Locative form. The Ablative is *dhalaayi*, with the only example from Mathews notebooks (as are 2 of the Allative

examples). Mathews has only the Locative in his published GR. Laves has *dalɛnda* in 'where you going?' and *dilɛnda* (=*nda* '2SG') in 2 sentences translated: 'whither he going?' and once 'where (he) going?' The ɛ in the second syllable and some translations suggests these represent the Ablative form.

Table 98   **Where? GR: Evidence**

Source	Original	Gloss	Current	Suffix gloss; Note
Ridley	*tulla*	where?	*dhalaa*	
MathewsGR	*thulla*	where.LOC sentences	*dhalaa*	
MS8006/3/9: 20	*thullawu*	where goest: Allative	*dhalaawu*	
MS8006/3/9:15	*thullo*	where (going): Allative	*dhalaawu*	
MS8006/3/9: 15	*thullai dhai*	whence: Ablative	*dhalaayi dhaay*	
Tindale	*tala:ra*	where.LOC sentence	*dhalaa-rra*	only ex. with **rra**
Tindale	*ta'la-wa-nda*	where.LOC sentence (474)	*dhalaa-waa* =*nda*	INDEF =2SG
Laves	*dalɛnda*	where.ALL sentence	*?dhalaa* =*nda* *?dhalaayi* =*nda*	=2SG; LOC? =2SG; ABL?
Laves	*dilɛnda*	where.ABL 2 sentences where.ALL 1 sentence	*?dhalaayi* =*nda* *?dhalaa* =*nda*	=2SG; ABL? =2SG; LOC?
Wurm	*ðala:*	where.LOC sentences	*dhalaa*	many examples
Wurm	*'ðálu:nðɛ:*	where.ALL sentence	*dhalaawu* =*ndaay*	=2PL: (475)
Wurm	*'ða₁la:u*	where going: Allative	*dhalaawu*	

(474)   *ŋa! ta'la wanda ŋareia weilani*   Tindale l 29
        ah where far away you remained a long time   Doolan\Tindale
        "Ngaa, **dhalaa-waa** =*nda*   *ngarri-y.***awayi-y***.la-nhi*
        yes   where.LOC-IGNOR =2SG sit-LONGER.T-CTS-PST
        "Oh, where were you staying for such a long time?"   JG

(475)   *'ðálu:nðɛ: janawa:n*   SW p 12
        dhalaawu =*ndaay yana-waa-nha*
        where.all =2PL   go-MOV-PRS
        Where are you going to?   SW

Wurm (p 26) has *ðalawala:n* in the translation of 'I want to go home'. This may be a verb *dhalawa-laa-nha* '?-MOV-CTS'. The verb root is not known, and may be related to *dhalaa*.

6.3.3   *gulaarr /galaarr?* 'How?'

YR has *gulaarr/galaarr*[115] in free variation for 'how'. I use *gulaarr*, the form in earlier sources. The word is occasionally heard and written *gurraarr*. As with other

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[115] Since there are no case forms these words are adverbs.

interrogatives the semantics are not obvious, with uses that do not correspond to English 'how?'. The only GR evidence is *gwirrar* in MathewsGR (p 268), which may not be the same form.

Gulaarr and *galaarr* occur in fairly equal number in the tapes with a tendency for AD to use *gulaarr* more and FR *galaarr*. Wurm has one of each. Parker has *gullarh* and *gullahrah* 'somehow' (533). The word has not been found in other sources.

(476) shows the *gulaarr/galaarr* variation in an elicitation where the informant wants the material to be realistic as well as grammatical. It also has *–ma* 'DEF'.

(476)   Little boy; how do you skin a goanna?   JM/AD 3218B 2410

(a)   **galaarr-ma**=*ndaay nhamalay / yulay / garra-lda-nha*
        how-DEF=2PL   that   / skin / cut-CTS-PRS
        How do you.Pl cut that skin.   JG

        AD: They don't skin them. JM: well, skin a possum. AD They might do, but;

(b)   **gulaarr-ma** *nginda nhama mudhay / yulay / gaa-gi.la-nha / garra-lda-nha*
        how-DEF   2SG   3.DEF possum / skin   / take-CTS-PRS / cut-CTS-PRS
        How do you.1 that possum, skin, take (off), cut.   JG

Gulaarr is also seen in (231) (830), (845), (899). *Gulaarr* is used at times when *minya* 'what' might be expected: (477) (478). The JG translation of (477) tries to capture the literal structure of the sentence. Similar uses are found elsewhere, as seen in Hercus (1994: 227):

> The use of 'how do you think?' for 'what do you think?' is a regional feature that is shared with Western Desert languages.

See also Goddard (1983: 250).

(477)   In the story of fire *Biliirr* (red-tailed black cockatoo) is wondering what to do to distract the fire carrier.   CW/AD 5130 591
        gulaarr=*bala gi.yaa.nha nhama / ngiyani gimbi-li*
        how=CTR   going.to   3.DEF / 1PL.ERG do-FUT
        What'll we do with him?   AD
        How are we going to do him?   JG

(478)   What is the matter?   JM/FR 2437B 2853
        gulaarr-*ba* gi-nyi*
        how-ba[116]   be-PST
        What's the matter?   FR
        How is it?   JG

Galaarr translates 'what' at 3219B 3521, where AD uses it to translate: 'what's the matter with you?' (479) includes *gulaarr-aayaa*, with the ignorative suffix.

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[116] The *–ba* in (478) could be abbreviated *–bala*, a mistake, or an unknown suffix

(479)   I don't know how he saw me.   CW/AD 5129A 1954

    gulaarr-aayaa / *nguumu*   *maadhaay-u nganha*   *ngarra-y*

    how-IGNOR / that.ERG?? dog-ERG   1SG.ACC see-PST

    I don't know how that dog saw me.   JG

However *gulaarr-aa*, with the indefinite suffix, does not have the expected translation of 'somehow'. Rather it is found in sentences which imply a wrong manner or a strange manner: (480).

(480)   Miimii (granny), why does he throw it like that?   JM/AD 3220B 179

    miimii / *minya-gu=bala ngama nguu*   / *barran-du*   *gayawi-lda-nha* / ***gulaarr-aa***

    miimii / what-PURP=CTR that   3SG.ERG / boomerang-ERG pelt-CTS-PRS   / how-INDEF

    Granny, why is he throwing the boomerang any old way/anyhow/somehow?   JG

Gulaarr-ma has similar use, as seen in (481), (482).

(481)   What's wrong with that man?   JM/AD 3220B 1370

    gulaarr-ma *nhama dhayn-duul gi-nyi* / *gagil nhama guuyay gi-nyi*

    how-DEF   3.DEF man-ONE   be-PST / bad   that   mood be-PST

    What's wrong with that man? He is in a bad mood.   JG

(482)   What's wrong with those clouds that it doesn't rain?   JM/AD 3220B 1406

    gulaarr-ma *nhama gundaa gi-nyi* / *waal dhama-y* / *waal gi.yaa.nha dhama-y*

    how-DEF   3.DEF cloud be-PST / not rain-FUT / not   going.to   rain-FUT

    It won't rain.   AD

    What has happened to the clouds. It will not rain. It's not going to rain.   JG

In (978) 'he doesn't know how you made the spear' is translated using a verb for 'know' and *gulaarr-aa* where just *gulaarr* might have been expected. These semantics require further investigation.

6.3.3.1   YR *galawu/gulawu?*. 'when?'

As with 'how?' YR and GR have different forms for 'when?'. There are YR two forms, currently transcribed *galawu* [117] and *gulawu*, in free variation. At 2833B 2023 AD uses *galawu* then *gulawu* in the space of a few seconds. The fact that these are derived from *galaarr/gulaarr* 'how' by use of the time suffix *-uu* suggests the vowel in the second syllable should be *aa*.

The word is found in only a few sources. Laves has *kalau*, Sim has *gulawu*, Wurm *guloụ* and *galoụ*.

I will generally use *galawu* – the more common form. The use of present tense in (483) for future action may be due to the influence of English.

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[117] The form is more likely *galaawu*. *Galawu* is the main form in the GYY dictionary and I will use this in the discussion in the next section. *galaawu* is a lenition of *galaarr-u* 'how-u'. WN *widju-baarr-u* 'when?' is derived from *widjubaarr* 'what like' which is derived from *widju* 'how'.

(483) When will you go home? CW/AD 3998B 694

galaawu=nda / yanaa-waa-nha / walaay-gu nginu

when=2SG / go-MOV-PRS / camp-ALL 2SG.DAT

When you going home to you (sic) camp? AD

Galawu would be expected to be used with the usual suffixes. Some found are: *galawu-waa* AD5055 544 and *galawu-waayaa* AD2833B 2053, both 'don't know when'. However *galawu-waa* is found only with ignorative use, not as a true indefinite. (606) has *galawu-ma*.

In (484) *galawu* is used as the informant tries to find a translation of 'long time'. (1117) gives the next part of the answer.

(484) It is a long time since I have eaten emu. JM/AD 8184 1615

galawu-waayaa ngaya / dhinawan nhamal[i dhadha-y

when-IGNOR 1SG / emu that?? taste-PST

I don't know when I (last) tasted emu. JG

6.3.3.2 GR *wiyarru?* 'when?'

Four instances of GR 'when' have been found. Ridley has *wīrū* and MathewsGR the similar *wearru*. Wurm has two similar sentences in future tense which include 'when', (485) beginning with *wərila:* and another beginning with *wirila*.

In the GYY Dictionary GR 'when' was given as *wirralaa*, but as a 'very uncertain' form. The current analysis is that GR 'when' is *wiyarruu,* with Wurm's sentences having the interrogative followed by =*laa*[118] 'DIRectly'. The form may be disyllabic, as given in 3 instances, but diphthongs can easily be heard as long vowels, and words simplified as language declines, so the Mathews version is the more likely.

(485) *wərila: ma:ða ðuðli* SW p 19

wiyarru=laa *maadha dhurra-li*

when=DIR boss come-FUT

When is the boss coming? SW

6.3.4 Interrogatives: pragmatics

As well as formal strategies for forming questions there are social strategies. (486)(b) is an intonation question, but (486)(a) shows a different question strategy. Instead of a question, a suggestion is made, which is a common way of seeking information without the directness of a question. A suggestion gives the hearer more room to structure an answer. There are other intonation questions, including (1007).

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[118] FR (2438A 2284) has *galawu*=*laa*, parallel to the structure as suggested here, in the translation of: 'when are the other mob coming?'

(486) Why didn't he/you have any meat?   JM/AD 3220B 1307

(a)   *miimii, waal=gaa=ndaay   ngaama / yaa,   dhinggaa / gaa-gi.la-nh[i*
      grannie, not=ignor=2PL.ERG there   / perhaps, meat   / take-CTS-PST

(b)   *dhinggaa-dhalibaa nginda*
      meat-PRIV   2SG   [rising tone]
      Grannie, maybe you lot didn't have any meat. You've got no meat?   JG

Some English content questions are translated as polar questions. It seems that questions about qualities (How big? How long? What colour?) are traditionally asked by asking about one or more qualities (Is it big or small? Is it short? Is it red?) as in (487) and (488) (which follows (482)).

(487) How big is the boomerang?   JM/AD 3220B 1442
      yaama nhama // barran   / burrul-bidi or bubay-djuul
      ques   3.DEF // boomerang / big-AUG   or small-DIM
      Is that boomerang big or small?   JG

(488) How big is it? [a cloud]   JM/AD 3220B 1430
      yaama=Na burrul? / burrul gundaa
      ques=3?   big   / big   cloud
      Is it big? A big cloud?   JG

6.4   Negatives

This section considers YG standard negatives ('the basic means that languages have for negating declarative verbal main clauses' (Payne, 1985: 198)), imperative negatives, nominal/existential negatives and forms derived from them. Negation can be indicated in other ways, including by suffixes: *-DHalibaa* 'Privative' §2.4.1.2, *-nginda* 'Caritative' §2.4.1.4 *-Waa,-Gaa*, 'Indefinite §6.5.1 and *-Waayaa* 'Ignorative' §6.5.1.

The basic YG negators are: *waal* YR, *gamil* GR 'no, not' (standard negation)[119][120]; *garriya* (imperative negation); and *maayrr* YR, *marayrr* GR (nominal negation). There are a number of negators derived from these. Negatives, including derived forms, putative forms (underlined) and forms which are less prototypically negatives, are listed in Table 99. It is common for all negators that have scope over other elements to be used as single word statements when the ellipsed material is recoverable from the context. Table 99 gives the main YG negatives and their source and interlinear

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[119] For convenience generally only the YR form is used in discussion, but it applies to both languages.

[120] In YG and other Central New South Wales languages the standard negator is prominent since the language name is the negator with the comitative suffix. A number of dialects of Gamilaraay are also recorded, again distinguished by the negative particle. (In Yuwaalaraay the particle has been *reduced* to *waal* from *yuwaal*). The language names, with the negator bolded, are: **Gamil**-araay, **Yuwaal**-araay ('no' is now *waal*), **Wira**djuri (*wirraay-dhurraay*) **Wangaay**-buwan and **Wayil**-wan. Poorly recorded dialects of Gamilaraay include: **Guwin**-baraay, **Wirray**-araay and **Waal**-araay.

glosses. It includes derived forms, putative forms (underlined) and forms which are less prototypically negatives.

Table 99   **YG Negating particles**

Glosses	Yuwaalaraay	Gamilaraay	Scope/comment
Standard negators and derived forms			
NOT, no	*waal*	*gamil*	predication
CAN'T	*waala*	*gamila*	continuous verb
NOT.YET, before	*waaluu*	*gamiluu*	verbs, inc imperatives
WHY.NOT	*waal=aa*	*gamilaa*	finite verbs
Negators followed by suffixes and/or clitics			
NOT=POT; not likely	*waal=yaa*	*gamil=yaa*	predication
NOT=POT possibly not	*waal=badhaay=yaa*	*gamil=wadhaay=yaa*	
Imperative negators			
DON'T!	*garriya*	*garriya*	imperative verb
NOT.YET, hold on	*garriyawu[u]*	*garriyawu[u]*	one word statement
Existential negators			
NONE	*maayrr*	*marayrr*	Ø, nominal
	maayrrngay	*marayrrngay*	Ø, nominal
Other negators			
LET, wait	*wana*	*wana?*	verb
stop it!	*wanagidjay*	*wanagidjay?*	generally none
MUST.NOT	*wanaa*		1 example found

6.4.1   *waal* YR/*gamil* GR

Waal/gamil[121] are the standard YR/GR negatives, and the most common. They negate a predication, which can be verbless or verbed. They are glossed 'not' and also correspond to the English single word statement 'no'. These negators are almost always clause initial. There are rare examples where *waal/gamil* negate imperatives.

The most common use of *waal/gamil* is to negate non-imperative verbal clauses such as (489) (490) and (493)(c) which show the typical clause initial position for the negator and the frequent clause final verb[122].

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[121] I assume that the semantics and use of *waal* and *gamil* are the same, with the only difference being in the form. As commonly the case the majority of the information is from Yuwaalaraay.

[122] other examples are: *waal*: (1117) (1119) (454) (482); *gamil*: (1052). (1052) also includes *garriya*.

(489) You did not put the fire out.   CW/AD 3996A 687

     waal nginda nhama wii buubi-y

     not 2SG 3.DEF fire blow-PST

(490) not I speak Kamilaroi   SW p 27

     gamil ŋai gamilaŕai g^wɔlḍa[123]

     gamil ngaya' Gamilaraay guwaa-lda[-nha

     not 1SG Gamilaraay speak-CTS[-PRS

     I don't speak Gamilaraay.   JG

    (491) and (492) are negated verbless predications.

(491) It is not thine, it is mine.   SW p 21

     gamal[sic] ŋinu: nama ŋai

     gamil nginu, nhama ngay

     not 2SG.DAT 3.DEF 1SG.DAT

(492) I am getting very bald now.   JM/FR 2438B 3177

     waal=bala ngaya wagibaa dhaygal

     not=CTR 1SG plain head

     I'm not bald headed.   FR

It is common for negators to be used in sentences where verbs or other recoverable information are omitted. (1108) has *waal yalagiiyuu* 'Not now', abbreviated from 'I won't cook it now'. This is seen in other languages. In Yandruwantha Breen (2004: 70) points out '[negators occur] frequently in 'a, not b' [statements] where the clause 'b' is very elliptical'. Single word use of *waal* or *gamil* is seen in (493)(b), (182) and (496). (493) is part of the only YR conversation recorded between fluent speakers. AD and FR spoke briefly, initially about opals.

(493) (a) FR: Who is hiding them? AD You!   5129A 2551

(b) *FR* **waal**, **maayrr**, **maayrr** *ngay maayama /* **maayrr**

     FR no, none, none 1SG.DAT stone / none

     FR: No, none. I've got no opals. None.   JG

(c) *AD* **waal**=*bala*=*nga dhayn-da ngarranma-li.gu*

     AD not=CTR=THEN people-LOC show-PURP

     AD: So that (you don't have to) show them to people.   JG

    As in English it is possible to have the negative twice in one statement, as in: *Waal, waal=bala ngaya wagibaa dhaygal.* 'No, I am not bald-headed'.

    (494) is an uncommon instance of the negator not being clause-initial. Its position here may stress that 'tie up' is being negated. Donaldson (1980: 238) points out that

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[123] (490) shows the common GR feature of omission of the present tense suffix.

for Wangaaybuwan the negative particle does not occur in topic position when the scope of negation is less than the entire clause.

(494) *jalla girɛi maðði nama ŋaja wa:l bindɛi bilðanna ma:ðɛi ŋɛi bullujə*   SW p 96

yalagiirrayma-dhi nhama ngaya **waal** *bindaybi-lda-nha maadhaay ngay   buluuy-a*

like.that-ABL   3.DEF   1SG   not   tie.up-CTS-PRS   dog   1SG.DAT dark-LOC

This is why I don't tie my dog up at night.   SW

Commonly imperatives are negated with *garriya*, but both *waal* and *gamil* occasionally do so: *waal* in (495) and *gamil* in (496). I presume use of *waal/gamil* is less forceful than the use of *garriya*. As well (496) may well reflect Ridley's incomplete knowledge of Gamilaraay.

(495) Don't answer that question.   CW/AD 5052 2600

waal *gaya-lda-ya*

not   answer-CTS-IMP

Don't answer it.   AD

(496) *immanuel, wurume baiamegu, goe "kamil. kamil nginda ngarma bumala,*   Ridley p 40

*immanuel, wurrumay baayama-ngu guwaa-y "**gamil**. **gamil** nginda ngaarrma buma-la,*

Immanuel, son   god-DAT   say-PST 'no.   not   2SG   that   hit-IMP

Immanuel, Son of God, said, "Not so. Not thou them smite,   Ridley

Waal/gamil often begin purposive subordinate clauses, as in (497) (=(927)) and (493)(c).

(497) *Baiyan noo winnanunnee boonoong gurrahgoo, wahlneh burraylaygoo.*   Parker l 9

baayan nguu   winanga-nhi bungun garra-y.la-y.gu, **waal**=*nha bara-y.la-y.gu*

soon2 3SG.ERG think-PST   arm   cut.M-PURP, not=3   fly-CTS-PURP

Then she thought to get the emu's wings cut, so she couldn't fly.   Parker

Then she thought to get the emu to cut her wings, so she couldn't fly.   JG

(498) shows *waal* used in both parts of a conditional sentence.

(498) *wa:l ŋinda wi: garandai; wa:l ŋa wi: wi:mali*   SW p 88

waal *nginda wii garra-ndaay /* **waal**=**nga** *wii wiima-li*

not   1SG   fire cut-SUB   / not=THEN fire make-FUT

If you don't chop wood you can't make a fire.   SW

Since *waal/gamil* are typically clause initial they frequently host clitics[124]. In a few instances *waal*=*nda* (not-you.1) is phonologically reduced to *waa*=*nda*.

Waal=*yaa* (=*yaa* 'POTential' §15.2.1) indicates that the speaker thinks that something may potentially not happen. *Waal*=*yaa* is translated '(I) don't think ..' in (1013) (=(499)). It is translated 'probably not', 'think not', 'not likely' elsewhere.

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[124] Sim (1998: 42) has *waalnga* 'neither one', Poss. 'none'. The translation does not seem totally consistent with the structure.

(499)   My missus (wife) will never come back.   JM/FR 1853A 435

    waal=yaa *ngay*   *guliirr*   *dharrawuluwi-y*

    not=POT   1SG.DAT partner return-FUT

    I don't think my missus will come home.   FR

The ignorative clitic *=Waayaa* 'Don't.know' has not been attested added to *waal*, but such use could be expected. If *=Waayaa* replaced *=yaa* (499) would be 'I don't know why my missus won't come home'.

In (501) *=badhaay* 'MIGHT' is used with *waal=yaa*. Similar use of *waal=badhaay=yaa/aa* 'he might not …' is seen in (500) and at 5131 2641 *waal=badhaay=aa* it is translated 'I don't suppose (you'll be gone for long)'.

(500)   **waal=badhaay=yaa** *ngaama* *dhurra-lda-nha*

    not=MIGHT=POT   that   come-CTS-PRS

    He mightn't come back.   AD/JM 2832B 2968

(501)   It might stop raining in the morning.   JM/AD 3218B 1291

    giirr=badhaay=aa   // **waal=badhaay=aa** *dhama-y* / *giirr=bala* / *gunagala* *gama-laa-nha*

    true=MIGHT=POT?? // not=MIGHT=POT   rain-FUT / true=CTR / sky   break-MOV-PRS

    The sky cloud is breaking, cloud.   AD

    It might, it might not rain. The sky is breaking.   JG

6.4.1.1 *waal/gamil* derivations

There are a number of derived forms of *waal/gamil*, with varying amounts of evidence. I assume that any suffixes found are applicable to both *waal* and *gamil*.

6.4.1.1.1 *waala/gamila* 'CAN'T'[125]

The form *waala* is quite common[126]. No examples of *gamila* have been found. *Waala* modifies a verb, indicates 'inability to' and is generally translated 'can't' or 'couldn't'. *Waala* is always been found clause initially, generally separated from the verb it modifies. With past or future tense it refers to a specific event: (502); (1103) 'I won't be able to carry all the eggs'. With past tense the sense is often of having tried but failed. With continuous tenses it can refer to a general inability: (503); (587) 'Can't walk properly'; or to an extended event 'Can't find'.

(502)   He tried to climb the big rock, but he couldn't.   JM/FR 2437A 2140

    waala=nha *galiya-nhi,* *maayama-bidi-dji*

    can't=3   climb-PST   stone-AUG-ABL

    He couldn't get up/climb up the big stone.   FR

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[125] I have no suggestion for the derivation of *waala/gamila*. Formally they are identical to *waal/gamil* with the Locative suffix, but that suffix is found only on nominals, so that does not seem a likely source of the word.

[126] Over 180 on the tapes, many in other sources.

(503) I do not know how to throw a boomerang.   JM/FR 2439A 1513.

  waala *ngaya wana-gi.la-nha barran*

  can't 1SG   throw-CTS-PRS boomerang

  I can't throw a boomerang.   FR

6.4.1.1.2   ***waaluu*** 'NOT.YET'[127]; ***garriyawu*** 'don't.yet'

Waaluu and the putative, but unattested GR equivalent *gamiluu#* consist of
waal/gamil 'no' and -*Cuu* (§15.5.6), which adds time meaning to a range of words.
Waaluu indicates that an action has not yet happened. It is translated 'not yet' with
non-subordinate clauses (504) and 'before' when it occurs in subordinate clauses:
(949) (950) (951). *Waaluu* is used to negate imperative verbs: (505). As a single word
statement it is translated 'wait, hold on', as is *garriyawu*.

Waaluu occurs clause initially, and is often separated from the verb it modifies.

(504) I can't see him yet, I am looking for him.   JM/AD 3219B 2450

  waaluu *ngaama ngaya ngarra-y / minyaaya-waayaa ngaama / dhayn-duul gi-nyi*

  not.yet that 1SG   see-PST / where.LOC-IGNOR that / man-ONE   be-PST

  I can't see him yet. I don't know where that man has got to.   JG

(505) ***waaluu*** *gimbi-la   dhuu*

  not.yet make-IMP fire

  Don't make the fire yet.   FR/JM 1989A 600

6.4.1.1.3   ***waalaa/gamilaa#*** 'WHY.NOT'

Waal=aa is historically probably derived from *waal* and *Yaa* 'question2' §6.1.1,
with *Yaa* atypically used as a suffix.

Waalaa is used when the speaker asks why something did not happen: (506), (507)
and (508) ((508). *Waalaa* is clause initial.

(506) Why didn't you plant [hide] that meat?   JM/AD 2833B 547

  waalaa=*nda   ngaama dhinggaa, dhuwinba-y*

  why.not=2SG that   meat,   hide-PST

  Why didn't you plant that meat?   AD

(507) Miimii (grandmother), why don't you cook it now?   JM/AD 3220B 1954

  miimii,   ***waalaa***=*nda   ngaama / dhinawan / yilama-lda-nha /*

  grandmother why.not=2SG that   / emu   / cook-CTS-PRS /

---

[127] *Waaluu* occurs around 35 times in the tapes, and the only other instance found is as 'before' in Sim.
A similar use of one term ('top'; from 'stop') to translate both English 'wait' and 'until' is found in a
pidgin sentence from Sydney in the 1820's attributed to Bungaree:
'Top 'top, bail me **do it** that yet, 'top 'nudda gubbana come.
'Wait, I won't do it [imitate the present governor] yet; wait until the next governor arrives'. (Koch,
2000: 17). 'top' here has the same function as *waaluu* in YR.

> *nguwama ngiyani.lu dha-li.gu*
> there 1PL.EXCL.ERG eat-PURP
> Why don't you cook it [the emu] now so we can eat it? AD

(508) It is better to sit than stand. JM/AD 3219B 3237
> **waalaa**=*ndaay wila-y*
> why.not=2PL sit-FUT
> Why don't you sit? Why will you not sit? JG

6.4.2 *garriya*: 'DON'T'; *garriyawu* 'not.yet'

The imperative negative *garriya*[128] occurs in both YR and GR, unlike the standard negatives. As a single word *garriya* is mainly translated 'don't!', as for instance in Wurm (p 39, 42) and 1853A 1075. Ridley has *garriya* with single word use ((p 37), translated 'avaunt!' i.e. 'be gone' 'away') and negating imperatives: (509). MathewsGR also uses it in sentences including 'beat thou not' (p 268). (509) - (512) illustrate sentence uses of *garriya*.

With imperative verbs *garriya* is always clause initial and the verb clause final, or near final, as in (512), (204), (230). The only clitics reliably found on *garriya* are =*bala* (the most common) (512) and second person pronouns (511). =*badhaay* 'might' is not found on *garriya*. The meanings of the two are likely incompatible.

(509) *Kurria yūŋa* Ridley p 41
> **garriya** *yu-nga*
> don't cry-IMP
> Cease weeping. Ridley

(510) *Karia du·na* Laves MS2188-9-12p098
> *garriya dhuu-na*
> don't crawl-IMP
> Don't crawl. Laves

(511) *gaṟijanda:li bummaleja* SW p 82
> **garriya**=*ndaali buma-la-ya*
> don't=2DU hit-RECP-IMP
> Do not fight, you two. SW

(512) Go and spear the biggest kangaroo in the bush. JM/AD 3217B 3019
> **garriya**=*bala bubay-djuul dhu-na* /
> don't=CTR small-DIM pierce-IMP /
> Don't spear the little ones, JG

---

[128] *Garriya* occurs around 200 times in the tapes. The form on the YR tapes clearly has the tap rhotic. Williams' form (1980: 107) has the retroflex rhotic, as does Wurm, who generally transcribes it as *gaṟija*. I presume that Wurm's informants had been influenced by English and had lost the trill/tap.

> *burrul-bidi, burrul / bandaarr ngaama dhu-na / bilaa-yu*
> big-AUG, big / kangaroo that pierce-IMP / spear-ERG
> Don't spear the little fellows, spear the big ones. AD
> the great big, spear the big kangaroos. AD

The derivation of *garriya* is not certain. Williams (1980: 108) points out:

> Austin (p.c.) reports that *gariya* acts as a verb in Gamilaraay. It does not, to my
> knowledge, function as a verb in Yuwaalaraay, although the form is identical to the
> imperative of a Y conjugation verb.

It seems likely that *garriya* is actually an imperative, with GR having some evidence for a verb *garri-y* 'stop, cease doing', likely a defective verb[129].

Garriyawu[130] (or *garriyawuu*) is derived from *garriya* and the 'time' suffix –*Cuu*. *Garriyawu* is used with imperative verbs to indicate that an action is not to be done now, and is glossed 'don't.yet'. It is most commonly used as a one word statement: 'hold on! wait! wait a while; wait for me'. It is not used to negate imperative verbs – *waaluu/gamiluu* do that. Instances include (513), (514).

(513) **garriyawu** *dhilaagaa /* **garriyawu** *guliirr*
don't.yet uncle / don't.yet spouse
Wait for me missus, wait for me uncle. Something like that. FR/CW 5053 1351
Hold on uncle, hold on missus. JG

(514) **garriyawu**; *dhanduwi-y ngaya gi.yaa.nha*
don't.yet; sleep-FUT 1SG going.to
Wait a while. I am going to go to sleep. FR/JM 1989A 434

6.4.3 *maayrr/marayrr* 'NONE'

maayrr (YR)/*marayrr*[131](GR) can be used as a single word 'none, nothing' and to negate nominals, translated 'no'[132]. No inflected forms of *maayrr* have been found, indicating that it is a particle, not an adjective. There are idiomatic uses and forms derived from it.

Maayrr/marayrr precedes the noun being modified except at 3216B 2723 where Jack Sands has: '*dhinggaa maayrr*, 'no meat''. He is one of the less fluent informants, but in this instance may be the one retaining the more traditional usage, with the qualifier following the noun. *Maayrr* and the qualified nominal are often separated, as in (120) ('none our meat').

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[129] Wangaaybuwan has *garraa* with similar use to *garriya.* Donaldson (1980: 239) says: 'This is used exclusively in imperative sentences such as *garraa yanaa* 'Don't go!''. She also points out that, as in YG, the imperative verb can be clause final, and separated from the negative.

[130] *Garriyawu* is found in many sources, including the tapes, Laves, Sim and Wurm.

[131] The pair shows the common r > Ø sound change.

[132] No similar negator is reported in Wangaaybuwan.

Single word use is seen in (515)(a), (516) and (493)(b). In (516) *maayrr* is possibly translated 'no-one'. Phrasal use is seen in (515)(b), (517) (518). Another construction involves the use of a Dative pronoun or noun, as in (519) - (520). The meaning is that the referent in Dative case 'has none', rather than 'there is none'.

(515) (a) **maayrr**   nothing' (he had none)'   Sim p 42

       (b) **maayrr** *maa*   no.hand

       (c) *wanda* **maayrrngay**   The ghost was gone. (see below for *maayrrngay*)

(516) She looked under the logs. (for her son)   JM/AD 3217B 76

       *ngawu = nga?   ngadaa nhaadhiyaan-da ngarra-y / waala / **maayrr** ngaama*

       there?? = THEN? down   log-LOC   look-PST / can't / nothing there

       (That little fellow, he's planted somewhere, won't let his mother see him,) she looked under the

        log, couldn't find him, **none was there**.   AD

       Then she looked under the log, couldn't (see), no-one there.   JG

(517) **maayrr** *dhuwarr* 'no bread'   JM/JS 3216B 1596

       maayrr *gungan* 'There's no water.'   AD/JM 3218B 1878

(518) **maayrr** = *nga dhinggaa, dha-y   ngiyani*

       none = THEN meat,   eat-PST 1PL.ERG

       There's no meat, we ate it.   FR/JM 2436A 3391

(519) Don't spill the water.   JM/AD 3218B 1141

       maayrr = *laa = nga / nginu   gungan / gi-gi*

       none = DIR = THEN / 2SG.DAT water / be-FUT

       (If you spill that water) you'll have no water at all.   AD

Maayrr is also seen in (121) and (1044) which has *maayrr-wan.gaan*, with the intensifying suffix. *Maayrr* is sometimes realised as *maarr*.

The YG suffix *-dhalibaa* 'PRIVative' §2.4.1.2, expresses the idea 'without'. In AD's comments and elicitations this seems to express a stronger sense of absence than *maayrr*. At 5056 2181 (after AD says *maayrr wii* means 'no fire' CW asks 'what about *wii-dhalibaa?*' AD replies: 'there's no fire at all', and see the similar comparison in (520)[133].

(520) We have no meat.   CW/AD 3996A 720

       *maayrr = bala ngay   dhinggaa / dhinggaa-**dhalibaa** = bala ngay'*

       none = CTR   1SG.DAT meat   / meat-PRIV = CTR   1SG.NOM?dat

       We got no meat, and we haven't got **no meat at all**.   AD

       I've got no meat. I haven't got any meat.   JG

---

[133] I have no explanation for the singular *ngay* here where the plural is used in both English sentences. With *–dhalibaa* the 'deprived' is usually in Nominative case – so one would expect *ngaya* as the final word in (520). Elision to *ngay'* occurs, but is unexpected sentence finally.

One likely example, with idiomatic use, has been found in early sources. Ridley (p 18) has *marēdūl* 'childless woman', probably *marayrr-DHuul*, realised as *maraydhuul* or *marayduul*., literally 'none-one/small' (immediately followed by *gūlīr-taliba* 'spouseless, unmarried'). There are three WurmGR instances: (p 7) ʹmarɛiḍ ði: 'no meat' (*marayrr dhii*); (p 27) maɾɛið. 'nothing' (*marayrr*) and (p 55) maɾayr baran 'no boomerang' (*marayrr barran*); and one WurmYR example, (p 87) maiḍ/mair wi: 'there's no wood here' (*maayrr wii* 'no firewood'). There are around 60 examples on the tapes. The form may be related to *maa/mara* 'hand'[134].

Maayrrngay is derived from *maayrr*. It is translated 'no more' 'was gone' and 'no', the second in situations where 'no more' would also fit. It is glossed 'NO.MORE' and indicates the absence of something that was present: wings in (521), spilt water in (522) and a departed ghost in (515). The form *-ngay* is also found in *minya-ngay* 'how many?' (*minya* 'what?') but no consistent meaning for it has been found.

(521) *Narahgahdool myrenay boonoong.*   Parker l 38

      ngarragaa-dhuul, **maayrrngay** *bungun.*

      poor-ONE,   no.more   wing

      That sad creature with no wings. [JG: now?]   Parker

maayrr = nga (522) may be elision of *maayrrngay* or may include *= nga* 'now'.

(522) I spilt my drink because of you.   JM/FR 2436B 2122

      gungan = nga nginda ngay,   *gaarrima-y,* **maayrr = nga** *ngay*   *gungan*

      water = THEN 2SG   1SG.DAT, spill-PST,   none = NOW 1SG.DAT water.

      You spilt my, made me spill my water and I've got no more water.   FR

      You spilt my water and I've got no water now.   JG

Parker (Emu Bustard story) has many examples of wordplay, some using *maayrr*. *Maayrrngay* appears in line 11 and 20 (see (598) and text) where it can be interpreted as *maayrrngay* 'none-now', or as *maayrr ngay* 'none my' (the words are: *myrenay boonoong* (*maayrrngay bungun*) and translated 'I have no wings'). However the same

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[134] A number of languages have words with meaning similar to *maayrr/marayrr* which are derived from the word for 'hand'. Alyawarr (Green & IAD, 1992) has *iltyant.* 'empty-handed', from *iltya* 'hand' and *+ant* 'only, just, exclusively'. Kaytetye (Turpin & Ross, 2011) has *eltye* 'hand' and '*eltyante*' empty-handed' (also 'barren', 'bachelor'). Pitjantjatjara (C. Goddard, 1992) has *mara* 'hand' and *maral(pa)* 'empty handed'. The example sentences all have something like 'I came back from hunting empty-handed, nothing, no meat.' It is likely that the first part of *maayrr/marayrr* is also based on *maa/mara* 'hand'. The last part may be related to *yiyal* 'just, only', but that is much more uncertain.
The similarity in derivation/etymology across languages is clear, YG could also use other, related forms in the development of YG vocabulary. For instance derived forms of Kaytetye *eltyante* have meanings including 'give away things you don't want' ' give away things that belong to someone who has passed away.', concepts that YG has no words for.

words, *myrenay boonoong*, in line 38, are used in the sentence 'that sad creature with no wings', where the 'my' interpretation is not possible.

(523) is the only instance of *mayerboo* (*maayrrbuu*) found, which is followed by repeated *ngay*, (*ngay'* 1SG.ERG and *ngay* 1SG.DAT in my analysis). *Maayrrbuu* 'not at all' is presumably *maayrr-buu*. *–buu* 'TOTal' §15.3.3. The Parker English does not really fit the YR sentence. *Gurrah wahl dunerh* looks more like *garrawa-lda-nha* 'am storing' rather than *garra-lda-nha* 'am cutting', so likely another word play. Given the word play and uncertainty of the text no clear translation is available.

(523) *Mayerboo nay, nay boonoong, gurrah wahl dunerh.*   Parker l 35
       maayrr-buu *ngay' ngay   bungun garra-wa??-lda-nha.*
       none-TOT2 1SG   1SG.DAT? wing,   cut-??-CTS-PRS
       I haven't cut my wings at all;   Parker

6.4.4 *wana* 'let'; *wanagidjay* 'leave.it',

Four particles which are almost certainly related are considered here, three of which clearly have negative meaning. *Wana* and *wanagidjay,* at least, are closely related to *wana-gi* 'throw, leave', which is found only in YR. Numerous Australian languages have a particle 'don't' which is related to the verb for 'leave'. *Wanaa* 'mustn't' and *wanaal* 'forbidden' are much less common that *wana* and *wanagidjay.*

Wana is a particle used with future forms of the verb. It is often translated 'let' as in (524), (525) and SW p 75 'let it get cold'. It is also used to direct someone to perform an action, as in (526) 'tell him to..'. It can be seen as having a negative element: 'let' can be interpreted as 'do not prevent'. *Wana* is found in both GR and YR.

(524) He's a big strong man.   JM/AD 3219A 390
       wana *nguu buma-li nhama dhinawan*
       let   3.ERG hit-FUT 3.DEF   emu
       Let him kill that emu.   AD

(525) Let him beat.   MathewsGR 266
       Nguruwunna bumulli.
       nguru   wana buma-li
       3SG.ERG let   hit-FUT

(526) That man is staring at me, tell him to look somewhere else.   JM/AD 3218B 1964
(a)   *nguum'=badhaay nganha / dhaay, dhayn-duul-u, bamba=nga   ngarra-lda-nha,*
       3.ERG.DEF=MIGHT 1SG.ACC / to.here, man-ONE-ERG, w.energy=NOW? look-CTS-PRS
       That man is staring at me, staring this way,   JG

(b)   ***wana*** *nguu   ngarraagula minyaarru.waa ngarra-lda-y /*
       let   3SG.ERG other.way?? somewhere.ALL look-CTS-FUT /
       Let him look elsewhere, somewhere   JG

(c) *garriya*＝*bala nganha   ngarra-lda-ya,*

don't＝CTR   1SG.ACC   look-CTS-IMP

Tell him to look away, the other way. Don't look at me[135].   AD

Don't be staring at me.   JG

Ridley (p 38) has: 'far be it' *wunna! (wana)*, indicating *wana* can be used as a one word statement, but the meaning here is not obviously 'let' or 'tell'. Sim (p 48) glosses *wana* 'until'. This may be related to the earlier uses: 'waiting until something happens' is similar to 'letting something happen': cf. (527).

(527) *ði:mala. wanna nama balɛja: gigi*   SW p 75

*dhiyama-la. **wana** nhama baliyaa gi-gi*

take.out-IMP. let   3.DEF   cold   get-FUT

Take it out! First it should be cold.   SW

Pick it up. **Let** it get cold.   JG

The particle *wanagidjay* 'leave it, stop it' is clearly related to *wana*. *Wanagidjay* is one of the few YR words still currently used, typically as a single word exclamation, translated 'stop it!' It is relatively rare in the sources, where it mainly occurs as a single word statement, also translated 'stop it!' (AD 5052 2421, Sim p 32). In (528) it governs a subordinate verb. A unique example is found at FR2436B 3101, where *wanagidjay* is translated 'chuck (it) away'.

(528) He said: 'Stop that, you two silly women'.   JM/FR 2438A 1204

***wanagidjay**＝nha / waal, waal＝nga, buma-la-ya.   **wanagidjay**＝nga buma-la-y.la-ndaay*

stop.it＝3   / not,   not＝NOW,   hit-RECP-IMP. stop.it＝NOW   hit-RECP-CTS-SUB

Now stop that fighting, and don't be fighting any more.   FR

Sim (p 32) has **wanaa** 'mustn't' as in *wanaa gimbila* 'mustn't do it' (*gimbi-li* 'do, make') and *wanaal* 'forbidden 'prohibited, taboo; a food prohibition, person under such a prohibition)'. Here *wanaa* occurs with an imperative verb, quite different from the use of *wana* 'let' seen above, and could easily represent a different morpheme, but vowel length in the sources is not always reliable.

6.4.5 **Softened or emphatic negatives**

YG has relatively common examples of negatives whose meaning is 'softened' by the use of ＝*badhaay* and ＝*badhaay*＝*[y]aa* (§15.3.2), and only one example found of emphatic or 'hardened' negatives. As elsewhere ＝*badhaay* generally does not have any impact on the English translation offered, whereas ＝*yaa* generally does. When ＝*badhaay*＝*[y]aa* is added the glosses include 'might'. The difference between ＝*yaa* and ＝*badhaay*＝*[y]aa* seems to be minor[136]. Instances of Negative + *badhaay* are listed

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[135] I assume (c) is intended as direct speech, what would be said to the man.

[136] There has been no systematic investigation of the use of the suffix with other negatives, such as *waalaa, waaluu, maayrrngay, wana* and *wanagidjay*.

in Table 100 with the clitic found on *maayrr*, *waal*, *waala*, *garriya* and *garriyawu*.
Glosses with a '?' are interpretations - there is no gloss in the text.

Table 100   **Softened or emphatic negatives**

Form	Gloss with =*badhaay*	Gloss without =*badhaay*	Source
maayrr=badhaay	?maybe none	?maybe none	3218B 1872
waal=badhaay=nga	?not now	?not now	3219A 1760
waal=badhaay=nha	?not	?not	2832B 2585
waal=badhaay=yaa	might not	might not	2832B 2959
waal=badhaay=[y]aa	?might not	?might not	3217B 3794, 3218B 1311
waala=badhaay	won't be able	won't be able	2440A 1721
waala=badhaay	couldn't	couldn't	3998B 904
garriya=badhaay	don't (sit)	don't (sit)	2833B 1276
garriyawu=badhaay	wait	wait	3218B 922

The only emphatic YG negative[137] found is *maayrr-wan.gaan* (*-wan.gaan* 'very'
§15.3.4), seen in(1044) and 3219B 1195, and no explicit translations are given.

6.4.6   Negative indefinites

As in the CNSW languages and many other Australian languages English negative
indefinites are translated by using negatives with an indefinite[138]. For instance 'no-one'
(Nom/Acc) is *waal ngaandiyaa*, as in (529). (530) and (531) show the Ergative
indefinite.

(529)   He (my pet emu) got used to me; didn't want no-one to go near me.   AD/CW 5130 764

   waal *nganunda* **ngaandi.yaa**=*badhaay yanaa-y-ga.y*

   not   1SG.LOC   anyone=MIGHT   go-FUT-??

   So that no-one would come near me.   JG

(530)   She put down the dilly bag on the ground.   JM/AD 8186 640

   giirr ngaama nguu   / man.garr / gulay   / wiima-y   / dhaymaa-ya /

   true that   3SG.ERG / bag   / net.bag / put.down-PST / ground-LOC /

   She put down the bag, the net bag, on the ground   JG

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[137] Both Wangaaybuwan and Yandruwantha have emphatic negatives, and I would expect that YG also
did. Donaldson points out (1980: 239): '-*DHil* is added to *wangaay* 'no' to convert it into a negative of
impossibility. As a complete response *wangaay-djil* is translated 'impossible!'.' A common YG
emphatic suffix is –*Buu*, but negatives use it (or a phonologically similar form) with time reference –
see *waaluu*, *gamiluu* and *garriyawu* above. (and –*Bu* has similar use with Wangaaybuwan negatives.),
so -*Buu* is not suitable for forming emphatic YG negatives.

[138] For a list of YG indefinites see §6.5.1. They consist of an interrogative followed by -*Waa*.

> *waal **ngaanduwaa** ngarra-li.gu*
> not anyone.ERG see-PURP
> She put down that bag so no-one will see it.   AD
> so no-one would see it.   JG

(531) The little girl was very shy and nobody gave her any meat.   JM/AD 3218A 231
> *aa, birralii-djuul nhama / miyaymiyaay garigari / gi-gi.la-nhi*
> aa child-DIM   3.DEF / little.girl   afraid   / be-CTS-PST

> *waal **ngaandu.waa** = badhaay nguungu dhinggaa wuu-dha?dhi-y*
> not anyone.erg = MIGHT   3SG.DAT meat   give-eat?-FUT

(532) is an unclear example, but illustrates the use of *waaluu* 'not.yet' with *minyagaa* 'something' to translate an English indefinite, 'nothing'.

(532) That woman is here again, she is hungry.   JM/AD 3218B 2208
> *nhama = nga miyaluu?? yinarr-duul / yuulngindi /*
> 3.DEF = NOW again??   woman-ONE / hungry   /

> ***waaluu / minyagaa** gi-yaa-nha = nga ngiyani dha-li*
> not.yet / something going.to = NOW 1PL.ERG eat-FUT
> That woman hungry, and nothing to eat.   AD
> ?There's that woman again, hungry, and we aren't going to eat anything for a while. JG

See (985) for *waal minyagaa* 'nothing' (not anything).

6.5   Incomplete Knowledge particles

'Incomplete knowledge[139]' is an attempt at a cover term for a set of formally and semantically related particles[140]. Their features are summarised in Table 101. Formally they all begin with allomorphs of -*Waa*, and semantically they all indicate incomplete knowledge. It seems clear that there are two separate origins:

Firstly the 'perhaps' particle which occurs as a free word *yaa* and a suffix -*Yaa*. The latter also forms ignoratives from indefinites. Secondly a suffix with original form –*gaa* that has lenited to –*waa* in many environments and is altered to –*yaa* and –*aa* in

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[139] The YG suffixes are related to similar suffixes in WN, but there are also major differences in the forms and uses. WN has two suffixes, –*waa* or –*gaa*, which have similar functions to the YG forms and to YG *yaama*. WN interrogatives and indefinites both obligatorily have one of the suffixes. Donaldson (1980: 148) points out: 'Indeterminates [interrogatives, JG] are used, in combination with –*waa* or –*gaa*, to represent constituents whose precise reference the speaker cannot identify.' but on p 262 indicates that there is another use, when [the speaker] does not care to identify the reference. These two uses are similar to the YG INDEFinite suffix. In WN -*gaa* and –*waa* can both be used with 'topics' (p 263) and indeterminates (interrogatives).

[140] Williams (p 58) recognised three forms (-*waaya(a), -waa* and -*yaa*) of one dubitative suffix.

particular environments. This turns interrogative stems into indefinite ones. When a further *-yaa* is added it forms *-Waayaa*, an ignorative suffix.

Table 101   **Incomplete knowledge particles**

Form	Variants	Gloss	Location	Notes
yaa		question	clause initial	archaic: cf. *yaama*
-yaa	rarely *-aa*	might	varied	
-Waa[141]	*-gaa* on *minya*, *yaama*, *-yaa* after final *i* *-waa* after final *a, u* *-aa* after final *l, y*	indefinite 'some'	on interrogatives (rare exceptions)	The English often has 'some': *minya* 'what', *minya-gaa* 'something'; *gulaarr* 'when', *gulaarr-aa* 'sometime'
-Waayaa		ignorative: 'don't know'		indefinite + *yaa*: *minya-gaa-yaa* 'don't know what'

6.5.1   *–Waa* 'INDEFinite'

The clitic *–Waa* is found only on interrogatives, including the polar question particle *yaama*. It derives an indefinite[142] from an interrogative, as seen in Table 102.

Table 102   **Indefinites**

Question	Gloss	Indefinite	Gloss
minya	what	*minyagaa*	something
yaama	QUESTION	*yaamagaa*	if, whether
ngaandu	who?ERG	*ngaanduwaa*	someone
ngaandi	who?NOM/ACC	*ngaandiyaa*	someone
ngaanngu	whose?DAT	*ngaannguwaa*	someone's
ngaanngunda	on.whom?LOC	*ngaanngundawaa*	on someone
gulaarr	how?	*gulaarraa*	somehow
minyaarr	which	*minyaarraa*	we don't know which
Presumed forms			
ngaanngundi#	from.whom?ABL	*ngaanngundiyaa#*	from someone
minyangay#	how many/much	*minyangay.yaa#*	some amount

The derived forms are translated as indefinites ('someone/something/somehow') and also as ignoratives ('I don't know who/what/how'). An indefinite can indicate that the speaker does not know, but also that the speaker does not wish to be specific: e.g.

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[141] There are no *l* and *n*-final interrogatives, so no examples in these environments.

[142] YG is different in this from many other Australian languages. Often there is no formal distinction between interrogatives and indefinites (Dixon, 2002: 277).

Who were you with? Somebody. YG has forms which are unambiguously ignoratives, discussed in the next section. The factors governing the choice between an indefinite and an ignorative to convey ignorance are not clear. Examples of indefinites are found in (533) (534) and also with the discussion of individual interrogatives §6.

(533)　[Emu is looking to get revenge on the bustard, who has tricked her into cutting off her wings.]

*illah nayahe ninnernah **gullahrah** gimbehlee*　　　　　　　　　　　　Parker l 39

*yilaa ngaya=nga nginunha **gulaarr-aa** gimbi-li."*

soon 1SG=THEN 2SG.ACC how-indef do-FUT

I will do you in **somehow**.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(534)　I can smell something cooking.　　　　　　　　　　　　　JM/AD 3220B 1823

*giirr ngaya buwi-y.la-nha / **minya.gaa** / **minya.gaa** ganugu yilama-lda-ndaay*

true 1SG smell-CTS-PRS / **something,** / **something** 3PL.ERG cook-CTS-SUB

smell good, whatever it is　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　AD

I can smell, **something**, (that) they are cooking **something**.　　　　　　JG

6.5.2　　　*−Waayaa* 'IGNORative'

While the INDEFinite suffixes in §6.5.1 are sometimes translated '(I) don't know' the matter can be put beyond doubt with the ignorative suffix *-Waayaa*. Formally it consists of the indefinite suffix followed by *–yaa,* the potential suffix. It is found on precisely the words the indefinite clitic attaches to.

The suffix is rare in earlier sources and was apparently not recognised there. For instance in Wurm (p 23): *dhalaa-waayaa* (Where.LOC-IGNOR) is translated 'it is lost' not 'I don't know where it is'. Some examples are given here, and more when individual interrogatives are discussed. (535) - (537) all have explicit 'I don't know' translations and comparison of (535) and (536) shows that the form is different for *minya* and *minya-dhu.*

(535)　*barriindjiin=badhaay=yaa buma-y, minya-**gaayaa** ngaama buma-y*

peewee[bird]=MIGHT=POT hit-PST, what-IGNOR that hit-PST

I don't know what he killed, might be peewee.　　　　　AD/JM 2832B 3211

It might have been a peewee he killed? I don't know what he killed.　　JG

(536)　The heel of my foot is hurting me.　　　　　　　　　　JM/AD 3218B 1682

*dhanga=bala nhama ngay　// bayn / minya-dhu-**waayaa** bayn burranba-y*

heel=CTR 3.DEF 1SG.DAT // sore / what-ERG-IGNOR sore cause-PST

He don't know what made his heel sore.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　AD

That heel of mine is sore. I don't know what made it sore.　　　　　　JG

(537)　*minyaaya-**waayaa** ngaama wi-y.la-nha*

where.at-IGNOR that lie-CTS-PRS

I don't know where (my spear) is.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　AD

There are rare examples of ignoratives which do not follow the pattern outlined above. (538) is an uncertain example, but it seems the suffix is used on *dhaay* 'to.here', which is not an interrogative.

(538) *bịjuga ðei waːja gundaiwalanna*   SW p 99
       *biyuu-ga dhaay-**waayaa** gundawa-y.la-nha*
       far-LOC   to.here-IGNOR burn-CTS-PST
       It is coming from a long way away, flaming up.   SW
       It's burning far away. Don't know if it is coming here.   JG

At 3220A 3707 AD uses *minyaarru-waa=bala=yaa*, (where.ALL-INDEF=CTR-POT) with the ignorative presumably split by *=bala*. No translation is given, but it presumably approximates: 'but I don't where to'.

6.5.3   Questions about interrogatives

Questions remain about YG interrogatives. One has to do with recorded expressions which are currently unanalysed. Some of these have been mentioned above. *Gulaway* 'which colour' (Sim, p 40) is likely an implicature "How does it look like?", and only salient feature is colour, since such terms such as 'colour' are normally absent in Australian languages. *Yaama yiluu?* 'any more?' (Sim, p 49), perhaps confusing *yiluu* and *yaluu* 'again'. Interrogatives in other languages can also inform the use of YG interrogatives, and suggest patterns for developing YG. I merely list some. WN has *widjubaarr* 'what like?' for which no YG equivalent has been recorded. *Minya-giirr* (see – *giirr* 'like' §2.4.1.6) is a candidate. Wilkins (1989: 132) details Arrernte compounds based on interrogatives. 'In the first type of compound *peke* 'might, maybe' is attached to the basic interrogative form to five nominals which equate with English pronominal forms derived from interrogatives compounded with 'ever'. For example; *ilengare-peke* (when-maybe) 'whenever' and *ngwenhe-peke* (who-maybe) 'whoever'.' He also describes another compound which forms words similar to English 'what-its-name' or 'thingo'. Such structures probably existed in the traditional YG.

The -*ngay* in YG *minyangay* 'how much/many?' has not been recognised on other words. Arrernte has *ngare* 'happens X number of times' (Wilkins, 1989: 341). Uses of *ngare* include: *therre-ngare* 'two-TIMES' = 'twice' and *awethe-ngare* 'more/again-TIMES' = 'sometimes' (i.e. at other times). Similar uses of -*ngay* in YG could be investigated.

7   The main verb inflections

The structure of YG verbs, like the verbs in all CNSW (Central New South Wales) languages, is quite complex, with actual verbs consisting of a root and at least one, but commonly more suffixes. Inflections[143] to do with tense, aspect and mood are in the right-most slots. These are final suffixes: §7.2, §7.3; continuous suffixes: §7.4 and 'Time' (Time of day; Distance in time) suffixes: §7.5. The derivational suffixes considered in §8 occur immediately after the root and typically involve a change in valency. §8.1 considers 'Voice' derivations: reciprocal and reflexive, and §8.2 middle verbs. These three typically reduce the valency of the verb. §8.3 considers valency increasing derivations such as the additional argument and causative. §9 considers other verb morphology. §9.1 and §9.2 examines a number of suffixes which have no effect on valency and are found between the derivational and inflectional slots of the verb. §9.3 looks at nominalisation of verbs and §9.4 at verbalisation of nominals. Finally §9.5 examines the compound nature of many YG roots.

7.1   Introduction

YG verbs inflect for tense, mood, aspect and other properties. The minimal YG verb consists of a root and final inflectional suffix. The final inflection marks tense, imperative mood, and subordination, as seen in Table 103. A wide range of other derivational and inflectional suffixes can occur between the root and final inflection.

The structure of YG verbs can be represented as: **root-[Derivational suffix]$_n$-[Medial suffix[144]]$_n$-[Time suffix][Continuous suffix]-final suffix**.

There are two mutually exclusive continuous suffixes. The final present tense suffix is only found after these continuous suffixes. Medial suffixes mark such concepts as 'all', 'back' and 'associated eating/mouthing'. One derivation, the formation of a middle verb, does not involve an overt suffix, but rather can be analysed as a change of verb class (at least for L class stems). Many of these features are illustrated in (539). (a) shows the transitive verb, (b) the derived, middle, intransitive verb, (c) has -

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[143] Some suffixes, e.g. tense suffixes, are clearly inflectional and others, e.g. causative, are clearly derivational. I generally do not consider which, if either, of these categories most suffixes fall into.

[144] 'Medial suffix' is used for convenience to cover the suffixes discussed in §9.1 and §9.2.

aaba-li 'TOTal', one of the few suffixes that is L class, (d) has both *-aaba-li* and a continuous suffix, and so on.

(539)   Examples of verb forms including the transitive root *gama-* 'break':

(a)   *gama-li*   will break (transitive)

        break(tr)-FUT

(b)   *gama-y*   will break (intransitive) – Middle verb

        break(intr)-FUT

(c)   *gama-l.aaba-li*   will break all (transitive)

        break(tr)-TOT-FUT

(d)   *gama-l.aaba-lda-y*   will be breaking all (transitive)

        break(tr)-TOT-CTS-FUT

(e)   *gama-l.ngayi-nhi*   broke in the morning/today

        break(tr)-MORN-PST

(f)   *gama-la-ngindaay*   breaking each other (intransitive)

        break(tr)-RECP-SUB

(g)   *gama-ali-ya*   break for (someone)

        break(tr)-ARG-IMP

(h)   *gama-lda-nha*   is breaking (transitive)

        break(tr)-CTS-PRS

Between the derivational and inflectional suffixes a number of other suffixes are found. I do not attempt to classify them as derivational or inflectional. Nor is the information available to group them into slots and to order those slots. In fact it is quite possible that some of these suffixes have variable ordering, with semantic impact. It is also often unclear which suffixes are mutually exclusive.

YG verb roots belong to one of four classes. Each class has a distinctive set of final inflections, as seen in Table 103[145], which are often complex, involving a verb Class Marker (CM). The verb classes are labelled according to the consonant that most typically realises the CM (i.e. the consonant that is common in verb-final suffixes and which commonly occurs between the verb root and other suffixes). *L* occurs in 4 of the 5 L class verbs in Table 103[146] and *y* in 3 of the 5 Y class verbs.

The final and continuous suffixes are analysed as monomorphemic. Other suffixes are analysed as consisting of a common element preceded by a verb Class Marker (CM).

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[145] The purposive suffix is considered a single element, consisting of the future suffix + *gu* e.g. *-li.gu*.

[146] The shading shows suffixes that are shared by a number of verb classes.

The choice of CM is determined jointly by what precedes (the class of the immediately preceding stem and/or its final vowel) and by the suffix. Table 149 lists many CM for Medial verb suffixes. As elsewhere upper case is used to signal morphologically determined alternation. It has *W* as the Y class CM for *-uwi-y* 'BACK'. The *W* indicates that the actual CM is *w* after *a*-final stems, and *y* after *i*-final stems. CMs for *-uwi-y* are seen in Table 104.

Table 103   **Paradigm of simple YG verbs (root + one morpheme)**

Verb class	L	Y	NG	RR
Gloss	eat	run	bring	give
Inflection				
FUTure	*dha-**li***	*banaga-**y***	*gaa-**gi***	*wuu-**rri***
PAST	*dha-**y***	*banaga-**nhi***	*gaa-**nhi***	*wuu-**nhi***
IMPerative	*dha-**la***	*banaga-**ya*** *	*gaa-**nga***	*wuu-**na***
SUBordinate	*dha-**ldaay***	*banaga-**ngindaay***	*gaa-**ngindaay***	*wuu-**dhaay***
PURPosive	*dha-**li.gu***	*banaga-**y.gu***	*gaa-**gi.gu***	*wuu-**rri.gu***

     * Irregular imperatives are discussed later.

Table 104   **Verb Class Marker examples**

Verb	Gloss	Class Marker	Verb Class
*buma-**l**.uwi-y*	will hit back	*l*	L
*banaga-**w**.uwi-y*	will run back	*w*	Y
*gubi-**y**.uwi-y*	will swim back	*y*	Y
*gaa-**g**.uwi-y*	will tack back	*g*	NG
*wuu-**rr**.uwi-y*	will give back	*rr*	RR

If a non-final suffix is added to a verb stem, the resulting verb is Y class, with one exception, *-aaba-li* 'ALL': for instance all the verb stems created by *-CM-uwi-* in Table 104 are Y class, irrespective of the class of the root.

YG is similar to many other Pama-Nyungan languages in having verb classes, and in the properties of the classes: cf. Dixon (2002: Chap6.5, p 209) and Koch (2007: 35), (2014b). The YG properties are summarised in Table 105.

The 23 NG class verbs currently recognised are in Table 227, in Appendix B. There are three pairs of YR/GR cognates. The 9 RR class verbs currently recognised are in Table 228. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are common in NG and RR classes. These two classes are the only ones with *u*-final roots, and have a relatively high proportion of monosyllabic roots, particularly the RR class, where 4 of the 9 roots are

monosyllabic. RR class verbs include some whose root is problematic[147]: *baarray-rri* 'split' and *dhilay-rri* 'throw out'. *Baarray-rri* is derived from *baarra-y* 'split, intransitive'. There is no evidence that *dhilay-rri* is derived. These are the only verb roots that are not vowel final. There is evidence that indicates the root *baarray-* is L class, but stronger indications that it is RR class. These verbs await further analysis.

Table 105   **Properties of YG verb classes**

Verb Class /properties	L	Y	NG	RR
size	large: ca 200	large: ca 100	23	9
valence	mostly transitive	mostly intransitive	mixed transitivity	mixed transitivity
syllables	mostly polysyllabic	mostly polysyllabic	high proportion monosyllabic	high proportion monosyllabic
root	*a* or *i*-final	*a* or *i*-final	*a, i* or *u*-final	*a, i* or *u*-final some C-final

YG verbs share many features shared with other CNSW languages, some of which are given here. There are many verb roots which are identical (or cognates) across the languages, e.g. *buma-li* 'hit' and *yana-y* 'go' (*yanaa-y* in YR). The present and past tense suffixes, *-NHa* and *-NHi* are the same in all CNSW languages. The *-li* suffix is found on L class verbs in all CNSW languages, 'future' in YG, purposive elsewhere. All languages have *a*-final imperatives. Many of the inflectional suffixes are similar or identical in form, e.g. *-la-y* 'reciprocal' is found in all CNSW languages. The 'morning' suffixes are cognates: *-ngarri-y* and *-ngayi-y*. Most L class roots consist, at least historically of two morphemes: cf. Donaldson (1980: Chap 7) and §9.5.

There are also differences. Other CNSW languages have 3 verb classes; L, Y and RR as in YG, but no NG class. The other languages can use the present tense suffix after a root; YG can use it only after a continuous suffix: e.g. *yana-nha* 'go-PRS' ('is going') is found in other CNSW languages but not in YG. In YG the future is the citation form; in the other languages it is a purposive and there is a separate future: *buma-li* is future 'hit-FUT' in YG, but purposive in WN, whose future is *buma-l.aga*.

The rest of this chapter considers form and functions of final suffixes and other suffixes which convey tense and aspect information. These include the two series of continuous suffixes, Time of Day (TOD) suffixes, Distance in Time (DIT) suffixes and other Time suffixes. For each group a paradigm and summary is first given, then the

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[147] The verb root could be rendered *baarrayi-*, making it vowel final. However this less accurately renders what is heard. As well all other i-final verb stems have *-nyi* as the past tense allomorph. This verb has past tense *-nhi*. Fred Reece on one occasion gives the verb as L class, *baarrayi-li*, indicating this was a variable part of the language.

historical information the paradigm is based on is examined. The functions of the suffixes are then discussed. As well the use of the copula as an auxiliary is examined. Other suffixes and middle forms of verbs are considered in following chapters. Subordinating final inflections are considered in §11.

7.2 Forms of verb-final inflections

A paradigm of simple verbs is given in Table 103 and the final inflections are seen in Table 106. A number of features stand out. Three of the four futures end in *i*. All the imperatives end in *a*. Three of the classes have *–NHi* as the past tense suffix. The subordinate suffixes are likely derived from *-dhaay*, which is realised as *-daay* after *l* and *n*. The RR SUBordinate suffix *–dhaay* is likely to be the realisation of *rr + dhaay*. The purposive in every case consists of the future verb *+ -gu*. As noted above, there is no simple present tense in YG. Some GR Y class verbs use an irregular imperative suffix, *-nga*: See §7.2.1.

Final inflections and the continuous suffixes are seen in Table 106 and Table 110.

Table 106 **YG verbs: final inflections**

Verb Class	L	Y	NG	RR
Inflection				
FUTure	*-li*	*-y*	*-gi*	*-rri*
PRESent (only after CTS/MOV)		*-nha*		
PAST	*-y*	*-NHi**	*-NHi**	*-NHi**
IMPerative	*-la*	*-ya / (-nga)*	*-nga*	*-na*
SUBordinate	*-ldaay*	*-ngindaay*	*-ngindaay*	*-dhaay*
SUBordinate (CTS/MOV)	*-ndaay*			
PURPosive	*-li-gu*	*-y-gu*	*-gi-gu*	*-rri-gu*

* The use of upper case NH indicates that there are allomorphs.

7.2.1 Evidence for the simple verb forms

The forms of attested final verb inflections are now considered. YR forms are well attested in the tapes for all verb classes. GR information is much more limited, with little on the Y and RR class verbs. In fact Ridley and Mathews do not seem to have recognised verb classes. The interpretation of older written material depends to some extent on paradigms developed from the later material. For instance *kāne* 'took' Table 107, is interpreted as *gaa-nhi*, with a lamino-dental and *i* in the suffix, since that is the form found on the tapes.

Table 107 has some of the verb material from written sources and the current interpretation.

Table 107   **Interpretation of simple verbs from written sources**

	Original		Class	Current orthography	Analysis
Ridley	*goälle*	will speak	L	*guwaa-li*	tell-FUT
	goë	did speak	L	*guwaa-y*	tell-PST
	goälla	speak	L	*guwaa-la*	tell-IMP
	wīmulle	will put	L	*wiima-li*	put-FUT
	wīmi	put (down)	L	*wiima-y*	put-PST
	wīmulla	put down	L	*wiima-la*	put-IMP
	kāge	will take	NG	*gaa-gi*	take-FUT
	kāne	took	NG	*gaa-nhi*	take-PST
	kāŋa	take	NG	*gaa-nga*	take-IMP
	ginyi	became	NG	*gi-nyi*	be-PST
MathewsGR	*gigi*	I will be presently	NG	*gi-gi*	be-FUT
	ginyi	I was just now	NG	*gi-nyi*	be-PST
	ginga	become	NG	*gi-nga*	be-IMP
	bumulli	will beat presently	L	*buma-li*	hit-FUT
	bumi	beat just now	L	*buma-y*	hit-PST
	bumulla	Beat thou	L	*buma-la*	hit-IMP
WurmGR	₁*bumali*	will hit	L	*buma-li*	hit-FUT
	bu:mi	killed	L	*buma-y*	hit-PST
	bumala	hit!	L	*buma-la*	hit-IMP
WurmYR	*jɛnai, janai*	will go	Y	*yanaa-y*	go-FUT
	jana:nni	went	Y	*yanaa-nhi*	go-PST
	'na:ni	went	Y	*(ya)[148]naa-nhi*	go-PST
	janna:ja[149]	walk!	Y	*yanaa-ya*	go-IMP
	ginji	became	NG	*gi-nyi*	be-PST
Laves	*bumali*	will hit	L	*buma-li*	hit-FUT
	bumai	killed	L	*buma-y*	hit-PST
	ʹ*bumala*	hit/kill!	L	*buma-la*	hit-IMP
	yanai	go	Y	*yanaa-y*	go-FUT
	naia	go	Y	*(ya)naa-ya*	go-IMP
	da·lani	(no gloss)	NG	*dhaala-nhi*	be.sick-PST

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[148] The initial syllable of *yanaa-y* YR and *yana-y* GR 'go' is often elided.

[149] While Wurm's use of *nn* in *jana:nni*, 2 lines earlier, may reflect the laminal normally used here, I have no explanation for use of *nn* here. He has many instances of the verb with a single *n* here.

A number of irregular imperatives have been found in GR: The regular imperative suffix is for Y class verbs is *-ya*. GR *yanay*[150] 'go' and *barra-y* 'fly' have an irregular Imperative *-nga*. All other GR Y class imperatives found have the regular *-ya*. Ridley (p 13) has two irregular imperative forms of *gi-gi* 'be': *gi-nya* and *gi-ya*. He also has an irregular subordinate *gi-ndaay*. The regular *gi-ngindaay* is found in other sources. There are many verbs for which no information is available, and so for which the traditional imperative form is not known. In YR no irregular forms have been recognised.

The evidence for irregular imperatives is presented in Table 108 and comes from Ridley's biblical text, Mathews' sentences and phrases, a phrase in Milson and from Wurm's sentences. Ridley and Mathews give paradigms for individual verbs.

Table 108   **Some Gamilaraay Y and NG class imperatives**

Source	Original	Gloss	Analysis	Gloss
Y class: *yana-y* 'go/walk'				
Ridley: 42	*taiyanuŋa*	come here	*dhaay yana-nga*	to.here go-IMP
MathewsGR: 264	*dhai yannunga*	Come here.	*dhaay yana-nga*	to.here go-IMP
Milson:	*thy aninga*	Come this way.	*dhaay yana-nga*	to.here go-IMP
Wurm: 20	*ða:ja naŋa*	Come here.	*dhaay yana-nga*	to.here go-IMP
Wurm: 54	*ḍa:y yana-ŋa*	Come here.	*dhaay yana-nga*	to.here go-IMP
Wurm: 38	*jindai janaŋa*	You go.	*ngindaay yana-nga*	2PL go-IMP
Other verbs				
Ridley: 42	*waria*	arise	*warra-ya*	stand-IMP
Ridley: 43	*warraia*	turn	*warra-ya??*	??
Wurm: 43	*garija baraŋa*	Do not fly away.	*garri-ya barra-nga*	neg-IMP fly-IMP
Wurm: 38	*banagεja*	run	*banaga-ya*	run-IMP
Wurm: 43	*gubilja*	swim!	*gubi-y.la-ya*	swim-CTS-IMP
Wurm: 43	*gubiljε*	swim!	*gubi-y.la-ya*	swim-CTS-IMP
NG class verbs				
Ridley: 13	*ginya, gia, or kia*	be!	*gi-nya, gi-ya*	be-IMP
Ridley: 11	*kāŋa*	take!	*gaa-nga*	take-IMP

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[150] Dixon (1980: 424) points out that 'Dyirbal also has one irregular root *yanu-l~yana-l* 'go'.'

7.3   Uses of the final inflections

The next section discusses the main uses of the suffixes listed above. It will be clear that there are alternative analysis available for some suffixes. For instance while I will continue to refer to 'past' and 'future' **tense**, Donaldson's (1980: 160) analyses of the same forms in WN as realis and irrealis **mood** could also be used of YG[151]. There are socio-linguistic considerations as well. This is particularly clear with the Imperative. English imperative elicitation sentences are often translated as YR requests or suggestions.

7.3.1   Imperative

Imperatives are almost always used to issue a command, i.e. the addressee(s) are second person. They are a few examples with first person addressees, optative function: 'let's …'. Positive Imperatives are frequently clause initial. An exception is (542). Negation of imperatives is generally by use of clause initial *garriya* (§6.4.2). There are a number of strategies for modifying imperatives. They can be softened, including by use of =*Badhaay* (§15.3.2) or =*Yaa* (§15.2.1). Strengthening is considered at the end of this section.

(540) and (541) have typical use of imperatives: clause initial and no direct mention of the addressee in positive imperatives. In (542) and Wurm: 38 (Table 108) the addressee is explicit, presumably for emphasis. In (542) the verb is not clause initial. With negative imperatives it is more common for the addressee to be explicit, often via an enclitic pronoun, as in (543) and (545), but this is by no means obligatory, as shown by (544) and (546).

(540) *banaga-ya* *barraay*
     run-IMP   fast
     Run quickly.   JG; AD/CW 3997A 138

(541) *dhadha-la* *nhama* *dhinggaa*
     taste-IMP 3.DEF   meat
     Taste that meat.   FR/JM 1851B 3378

(542) You make a fire for yourself.   JM/AD 8185 288
     giirr **nginda** *wii* **wiima-la**   / *guyungan* *nginu*
     true 2SG   fire put.down-IMP / self   2SG.DAT

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[151] Donaldson's analysis is: 'There is a three-term tense system, involving two contrasts, one of actuality (actualis versus irrealis) and, within the actualis category, one of time (past versus present). The past and present inflections indicate actual events which have taken or are taking place.' Her irrealis corresponds to the YG future.

Negative imperatives are almost always formed with the negative imperative particle *garriya* (§6.4.2): (543),(544), (545). Rarely the non-imperative negative *waal* or *gamil* is used with an imperative verb: (546).

(543) Don't dance like that.   CW/AD 5058 1329

      garriya=ndaay / *yalagirrma yulu-gi.la-ya*   // **garriya=ndaay** *yalagiirrma yulu-nga*

      don't=2PL   / like.that   dance-CTS-IMP // don't=2PL   like.that   dance-IMP

(544) **garriya=bala** *ngay*   *bilaarr gaa-nga*

      don't=CTR   1SG.DAT spear   take-IMP

      Don't take my spear (because I get savage when you take my spear).   AD/JM 3217B 3305

(545) Beat thou not.   MathewsGR 266

      Kurriandu[152] *bumulla*

      garriya=nda *buma-la*

      don't=2SG   hit-IMP

(546)   *waal ngiima*   / **galiya-ya**

      not   FROM.DEF / climb-IMP

      Don't climb up that tree.   AD/JM 3219A 1202

Garriya is also used as a one word sentence, translated 'don't!' or 'have done!'

Often when the interviewer presents an imperative sentence for translation the informant replies with a question, as in (547). There are clearly social factors which influence when an imperative is appropriate - in this case the use of an address kin term which denotes a senior relation.

(547) Miimii, **give** that yam to me.   JM/AD 8183 3026

      yaama=nda *ngay*   / *miimii*   / *nhama wuu-rri,*   *milaan,*

      ques=2SG   1SG.DAT / grandmother / 3.DEF   give-FUT, yam

      Granny, will you give me that yam?   JG

On a few occasions the Imperative is translated 'let's'. In (548) the verb is a simple imperative, but in (549) the imperative is followed by the POTential =*yaa.* (The analysis of (549) is not certain.) Future forms are also translated 'let's'. It may be that the imperative form is stronger and indicates a more emphatic suggestion on the part of the speaker than the future form does.

(548) *wi: ˈwimala*   SW p15

      wii **wiima-la**

      fire put.down-IMP

      fire **let us** make   SW

      Make a fire! [Lit]   JG

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[152] The 2SG clitic is consistently =*nda*, so this is likely an error.

(549) *diamalaya ŋaia*   Laves MS2188-9-12p106

    dhiyama-la=yaa ngaya

    pick.up-IMP=POT 1SG

    let me pick it up   Laves

The suffix -*waa* adds emphasis to an imperative: see Ridley (p 9).

In the next section the functions of YG 'future' and 'past' tense suffixes are discussed. Their functions are much broader than suggested by the glosses, and include aspectual and modal as well as tense uses. See Comrie (1985: 6, 349) for description of 'tense' and 'aspect', the first having to do with 'grammaticalised expression of location in time' and the second with 'the internal temporal contour of a situation'. Modality has to do with the degree of necessity, obligation, probability or ability to perform an action.

7.3.2   Future

The YG future has a wide range of interpretations, but these are often the result of other factors as well as the verb form: both the discourse situation and other elements of the sentence. For instance a future verb used with *giirr* 'true' will generally be translated by the simple future. The combination indicates the speaker's confidence that the event will occur. The use of a future with =*yaa* 'POTential' indicates the speaker's uncertainty, and is often translated with 'might'. It is relatively uncommon for a future tense verb to occur in a clause without some other modifying morpheme.

Use of YG future tense does not on its own confidently predict an event will happen. Rather it signals that an event is likely to happen at some time subsequent to the moment of speaking or other reference time. The context or other elements in the clause can make the meaning more or less certain. Future has a number of less common modal uses, when it is translated 'should', 'let's' 'can' (ability to perform an action) and 'want to'.

The early sources use future tense almost exclusively to translate English 'will' i.e. with reference to events that are confidently expected to happen. Ridley glosses all simple future forms with 'will' while Mathews translates them as 'will X presently' as in 'will beat presently', limiting the simple future suffix to situations that will happen relatively soon, and having other suffixes for more distant events. The futures of many derived stems such as reciprocals are also expressed as simple futures in Mathews: e.g. 'we will beat each other: *ngulli bumullê*' (*ngali buma-la-y* 'hit-RECP-FUT').

Future tense can be used when the speaker is confident that the event will occur. (550)(=(637)) shows a more recent example where the future is translated 'will'. Other examples include (485) 'when **is** the boss **coming**?'; (547) '**will** you give?'; (551), =(658), 'the rock will break'; (677) 'you will fall and will break your back'

multiple sentences in Table 123, and 5058 1070: 'I **will** dig it then and you **will** wash it'. (551) 'the rock will break' also confidently predicts an event.

Talking about a snake:

(550)   *yalagiirrmawu nguu   /* ***wiima-li***   *ngaama dhaygal nguungu,*
then   3SG.ERG / put.down-FUT that   head   3SG.DAT,

He will put his head down then,   JG

(b)   *buma-li.gu nginda dhaygal-i*
hit-PURP   2SG   head-ABL
He will put his head down, so you can kill him.   AD/CW 5051 643
so that you can hit him on the head.   JG

(551)   The rock will break.   CW/AD 5058 146
maayama-bidi ngaama = laa ***gama-y***
rock-AUG   that = DIR   break.M-FUT
The big rock **will** break.   JG

Future events in YG can also be conveyed by a compound verb structure using *giyaanha* and the future form of the main verb: §7.4.3.3. A compound verb including *giyaanha* seems to indicate that the speaker is convinced the predicted situation will eventuate - see (477), (482), (1103), (1132), (1134).

A simple future verb can also signal uncertainty as to whether the event will happen, as in (552).

(552)   The baby **might** crawl away (if you don't watch him).   CW/AD 5131 684
birralii-djuul nhama = laa ***dhuu-rri***
child-DIM   3.DEF = DIR   crawl-FUT

It is common for sentences which include both *= laa* and a future tense verb to have 'might' in the translation, as in (553)(b). FR actually gives two translations, one indicating certainty, the other doubt. (553)(b) shows another use of the future, to indicate necessity. It also has *= laa* 'DIR', which may influence the interpretation.

(553)   There's a lot of clouds coming up, today.   JM/FR 2440A 685
(a)   *yiiyuu =* ***laa*** ***bundaa-gi***
rain = DIR   fall-FUT
It's going to rain, **I think** it's going to rain directly,   FR

(b)   *gaarrima =* ***laa*** *ngiyani /* ***warra.y.ma-li***
camp = DIR   1PL   / build-FUT
we **better** put our camp up.   FR

(554) also has two translations of the one sentence. The Wurm translation is from his notes, AD's is in response to listening to the sentence on the Wurm tape. Wurm's translation of *yii-li* 'bite-FUT' is the simple future 'will bite' while Arthur Dodd's is 'might bite'.

(554)   Don't go over there, the snake **will** bite you.   SW p 98

      Don't go over there to the snake lying over there, he **might** bite you.   AD 5050 457

These uses of the 'future' are also found in other Australian languages. Donaldson (1980: 160) does not refer to a future in Wangaaybuwan, but to an irrealis, and points out:

> Future forms in for example English, Latin and Urdu indicate a confident prediction that
> the event will be actualised. .. By contrast, the Ngiyambaa irrealis inflection encompasses
> the notion of lack of control over actualisation, as in [(555), Donaldson's] 6-11 which is
> as appropriately and as frequently translated 'It might rain' as 'It will rain.'

(555)   *yurrung-gu ngidja-l-aga*

     rain-ERG   rain-cm-FUT

     'It might rain' / 'It will rain.'   Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6-11

The default interpretation of English future tense seems to be that the event is confidently expected, but this expectation can be altered by use of words such as 'might'. In contrast the default interpretation of YG and Wangaaybuwan future is neutral, and modifications can indicate more or less confidence that the event will occur.

Ability:

(556) (=(657)), (557) are rare instances where future tense indicates ability[153] to perform an action. The present continuous is used more frequently with this function.

(556)   Can you break this stick?   JM/FR 2439A 1579

     *yaama nhalay muyaan nginda **gama-li***

     ques   this   stick   2SG   break.L-FUT

     Can you break this stick?   FR

(557)   I **can** do it.   Sim: p48

     *Giirr ngaya **gimbi-li·***

     true 1SG   do-FUT

Optative 'let's':

A few examples have been found where the future translates 'let's': Wurm (p 96, 98) has future for 'let's go', as does Laves (MS2188-9-12p026), who also has future for 'let's stop' (MS2188-9-12p023).

The translations given here do not exhaust the possibilities for the YG future - another translation is 'must' in (564).

Relative future:

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[153] In Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 111) the future with COMitative or PRIVative suffix indicates ability/inability to do something.

Most uses of the future are about a situation that is an 'absolute future' - after this moment in time, after **now**, but there are uncommon uses where it refers to a 'relative future' - after some other established point in time. This is seen in (558), where it may be that use of the future has to do with subsequent action being a result of the previous action. The elicitation had been about a fight. One man was injured, and the other is then obliged to provide for him. The verbs 'catch for' and 'make fire' are in future tense.

(558)   (Because the thin man won the fight) he had to give the fat man fish and water, meat, everything.   JM/AD 8186 3051

nguwam=badhaay ngaama / ngarragaa-gu / wana / ??wana nguungu /

there=MIGHT   there   / poor-ERG   / let   / ??let   3SG.DAT /

..to that poor fellow, let him for him   JG

bayama-a-lda-y[154]   *minyaminyagaa / dhinggaa, dhuwarr, **wii wiima-li***

catch-ARG-CTS-FUT everything   / meat,   bread,   make.fire-FUT

keep catching everything, meat, bread, make the fire.   JG

AD3219B 2377 speaks of a situation where the second action might also be regarded a result of the first. AD says: 'the old men told good stories and we used.to/would listen intently'. The verb 'listen' is future continuous.

A second use of the future with (absolute) past reference is seen in (559). It involves the auxiliary verb *giyaanhi* 'were going to'. The present auxiliary, *giyaanha* 'are going to' (found in many examples), is used with the future of the main verb, and it seems so is *giyaanhi,* with 3 verbs in future tense following it in (559).

(559)   They were going to kill a lot of meat and have a great feed in the evening.   JM/AD 8187 266

*giirruu   ngaama **gi.yaa.nhi,**   burrulaa ganugu / **buma-li** / dhulii,   mangun.gaali /*

true.very that   going.to.PST many   3PL.ERG / hit-FUT / sand.goanna, tree.goanna   /

They were going to kill a lot, sand goannas, tree goannas,   JG

*ngiyama=dhaay **gaa-g.uwi-y**=Na*

there=to.here   bring-BACK-FUT=3

and then bring them back here. (They will bring them back here.)   JG

*nguwama ganugu=nga/nha **yilama-li***

there   3PL.ERG=THEN/3 cook-FUT

and then (they would) cook them.(They will cook them here.)   JG

ngiyama ?? ganugu=nha bamba   dha-li.gu

there   ?? 3PL.ERG=3 w.energy eat-PURP

That's when they are going to have a good feed.   AD

So that they can have a big feed.   JG

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[154] The verb is non-canonical, with an L class continuous suffix. The additional argument suffix creates a Y class stem: *bayama-ali-y.la-y* is the regular form.

7.3.3 Past

The two main uses of YG past tense are to refer to a simple action which occurred in the (recent) past and secondly to indicate 'perfect' aspect - referring to a situation which has changed and has current relevance. In older sources the first use is limited to recent actions. More distant actions require the use of 'Distance in time' suffixes: §7.5.3. While in English past tense is used to refer to past continuous actions e.g. 'we talked', this is much less common in YG, which generally uses continuous aspect in such situations.

Use of simple past tense with reference to a past action is seen in (560), (484) 'I ate'; (479) 'he saw' and many more. Table 107 has examples from old sources.

(560) (Two men speared the kangaroo then) went back to camp.   CW/AD 3217A 2322
     yanaa-w.uwi-nyi = nga ngaam' bulaarr = na
     go-BACK-PST = THEN   that   two = 3
     The two of them went back then.   JG

In Mathews' verb paradigms he often uses 'just' in translations of simple past with e.g. (p 262) *ginyi* 'was just now'; *bumi* 'beat just now' (*buma-y* 'hit-PAST'), contrasting them with other past forms such as: 'was/beat this morning', 'was/beat yesterday' and so on. Laves also has 'just' in some translations of the simple past: (561): 9-12p039: *ŋauni* (*ngawu-nhi*) '**just** had a drink', '"**just now**" drank'. This use of the simple past as a recent past is not found in more recent sources, which generally use the particle *yilaa* for 'just': (562).

(561) *gir nama ŋaia 'diamai*   Laves 9-12p087 YR
     giirr nhama ngaya dhiyama-y
     true 3.DEF 1SG   pick.up-PST
     I (**just**) picked it up.   Laves

(562) *yilaa = bala ngaama ganunga dhaay 'naa-nhi, ngarra-li.gu*
     prox = CTR that   3PL   to.here come-PST, see-PURP
     They **just** come down to have a look.   AD/JM 8187 1549

Past tense can be used with perfect meaning. Comrie (1976:52) says, of perfect aspect:

> (The perfect) is rather different from (other) aspects, since it tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation. … .. the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation.

YG use of the past with perfect meaning is very common, often to refer to a relatively recent event and with the English translation being present tense. There are many such examples with *gi-gi* 'be, get' (563) (cf. (602)), (564), (569)(b,c) but also found with other stative verbs such as 'be.sick' (565). This use is also found with

active verbs such as 'come' in (566) and 'see' in (567). ((566) contains a YR idiom which includes *dhurra-li* 'come, emerge').

(563) *Youlnindee gnaia ginee*   Parker: Woggeeguy (1930: 7)
       yuulngindi ngaya **gi-nyi**
       hungry   1SG   get-PST
       Hungry I **am**.   Parker

The second clause of (564) shows perfect use of *gi-nyi*, as well as modal use: 'mustn't eat', of a future phrase, *waal dha-li:*.

(564) *dhinggaa …. dhaymaarr-iyaay /* **gi-nyi** */ waal nhama nguu=laa   dha-li*
       meat   …. dirt-COM   / get-PST / not 3.DEF 3SG.ERG=DIR eat-FUT
       (Take that meat from the kid); he mustn't eat that meat because it has been dropped in the dirt.
                                                                         CW/FR 5053 2592
       The meat **is** dirty. He mustn't eat it.   JG

(565) They feel sick.   JM/FR 1986B 2243
       dhaala-nhi *gununga*
       be.sick-PST 3PL
       Sick they **are**.   FR

(566) I **feel** lonely.   Sim p 48
       Gana ngaya **dhurra-y**
       liver 1SG   come-PST

(567) No, I **can't see** him yet, I am looking for him.   JM/AD 3219B 2436
       waaluu ngaama ngaya **ngarra-y**
       not.yet that   1SG   see-PST
       I haven't seen him. / I can't see him.   JG

(568) Talking about anybody dead.   JM/FR 1849B 69
       balu-nhi=*nya*
       die-PST=3
       He's dead.   FR

The following continuous section from a tape (slightly tidied) shows the complexity of verb translation. In (569)(a) the YG sentence is verbless, indicating a constant state. In (569)(b) English present corresponds to YG past/perfect, in (569)(c) the English past corresponds to YG continuous past, and the final sentence by AD is non-standard English, and captures the multiple time reference of perfect aspect - the past situation ('got') and the present relevance ('now').

(569) The man that came yesterday **was** mad.   CW/AD 3999A 380
(a)   *wamba, wamba ngaama dhayn*
       mad,   mad   that   Aboriginal.man
       He's mad, that blackfellow.   AD

My eye's O.K. **now**, It was sore, but it's all right now. CW

(b) *giirr nhama ngay   gaba mil **gi-nyi***
     true 3.DEF   1SG.DAT good eye get-PST
     My eye **is** good. JG

     It **was** sore. CW

(c) *giirr nhama bayn gi-gi.la-nhi. giirr＝Na gaba **gi-nyi***
     true 3.DEF   sore get-CTS-PST. true＝3   good get-PST.
     It got all right now. AD
     It was sore. It is all right now. JG

Past tense is also used to translate some English present tense weather expressions such as: 'It **is** very hot today' (1098), presumably because the reference is to a situation that has recently changed.

7.3.4   Purposive and subordinate

This section gives the form of the purposive and relative suffixes: Table 109. Their uses will be looked at in §11.

The analysis I adopt is that the verbal purposive suffix consists of the future suffix and *-gu*. The two elements are written with a full stop[155] between them to show that while this is one suffix, it is composed of two elements, a future suffix and *-gu,* the latter related to the Dative and Allative suffixes *-Gu* §2.2.4. A suffix *-gu* is found on nominals with purposive meaning.

Table 109   **SUBordinate and purposive suffix forms**

Verb class	L	Y	NG	RR
Verb	*dha-li* 'eat'	*yanaa-y* 'go'	*gaa-gi* 'bring'	*wuu-rri* 'give'
Purposive	*dha-**li.gu***	*yanaa-**y.gu***	*gaa-**gi.gu***	*wuu-**rri.gu***
SUBordinate: non-CTS	*dha-**ldaay***	*yanaa-**ngindaay***	*gaa-**ngindaay***	*wuu-**dhaay***
SUBordinate: CTS	*dha-**lda-ndaay***	*yanaa-**y.la-ndaay***	*gaa-**gi.la-ndaay***	*wuu-**dha-ndaay***

The purposive is commonly found on continuous future forms as in *yulu-gi.la-y.gu* (dance-CTS-PURR) 'in order to dance'. (570) shows purposive *buma-li.gu* 'in order to hit' and *dha-li-gu* 'to eat'.

(570)   The woman cooked the meat because she was hungry.   CW/AD 5130 2920
        giirruu   nguuma   / yina-yu   ngaama / barraay dhinggaa / yilama-y
        true.very 3ERG.DEF / woman-ERG there   / quickly meat   / cook-PST

        *bamba   / **dha-li.gu** / ngiyama*
        w.energy / eat-PURP / there
        The woman cooked the meat quickly so she could eat it soon.   JG

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[155] This convention was initiated by Wilkins (1989).

Purposive verbs do not always follow the regular stress patterns: *buma-li.gu* 'to hit' most commonly has the primary stress on the second syllable *ma*, rather than on the first syllable, as predicted for words where all syllables are short.

For use of the subordinate suffix see §11.3; the forms are given in Table 109. This suffix is unique in having different forms on non-continuous Y class verbs (*-ngindaay*) and continuous verbs, which are also Y class (*-ndaay*). FR uses *-ndaay* for the L class subordinate suffix, while others have *-ldaay*. The analysis in Table 109 is the same as Williams' (p 113) except that she has the RR class subordinate suffix as *-ndaay*.

7.4 Continuous aspect[156]

7.4.1 Continuous suffixes

I now discuss two aspectual markers, the continuous suffixes, which, if present, are in the penultimate verb slot. One continuous suffix prototypically encodes linear motion (glossed MOVing) and the other prototypically indicates non-motion (glossed CTS). Table 110 shows the actual suffixes and Table 111 has paradigms of the two sets of suffixes.

Table 110   **YG continuous suffixes**

Verb Class	L	Y	NG	RR
Inflection				
Moving	*-l.aa-y*	*-W.aa-y*	*-W.aa-y*	*-rr.aa-y*
Non-Moving	*-lda-y*	*-y.la-y*	*-gi.la-y*	*-dha-y*

These suffixes form a Y class stem, so all the final suffixes in Table 111 are those found on Y class roots (Table 103), except for the present tense suffix *-nha* which only occurs after the two continuous suffixes[157]. The non-moving suffixes have a short vowel, *a*, and the moving suffixes a long *aa*. The non-moving suffixes are different for each verb class. Three of them include the Class Marker commonly used by that class; *l* for L class, *y* for Y class and *gi* for NG class[158]. The moving suffixes have allomorphs for Y and NG class: *-yaa* after *i*, *-waa* elsewhere: e.g. *gubi-y* 'swim', *gubi-yaa-nha* 'is swimming'; *yana-y* 'go', *yana-waa-nha* "is going'. The moving suffixes also include common Class Markers: *l* for L class, *rr* for RR class and *y* for some Y

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[156] Much of the material in this section has been previously discussed in Giacon (2008). However some rules for use of the suffixes that were presented there as universal are now recognised as very strong tendencies, albeit with rare exceptions.

[157] Present tense typically refers to an ongoing event, so there is little need for a punctual present. See §7.4.2.3 for variations in GR realisation of the present and past suffixes.

[158] The Y and NG Class Markers are the respective future suffixes, again showing the similarity between these classes.

class verbs. There is some variation in the form of the L class non-moving suffix. Occasionally it is realised as *-la-y* instead of *-lda-y*, but not with the frequency suggested in Williams (p 70): 'the cluster *ld* is frequently simplified by omitting the *d*'. Her analysis may have been influenced by not recognising that there are middle forms of L class verbs (§8.2), which are identical in form to Y class verbs, and which use the Y class continuous suffixes. There are many similarities between the Y and NG class continuous forms[159]. Their non-moving suffixes consist of the future suffix + *-la* and their moving suffixes are the same. Similarly the L and RR suffixes share features. The non-moving suffixes both include a stop, unlike the other classes, and the moving suffixes include the consonant of the future form, *l* and *rr* respectively.

Table 111   **Paradigm of continuous YG verbs**

Verb class	L	Y	NG	RR	Gloss
Inflection	**Non-moving** continuous				(Example)
Stem	*dha-li* 'eat'	*yana-y* 'go'	*gaa-gi* 'take'	*wuu-rri* 'give'	
CTS+FUT	*dha-***lda**-*y*	*yana-***y**.***la**-*y*	*gaa-***gi**.***la**-*y*	*wuu-***dha**-*y*	will be (eat)ing
CTS+PRS	*dha-***lda**-**nha**	*yana-***y**.***la**-**nha**	*gaa-***gi**.***la**-**nha**	*wuu-***dha**-**nha**	is (eat)ing
CTS+PAST	*dha-***lda**-*nhi*	*yana-***y**.***la**-*nhi*	*gaa-***gi**.***la**-*nhi*	*wuu-***dha**-*nhi*	was (eat)ing
CTS+IMP	*dha-***lda**-*ya*	*yana-***y**.***la**-*ya*	*gaa-***gi**.***la**-*ya*	*wuu-***dha**-*ya*	keep (eat)ing
CTS+SUB	*dha-***lda**-**ndaay**	*yana-***y**.***la**-**ndaay**	*gaa-***gi**.***la**-**ndaay**	*wuu-***dha**-**ndaay**	when+(eat)ing
	Moving continuous				
MOV+FUT	*dha-***laa**-*y*	*yana-***waa**-*y#*	*gaa-***waa**-*y#*	*wuu-***rraa**-*y*	will be (eat)ing
MOV+PRS	*dha-***laa**-**nha**	*yana-***waa**-**nha**	*gaa-***waa**-**nha**	*wuu-***rraa**-**nha**	is (eat)ing
MOV+PAST	*dha-***laa**-*nhi*	*yana-***waa**-*nhi*	*gaa-***waa**-*nhi*	*wuu-***rraa**-*nhi*	was (eat)ing
MOV+IMP	*dha-***laa**-*ya*	*yana-***waa**-*ya*	*gaa-***waa**-*ya#*	*wuu-***rraa**-*ya*	keep (eat)ing
MOV+SUB	*dha-***laa**-**ndaay**	*yana-***waa**-**ndaay**	*gaa-***waa**-**ndaay**	*wuu-***rraa**-**ndaay**	when+ (eat)ing

7.4.2   The functions of continuous suffixes

The prototypical difference between the continuous suffixes is that one encodes linear motion and the other no linear motion. (571) and (572) both contain the one verb, *baa-y* 'hop'. In (571), with reference to a kangaroo hopping, the MOVing suffix is used on the verb. However in (572), with reference to a dying fish flapping in the bottom of a canoe, the CTS suffix is used on the same root. While the dog is chasing the possum 'barking' has the MOVing suffix (573)(a), but when the dog is standing at the base of the tree 'barking' has the CTS suffix (573)(b).

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[159] These are in the shaded area in Table 111.

(571) The kangaroo is hopping **along**.   JM/AD 3220A 3303

      Bandaarr   *nhama* **baa-waa-nha**

      grey.kangaroo 3.DEF   hop-MOV-PRS

(572) The fish were **jumping** in the bottom of the canoe.   JM/AD 8184 436

      guduu **baa-y.la-nhi** *ngiyarrma, ganuu-ga,*

      fish   hop-CTS-PST there,   canoe-LOC

(573) The dog is running this way and he's barking at something,   JM/FR 2439A 3395

(a)   *maadhaay dhaay banaga-**waa**-nha, gula-**laa**-nha*

      dog   to.here run-**MOV**-PRS   bark-**MOV**-PRS

      The dog is running here and barking.   JG

(b)   *ngaarrma nguu   gula-**lda**-nha,*

      there   3SG.ERG bark-**CTS**-PRS

      He chased the goanna up the tree and now he is barking.   FR

      He is barking there now (at the base of the tree).   JG

Continuous suffixes indicate that the ongoing nature of the event is focused on. In contrast simple verb suffixes indicate a non-continuous event, or focus on the result. For instance in (660) a continuous form translates '(tree) is shaking' and a simple future 'will break'. In (666) 'they had all eaten the kangaroo, it tasted good' a simple past is used for 'had eaten' and past continuous for 'tasted'. In (667) 'when he was eating, he choked on the bread' continuous is used for 'eating' and simple past for 'choked'. See also (682) 'was cooking' (continuous) and (671) '(baby) burnt himself' (past).

As well as their prototypical use, each suffix has other common and uncommon uses. The CTS suffix often has habitual meaning, on any type of verb. The MOVing suffix commonly has inchoative meaning, particularly on stative verbs, and it occasionally has inceptive meaning.

The function of the suffixes depends on the semantic class of the verb root they are attached to. The important distinctions are between active and stative verbs, with active verbs further divided into those which usually involve linear motion and those which do not. When continuous suffixes are attached to the YG copula (*gi-gi*) the interpretation is as for stative verbs. Active verbs are those where the action is controlled by those who perform them (e.g. 'eat', 'run') **or** those which involve linear motion, even if uncontrolled (e.g. 'fall')[160].

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[160] This is slightly different from Donaldson (1980:74), who defines active verbs as: "verbs denoting actions controlled by those who perform them, such a *baga-l* 'dig', *bibuwa-y* 'run'' and stative verbs as: 'verbs [that] denote physiological or emotional states which are not controlled by those who experience them, except in so far as they expose themselves to their causes, or avoid them. Examples are *girrambi-l*

The interpretation of continuous suffixes on active verbs is discussed first, then on stative verbs, then the use of one suffix to indicate habitual aspect. Some rare uses of the suffixes are then considered, and finally some examples are given which do not fit the current analysis.

7.4.2.1 Continuous suffixes on active verbs

On active verb roots the MOVing suffix shows linear motion, and the CTS suffix indicates absence of linear motion, as seen in (571) - (573). People 'walking to' (574) are described with the MOVing suffix, 'walking about' uses the CTS (575) (and the Locative *minyaaya*, not the Allative).

(574)   You two are going into town.   CW/AD 3996A 13
      giirr ngindaali **yanaa-waa-nha**
      true 2DU   go-MOV-PRS
      You two are going.   CW

(575)   *minyaaya=nda* **yanaa-y.la-nhi**
      where.at=2SG go-CTS-PRS
      Where was you walking about?   FR/JM 1853B 1931

(576) also shows the CTS suffix on a non-motion verb and (577) shows MOVing suffixes on motion ('crawl') and non-motion ('eat') verbs.

(576)   What are you doing?   CW/AD 3996A 498
      minya nginda **gimbi-lda-nha**
      what 2SG   do-CTS-PRS
      What you doing?   AD

(577)   The kangaroo is going along slowly eating grass.   JM/AD 2833B 886
      giirr nhama bandaarr   **dhuu-rraa-nha,** *buunhu nhama* **dha-laa-nha**
      true 3.DEF grey.kangaroo crawl-MOV-PRS grass   that   eat-MOV-PRS
      That kangaroo is crawling along, it's eating that grass.   AD

Exceptions: There are rare exceptions, when the MOVing suffix, on an active verb, has an inchoative meaning, as in (578), (579) and (580). In fact (580) is about 'trying' rather than actually 'beginning'.

(578)   *buṟuma nama banagwa:n*   SW p 38
      buruma nhama **banaga-waa-nh[a**
      dog   3.DEF run-MOV-PRS
      The dog is **just about to** run away.   SW
      (The usual interpretation would be: 'The dog is running away'.)   JG

'sick, in pain', *birrabi-l* 'hungry', *dharrambi-l* 'fond', *walindja-l* 'lonely'". According to Donaldson's definition verbs such as 'fall' in (587), which typically do not involve a 'controlled action,' are stative.

(579) *jallu bumallawanna*   SW p 82

       yaluu **buma-la-waa-nha**

       again hit-RECP-MOV-PRS

       They **begin** again to fight.   SW

(580) It caught him and tried to bite him.   CW/AD 3997A 1872

       giirr ngaam   / *bayama-y* / *ngiyama-nga* / **yii-laa-nhi**

       true 3.ANA.DEF / catch-PST / there = THEN / bite-MOV-PST

       It caught him and then was trying to bite him.   JG

Another rare use occurs in (77), where *dhama-laa-nha* 'feel.tr-MOV-PRS' refers to someone feeling a centipede moving on their leg. Here the moving suffix refers to the object of the verb, rather than to the subject.

Continuous suffixes on stative verbs. With stative verbs or the copula the CTS suffix indicates present continuous aspect, with no change, for instance no change in the emotion being felt in (581) and (582), and the MOVing suffix indicates inchoative aspect - change is taking place, as in (583) and (584). Inchoative aspect can be understood as metaphorical motion, moving from one state of being to another.

(581) I **am** lonely.   CW/AD 5130 3148.

       walindja-lda-nha   *ngaya*

       be.lonely-CTS-PRS 1SG

(582) (The boy) **was** really frightened.   CW/AD 5131 178

       giirr nhama garigari **gi-gi.la-nhi**

       true 3.DEF frightened be-CTS-PST

(583) My dog is **dying**.   JM/FR 1852B 436

       maadhaay ngay   **balu-waa-nha**

       dog   1SG.DAT die-MOV-PRS

       My dog is dying.   FR

(584) It's **getting** light.   CW/AD 5052 663

       giirr ngarran **gi-yaa-nha**

       true dawn   be-MOV-PRS

       It's getting daylight.   AD

Again there are rare exceptions, when stative + MOVing does not have an inchoative meaning. In (585) *gi-yaa-nha* may indicate extent. In (586) *gi-yaa-nha* may be inchoative, or indicate motion.

(585) *walaigu ŋei nama juɾu:n gianna*   SW p 101

       walaay-gu ngay   *nhama yuruun* **gi-yaa-nha**

       camp-ALL 1SG.DAT 3.DEF road   be-MOV-PRS

       It goes to my camp.   SW

       The road goes to my camp.   JG

(586)   The wind is blowing.   CW/AD 3994B 3578

      Bamba   *mayrraa / nhama-dhaay / **gi-yaa-nha***

      with.energy wind   / there-TO.HERE / be-MOV-PRS

      A strong wind is coming here. / The wind is getting strong here.   JG

Habitual aspect. The CTS suffix can also indicate habitual aspect as shown below with a motion verb, *yanaa-y.la-nha* (587); with an active, non-motion verb, *dha-lda-nhi* (588); with stative verbs, *dhanduwi-y.la-nha* (589) and *bundaa-gi.la-nha* (587); and on the copula, *gi-gi.la-nha* (590).

(587)   The baby falls over all day, all the time.   CW /AD 5131 2800

      *birralii **bundaa-gi.la-nha,** waala maayu yanaa-y.la-nha*

      child   fall-CTS-PRS,   can't well   walk-CTS-PRS

      Can't walk. AD   The child falls over all the time, it can't walk properly.   JG

(588)   We used to eat kangaroo.   CW /AD 3996A 533

      giirr ngiyani bandaarr   ***dha-lda-nhi***

      true 1PL.ERG grey.kangaroo eat-CTS-PST

(589)   I always sleep; at night.   JM/FR 1989A 382

      *giirr ngaya maayu **dhanduwi-y.la-nha***

      true 1SG   well   sleep-CTS-PRS

      I always sleep well.   FR

(590)   I am not frightened.   CW /AD 3998B 1366

      *waal＝bala ngaya garigari **gi-gi.la-nha***

      not＝CTR   1SG   afraid   be-CTS-PRS

      I don't get frightened.   AD

The rules for use of the continuous suffixes in YG are listed below and set out in the Table 112.

- the MOVing suffix indicates continuous aspect and linear motion when used with an active verb (motion or non-motion)

- the MOVing suffix, when used on stative verbs and the copula has an inchoative meaning

- A rare usage of the MOVing on active verb is with inceptive meaning ('begin to')

- A rare usage of the MOVing on stative verb is to indicate extent and possibly linear motion

- the CTS (non-moving) suffix can be used with any verb with a habitual meaning or to indicate continuous aspect

- when used to show continuous aspect on active verbs the CTS suffix specifies that there is no linear motion

- when used to show continuous aspect on stative verbs and the copula it indicates a steady state - there is no change happening

- the MOVing suffix occurs most commonly on motion verbs and the CTS suffix on non-motion verbs. The use of a MOVing suffix with a non-motion verb or of a CTS suffix with a motion verb is marked. The use of a MOVing suffix on a non-movement verb such as *dha-li* 'eat' is an example of associated motion, but YG has a much smaller range of such suffixes than Arrernte (Wilkins, 1989: 270), which has over fifteen of them, and Kaytetye (Koch, 1984, 2006).

There is potential ambiguity between the continuous and habitual uses of the CTS suffix.

Table 112   **Examples of main uses of the continuous verbs**

Suffix		MOVing		CTS	
Verb		rare use	common use	Continuous	Habitual
Active verbs	non-movement: (eat)	**dha-laa-nha** inceptive - 'begin to'	**dha-laa-nha** is eating-moving	*dha-lda-nha* is eating	*dha-lda-nha* eats (habitual)
	movement: (hop)		*baa-waa-nha* is hopping. (moving)	*baa-y.la-nha* is hopping-non-linear	*baa-y.la-nha* hops (habitual)
Stative verbs		**dhanduwi-yaa-nha** moving: e.g. sleeping in car	**dhanduwi-yaa-nha** is going to sleep. (inchoative)	*dhanduwi-y.la-nha* is sleeping	*dhanduwi-y.la-nha*; sleeps (habitual)

#Marked uses are shown in bold.

In situations such as 'talking' which are likely to be extended in time, English simple past or future tense is often translated by a continuous YG verb, as in (591).

(591)   They talked to one another.   JM/AD 3219A 3681

   giirr nhama bulaarr.nga gaay **guwaa-la-y.la-nhi**
   true 3.DEF 3DU   word tell-RECP-CTS-PST
   The two of them were talking to each other.   JG

Other examples are seen in (648) where English 'hit each other' corresponds to 'hit-RECP-CTS-PRS' and (659) where 'is buried' corresponds to a YG continuous verb.

The understanding of YG continuous aspect has steadily developed. Mathews (YR:142) states that '[t]here are forms of the verb to express 'beating going along the road'' but gives no suffix form or example verb. Williams (p 70) recognised the two continuous suffixes, but did not find any differences in meaning. The description of these suffixes above is largely the one included in Ash et al. (2003:305) but with some modifications, particularly regarding the MOVing suffix, following a close study of

Donaldson's (1980: 190) description of its Wangaaybuwan cognate *-wa-y* 'moving, getting (to)'. The distinction between verb types in the current analysis is also more detailed.

However there are exceptions to the above rules. FR may not have had a good understanding of the distinction between the suffixes and tended to use just the MOVing form, even in situations where others would use the CTS, such as (592) and (593) . (594) likely indicates that the AD interprets 'sleepy' as inchoative, 'going to sleep' and so uses the MOVing form. These analyses are not certain.

(592) *giirr＝nga ganugu dhinggaa* **dha-laa-nha** *burrulaa-gu dhayn-du*
    true＝NOW 3PL.ERG meat   eat-MOV-PRS many-ERG   people-ERG
    They are having a good feed now, the big mob.   FR/JM 2436A 54
    They are eating meat, a lot of people.   JG

(593) He felt sick and couldn't leave the camp.   JM/FR 2436A 204
    bamba＝nga＝nha **dhaala-waa-nha,**   *dhinggaa nguu   dha-ndaay*
    hard＝THEN＝3   be.sick-MOV-PRS   meat   3SG.ERG   eat-SUB
    (FR is a bit uncertain about this;) He got really sick after eating the meat.   JG

Arthur Dodd (8184 3266), when asked to translate 'it (the lizard) was very sleepy' (when I killed it), uses:

(594) **dhanduwi-yaa-nhi**
    sleep-MOV-PST

7.4.2.2   Use of continuous suffixes to derive a denominal verb

There are rare examples of what seems to be the continuous suffixes - moving and non-moving - attached to a nominal to form a verb. In all examples some questions remain, but the cumulative evidence is enough to suggest a process that was productive but was not recognised by early recorders and had largely been lost when later recorders arrived. When JM asks for 'sleepy' (*yuwarr* 'sleep, noun') FR says *yuwarr-laa-nha*, presumably 'sleep-MOV-PRS'. There is also a rare verb, *yuwarra-y* 'go to sleep'. The two AD examples also have uncertainties. (595)(a) may contain a verb formed form *guwiinba(a)* 'close, adj' and the MOVing suffix.

In (595)(b) the suffix is *y.lda-y*, a mixture of Y and L class forms and the free adjective is *baliyaa* 'cold', so the hypothesised verb involves modification of the root. The subordinate suffix is not quite the expected form, but is similar to that found on continuous verbs.

(595)   Miimii, [granny] why didn't you run away when the snake came close to you?

<div align="right">JM/AD 3220B 1744</div>

miimii, waa=nda banaga-nhi   bamba   /
granny, not=2SG run-PST   w.energy /

*ngandabaa nginunda? dha(a)y **guwiinba-laa-nday??ndaay***
snake   2SG.LOC? to.here?? close-laa-SUB??

(596)   The baby was shivering with the cold and moaning.   JM/AD 8185 1201

(a)   *giirr nhama birralii-djuul / **baliya-y.lda-nday?ndaay** /*
      true 3.DEF child-DIM   / cold-CTS-SUB?   /

<div align="right">The baby, who is shivering.   JG</div>

(b)   *nguwama   ngay? / **baliya-y.lda-nhi** / baliyaa-ga*
      there   1SG? / cold-CTS-PST   / cold-LOC

<div align="right">There I?my(baby) was shivering in the cold. [very speculative]   JG</div>

7.4.2.3   Allomorphs of final suffixes

This section considers reductions in the realisation of present tense suffix after a continuous suffix, and reduction of past tense suffixes on stems which include a continuous or 'Time' (Time of day/Distance in time: §7.5) suffix. This is common in GR, very rare in YR. The present tense suffix *-nha* only occurs after a continuous stem. Table 113 shows that in GR this suffix is frequently absent after a non-moving suffix and sometimes contracted to *n* after a moving suffix. It also shows one non-realisation of the past tense suffix *-nhi*. Table 114 shows that at times the suffix was fully realised, and that the past suffix, *-nhi*, was generally realised in the same environment.

A similar absence or contraction of the past suffix occurs in GR after non-final time suffixes. Table 115 has examples of the MORNing suffix, but the same pattern is found for the other time suffixes. Typically the vowel is omitted, but the Ridley example shows that whole final syllable can be omitted. The MathewsGR example also omits the final syllable, but the MathewsYR example shows the full form of the verb (followed by a suffixed pronoun). The deleted element is bolded in the tables.

Table 113   Modification of -*NV* after a continuous suffix

Suffix/class	Source	Original source	Gloss	Standard	Stem gloss
Absence: None of -*nhV* realised					
CTS L	Ridley	*goälda*	speaks	*guwaa-lda[-**nha***	tell
CTS L		*tamulda*	touches	*dhama-lda[-**nha***	touch
CTS NG		*gigila*	am	*gi-gi.la[-**nha***	get/be
CTS L	MathewsGR	*bumulda*	beat	*buma-lda[-**nha***	hit
CTS L		*babiabulda*	several lying	*baabi-y.aaba-lda[-**nha***	lie-all
CTS L	Wurm	*wa:lḍa*	can throw	*waa-lda[-**nha***	throw
CTS L		*gwɔlda*	speakest	*guwaa-lda[-**nha***	tell
CTS L		*ŋari ja:bulḍa*	have sat	*ngarri-y.aaba-lda[-**nhi***	sit-all
CTS L		*ðaldla*	are eating	*dha-lda[-**nha***	eat
CTS Y		*ŋadjiḷa*	is sitting	*ngarri-y.la[-**nha***	sit
CTS Y		*ŋadlḍa*	are sitting	*ngarri-?lda[-**nha***	sit
CTS L	Sim Yy	*dhurra-lda*	is coming	*dhurra-lda[-**nha***	come
Contraction: -*nhV* realised as *N*					
MOV Y		*janəwan*	come	*yana-waa-nh[**a***	go
MOV NG		*gawan*	carry	*gaa-waa-nh[**a***	bring

Table 114   Non-modification of -NV after a continuous suffix

Suffix/class	Source(tense)	Original	Gloss	Standard	Stem gloss
CTS L	Ridley(Pres)	*gimbildona*	makes	*gimubi-lda-nha*	do/make
CTS Y?		*babillona*	is asleep	*baabi-lda-nha*	sleep
CTS Y		*yanelina*	could walk#	*yana-y.la-nha*	go
CTS NG		*yugillona*	were weeping#	*yu-gi.la-nha*	cry
CTS L	Ridley(Past)	*goäldone*	spoke	*guwaa-lda-nhi*	tell
CTS L		*kakuldone*	said	*gaga-lda-nhi*	call.out
CTS L	Laves(Pres)	*daldana*	eating	*dha-lda-nha*	eat

\# I have no explanation why Ridley's GR is present tense and the English past.

Table 115   Realisation of -*NV* after the 'morning' suffix

Source	Original	Gloss	Standard	Stem gloss
-*nhV* realised as *N*				
Ridley	*goälŋain* *goälŋē*	spoke today	*guwaa-l.ngayi-ny**i***	tell-MORN
MathewsGR	*bumulngên*	beat just now	*buma-l.ngayi-ny**i***	hit-MORN
-*nhV* fully realised				
MathewsYR	*Bumulngenyedhu*	I beat a while ago	*buma-l.ngayi-nyi=dhu*	hit-MORN

7.4.3 *gi-gi* - predicates formed with continuous forms

The verb *gi-gi* 'be, become' is often found with one of the two continuous suffixes. With the non-moving suffix it generally forms a predicate with a nominal and has stative or habitual meaning. Predicates consisting of the *gi-gi* with the MOVing suffix and nominals have inchoative meaning, but *gi-gi* with the MOVing suffix occurs frequently as an auxiliary verb, used with a future tense form of the main verb.

7.4.3.1 *gi-gi* with CTS (non-moving) suffix

Gi-gi, with the non-moving suffix[161], typically refers to a non-changing situation, as in (597) (598). (These examples also show the common Yy practice of omitting one of a sequence of identical syllables. The realisation is *gi-la-nhi* rather than the *gi-gi.la-nhi* found in other dialects.) See also (602)(b), (569)(c), (582) (590).

(597) *Dinewan boorool diggayah gillunnee*   Parker l 1
       *Dhinawan burrul dhigayaa **gi-(gi).la-nhi.***
       emu   big   bird   be-CTS-PST
       Emu was the big bird.   Parker

(598) *Myrenay boonoong gillunneh*   Parker l 11, 20
       *Maayrr ngay   bungun **gi-(gi).la-ndaay***
       no.none 1SG.DAT wing   be-CTS-SUB
       I have no wings.   Parker
       When I have no wings.   JG

7.4.3.2 *gi-gi* with MOVing suffix

gi-gi with the moving suffix and an adjective forms an inchoative predicate. The verb is most commonly in present tense (599) (600). One future example has been found (601). The imperative is in (603). (602) (cf. (563)) clearly illustrates the difference between the inchoative use of the MOVing suffix and the 'steady state' use of the CTS suffix. (585) 'the road goes ..' seems to be an idiomatic use of *giyaanha.*

(599) It is dark and the moon will come up soon.   JM/AD 3218A 2243
       *buluuy **gi-yaa-nha***
       dark   become-MOV-PRS
       It is getting dark.   JG

---

[161] *gi-gi* with the CTS suffix is found in Ridley, Parker, and the tapes (around 80 instances) but not in Mathews, Sim, Tindale or Wurm.

(600) *ja:ma ŋinda julŋindi gia:nna guḍu bamba ðalligu*   SW p 99

     *yaama nginda yuulngindi **gi-yaa-nha** guduu bamba   dha-li.gu*

     ques 2SG   hungry   be-MOV-PRS cod   eat-PURP

     Are you hungry for fish (cod) to eat. SW

     Are you getting hungry, to eat a lot of fish?   JG]

(601) When he gets better he can go hunting again.   JM/ FR 2436B 3577

     *barraay wana＝nha maayu **gi-yaa-y**   / maniila-y.gu ngali*

     quick   let＝3   well   be-MOV-FUT / hunt-PURP   2SG

     You let him get better quick so we can go hunting.   FR

(602) hungry   JM/ FR 1850A 938

(a) *yuulngin ngaya **gi-yaa-nha***

     hungry   1SG   be-MOV-PRS

     I am getting hungry.   FR

     I was hungry yesterday.   JM

(b) no word for yesterday - *yuulngin ngaya **gi-(gi).la-nhi***

     no word for yesterday - hungry 1SG   be-CTS-PST

     I was hungry.   FR

(603) CW: Be good. AD *gaba giyaaya*; Off tape discussion: CW/AD 5129A 2129

     put that in if you like, *gaba **gi-nga** /* but *gaba **gi-yaa-ya***   is the best, plainer

     put that in if you like, good be-IMP / but good be-MOV-IMP is the best, plainer

7.4.3.3 Auxiliary use of *gi-gi* with MOVing suffix

The more common use of *gi-gi* with the MOVing suffix is as an auxiliary verb, occurring with a future form of the main, lexical verb. The various tenses of *gi-yaa-y*, with this use, are glossed 'going.to' and the verb is shown as one unit: *gi.yaa.y*. This use is not found in the older sources, but is in all the post-1900 YR sources.

> Donaldson does not mention a similar structure in Wangaaybuwan. Breen (2004:132) reports a similar structure frequently used in Yandruwantha, but with a different auxiliary:
>
> The verb *ngana* 'to do' (in present tense) in association with a verb in the future tense forms a construction that can be translated as 'was just about to', 'was on the point of', or equivalent.

This structure contrasts with the simple future in that it is never given a modal translation ('might, let's, should', etc.) nor used with qualifiers such as ＝*badhaay* 'might' and ＝*yaa* 'POTential'. The most common subject of the auxiliary *gi.yaa.nha* is *ngaya* 'I'. The semantic purpose of the auxiliary is not clear, but it seems likely to indicate that the event will happen in a short time, as the Yandruwantha *ngana* does, and also that it is relatively certain to occur.

There are many clauses which include an auxiliary, main verb and pronoun, with the order of these elements being highly variable. The auxiliary is first in (604),

second in (605)(a) and third in (605)(b). The auxiliary can precede or follow the main verb and can be separated from it. (605)(b), with pronoun in second position, may be a correction. A similar change of pronoun from third to second position occurs at 1853B 2017. (605)(c), with a plural subject, does not use the auxiliary construction, perhaps because the individual cannot speak with authority for the group. The auxiliary occurs with negatives (605), and also with interrogative particles, as in (606).

(604)   *maniila-y* **gi.yaa.nha**=*nga*   *ngaya*

        hunt-FUT   going.to=THEN   1SG

        I am going to go hunting.   FR/JM 1849A 2148

(605)   I don't want to go away.   JM/FR 1850A 1743

(a)   *waal*=*bala* **gi.yaa.nha**   *ngaya*   *yanaa-y*

        not=CTR   going.to   1SG   go-FUT

        I'm not going to go.   JG

(b)   *waal*=*bala* *ngaya* **gi.yaa.nha** *yanaa-y*

        not=CTR   1SG   going.to   go-FUT

        I'm not going to go.   FR

        We're not going to go away[162].   JM

(c)   *waal*=*bala* *ngiyani* *yanaa-waa-nha*

        not=CTR   1PL   go-MOV-PRS

        We not going.   FR

(606)   Miimii [grandmother], when can I have a feed of emu?   JM/AD 8184 1726

        galawu-ma ngay' **gi.yaa.nha** *ngaama, miimii*   */ dhinawan dha-li*

        when-DEF 1SG   going.to   that,   grandmother / emu   eat-FUT

The auxiliary is used with non-simple future forms (607), and with *gi-gi* (608).

(607)   **yanaa-y.ngayi-y** *gi.yaa.nha* *gaawaa-gu*

        go-MORN-FUT   going.to   river-ALL

        I am going to go to the river tomorrow.   FR/JM 1850A 1021

(608)   I will be tired.   JM/FR 1988A 3695

        yinggil ngaya **gi.yaa.nha** **gi-gi**

        tired   1SG   going.to   be-FUT

        I am going to get tired.   FR

The past tense form of the auxiliary is much less common than the present. In (609), a procedural text, it refers to a situation which regularly happens. In (610) it refers to a fairly certain situation and in (611) it is used in reference to a counterfactual situation.

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[162] The use of present-continuous with future meaning probably reflects the influence of English.

(609) *biyuu-ga* **gi.yaa.nhi**=*nga*   *wana-gi   garril*
       hole-LOC going.to.PST=THEN throw-FUT leaf
       Then they [were going to] throw leaves in the grave.   JG JM/ FR 2438B 1074

(610) All the people were going to have a great feed.   JM/AD 8186 3420
       giirruu   ngaama burrulaa dhayn / nhama ganugu **gi.yaa.nhi** *bamba   dha-li*
       true.very that   many   people / 3.DEF 3PL.ERG going.to.PST with.energy eat-FUT

(611) He would have come, but he got sick.   CW/AD 5056 2206
       giirr **gi.yaa.nhi**   *nyama / dhaay yanaa-waa-y   / bayn*=*badhaay*=*nha*=*bala gi-nyi*
       true going.to-PST that   / to.here come-MOV-FUT / sore=MIGHT=3=CTR   be-PST

There is no word (noun or verb) 'work' in traditional YG, but Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece both use *waan* as a noun for work, and a phrasal compound of *waan* and *gi-gi* as the verb. In Dodd when the verb is continuous the root vowel of *gi-* is lengthened: (612).

(612) He will sit down when he is finished his work.   CW/AD 3997B 2361
       yaama-gaa ngaama / wila-y / maayu=*nda??nha waan* **gii-gi.la-ndaay**
       ques-INDEF that   / sit-FUT / well=3   work be-CTS-SUB
       He might sit down when he has finished working.   JG

7.5   Other 'Time' suffixes

The next section considers a number of non-final verb suffixes which carry information about time, beginning with a review of earlier analyses and a summary of the current analysis in §7.5.1. The most common of the suffixes are the Time of Day (TOD) and Distance in Time (DIT) suffixes.

The DIT and TOD suffixes are relatively uncommon in the tape material, and much more common in earlier recorded material. It may be that these suffixes declined in use as the language declined. Any language will have more esoteric elements which will disappear more quickly in the process of language decline. It may also be that esoteric elements were of more interest to recorders once they have been recognised, and so the recorders elicited a disproportionately large sample of them.

7.5.1   Previous analyses of time suffixes

Early analyses, specifically Ridley and Mathews, grouped these suffixes into one category. Wurm (below) clearly separates them into 'cross-cutting systems', i.e. two inflectional categories. Capell (below) makes no attempt to distinguish the various 'time' suffixes. Donaldson (1980: 184) points out that WN TOD suffixes are mutually exclusive, so recognising them as an inflectional category. She does not describe any DIT suffixes. William's (p 74) analysis is purely in terms of DIT suffixes, which have TOD 'overtones'. The analysis here is similar to Wurm's.

These suffixes are a prominent part of the verb paradigms presented by the early sources, Ridley and Mathews, and some of them are also relatively common in later sources such as Laves, Wurm, and the tapes.

Capell (1956: 53) pointed out that time suffixes were found in CNSW languages and other relatively close languages.

> The principle of specifying a point of time more exactly than simply past or future is common to all the languages.

Some of the suffixes he has are: *–ngarri-y* 'in morning' in Ngiyambaa, Wiradjuri and Bigumbil; *-awa-* as 'immediate,' *-gura* – 'yesterday past', *-una-* 'remote past' in Wiradjuri. For Ngiyambaa he lists: *-ngabi-* 'evening, past and future'; *-bɛːn-aga* - all day'. He also lists Awabakal[163] as having two 'morning' verb forms, two other futures, and two other pasts.

Wurm (1972: 140) notes that:

> The languages of the Main Wiradjuric Subgroup show a considerable proliferation of tenses, and a **cross-cutting system of markers** (emphasis added) indicating that an action takes place at a certain point of time during the day or night (shared with Tiwi of the Tiwian Family).

The current analysis is that suffixes related to time can, semantically, be divided into 'time of day' (TOD) suffixes (with meanings like 'in the morning, in the evening)', 'distance in time' (DIT) (with meanings like 'recently, long ago') and a residual group with a variety of uses (meanings like 'before, again'). YG tense is marked in the final verb slot, and all of the suffixes discussed here are never verb-final, so are not tense. They are generally in the second last slot, but some are found followed by continuous suffixes.

Williams, the most recent YR analysis, has no TOD suffixes, but 2 DIT suffixes and 2 other time suffixes:

-ngayi-y	'recent past, immediate future'
-mayaa-nhi (Y class)	'yesterday' sometimes with implication of in the evening.
-ngayi-li	'all day'
-ay-li or *ayla-y*	'before'

This is less than the number of forms presented in earlier sources.

Table 116 gives a Ridley (p 12) paradigm, with four past and two future forms. His paradigm for *gaa-gi* 'take' (p 10) has five past forms. Table 116 has four tense distinctions in 'subordinate' forms. Modern sources make no tense distinction in subordinate verbs. Table 118 gives part of MathewsGR's only comprehensive verb

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[163] A language of the NSW coast, near Newcastle.

paradigm (p 265) (he also has a short paradigm of *gi-gi* 'become'). It has five past forms and three futures. He does not have subordinate forms, but does have a range of other inflections such as reciprocal and 'before'.

Table 117 is an analysis of Table 116 and Table 119 is an analysis of Table 118 with time suffixes bolded in both analyses.

Table 116   (Part of) Ridley's verb paradigm: *gimubi-li* 'make'

gimbi *or* gimᵒbi .... *make.*

INDICATIVE.

PAST :	gimᵒbi	*made.*
	gimᵒbilŋēn	*made (to-day).*
	gimᵒbilmiēn	*made (yesterday).*
	gimbillēn......................	*made (long ago).*
PRESENT :	gimbildona	*makes.*
FUTURE :	gimᵒbille	*will make.*
	gimᵒbilŋari	*will make to-morrow.*

Table 117   Analysis of Ridley's verb paradigm in Table 116

Tense	Original	Gloss	Analysis
	gimbi or gimᵒbi	make	*gimubi-y* (Past)
INDICATIVE			
Past	*gimᵒbi*	made.	*gimubi-y*
	gimᵒbilŋēn	made (**today**).	*gimubi-l.**ngayi**-nyi*
	gimᵒbilmiēn	made (yesterday).	*gimubi-l.**mayaa**-nhi*
	gimᵒbillēn	made (**long ago**).	*gimubi-l.**ayi**-nyi*
Present:	*gimbildona*	makes.	*gimubi-lda-nha*
Future:	*gimᵒbille*	will make.	*gimubi-li* (Fut)
	gimᵒbilŋari	will make **tomorrow**.	*gimubi-l.**ngarri**-y*
PARTICIPLES			
	gimbildendai	making	*gimubi-lda-ndaay*
	gimbilŋendai	having made	*gimubi-l.**ngayi**-ndaay*
	gimbilmiendai	having made **yesterday**	*gimubi-l.**mayaa**-ndaay*
	gimbillendai	having made **long ago**	*gimubi-l.**ayi**-ndaay*

Table 118   **(Part of) MathewsGR verb paradigm:** *buma-li* 'beat'

PAST TENSE.

Singular, 1st Person

I beat just now ...   . *Ngaia bumi.*
I beat this morning   ...   ... *Ngaia bumulngên.*
I beat yesterday ...   . *Ngaia bumulmyên.*
I beat some time since ...   ... *Ngaia bumullên.*
I beat long ago ...   . *Ngaia bumullawillên.*

These five variations of the verb are repeated for each of the two remaining persons of the singular, for all persons of the dual, and for all the persons of the plural, by merely substituting, in succession, the requisite pronouns, *nginda, nguru, ngulli,* and so on.   See table of pronouns.

FUTURE TENSE.

Singular, 1st Person

I will beat presently   ...   ... *Ngaiala bumulli.*
I will beat to-morrow   ...   ... *Ngaiala bumullingê.*
I will beat at a future time   ... *Ngaiala bumullingurri.*

and so on through all the persons and numbers.   It will be observed that the pronoun *ngaia* becomes *ngaiala* in the future tense.

Table 119   **Analysis Mathews' verb paradigm in Table 118**

Tense/gloss	Original	Analysis
Past Tense		
I	*Ngaia*	*Ngaya*
I beat just now	*Ngaia bumi*	*..buma-y*
I beat this morning	*Ngaia bumulngên*	*..buma-l.**ngayi**-ny(i*
I beat yesterday	*Ngaia bumulmyên*	*..buma-l.**mayaa**-nh(i*
I beat some time since	*Ngaia bumullên*	*..buma-l.**ayi**-ny(i*
I beat long ago	*Ngaia bumullawillên*	*..buma-l.**awayi-la**-ny(i*
Future Tense		
I-fut	*Ngaiala*	*Ngaya = laa* 1SG = DIR
I will beat presently	*Ngaiala bumulli*	*..buma-li*
I will beat tomorrow	*Ngaiala bumullingê*	*..buma-l.**ngayi**-y*
I will beat at a future time	*Ngaiala bumullingurri*	*..buma-l.**ngarri**-y*

While Ridley glosses all the forms in terms of DIT, Mathews does have one form glossed in TOD terms ('this morning').

While the analysis of these suffixes into two groups, TOD and DIT, is not the only possible analysis, there are a number of factors which support this division, firstly the semantic distinction of the two lots of suffixes: TOD suffixes neatly divide the day into mutually exclusive sections (morning, afternoon, night) while DIT suffixes have to do with remoteness: how far away in time. As well two of the three YG TOD forms

are cognates of WN forms with the same meanings. WN has a TOD category, as do some other languages, so the existence of such a category in YG is not exceptional. Yandruwantha has both TOD and DIT categories, and they are clearly distinct in that language since they occupy different slots in the verb, with DIT verb final, replacing other tense suffixes while TOD suffixes are non-final.

On the other hand there are indications that the TOD/DIT division does not correspond to traditional YG. One is that the DIT and morning suffix share qualities. They are listed together in early sources, e.g. Table 116 (from Mathews) where they are all in past tense. Similarly the 'morning' suffix and DIT suffixes occur together in the Ridley lists (1875: 8-13) firstly in past tense, and then followed by the subordinate suffix.

Ridley and Mathews do not have TOD suffixes, apart from the morning suffix, in their analysis. It may be that they did not recognise the 'day' and 'night' suffix, perhaps because they were rarely used, or in Ridley's case partly because he did not recognise any TOD suffix, glossing the 'morning' suffix as 'today' if past tense and 'tomorrow' if future.

The morphotactics of the TOD and DIT suffixes is uncertain. They are commonly found in the third last verbal slot. Some, including the most common *-ngayi-y* and the relatively common *-mayaa-y*, are never found followed by continuous suffixes. However some of the less common forms such as *-aa-y* 'at NIGHT' are.

The TOD and DIT suffixes are never found co-occurring. Logically they could co-occur. The absence of evidence may suggest they did not, but it may just be that the combinations were never recorded by early observers and had fallen out of use by the time later informants were recorded.

While the evidence is mixed, the most likely historical situation is that there were two sets of suffixes, TOD and DIT, and that they could co-occur, as they can in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 125). The current analysis of these suffixes, and other 'time suffixes' is shown in Table 120[164].

Table 120   'Time' suffixes - current paradigm

Suffix	Typical Meaning	Gloss
Time of day (TOD)		
-ngayi-y	morning	MORNing
-nga-y	day/afternoon	DAY
-(y)-aa-y	night	NIGHT

Table continued on next page.

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[164] At times the simple past is glossed as near past, e.g. 'just now' in Table 119.

Suffix	Typical Meaning	Gloss
Distance in Time (DIT)		
-mayaa-y	~one day distant	1DAY
-ayi-y	< ~ 1 week	LONG.Time
-awayi-y	>~ 1 week	LONGER.Time
Other (see 7.5.4)		
-dhii-y	for a long time	LONG.TIME
-Nhumi-y	before (uncertain)	BEFORE
-dhiya-li	after (uncertain)	AFTER

7.5.4

7.5.2   Time of Day (TOD) suffixes

YG has three TOD suffixes: *ngayi-y* 'MORNing', *-nga-y* 'DAY' and *-(y)-aa-y* 'NIGHT'. *-ngarri-y* is an alternative 'MORNing' suffix found in GR. These three divide the 24 day into three exclusive sections[165]. The 'day' and 'night' suffixes can be followed by continuous suffixes (e.g. (614) (615)) and presumably so can the 'morning' suffix, although examples have not been found. The TOD/DIT suffixes and the continuous suffixes are the only ones which have *-ndaay* as the subordinate suffix (Ridley p 9). Table 121 shows the CMs for the suffixes. # indicates the CM has not been found in actual examples.

Table 121   **YG 'Time of Day' paradigm**

TOD suffix			Verb class			
			Class Marker			
Form	Gloss	Time	L	Y	NG	RR
-ngayi-y *-ngarri-y*	MORNing	Sunrise to noon	*l*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*rr*
-nga-y	DAY/afternoon	noon to sunset	*l#*	*y*	*Ø*	*rr*
-(y)-aa-y	at NIGHT	dark	*l#*	*W#*	*g (y)*	*rr*

7.5.2.1   *-ngayi-y* 'MORNing (tomorrow, today)'

The verb suffix *-ngayi-y* is found in all major sources, mostly in past and future tense. Ridley does not have the future form, but has *-ngarri-y* with future use. Typical examples are given in Table 122, Table 123, (613) (1097) (776).

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[165] The corresponding Wangaaybuwan suffixes are (Donaldson, 1980: 184): *-ngarri-y* (sunrise to noon), *-nga-y* (noon to sunset) and *-ngabi-y* (night). These can refer to a point in time or length of time, unlike YG. Wangaaybuwan also has *-garraa-y* 'all day'.

The basic meaning of *-ngayi-y* is that the event occurs in the morning. The future tense suffix, *-ngayi-y*, is most commonly translated 'tomorrow'[166], but is also translated 'morning'. Translations of the more common past tense suffix, *-ngayi-nyi*, (Table 122) are more evenly spread between those including '(earlier) today' and those that have 'morning'.

Ridley does not use TOD glosses, mainly glossing the suffix 'today'. Mathews has 'a while ago' and 'this morning'. Wurm[167] uses 'morning' in about half of his examples, as well as having 'yesterday morning' at least once. He does not use 'morning' in glossing the future forms, generally having only 'tomorrow'. Laves, AD and FR all mostly have the gloss 'morning'[168].

Table 122 gives examples of the past tense suffix and Table 123 the future. It is not always clear what phonological form a source intends by a particular example. Ridley has: *-ŋē, -ŋēn, -ŋe* and *-ŋain*, all of which may be abbreviations of *-ngayi-nyi*, or perhaps of *-ngayi-nhi*. Other writers also have a number of forms which I interpret as this suffix. Mathews: *-ngenye, -ngēn* and *-ngên*, Wurm: *-ŋɛ:inji, -ŋɛinji* and *-ŋa̱:nji*. The absence or contraction of some verb final syllables, as seen in the tables, is discussed at §7.4.2.3.

Table 122   *-ngayi-nyi* 'morning' (past): examples

Original	Standard	Original gloss	Source/Notes
goälŋē	*guwaa-l.ngayi-[nyi*	spoke **today**	Ridley
wīmulŋē or wīmulŋain	*wiima-l.ngayi-[ny[i*	put down **today**	Ridley
kāŋe	*gaa-ngayi-[nyi*	took **today**	Ridley
bumulngenyedhu	*buma-l.ngayi-nyi=dhu*	I beat **a while ago**	MathewsYR
bumulngēn	*buma-l.ngayi-ny[i*	did beat this **morning**	MathewsGR
bumaingililngên	*buma-ngiili-ngayi-ny[i*	[I] beat myself	MathewsGR
ba'baŋɛ'nji	*baaba-ngayi-nyi*	slept this **morning**	Laves
bumal ŋɛ:inji	*buma-l.ngayi-nyi*	hit yesterday **morning**	Wurm

Table continued on next page.

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[166] While this superficially favours a DIT interpretation rather than a TOD translation, Buck (1988:999) points out that, for many Indo-European languages 'Most of the expressions for 'tomorrow' are derived from words for 'morning'.' It is likely that a similar extension of meaning has taken place here.

[167] His example *ba:buŋɛinji* 'last night' (*baaba-ngayi-nyi* 'sleep-*ngayi*-PST') is probably an error or a form which is not-understood, having 'night' in the translation. Laves has *ba'baŋɛ'nji* which I interpret as the same word, and he glosses it 'this morning'.

[168] The sources need to be interpreted with care. There is a tendency for later authors to investigate analyses published by earlier writers. This may be one reason that there are so many examples of *-ngayi-nyi/-ngayi-y*. As well elicitors can misinterpret informants. Dodd only translates *-ngayi-nyi* as 'yesterday' when agreeing with Williams' question or suggestion. He never volunteers that translation. He does translate his own *-ngayi-y* as 'tomorrow' on a number of occasions.

Original	Standard	Original gloss	Source/Notes
ðudlŋɛinji	*dhurra-l.ngayi-nyi*	He came **yesterday**	Wurm
guðɛlŋa:nji	*gudha-l.ngayi-nyi*	I cooked it **yesterday**	Wurm
ba:buŋɛinji	*baaba-ngayi-nyi*	slept well **last night??**	Wurm
??-ngayi-nyi	*ngarra-l.ngayi-nyi*	[saw] this **morning**	FR
	dha-l.ngayi-nyi	ate it in the **morning**	AD
	galiya-ngayi-nyi	climbed **yesterday**	AD

Question marks indicate the gloss may be unreliable.

Table 123   *-ngayi-y* 'morning' (future)

Original	Standard	Original gloss	Source/Notes
bumuŋēdyu	*buma-l.ngayi-y-dju*	I will beat **tomorrow**	Mathews YR
bumullingê	*buma-l.ngayi-y*	will beat **tomorrow**	Mathews GR
ba'ba'ŋɛ	*baaba-ngayi-y*	will sleep **tomorrow**	Laves
bumalŋɛi	*buma-l.ngayi-y*	will hit **later on**	Wurm
dalŋai	*dha-l.ngayi-y*	will eat **by and by**	Wurm
	ngarra-l.ngayi-y	will see **tomorrow**	FR AD
	ngarra-l.ngayi-y	will see **in the morning**	AD
	wuu-rr.ngayi-y	will give **in the morning**	AD
	dhama-l.ngayi-y	will rain **tomorrow**	AD

Sentence examples of *-ngayi-y* include (613) (=(190)), (607), (776), (1097).

(613)   I will see him tomorrow.   CW/FR 3217A 988

   giirr   ngaya=laa=nha / ngarra-l.ngayi-y

   true   1SG=DIR=3   / see-MORN-FUT

The Class Marker is clear for 3 verb classes; but only one example has been found for Y class verbs, and that CM is uncertain. CW suggests (5057 1352) *wunga-y-ngayi-y* for 'will swim tomorrow'. Arthur Dodd, characteristically, agrees, but then says: *wunga-ngayi-y*, with Ø CM. The suffix *-ngindaay* 'subordinate' is, like *ngayi-y*, *ng*-initial and its CM is Ø, so I assume the same CM for *-ngayi-y/-ngarri-y*.

-ngarri-y 'tomorrow/later on'[169]

The suffix *-ngarri-y* is problematic. There are two sources: see Table 124. Ridley has *-ngayi-nyi* 'morning-PST'. He does not have *-ngayi-y* 'morning-FUT' but does have *-ngarri-y* 'morning-FUT'. Mathews has both forms, *-ngayi-y* 'morning-FUT' and *-ngarri-y* referring to a longer time. *-ngarri-y* is the WN cognate of *-ngayi-y,* and may have been retained in some dialects of GR.

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[169] I render the rhotic as *rr* since that is the form in Wangaaybuwan, but it could be *r*.

The fact that no past tense example of *-ngarri-y* has been found suggests that it is a variant of *-ngayi-y*, and not a separate suffix. An alternative, but less likely, interpretation is that Mathews is correct in having these suffixes with different meanings.

Table 124   *-ngarri-y* 'tomorrow/later on'

Source	Original	Analysis	Translation
Ridley	*Goälŋari or goalŋurri*	*guwaa-l.ngarri-y* *r* or *rr?*	will speak tomorrow
	wīmulŋari	*wiima-l.ngarri-y*	will put tomorrow
	kāŋari	*gaa-ngarri-y*	will take tomorrow
		etc.	
Mathews YR		none	
Mathews GR	*gingurri*	*gi-ngarri-y*	will be later on
	bumullingurri	*buma-l.ngarri-y*	will beat at a future time

7.5.2.2   *-nga-y* '(in the) DAY'

I analyse *-nga-y*, 'DAY/afternoon'. This contrasts with Williams' (p 78) *-ngayi-li* 'all day' but has the same form as, and similar meaning to, Wangaaybuwan *-nga-y* 'afternoon'.

The only certain evidence is on tape 5131, and each example involves the pattern seen in (614). Williams asks for an 'all day' translation, AD responds with a simple continuous form. The tape is stopped, and AD then uses a form containing *-nga-y.lda-*.

(614)   The children swam all day.   CW/AD 5131 1390

giirr nhama birralii-djuul **wunga-y.la-nhi**   **wunga-nga-y.lda-nhi**
true 3.DEF child-DIM   swim-*y*-CTS-PST [tape.stopped] swim-**DAY-CTS**-PST

A possible instance of the suffix from FR is also given in Table 125. He gives no translation for the verb, but the meaning 'in the afternoon/day' is consistent with the context. The only alternative at present is that *-nga-y* has an inceptive function.

The suffix, in Williams' analysis, is highly unusual. It forms an L class verb. No other time suffixes do this, and few other verb suffixes do. Moreover, while Williams gives the form as *-ngayi-li*, no vowel is heard between the *ngay* and the continuous suffix which always follows. What is heard is *-ngayl(d)a-*. There are about 5 such examples beginning 23 minutes into tape 5131. After 47 minutes of the tape there is one more 'all day' elicitation. The same pattern occurs. This time however the 'all.day' verb given is *bundaa-nga-y.la-nha* 'fall-DAY-CTS-PRS' (5131 2818), with a Y class continuous suffix.

It is likely that AD was unfamiliar with the suffix, and so accepted L class suffixes initially, but some time later he gives this single, correct, Y class, example. Table 125 gives all examples found.

Table 125   *-nga-y* 'day': examples

Source	Verb	Translation	Verb root class	CM
AD: L class continuous suffix				
5131 1346	*yanaa-y.nga-y.lda-nh[i*	walked all day	Y	*y*
5131 1371	*yu-nga-y.lda-nhi*	cried all day	NG	Ø
5131 1387	*dhu-rr.nga-y.lda-nhi*	speared (kangaroo) all day	RR	*rr*
5131 1394	*wunga-nga-y.lda-nhi*	swam all day (614)	NG	Ø
AD: Y class continuous suffix				
5131 2818	*bundaa-nga-y.la-nha*	falls over all day	NG	Ø
FR: Possible example (the only one from FR)				
1849B 1462	*yanaa-y.nga-y*	(We are) going to walk.	Y	

An alternative approach is to regard this suffix as a product of elicitation, rather than part of traditional YR. However given that 'morning' and 'night' suffixes are found in spontaneous YG it is likely that the suffix is authentic. The suffix is found only with a following continuous suffix, but it is likely this is the result of the limited evidence rather than reflection the historical use. The other TOD suffixes can are found without a following continuous suffix.

7.5.2.3   *-(y)-aa-y* '(at) NIGHT'

The final TOD suffix is *-aa-y* 'at night'. There are only a handful of instances, almost all from AD, and some uncertain examples from other sources, including some that suggest another form. The clear examples are given in (615) - (617). In (618) the suffixes following *-aa-y* are unclear. The AD examples all have the suffix followed by the continuous suffix, and the combination is translated 'all night'. (619)(a) is probably an example of the suffix not followed by the continuous suffix.

(615)   *yulu-**y.aa**-y.la-ndaay   yinggil gi-b.aaba-y*
         dance-NIGHT-CTS-SUB   tired   get-TOT-PST
         They got very tired corroboreeing all night.   AD/JM 3219A 812
         They all got tired dancing all night.   JG

(616)   *bayn dhina gi-nyi   / bamba   yulu-**y.aa**-y.la-ndaay*
         sore feet   get-PST   / with.energy dance-NIGHT-CTS-SUB
         Their feet got sore, dancing all night.   AD/JM 3219A 867

(617)   (a) *yulu-??.**aa-y**.la-y*   // (b) *yulu-**g.aa**-y.la-y*
              dance-??NIGHT-CTS-FUT //   dance-NIGHT-CTS-FUT
         You can dance all night.   AD/JM 3220B 2942

(618) *gunhugunhu dhu-rr-**aa-y**.(+ unclear material)*
     cough (noun) poke-NIGHT-?
     (The woman) coughed all night. (this is an RR class verb)   AD/CW 5129A 2055

The following are less certain examples. (619)(a), from Laves, may be the suffix not followed by a continuous suffix. The *li* between the root and *-y-aa-y* could be the CM in this situation, to avoid an *ly* cluster. (619)(b) is from the Emu-Brolga story, and the Emu couple are talking about cutting their wings off. The English translation of (619)(b) suggests it may have the suffix, but the form is highly uncertain. The reflexive suffix forms a Y class verb, so the *l* before *-aa-y* is problematic, and *ei* is more likely to represent *ay* than *aay*. An alternative analysis is given, which fits the form better, but fits less with the translation given. The analyses remain speculative. (619)(c) is material that is crossed out in Mathews' notes. It is listed here since 'all night' is in the gloss. No analysis is attempted.

(619)   *-CM-**aa-y*** 'night' Other possible examples.

	Original, Source	Yuwaalaraay	Translation
(a)	*duraliyayə* Laves 9: p 99,100	*dhurra-li-**y.aa**-ya* come-FUT??[170]-NIGHT-IMP	coming back **tonight**
(b)	*karaŋeileigo* Tindale l 42	*garra-ngayi-y.la-y.gu* cut-MORN-CTS-PURP (spec) (Less likely) *garra-ngiili-y-**l.aa-y**.gu* cut-REFL-??-NIGHT-PURP (spec)	(we) will cut them off tonight
(c)	*yuggudhuriellialin* Mathews MS 8006/3/9: bk3, p 16 (deleted material)	No analysis attempted.	fighting all night

The verbs in (615) - (617) are NG class, but only (617)(b) has a common NG class CM, *g*. The others have *y*, which is very unusual.

7.5.3   Distance in Time (DIT) suffixes

Verb forms which specify distance in time, from very recent to long ago, are prominent in early sources. There seems to be a related suffix which means 'for a long time'. Information about many of these forms is very limited, so much of the analysis remains tentative.

MathewsGR (p 265), Table 118, and Ridley (p 10) give paradigms with five past tense time distinctions. In the current analysis they consist of: 1. The simple past tense, used for an event that is quite recent. 2. The 'MORNing' suffix, used for events earlier in the day. 3. DIT suffixes. Mathews has the first three forms from Table 126, Ridley

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[170] The future suffix cannot occur before the 'night' and 'imperative' suffixes so this analysis cannot be correct, but there is currently no alternative.

the first two and then an unanalysed form. Table 126 also has *-dhii-y*, a form not found in Mathews or Ridley. The few examples indicate it has a durative meaning, rather than the punctiliar meaning of the other suffixes.

Table 126 gives the analysis of YG DIT suffixes, the CMs used with them, and indicates if the suffix has been found in future tense and followed by continuous suffixes. All the suffixes are found in past tense. Languages with a DIT system, including Yandruwantha, typically make fewer distinctions in future tenses.

Table 126   *YG* 'Distance in Time' paradigm

DIT suffix			Verb class				Future use found	Cts use found
			Class Marker					
Form	Gloss	Typical Time	L	Y	NG	RR		
-mayaa-y	ONE.DAY	1 day	*l*	*y*	*Ø*	*rr*	Yes	No
-ayi-y	LONG.T(ime)	1 day to 1 week	*l*	*W*	*ng, b*	*rr*	No	Yes
-awayi-y	LONGER.T(ime)	> 1 week	*l*	*W*	*g# (y)*	*rr#*	No	Yes
-dhii-y	FOR.LONG.T(ime)		*l, Ø*	*W#*	*Ø#*	*Ø#*	No	No

7.5.3.1   *-mayaa-y* 'ONE.DAY' 'yesterday/tomorrow'

-mayaa-y is a DIT suffix, almost always indicating a day away: 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow'. Only one example of future use has been found. This suffix is attested in most sources except FR: see Table 127. It is not as common as *-ngayi-y*.

The form heard on the tapes is clearly *-mayaa-nhi*. (*-nhi* 'past'). Wurm has a range of written forms: *mɛjaɲi* is very close to the tape form, but he also records *mɛ:ɲj, mæ:ɲj, mayn* and *m(i)ja:ɲji*, the first two monosyllabic and GR. MathewsGR has *myên* and *myen*, MathewsYR *maiani* and Ridley has *miēn*. Ridley describes *ē* as 'ey' in 'obey'. Laves has *mayani* and *mɛ'ni*. The written records have considerable variety, some of it possibly recording casual speech. *-mayaa-y* is the most likely traditional form.

Table 127 shows that the CM is *l* (L class) and *rr* (RR class). Ø is expected for NG class. The written evidence for Y class is mixed (*yannamyen* and *waraimɛ'ni*). In general Y class verbs include a *y* CM before *m*-initial suffixes.

Table 127   *-mayaa-y* 'one.day': examples

Source	Original	Standard.	Translation
Past tense			
Ridley	*goälmiēn* + *many more*	*guwaa-l.mayaa-nh[i*	spoke **yesterday**
Mathews YR	*bumulmaianidhu*	*buma-l.mayaa -nhi-dhu*	I beat **yesterday**
MathewsGR	*bumulmyên*	*buma-l.mayaa -nh[i*	[I] beat **yesterday**
	yannamyen	*yana-mayaa-nhi*	went **yesterday**
	garamulmyen	*garrama-l-mayaa-nhi*	stole **yesterday**
Laves	*waraimɛ'ni*	*warra-y-mayaa-nhi*	I got up **yesterday**
Laves	`*wurmayani*	*wuu-rr.mayaa-nhi*	fetched [gave] **yesterday**
Laves	*ba·bamɛ-ɳ̃ə*	*baabi-mayaa-nhi*	sleep I had daytime (**yesterday**)
WurmGR	*ðalmɛːnj / ðalmæːnj*	*dha-l.mayaa-nhi*	ate **the other day**
WurmYR	*bumalmɛjanji*	*buma-l.mayaa-nhi#*	hit it **yesterday**; hit it **last night**
	Other glosses		**a couple of days ago**; **a few days ago**,[many times] **3 days ago**;
	ba:bum(i)ja:nji	*baabi-mayaa-nhi*	no translation
AD		*wuu-rr.mayaa-nhi*	gave, like **yesterday**[171]
		gama-l.mayaa-nhi	broke **a long time ago**
Future tense			
Mathews: MS8006 /3/9:3 p 63	*gim-me-ai*	*gi-mayaa-y*	get strong **tomorrow** (only future example)

#'Last night' in the second Wurm translation is consistent with an action happening 'yesterday' but is not, on the evidence, implied by the form given.

7.5.3.1.1   'yesterday/tomorrow'

Both FR and AD state clearly and a number of times that YR had no words for 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow'. The words recorded as 'yesterday' actually incorporate the *-mayaa-y* suffix. Ridley and Mathews have many sentences such as (620) with 'yesterday' in the gloss, and *-mayaa-nhi* in the verb, but no time adverb. They also have words which are glossed as 'yesterday'. Ridley (p 35) has *gimiandi* (*gi-mayaa-ndaay* 'be/get-*mayaa*-SUB'). MathewsGR: 268 has *yilagimyên* 'yesterday' (*yilaa gi-*

[171] This is the ?only example where AD uses *-mayaa-y* spontaneously, and his translation 'yesterday', is significantly different from that of the prompted examples, such as the following, where CW provides the translation. She says: Can you say: *gama-l-mayaa-nhi* and AD agrees, and uses the word.

mayaa-nhi 'prox get-*mayaa*-PST'). Laves has a similar construction. This information led to an entry, *gimiyandi* 'yesterday' an adverb, in the GY dictionary, but this is clearly a verb form. The dictionary entry reflects the tendency to modify YG so that it fits English patterns, rather than realising that there will be significant differences between the languages.

(620) *Murru ngaia gimyên*   MathewsGR p 262

     *maaru ngaya **gi-mayaa-nh[i***

     well   1SG   get-ONE.DAY-PST

     Good I was yesterday.   Mathews

7.5.3.2 *-ayi-y* 'LONG.Time'

The DIT suffix *-ayi-y* glossed 'LONG.T(ime)' is found only a small number of times, only in past tense, and mainly in old sources. The actual time referred to is not clear. From one day to a week or so is common in the sources, but the gloss is often 'long ago'. It has been found followed by continuous suffixes. The gloss then is 'for a long time'.

Williams (p 79) proposes a suffix *-ayla-y* 'before'. Many of the examples she gives are consistent with the form being *-ayi-y.la-y* 'LONG.T-CTS-FUT'. For an alternative 'before' see *-Nhumi-y*, § 7.5.4

Much of the evidence for this suffix is in the GR written materials. Table 128 has the complete Ridley evidence and Table 129 evidence found in other sources.

Only three YR examples have been found, including the only two more modern examples. The Wurm example involves interpreting *-li-nji* as *-l.ayi-nyi*. There is no obvious alternative. There is also a difference in gloss between the old and modern sources, the former having 'long ago', 'a week ago', 'some time since' and the latter 'yesterday'. It is possible that there are two suffixes, but unlikely.

Reasons for the paucity of recent information may be that the suffix had gone out of use and that researchers did not give it the prominence that gave other suffixes.

Table 128   *-ayi-y* 'LONG.Time': Ridley evidence

Original	Standard	Translation
L class verbs		
goällēn	*guwaa-l.ayi-nyi*	spoke **long ago**
wīmullēn	*wiima-l.ayi-nyi*	put down **long ago**
wīnuŋullain	*winanga-l.ayi-nyi*	heard **long ago**
gimbillēn	*gimubi-l.ayi-nyi*	made (**long ago**)
goällendai	*guwaa-l.ayi-ndaay#*	having spoken **long ago**
gimbellendai	*gimubi-l.ayi-ndaay*	having made **long ago**

Table continued on next page.

Original	Standard	Translation
NG class verbs		
kāŋēn	*gaa-**ng.ayi**-nyi*	took **some days ago**
giŋŋēn	*gi-**ng.ayi**-nyi*	was **long ago**
ginyendai	*gi-**ny/ng.ayi**-ndaay*	Participle [no translation given]
uncertain form		
kābaniu	*gaa-**b.ayi?**-nyi-yuu?*	took **long ago**

Table 129   *-ayi-y* 'LONG.Time': other evidence

Source	Original	Analysis	Translation
Mathews YR	*bumulēnyedhu*	*buma-l.**ayi**-nyi=dhu* hit-LONG.T-PST=1SG	I beat, say **a week ago**
Mathews GR	*bumullên*	*buma-l.**ayi**-ny[i* hit-LONG.T-PST	[I] beat **some time since**
Mathews GR/ MS8006/3/9-3-20	*gibbailandhê / gibbailandhai*	*gi-b.**ayi**-la-ndaay* be-LONG.T-CTS-SUB	**formerly**
MS8006/3/9-3-20	*wurrawailin*	*warra?-w.**ayi**-y.la-n[ha* stand-LONG.T-CTS-PRS	[good at] using weapons; *warra-y* 'stand
Greenway1878: 243	*Naribu ghibalindi* *ngaarribuu* 'far-TOT'	*gi-b.**ayi**-la-ndaay* be-LONG.T-CTS-SUB	long ago
Tindale 28	*ŋari **wai**lani*	*ngarri-w.**ayi**-y.la-nhi* sit-LONG.T-CTS-PST	She stayed away **for some time**
Tindale 30	*jene**wei**nje*	*yana-w.**ayi**-nyi* go-LONG.T-PST	went away .. **a long time ago**
Wurm YR	*huŋaw a: ba**li**-nji*	*wunga-w.aaba-l.**ayi**-nyi* swim-TOT-LONG.T-PST	they were [all] swimming **yesterday**
AD 3217A 62		*ngarra-l.**ayi**-nyi* be-LONG.T-PST	saw **yesterday** AD: 'can't say '**yesterday**''
AD5131 1541		*dhu-rr.**ayi**-y.la-nhi* spear-LONG.T-CTS-PST	speared **yesterday**; Form suggested by CW.

The NG class examples have two Class Markers, *b* and *ng*. With *ng* the suffix is *-ng.ayi-y*, homophonous with *-ngayi-y* 'morning'.

Questions remain. There is no satisfactory analysis of Ridley's *kābaniu*. CW suggests *dhu-rr.ayi-y.la-nhi* for 'speared yesterday'. AD is non-committal then, when asked again, agrees with CW.

7.5.3.3   *-awayi-y* 'LONGER.Time'

There is some evidence for a suffix *-awayi-y* glossed 'LONGER.Time'. The evidence so far found is presented in Table 130, which also includes two inflections of *gaa-gi* 'take' which have 'long ago' in their glosses, but seem to have a different suffix.

-awayi-y indicates a longer time than *ayi-y* 'LONG.T(ime)'. This is suggested by the contrasting translations of these two in Tindale line 28 and 29, and by the explicit contrasts in Mathews. Some *-ayi-y* forms from Table 128 are repeated in Table 130 to point out the contrast. *-awayi-y* has been found only in past tense, and in 6 of the 7 instances is followed by the continuous suffix.

Table 130   *-awayi-y* 'LONGER.Time': evidence

Source	Original Analysis (*-la* 'CTS'; *-NHi* 'PST')	Translation: Original; Comments
MathewsYR	*bumulawailunnedhu* *buma-l.**awayi-y**.la-nhi=dhu*	I beat **long ago**. =*dhu* 'I' *-la-nhi* 'continuous-past'
cf. *-ayi-y* form	*bumulēnyedhu*	I beat, say **a week ago**.
MathewsGR	*bumullawillên* *buma-l.**awayi-y**.la-nhi*	[I] beat **long ago**.
cf. *-ayi-y* form	*bumullên*	[I] beat **some time since**.
MathewsGR	*giawillên* *gi-y.**awayi-y**.la-nhi*	[I] was **long ago**
Wurm 64	*ŋadlawɛlanji* *ngarra-l.**awayi-y**.la-nyi*	[I] have [not] seen him **for a long time**
Wurm 64	*ŋaḍluwɛ:lenji* *ngarra-l.**awayi-y**.la-nyi*	[I do not] remember [you]. See (621) [?have not seen for a long time?]
Tindale 29	*ŋareia weilani* *ngarri-y.**awayi-y**.la-nhi*	[you] stayed away **a long time** *ngarri-y* 'sit'
cf. *-ayi-y* form Tindale 28	*ŋari wailani* *ngarri-w.**ayi-y**.la-nhi*	stayed away **for some time**
Tindale 32	*karal weinji* *garra-l.**awayi**-nyi*	[I] cut off [my arms] [cut **long ago**?]
Possibly related		
Wurm 3	*ga:βalinji* *gaa-B-aalayi?-nyi*	had [dog] a long time ago Not the same suffix.
Ridley p 10	*kābaniu* *gaa-B-aa-nhi-yu??*	took long ago Cf. previous.

The analysis is far from certain. The form represented in the sources, all written, is often uncertain. In (621) the interpretation of *ŋinanja* and the last two syllables of the

verb are quite speculative. Many of the examples have verbs that are often found with the reciprocal suffix, so the first -la (e.g. *bumullawillên*) may be this suffix, at least in some cases.

(621)	*wa:l nama ŋaia ŋinanja ŋaḍluwɛ:lenji*	SW p 64
	waal nhama ngaya ?nginunha ngarra-l.awayi-y.la-nhi?	
	not 3.DEF 1SG 2SG.ACC see-LONGER.T-CTS-PST	
	I don't remember you	SW
	I have not seen you for a long time.	JG

7.5.3.4   -*dhii-y* 'for a LONG.TIME'

The suffix -*dhii-y*[172] has been found five times: see Table 131 (622) (623). The meaning seems to be that an action has been occurring for a long time. In three of the four Wurm examples the YG verb is past tense, but the English is present tense, so the suffix may indicate that the action continues till the present. The Dodd translation 'my mother died long ago' could be paraphrased: 'she has been dead for a long time'. The analysis remains uncertain.

Table 131   -*dhii-y* 'long time'

Source	Standard	Original	Translation
Wurm	*dha-dhii-ny[i*	*ðaði:nj*	is eating meat **for a long time**
	ngami-l.dhii-ny[i	*ŋamilðinj*	am looking at [the kangaroo] **for a long time**
	ngami-l.dhii -ny[i	*ŋamilði:nj*	[no translation]
	buma-dhii -ny[i	*bumaði:nj??*	hitting [the dog] **for a long time**
AD (623)	*balu-dhii-ny[i*		died a long time ago

(622)   Wurm -*dhii-y* sentences.

nama maŕi ði ðaði:nj (dha-dhii-ny[i)   This man is eating meat **for a long time**.

ŋali banda:ḍ ŋamilðinj (ngami-l-dhii-ny[i)

I [we] am looking at the kangaroo **for a long time**.

nama maŕi banda:ḍ ŋamilði:nj (ngami-l-dhii-ny[i)

That man looked at the kangaroo **for a long time**.

nama maŕi buŕumu bumaði:nj?? (buma-dhii-ny[i)

The man is hitting the dog **for a long time**.

(623)	*yilaalu=bala* **balu-dhii-ny[i??** *ngarragaa ngay / ngambaa.dhi*	
	long.ago=CTR die-**dhii**-PST sad my / mother.PD	
	My mother died **a long time ago**.	AD/JM 3218A 88
	?My mother has been dead a long time.?	JG

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[172] Diphthongs are sometimes realised as long vowels, so this suffix may be formally related to -*dhiya-li?y* in the Mathews GR sentence: *Ilanu ngaia bumadhiale* '[I] will beat (after *some event), [buma-dhiya-li??]*. However that link is very speculative.

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7.5.4   Questions about time suffixes

Questions remain about the suffixes listed above, about forms that have not been analysed, and about gaps in the YG time lexicon.

It is not clear if TOD and DIT suffixes can both be used in the one stem. No example of them co-occurring has been found in the YG sources, but such sources rarely contain material of that complexity. No answer can be obtained from Wangaaybuwan, since it does not have the DIT category. In Yandruwantha the categories can co-occur (1145), but the situation is not totally parallel, since its DIT suffix is a tense suffix, verb-final, unlike the YG DIT suffixes. My suggestion is that DIT and TOD be treated as two categories which can be used on the one stem.

Some suffixes are now considered for which there is little or unclear evidence.

Mathews

MathewsGR (p 267) has a range of verb forms, some with imprecise translations, such as 'I beat again' *Ngaia bumulluiñ*. The verb is *buma-l.uwi-nyi* 'hit-BACK-PST' and 'beat again', *Yalu bumaluia*. The verb is again *buma-l.uwi-ya* (Imperative).

However he also has a number of examples which while not currently interpretable are almost certainly actual GR forms, all derived from *buma-li* 'beat'.

1.   *-nhumi-y*

One is: 'beat first (before some event)', *Bumunummia wurrea*. Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1977: 187) and Wiradjuri have a suffix *-NHumi-y* 'before' used in e.g. 'I have been there before'. It is very likely the GR verb is *buma-nhumi-ya* 'beat-BEFORE-IMP'. If so this is the only example of GR *-nhumi-y* found. *Wurrea* may be *warra-ya* 'stand-IMP' or an adverb.

2.   *-dhiya-li*

(624) is another Mathews example with an uncertain suffix, *-dhiya-li*.

(624)   I will beat (after some event).   MathewsGR p267

Ilanu ngaia bumadhiale

yilaa-nu ngaya buma-**dhiya**-li

then-??   1SG   hit-**dhiya**-FUT

Ilanu is unknown, but is related to *yilaa* 'soon'.

3.   *-ngwŭl-li*

Another uncertain form is found at least twice in Mathews. His MS (8006/3/9 book 3 p 64) has: *Bumulli (buma-li) ngwŭl-li-dya* 'I will beat immediately'. *Ngwŭl-li* is probably a future tense L class verb, awaiting analysis, perhaps *nguwa-li*. MathewsYR (p 141) has a similar form in: *Bumullingwullidyu* 'I will beat sometime' (*buma-li ?wungwa-li*).

4.   Another unanalysed Mathews example is 'beat on behalf of another' *Bumullandhummi*. One could expect the verb to include the benefactive suffix (see §8.3.1) but there is no evidence in the form given.

Laves

Laves has a number of unanalysed forms. (MS2188-9-12p050) has *yila ŋaya/ŋinda nayalawai ŋaiaga* 'soon I/you go behind'. *Yila* is *yilaa* 'soon' *ŋaiaga* is *ngayaga* 'behind', *nay* is *(ya)naa-y* 'go; *wai* may be *-waa-y* 'MOV-FUT'; *ala* remains unanalysed.

MS2188-9-12p049 has a number of obscure examples.

ya'ngaiŋaui in 'I'm coming back tomorrow (early)' may include *yanaa-y*, 'go' *-ngayi-y* 'MORNing' and *-uwi-y* 'BACK'. Or may be *yaa* (uncertain) *ngay' 'naa-w.uwi-y*, with *ngaya* 'I' and *yanaa-y* ellipsed.

ŋan'gai ŋau^W iyayə/ŋan'gaiŋauiyayə in 'you hither come back tomorrow' may include *'naa-y* (abbreviated from *yanaa-y* 'go') *-ngayi-y* 'morning' and *-uwi-y* 'back'

MS2188-9-12p099 has *duraliyayə* 'coming tonight', with *dhurra-li* 'come-FUT' and possibly *-yaayaa* 'IGNORative' or a verb suffix.

Wurm

Wurm's (p 66) translation of 'I had this dog a long time ago' includes *ga:βaliŋi ᵇila:lu:* with *yilaaluu* 'long.time' and *gaa-gi* 'take/bring', possibly with a suffix *-aali-y,* which in Wangaaybuwan is 'again'.

Tapes

Another unexplained example is at 5131 1528. CW asks for 'I've been here before'. AD's response contains an uncertain form, which I have transcribed: *yanaa-y-**yaa**-la-nhi*, with a tentative analysis ('go-*yaa*-CTS-PRS'). This suggests a suffix *-(y)aa-y*, similar to *-aa-y* 'night'. AD translates his sentence: 'I was there, like yesterday'.

The actual suffixes found in other languages can inform the interpretation of YG, as seen with *-nhumi-y*. As well the patterns found in other languages can also help understand YG. Breen (2004: 148) gives a long list of Yandruwantha 'bound aspect markers' which are also found as free forms or with other uses. It is likely that *warra-ya* in *Bumunummia wurrea* (above) has such use.

There are a range of verbal markers found in other languages which have not been found in YG, but which could well have been there. Examples from Wangaaybuwan, Yandruwantha and other languages are set out in Table 132 - Table 134 and they provide patterns for potential expansion of YG.

7.5.5   Time suffixes in other Australian languages

Since the YG information is quite limited I begin by looking in some detail at similar phenomena in other languages, firstly Wangaaybuwan and other languages in the CNSW group. A significant number of languages have such a system. This is not an exhaustive survey. The MORNing suffix, *-ngayi-y* has a clear cognate *-ngarri-y* in WN and Wiradjuri, and probably Wayilwan: (See Table 133, Table 134).

Table 132 lists the recorded YG forms relevant to 'time of day' and 'distance in time', and compares them with 3 other languages, including an incomplete examination of Wiradjuri.

Table 132   'Time' suffixes in other languages

Gloss /Category	YG	Wangaaybuwan	Wiradjuri preliminary	Yandruwantha
TIME OF DAY				
				-thalka early morn
morning	*-ngayi-y* FUT [*-ngarri-y* GR]	*-ngarri-y*	*-ngarri-y* *?morning*	*-warrka* [uncertain]
day				*-nhina*
afternoon	*-nga-y*	*-nga-y*	*-nga-y* =? 1 ex, unglossed	
night	*(y)-aa-y*	*-ngabi-y*		*-yukarra*
PAST				
simple past	*-NHi / -y*	*-NHi / -iyi*	*-NHi - ??*	*-na* [immed past]
yesterday	*-mayaa-y*		*-guRa-y* 1 ex	*-nhama*
few days				*-nhukada(ni)*
long time	*-ayi-y-*			*-n.ga*
longer time	*-awayi-y*			*-lapurra*
[for] long time	*-dhii-y*			
all day		*-garraa-y*	*-ngarima-y* 1 ex	

7.5.5.1   Central New South Wales languages

Wangaaybuwan

Wangaaybuwan has TOD suffixes and other time suffixes, but not DIT suffixes. Table 133 shows three suffixes which specify a TOD, another which specifies duration during a part of the day ('all day') and others which can have time meanings. For instance *-gaa-y* 'a bit' can mean 'a short time'. Many of the other suffixes in the table have parallels in YG.

Table 133   Some Wangaaybuwan verb suffixes

Wangaaybuwan	WN gloss	(Donaldson, 1980)
Time of day suffixes (mutually exclusive)		
-ngarri-y	in the morning	6.3.4.1
-nga-y	in the afternoon	6.3.4.2
-ngabi-y	at night	6.3.4.3
-garraa-y	all day	6.3.4.4

Table continued on next page.

Wangaaybuwan	WN gloss	(Donaldson, 1980)
Other suffixes with (potential) time use		
-gaa-y	a bit	6.3.4.5
-aali-y	again	6.3.4.6
-NHumi-y	before	6.3.4.7
-waaga-li	durative	6.3.4.16
-ga-li	progressive	6.3.4.17
-wa-y	moving	6.3.4.11
-ngila-y	continued action	6.3.4.12

Other CNSW languages

Table 134 is taken from McNicol (1989) and Grant & Rudder (2010). It shows that Wiradjuri had at least a partial system with clear parallels to Wangaaybuwan. The Wiradjuri sources are relatively incomplete and more suffixes may be recognised with further analysis.

Table 134 **Some Wiradjuri verb time suffixes**

Wiradjuri	Gloss	Rudder/Grant	Note
Time of day suffixes			
-ngarri-y	in the morning / close	*ngari-girri (fut)* *ngari-nhi (past)*	= WN
-nga-y	unknown		cf. WN 'in.day'
-ngari-y-awa-y	tomorrow (morning)	*-ngari-y-awa-girri*	
Other suffixes with [potential] time use			
-guRa-nhi	yesterday	*-gurra-nhi*	
-ngarima-y	all day	*-garrima-girri*	
	all night	*-guwabi-girri*	
-ali-y	again	*-ali-girri*	= WN
	after	*-na-girri*	
-NHumi-y	before	*-nhumi-girri*	= WN
	before	*-ayi-girri*	
-awa-y	immediacy?		
-guna-y	continuous		

Information on Wayilwan is also limited. Bickerdike (2006) is an honours thesis and the most extensive analysis of the language available. It is not a complete study, having largely focused on one of the around 90 Wayilwan tapes. It makes no mention of TOD or DIT suffixes, but that by no means guarantees that they will not be found with a more extensive review of the tapes.

Similar features in other Australian languages, particularly Karnic languages, are briefly considered in Appendix B.

8   Valency changes

The first part of Chapter 8 (§8.1 and §8.2) deals with processes that typically, but not always reduce the valency of verbs. The rest of the chapter examines valency increasing suffixes.

8.1   Valency reduction

§8.1 examines Reflexive verbs (do to oneself) and Reciprocal verbs (do to each other), §8.2 considers Middle verbs. Reflexive and reciprocal verbs always, and Middle verbs sometime involve a reduction in the number of explicit arguments. The subject of all three is frequently, but not always, in Nominative case. All three are derived from transitive verbs. Since reflexive and reciprocal derivations share many features they are treated first.

In most Australian languages, including YG, reciprocals and reflexives are expressed by 'valency decreasing derivations' on the verbs. In YG the suffixes are *-ngiili-y* 'reflexive' and *-la-y* 'reciprocal'. Less commonly languages use special reflexive/reciprocal pronominal elements (Dixon, 2002: 320).

Reciprocal and reflexive verbs have one fewer argument than the root. Commonly a single argument verb (e.g. 'throw (self)') (626) is derived from a two place verb (625). The original has Ergative A and Accusative O. The derived verb has one Nominative argument, S.

(625)   A strong man threw his spear at a kangaroo.   JM/AD 8187 487

   *giirruu   nguumu?? / burrul-bidi-dju dhayn-du / bamba   / bilaarr   **wana-nhi***
   true.very 3SG.**ERG**?? / big-AUG-**ERG**   man-**ERG** / with.energy / spear.**ACC** throw-PST
   A great big man threw his spear hard.   JG

(626)   *ngaam=bala=nga / gulaanbali   /   **wana-ngiili-nyi***
   there=CTR=THEN / pelican.**NOM** /   throw-**REFL**-PST
   He chucked himself down. [The pelican]   AD/JM 8186 1817

There is also relatively common valency reduction of three place verbs to two place verbs. As with two place verbs, it is the argument that has the same referent as the subject that is deleted. With three place verbs this is the IO[173]: (628), (644). Actual

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[173] 'Talk' in YR is *gaay guwaa-li* 'word tell', with the spoken to, the IO, in Locative case and the object *gaay* 'word' Accusative. Actual examples of *guwaa-li* with three explicit arguments, such as (627), are

examples of clauses with three explicit arguments, such as (627), are uncommon. The reflexive derived verb in (628) has two arguments, with the Locative IO deleted.

(627)   The old man was telling stories/ told stories to the children.   CW/AD 3997B 2006

   nguuma(1) waayamaa-gu(1) / yal wagi(2) guwaa-lda-nhi / birralii-gal-a(3)

   3.ERG.DEF old.man-**ERG**   / just lies.**ACC** say-CTS-PST   / child-PL.DIM-**LOC**

   The old man was just telling the children tales.   JG

(628)   The two men were talking to each other.   CW/AD 5057 629

   giirr nhama bulaarr dhayn   / gaay   guwaa-la-y.la-nhi

   true 3.DEF   two.**NOM** man.**NOM** / word.**ACC** tell-RECP-CTS-PST

Other, less common, case frames involving reflexive and reciprocal verbs are noted later. For instance the subject can be Ergative if an object such as a body part is expressed.

YG also uses the middle voice, §8.2, as an alternative way of encoding reflexive meaning. It is typically used when the English verb can have unmarked reflexive use, for instance: 'he washed (himself understood)'.

Table 135 shows the reciprocal and reflexive YG suffixes and Class Markers. The two forms of the reflexive are explained later. # indicates non-attested but hypothesised forms.

Table 135   **Reciprocal and Reflexive suffixes and CMs**

Suffix			Verb class Class Marker			
Form	Gloss	Verb class	L	Y	NG	RR
-ngiili-y	REFlexive		Ø	*y*	Ø	*rr*
-ngii-li	REFlexive (before continuous suffix)		Ø	*y*	Ø	*rr*
-la-y	RECiprocal		Ø	*#Ø*	*#Ø*	*#rri*

One could expect that reciprocal, reflexive and middle derivations are all in one inflectional category, and occupy one slot in the verb. These are often referred to as voice. Reflexive and reciprocal are clearly mutually exclusive and never co-occur. However (690) and (691) do raise the question as to whether middle and reciprocal derivations can be used on the one verb to describe multiple argument situations such as 'tying something to oneself'.

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very rare. In (644) 'talk to each other' the speaker (A) and the hearer (IO) are identical, and the Locative IO is deleted. The verb retains an O: typically *gaay* 'word'. With other objects (a person, 'lies', etc.) *guwaa-li* is 'tell'.

8.1.1 *-ngiili-y / -ngii-li* 'REFLexive'

The YG reflexive suffix is unique in having two forms on one verb class stem. The suffix is *-ngiili-y*, deriving a Y class stem, when the verb inflection is non-continuous, as in (630). It is *ngii-li*, deriving an L class stem, when the verb is continuous[174] (631). The reflexive *mawu-ngii-lda-ya* in (631) would be **mawu-ngiili-y.la-ya* if there were no change in the suffix form. The change in form of the suffix simplifies the reflexive verb and may also involve quasi-haplology, replacing the possibly similar syllables *li-y.la-* with *-lda-*. (629) - (633)[175] show prototypical reflexive verbs, with a single Nominative argument and derived from two place verbs. They show the reflexive suffix on L, NG and RR class roots. Y class verb roots are overwhelmingly intransitive, and none have been found with a reflexive suffix. However (690) shows the suffix after *yulaa-y*, likely a middle verb derived from transitive *yulaa-li* 'tie'. The Class Markers for the suffix are shown in Table 135. Variation in the L class CM is discussed below.

(629)   *giirr nhama / birralii-djuul   / garra-**ngiili**-nyi, nhaayba-gu*
         true   3.DEF   / child-ONE.NOM / cut[L]-REFL-PST, knife-ERG
              cut himself   AD/CW 5131 1565
         The boy cut **himself** with a knife.   JG

(630)   *mawu-ngiili-y   ngaya=laa / mawu-**ngiili**-y   ngaya*
         scratch[NG]-REFL-FUT 1SG=DIR / scratch[NG]-REFL-FUT 1SG
         I am going to scratch **myself** directly. I am going to scratch myself.   FR/JM 1850B 3801

(631)   Don't scratch **yourself**.   CW/AD 5052 2696
         *garriya   mawu-**ngii**-lda-ya*
         don't   scratch[NG]-REFL-CTS-IMP

(632)   *ngaam=bala=nga / gulaanbali / wana-**ngiili**-nyi*
         there=CTR=THEN / pelican   / throw[NG]-REFL-PST
         He chucked **himself** down. [The pelican]   AD/JM 8186 1817

(633)   The man speared **himself**.   CW/AD 5129A 2921
         *nhama dhayn / bilaa-yu   dhu-rr.**ngiili**-nyi*
         3.DEF   man   / spear-ERG spear[RR]-REFL-PST

(634)   *ki:r boŋon karaɲilinji*   (Emus talking) Tindale line 45
         *giirr bungun garra-**ngiili**-nyi*
         true   wing   cut-REFL-PST
         Yes we did cut off our arms.   Tindale
         (We) cut our/my arms.   JG

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[174] No reflexive+MOVing continuous forms have been found, but many reflexive + continuous suffix verbs are found. See also Table 137.

[175] The verb class is shown: e.g. [l]

8.1.1.1 Non-prototypical case frames

There are examples of reflexives with non-prototypical case frames, mostly involving an Accusative case body part and an Ergative subject, as in (635) (=(194), (836)). It contrasts with (636), a similar sentence which has no expressed Object and where the Subject is clearly Nominative.

(635) *buma-**ngiili**-nyi / nguu   dhaygal*
      hit-REFL-PST   / 3SG.**ERG** head.ACC
      He hit **himself** on the **head**.   FR/JM 1989A 95

(636) *giirr ganunga buma-**ngiili**-nyi*
      true 3PL.**NOM** hit-REFL-PST
      They did hit **theirselves**.   FR/JM 1989A 141

However Ergative subject is found, rarely, with a reflexive verb when there is no expressed object. In tape 5129A 2822ff CW elicits many sentences with reflexives: e.g. 'the man painted himself', 'the girl pinched herself'. In one of the 10 or so examples the subject is clearly Ergative: *maadhaay-u* 'dog-ERG' in 'the dog scratched itself'. It may also be Ergative in 'the man shaved himself' which has *guyungan.gu* 'self-ERG' and nothing for 'man'. However the normal form of the Ergative here would be *-du*. The motivation for these uses of the Ergative is not known.

Atypical Reflexive case frames, involving a body part, are listed in Table 136, with case frames for middle verbs with similar use. Often it is not possible to determine the case of an argument.

Table 136   **Atypical reflexive case frames**

S	Body part case	Verb	Other	Sentence
Reflexive verbs				
?	Acc?	Refl		I hit my foot on a stone. FR2439A 1843
Erg	Acc	Refl		He hit himself on the head. (194) =(635)
?	Loc	Refl		I hit myself on the head with my tomahawk. FR2438A 1775
Middle verbs				
?	Abl	Middle		I tripped on a stick and fell down. AD (686)
?	Acc	Middle	Me.Acc	I hit me (my foot) up against that rock. AD (687)

There are a range of strategies available for statements that involve action on oneself and the conditions governing the choice are not clear. As well as reflexive and middle verbs, standard transitive verbs can be used with their normal cases frame, as seen in (637)(= (550)). The sentence is about a snake that is very cooperative with the

hunter; and 'puts his head down' to be killed. The use of the Ablative in (b) has to do with a selected body part: §2.3.6.

Talking about a snake:

(637) *yalagiirrmawu nguu / **wiima-li** ngaama dhaygal nguungu,*
then   3SG.ERG / put.down.L-FUT that   head   3SG.DAT,
He will put his head down then,   JG

(b) *buma-li.gu nginda dhaygal-i*
hit-PURP   2SG   head-ABL
He will put his head down, so you can kill him.   AD/CW 5051 643
so that you can hit him on the head.   JG

FR2438A 1805 uses a standard transitive verb to translate 'I had to wash the blood off myself' but a few seconds later uses a middle form of 'rub' to translate 'I am going to put some porcupine fat on it, on the sore'. Again the motivation for the choice is not clear.

8.1.1.2   Questions about reflexives

There are many aspects of reflexives which remain unclear. Table 137 gives some of the reflexives in Mathews' published (GR p 266, YR p 141) and unpublished material, all derived from *buma-li* 'beat', an L class verb. They illustrate the properties outlined above, but also some variations in form. Most have no CM, but some have *l* and others have *y*. *Lng* is not generally found as a consonant cluster, but *l* is a common CM for L class verbs, so *lng* may be an alternative CM making no semantic difference.

Table 137   **Examples of reflexives in Mathews**

	Original	Analysis	Mathews Gloss
-ngiili-y reflexive; *buma-* 'hit'; =*DHu* '1SG' *ngaya* '1SG'; =*laa* 'DIR', *-ya* '-IMPerative'			
YR	*bumangilidyu*	*buma-**ngiili**-y=dju*	I will beat myself
YR	*bumulngilia*	*buma-[l].**ngiili**-ya*	Beat thou thyself.
GR	*ngaiala bumaingili*	*buma-[y].**ngiili**-y*	I will beat myself.
GR	*bumaingilia*	*buma-[y].**ngiili**-ya*	beat thou thyself.
-ngii-li reflexive; *-lda* 'CTS'; *-ngayi-* 'MORNing'			
YR	*bumulngildunnadhu*	*buma-[l].**ngii**-lda-nha=dhu*	I am beating myself.
GR	*ngaia bumaingilda*	*ngaya buma-[y].**ngii**-lda-[nha*	I am beating myself.
GR	*ngaia bumaingilingên*	*ngaya buma-[y].**ngiili**-ngayi-ny[i*	I beat myself.
YR	*bumangildunnidyu*	*buma-**ngii**-lda-nhi=dju*	I was beating myself
notes MS 8006/3/9 book 3 p 64: *ngali* '1DU'			
YR	*Ngulli bumangildunna*	*ngali buma-**ngii**-lda-nha*	We (2) are beating ourselves.
YR	*Ngulli bumungee-lee*	*ngali buma-**ngiili**-y?[**ngii**-li]*	We (2) are beating ourselves.

Mathews also appears to have *yng* at the suffix boundary, so the verb is clearly not L class then. However the middle form of *buma-li* is *buma-y*, so these verbs are likely to consist of the middle

verb and the reflexive suffix. This is an unexpected combination and the semantic effect of this combination is not known. There is no indication of the effect in Mathews' glosses. The same *y* CM is seen in (638). That sentence has an explicit instrument but that would not normally influence the verb. (629) and (639) also have an instrument, but the CM is Ø.

(638) *dɛin bumaiɲɛ:linji juːnduːgu*   SW p 82

      *dhayn buma-[y].**ngiili**-nyi yuundu-gu*

      man   hit-REFL-PST   axe-ERG

      The man hit himself with the axe.   SW

(639) The big man hit himself with the line.   JM/AD 3219B 1679

      *buma-**ngiili**-nyi ngaama=nga / burrul-bidi dhayn // yalaayn-du*

      hit-REFL-PST   that=THEN / big-AUG   man // line-ERG

While "the essence of a reflexive is coreference" (Kemmer, 1993: 44) and in the simplest reflexives this co-reference is between A and O, it has been seen above that this co-reference can be between A and IO. Another possible use of reflexive verbs is seen in a Wiradjuri sentence (Hale sentence 291). It uses what appears to be a reflexive form of *winanga-y* 'think' in a sentence that is translated 'I thought I should have died' and glossed 'I **thought-to-myself** die should-I' (emphasis mine). In this instance there is no reduction in arguments, since 'think' is a one-place verb. A similar use may occur in Günther's Wiradjuri sentence 49, which has *Gialngingidyillidya* 'be ashamed of yourself'. I do not have an analysis, but *giyal* is 'ashamed' and it seems likely that the verb contains a Wiradjuri reflex of *-DHili-y*, perhaps on the copula, also an intransitive verb.

Another unexplained use of the reflexive suffix occurs in (690). The verb there is unique in apparently being middle voice and also including the reflexive suffix. It will be discussed later. The reflexive function of middle verbs is considered in §8.2.

Like YG, Wangaaybuwan derives reflexives by use of a suffix, *-DHili-y.*

8.1.2   *-la-y* 'reciprocal'

Reciprocal situations are more complex than reflexive ones because they intrinsically involve more than one participant and the event is commonly non-symmetrical or non-simultaneous. For instance while reciprocal 'they scratched each other' can be both simultaneous and symmetric the reflexive 'they followed each other' cannot. See Evans et al. (2011) for discussion of the complexity of reflexives.

The YG reciprocal suffix is *-la-y*. Only reciprocals derived from L class verbs have been found. I assume that other transitive verbs such as *ngaawa-y* 'look for', *mawu-gi* 'scratch, dig' and *dhu-rri* 'spear, poke' can form reciprocals. CMs are listed in Table 135. I assume that the CMs for Y and NG class is the same as those used for the homophonous *-la-y* 'continuous'. For RR class I assume the CM is *-rri-,* as found in Wangaaybuwan RR class.

The prototypical use and case frame of reciprocals is seen in (640) - (643). The underived verb is a two place (transitive verb), the derived verb is one-place, with a Nominative subject. A and O are co-referential.

(640)   (a) *ngindaali, garriya=ndaali buma-la-ya,   yaluu /*
          2DU,   don't=2DU   hit-RECP-IMP, again /
          You two, don't you two fight (hit **each other**) again.   JG

        (b) *minya-ngin=ndaali buma-la-y.la-nha*
            what-WANT=2DU   hit-RECP-CTS-PRS
        What you two fighting over? Don't fight no more.   AD/JM 3219A 3510
        What are you two fighting about?   JG

(641)   They are walking along hitting each other.   CW/AD 5057 530
        giirr nhama 'naa-waa-nhi / buma-la-waa-nha nhama / bulaarr birralii
        true 3.DEF go-MOV-PST / hit-RECP-MOV-PRS 3.DEF / two.**NOM** child.**NOM**
        They were walking along hitting each other, the two kids.   JG

(642)   *giirr nhama bulaarr   dhinawan ngarra-la-nhi*
        true 3.DEF two.**NOM** emu.**NOM** look-RECP-PST
        The two emus looked at each other.   AD/CW 5057 769

(643)   The dogs are biting each other.   CW/AD 5131 1084
        giirr nhama maadhaay / yii-la-y.la-nha
        true 3.DEF dog.**NOM** / bite-RECP-CTS-PRS

With three place verbs the co-referential arguments are the A and IO. The only reciprocals found of three place verbs involve *guwaa-li* 'tell' as in (644), (627); see footnote 173.

(644)   Don't talk to any other blackfellows about it.   CW/AD 5056 2433
        Garriya gaay guwaa-lda-ya=nga / dhayn-galgaa-ga
        don't   word tell-CTS-IMP=THEN / person-PL-LOC
        Don't talk to any blackfellows.   JG

(645) shows *guwaali* with an Accusative addressee and a clausal complement.

(645)   She made me eat the possum.   CW/AD 5056 2694
        giirruu   ngiyama nguu   / yina-yu   nganha / guwaa-y, dha-li.gu nhama mudhay
        true.very there   3SG.ERG / woman-ERG 1SG.ACC / say-PST, eat-PURP 3.DEF possum
        She, the woman, made me eat the possum.   JG

Reciprocal 'talk' is seen in (646), (628). The IO has been deleted and the reciprocal verb has a Nominative subject and an Accusative object, *gaay*.

(646)   The women who were talking ran away.   CW/AD 5130 2445
        ngaama yinarr-galgaa,   gaay   guwaa-la-y.la-ndaay, banaga-nhi ngaama
        there   woman-PL.**NOM**, word.**ACC** say-RECP-CTS-SUB, run-PST   that/there
        The women who were talking, ran there,   JG

        ganunga / minyaarru-waayaa
        3PL.**NOM** / where.to-IGNOR
        … [I] don't know where they run to.   AD
        They ran, I don't know where to.   JG

The reciprocal suffix has not been found on other three place verbs. Williams (1980: 82) analysed (647) as reciprocal, with *dh* as the RR class CM and the suffix as *-ala-y*. However the subject is Ergative, and *-dha-y* is the 'Associated mouthing' suffix §9.1.3. It is clear that *-la-* is the non-moving continuous suffix, not the continuous sufix. The continuous suffix can be followed by the present tense suffix *-nha* but the homophonous reciprocal suffix *-la-* cannot.

(647) They give meat to each other.   CW/AD 5057 732

    giirr nhama, bulaa-yu / dhinggaa, wuu-dha-y.la-nha

    true 3.DEF, two-ERG / meat,   give-EAT-CTS-PRS

    Those two are giving meat.   JG

However I would expect that the reciprocal could be used with 'give' and other three place verbs. It is likely the informant had lost that part of the language.

Semantics. A number of English verbs which lexicalise reciprocal action, at least in some senses, are explicitly reciprocal in YG. The most common are *buma-la-y* 'hit-RECP' = 'fight': Table 138, (205) (511) (579) (640) (649); and *guwaa-la-y* 'talk-RECP' = 'converse, talk (to one another): (628) (646). Also found is *yaya-la-y* 'rouse.on-RECP' = 'quarrel' (203).

According to Donaldson sentences such as 'the dog and cat saw each other', with multiple A arguments, cannot be translated into Wangaaybuwan by use of reciprocals. However Evans et al. (2009: 21) give a Wambaya reciprocal example which includes multiple subjects: 'the sun and the moon took each other's child'. Revived YG may decide to adopt the Wambaya pattern.

8.1.2.1   Reciprocal in old sources

There are few reciprocals in the old sources. None have been found in Parker, Laves or Tindale. Mathews has a range of YR and GR examples which vary mainly in the pronoun preceding the verb (I, we dual, we plural). A sample is presented in Table 138.

Table 138 **Some examples of reflexives in Mathews**

Original YR	Original GR	Analysis	Mathews Gloss
ngulli bumullelunna	*ngulli* bumullela***	*buma-la-y.la[-nha*	We are beating each other
	ngulli bumulluñ	*buma-la-nhi*	We beat each other
ngulli bumullelunni		*buma-la-y.la-nhi*	We beat each other
ngulli bumullē	*ngulli bumullê*	*buma-la-y*	We will beat each other

    * *ngulli = ngali* [2dualNom/Erg, 'we (two)]

    ** often verb final *-nha/-nhi* is not realised in GR

Wurm has many examples of reciprocals, e.g. (648) and (649), which shows the reciprocal suffix followed by the MOVing suffix, with the latter having an inchoative use.

(648) *dɛinga:li bumalɛila*   SW p 81

      *dhayn-gaali buma-**la**-y.la-[nha*

      man-DU   hit-RECP-CTS-PRS

      Two men hit each other / fight.   SW

      Two men are fighting.   JG

(649) *jallu naga:lanna bumallawanna*   SW p 81

      *yaluu=nha gaala.nha buma-**la-waa**-nha*

      again=3   3DU   hit-RECP-MOV-PRS

      beginning again the same two to fight   SW

      The two of them are starting to fight again.   JG

(650) is a reanalysis of a Williams (1980: 82) reflexive. She gives the suffix as *-ala-y.*

(650) The dogs are biting each other.   CW/AD 5131 1084

      *giirr nhama maadhaay / yii-**la**-y.la-nha*

      true 3.DEF dog   / bite-RECP-CTS-PRS

8.1.3   Complex reciprocals and reflexives

As in some other languages, the simple uses of YG reciprocals and reflexives are well understood, but these derivations have some atypical syntactic structures with other uses, and their description is incomplete.

Evans et al. (2009: 3) refer to 'clean' solutions to reciprocal constructions which have only straightforward transitive and intransitive clauses, and to other solutions which are more complex. They (2009: 33) point out that, with 3 place verbs, these valency reduction strategies can 'signal[s] that there is no overt indirect object' rather than no direct object. In such a situation there is a Nominative subject and an Accusative object. Furthermore they state (2009: 29):

> a generalization that appears to be widespread if not universal in languages that form reciprocals by valence-changing verbal affix: in reciprocals from ditransitive verbs, coreference is established between the subject and the indirect object.

They (2009: 22) discuss the syntactic treatment of body parts in reciprocal/reflexive sentences. The body part can remain in Accusative case, and so again the S is Nominative and there is an Accusative argument. They also (2009: 33) point to more complex valency reduction situations which await description[176].

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[176] 'The attentive reader will have noticed that we do not touch on a whole host of other questions one could ask about reciprocals of ditransitives, that would result from applying to ditransitives the sorts of

If, as Hopper and Thompson (1982) suggest, transitivity is a continuum, then there are likely to be verbs which are not prototypically transitive which will have reflexive/reflexive forms, for instance 'cognate object' verbs. Talking of these verbs Austin (1982: 45) points out: '[T]hey take highly specific objects which can be understood as closely connected semantically with the meaning of the verb'. YG examples include *bawi-li* 'sing', *wiila-y* 'whistle', *maaya-li* 'whisper', *dhayaamba-li* 'whisper', and *gaawi-li* 'vomit'. In fact these verbs are often used without an explicit object. It may be that cognate object verbs could also have reflexive/reciprocal forms, with meaning such as 'sing to each other'.

8.1.3.1   Questions: reciprocals, reflexives

There are a small number of unclear examples of reciprocals and reflexives. Verbs in Table 137 which include *buma-[y].ngiili-,* with *y* preceding the suffix, seem to have a middle form of the verb with a reflexive suffix.

What may be an unexplained use of the reciprocal is seen in Parker's Emu and Bustard story. Line 74 has *bunna gairlehwahndi*, which may be *banaga-y.la-waa-ndaay* 'run-RECP-MOV-SUB'. No clear English translation is provided, but it has to do with 'the little ones running beside her'. If the analysis is correct this is an intransitive verb with a reciprocal suffix, with a meaning something like 'act together'.

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tests for the implicit presence of the coreferential indirect object argument that we applied in §3 and §4 to transitives – what happens with secondary predications, complement clauses and so forth? These would be fascinating questions to pursue, but unfortunately we have yet to find a skerrick of relevant data in the descriptions we have, so further research on this will have to wait until more detailed grammatical data on reciprocals of ditransitives becomes available' (Evans et al., 2009: 33).

8.2   Middle verbs

8.2.1   Introduction

This section considers what I call 'middle voice' and 'middle verbs'. As Kemmer (1993: 1) points out, the term is not precise. It can be used to refer morphological processes, including verb inflection, which result in a range of effects such as valency reduction and reflexive meaning. I use it to refer to a process which is clearly exemplified in YG L class verbs and which has parallels in many other Australian languages. Formally a YG middle verb derived from an L class verb can be analysed as taking Y class suffixes[177]: for instance from the transitive verb *garra-li* 'cut' is derived the middle verb *garra-y* 'cut'. The syntactic and semantic effects vary as seen in (651) and (652), which show two of a wide range of possible effects. In (651) *gama.M-*[178] is middle, and takes a Nominative subject and has no object. It contrasts with *gama.L-* in the same sentence, which has an Ergative subject and an O. The middle verb in (652) derives from *garra.L-* 'cut, transitive' but has an Ergative subject, a body-part object and reflexive meaning.

(651) **gama-nhi** = bala   nhama nguungu bilaarr / ngaandu nhama **gama-y**
       break.M-PST = CTR 3.DEF 3SG.DAT spear   / who-ERG 3.DEF   break.L-PST
       His spear is broke and who broke it?   AD/JM 3217B 3431

(652) The woman cut herself.   CW/AD 5129A 2800
       giirr nhama **yina-yu**   / maa **garra-nhi**
       true 3.DEF   woman-ERG / hand cut.M-PST
       cut her hand   AD
       The woman cut her hand.   JG

This section firstly considers some general features of middle verbs, largely based on Kemmer (1993). It then looks at similar derivational processes in some other Australian languages, including Wangaaybuwan, which has a formally identical process. Then it looks at YG middle verbs, considering their syntax, function and the wide range of uses of some specific middle verbs. Middle forms of RR, NG and Y class verbs are not clearly evident in the YG sources, but likely forms for such verbs are considered. Finally a number of unexplained examples, which may be middle verbs, are considered.

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[177] For convenience I will mark the gloss with the verb class or middle derivation when helpful: so *break.L* indicates the verb is L class and *break.M* indicates the verb is the Middle derivation.

[178] The Y class future suffix is *-y* and the past is *-NHi*. L class has future *-li* and past *-y*. This ambiguity of forms (the L class past is homophonous with the Middle future) may help explain why middle verbs had not been previously noticed in YG.

8.2.2 Middle verbs in other languages

It will be seen later that YG middle verbs have many of the uses Kemmer (1993: 16-20) points out as typical functions of middle verbs across languages. YG uses of middle verbs also mentioned by Kemmer include semantically reflexive uses such as:

- grooming or body care (wash, get dressed, shave) and

- nontranslational motion (stretch one's body, turn, bow, clench (fist)),

as well as:

- cognition (think, ponder, believe) and

- passive and impersonal use (be seen, sell well).

   Other uses of middle verbs which Kemmer lists, but which are not recognised in YG include:

- change in body posture (sit down, get up)

- indirect or self-benefactive events (acquire, ask, take for oneself)

- naturally reciprocal events (meet, embrace, converse, agree)

- translational motion (walk, fly)

- emotional situations (be angry, grieve, complain)

- speech acts (confess, boast)

- spontaneous events (germinate, grow)

- logophoric situations (i.e. 'coreference of participants in main and dependent events in reportative contexts; e.g. 'Margaret says she will win the election'.)

The term 'middle verb' is not generally used in descriptions of Australian languages. However many Australian languages have a derivational suffix which derives verbs with many of the qualities of middle verbs.

   Dixon (2002) has some general points about this suffix and examples of its use in Yidiny. He (2002: 206; 531) states:

   There is a recurrent derivational suffix, which probably had original form *-dharri which has reflexes, including '-dhirri-, -dhi-, -dji-, -yi-, -rri- -djili- and -li- in modern languages.

   This suffix can be used for the four basic valency-decreasing derivations he lists (2002: 206): Passive (Original O argument becomes S of the derived intransitive i.e. O → S), Antipassive (A →S, original O to peripheral, possibly omitted), Reflexive and Reciprocal. But he also points out (2002: 531) that:

   '.. a reflex of *-dharri- has the syntactic effect of detransitiviser ... However it can have **just** a semantic effect, without **involving any change in valency** (my emphasis)'. He gives the example of Yidinj (2002: 532) whose reflex of -dharri is -:dji and whose:

   grammar appears to be based on the following principle: the syntactic argument which is in A function should be identical with the semantic role of 'controlling agent'. The suffix -:dji is used to mark any instance of this identity NOT holding. In a purposeful reflexive situation (e.g. he cut himself deliberately') we do have a controlling agent (underlying A) but it is identical with the patient (underlying O) and is mapped onto S in a derived intransitive construction; this is marked by -:dji- since the controlling agent is no longer in

A function. …… when the A argument is something inanimate, which is inherently incapable of control (e.g. 'the fire burnt me'), or when the A argument is human but achieves some result accidentally (e.g. 'by chance I saw the coin by the roadside'). In these two instances the clause remains transitive, with an A argument, but this is not the controlling agent and hence the inclusion of *-:dji-*.

(A fuller discussion is in Dixon (1977: 274-93)). Yidinj *-:dji* is also used for antipassive constructions, where the controlling agent is also in S rather than A function.

Breen (2004:191) discusses *-yindri*, the Yandruwantha reflex of *-dharri*, in a chapter he calls 'Variations on transitivity'. The derived verb can form an intransitive verb whose uses include as a reciprocal and reflexive (2004: 64). However *-yindri* verbs are found in other case frames which do not have the properties of either 'typical' intransitive or of transitive verbs. Some of these 'intermediate transitivity' case frames, and their uses are (2004: 187):

- an 'intransitive' verb with a Nominative subject which continues to take a direct object and which has the added meaning 'action for one's own behalf' or 'about oneself' (e.g. to tell about yourself). This use is not fully productive.

- to form a passive, almost always 'agentless'. The only argument is Nominative.

- to form a verb with the meaning 'action on one's own behalf', which has Ergative subject.

Patz (2002: 104;148) discusses the *-ji* suffix in Kuku Yalanji, presuming it is a reflex of *-dharri-y*. Its main use is in reflexive constructions, where it forms an intransitive verb. It can also form passives and anti-passives, and has other uses. The suffix is also used when A is of lower animacy than O, or the action is accidental (Patz calls this a 'chance passive'). In these instances the case of the arguments changes, A to Locative and O to Nominative; unlike Yidiny discussed above, where the case frame is that of a transitive verb. Patz has a smaller number of case frames for the derived verb than Dixon or Breen.

Donaldson describes a verb derivation which is likely to also involve a reflex of *-dharri*, but the only syntactic effect she describes is intransitivisation: 'transitive stems of the L class have intransitive counterparts which are members of the Y class' (Donaldson, 1980: 168), as in (653). The two WN RR class verbs (both transitive) have intransitive[179] Y class counterparts whose stem is the RR root plus *rri*. The original and derived verbs in (653) - (655) are: *gaanba-li / gaanba-y* and *dhu-rri / dhurri-y*. (653) shows a derived *gaanba-y*. (654) shows the transitive verb *dhu-rri* and (655) the derived intransitive verb. The WN L class process is identical to that found in YG, albeit with fewer functions. No similar RR class derivations have been found in YG.

(653) *burraay* *ngulu* **gaanba-nhi**
        child + ABS face + ABS wipe-**INTR** + PAST
        'A child wiped (its) face.'   (cf. *gaanba-li* 'wipe, tr')   Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6-33

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[179] I have reproduced these sentences as in Donaldson. Her analysis does not have Ergative case first person pronouns. With the analysis used in this thesis the S in (654) would be Ergative.

(654)   *ngadhu＝nuu*   ***dhu-rr-aga***   *mura-gu*

       I＋NOM＝2OBL spear-CM-IRR(FUT) spear INST

       'I will spear you with a spear.   Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6-30

(655)   *ngindu*   ***dhu-rri.y-aga***   *mura-gu*

       you＋NOM spear-INTR-IRR(FUT) spear-INST

       'You will get (yourself) speared by a spear.'   Wangaaybuwan Donaldson 6-31

In WN the S of the intransitive verb is the O of the transitive verb, and the A of the transitive verb is not explicated or 'specifically implicated in any way at all in the interpretation of the sentence' (Donaldson, 1980: 169). Donaldson explores some of the restrictions and semantic uses of the process.

> Transitive verbs where the only possible instrument is a body part controlled by a NP marked for A function do not have intransitivised Y class forms: *dha-l* 'eat', *ngiya-l* 'say' and *miima-l* 'hold, for instance.

Intransitive forms of the corresponding verbs have not been found in YG, but *dhadha-li* and *dhadha-y* 'taste' transitive and intransitive respectively, are common, so YG does not follow the WN description fully. In WN there are exceptions to the above restriction: Transitive verbs where the NP in O function is the body or a body part, such as 'grooming' verbs **do** have such forms. The interpretation is that the body or body part 'gets groomed' by its owner, as in (656) (Donaldson, 1980: 169).

> Wangaaybuwan

(656)   *burraay*   *dharawidal*   *dhunma-nhi*

       child＋ABS trousers＋ABS remove-INTR＋PAST

       'A child removed (its) trousers. (cf. *dhunma-li* 'remove', tr)   Donaldson 6-35

Donaldson (1980: 170) also points out that 'clothing removing' (and presumably 'putting on') verbs have intransitivised forms used when a person is acting on their own clothing, and the piece of clothing is made explicit - for instance in (656), which is an exact parallel with (653), since in Wangaaybuwan clothing, when worn, is treated as inalienably possessed. Note that in both these sentences the O is a 'body-part', and the subject is in Nominative case (or Absolutive, in Donaldson's terms), so the WN derivation is not simply intransitivising.

Donaldson (1980: 170) also points out that some middle verbs such as *birrma-y* 'scratch＋INTR' can have two meanings, 'getting scratched' by an inert object one passes, or 'scratching oneself'. Donaldson's description, while perhaps incomplete, alerts us to two features of middle verbs. One is the multiple uses the one case frame she found can have and the other is the semantic restrictions, often quite intricate, on particular verbs. The uses Donaldson describes for derived Y class forms are all found in YG, but in fact the YG range of uses is much larger, and the YG derived verbs occur with a variety of case frames.

Historically, what seems to have happened in CNSW languages is that their reflex of -*dharri-y* (which is -*:dyi, -ji* and -*yindri* in the other languages discussed) is -*y* when suffixed to an L class verb, so there is no formal way of distinguishing an underived Y class verb (e.g. *banaga-y* 'run') from forms derived from an L class verb. However the derived forms will have a different range of uses and case frames, compared to the single case frame of underived Y class verbs.

The above gives some Australian information which will help to understand the YG suffix, but many Australian grammars have not examined this feature in detail. Dixon states (2002: 532): 'grammars of other languages (other than Yidinj and Kuku Yalanji; JG) invariably just refer to the detransitivising effect of **-dharri*'.

8.2.3 YG middle verbs

YG middle verbs found in the sources are formally identical to Y class verbs and they are derived from transitive L class verbs - e.g. (651) (652). They have a range of case frames, showing that YG transitivity is a continuum rather than a two-way division. Table 141 has an extensive list of YG middle verbs found. As in many other areas very little of this information is from GR sources, but a surprising amount is from early, written texts; but not from early analysis. Middle verbs are found in 'natural' language or co-incidental with other material being elicited. It is to be expected that there will be uses of the middle verb which do not occur in the source material. The examples make clear that this is a complex area: a wide range of case frames are found, often there are multiple arguments, and factors such as animacy and deliberateness would be expected to affect the syntax. It is clear this will not be a comprehensive analysis of the area.

The simplest middle structure involves passives and what might be called 'spontaneous events'. The O_L (i.e. the Object of the L class verb) corresponds to S_M (i.e. the Subject of the middle verb) (O → S). (651) shows *gama.M-* 'break' with passive use, with an implied agent and (658) shows it describing a 'spontaneous event' with no implied agent. Transitive *gama.M-* 'break 'is seen in (651) and (657).

The middle verb in (659) is derived from *nhamurra-li* 'bury, tr', in (660) from *dhirranba-li* 'shake, tr' and in (661) from *bayama-li* 'catch, tr'.

(657)   Can you break this stick?   JM/FR 2439A 1579
      yaama nhalay muyaan nginda **gama-li**
      ques   this   stick   2SG   **break.L-FUT**
      Can you break this stick?   FR

(658)   The rock will break.   CW/AD 5058 146
      maayama-bidi ngaama = laa **gama-y**
      rock-AUG   that = DIR   **break.M-FUT**
      The big rock will break.   JG

(659) *maadhaay ngiyama / **nhamurra-y**.la-nha*
      dog   there   / **bury.M**-CTS-PRS
      (Dig up that ground there,) there's a dog buried there.   FR/JM 1850A 1438

(660) That tree is no good, it is too shaky.   JM/AD 3220B 3204
      *gagil nhamalay / maalaabidi / dhirranba-y.la-nha nhama / **gama-y** = badhaay = aa*
      bad   that + ?? / big.tree   / shake.M-CTS-PRS   3.DEF / **break.M**-FUT = MIGHT = POT
      It might break when the wind blow.   AD
      That big tree is no good. It is shaking. It might break.   JG

(661) *ngiyama = nga ganunga-wu / **bayama-nhi***
      there = THEN   3PL-TOT2   / **catch.M**-PST
      They all got caught in the net. (the ducks)   AD/JM 8187 1295
      They all got caught there.   JG

The elicitation sentence for (662) is not recorded, but presumably it was something like 'you are wearing boots'. It uses the Middle form of *wa-li* 'put in', has a Nominative subject and a Locative adverbial clause.

(662) *dhina = bala   / **wa-y**.la-nha   manduwii-dja*
      foot.**NOM** = CTR / put.in.M(be.in)-CTS-PRS shoe-LOC
      Your foot inside the boots.   AD/LO 2833A 85

Middle 'sensory' verbs also have a Nominative S and no other argument: $O_L \rightarrow S_M$. *Ngarra-li* is 'see, tr'. The middle *ngarra.M-y* 'look' is found some 15 times in the tapes, always in continuous form, including (664); The only non-continuous example is in Parker (663). It is one of a number of middle verbs found in this text from around 1900.

(663) When Dinewan reached the place where Goomblegubbon was, she stopped her booing
      doorundi, baiyanneh eelay nurrunnee.   Parker 75
      *dhurra-ndaay,   baayan = nha   yiili   **ngarra-nhi***
      come-SUB   soon2 = 3   angry   look.M-PST
      When she came back she looked angry.   JG

(664) He looks like a grasshopper.   CW/AD 3998B 533
      *giirruu   nhama bunbun-giirr   / **ngarra-y**.la-nha*
      true.very 3.DEF   grasshopper-LIKE / look.M-CTS-PRS

dhadha-li is 'taste tr' (665) and the middle form occurs some 12 times in the tapes, always in continuous aspect, including (666).

(665) ***dhadha-la** nhama dhinggaa*
      taste.L-IMP 3.DEF   meat
      Taste that meat.   FR/JM 1851B 3378

(666) They had all eaten the kangaroo, it tasted good. JM/AD 3220A 2022

*giirr ganugu bandaarr ngaama dha-y / gaba ngaama **dhadha-y**.la-nhi*

true 3PL.ERG kangaroo that eat-PST / good that taste.M-CTS-PST

Other sensory verbs have not been recognised in both transitive and middle forms. *Buwi-y* is recorded as 'smell' both transitive and intransitive. The source information may not be accurate. No corresponding transitive form has been found for Yy *ngawi-y* 'smell, intr'. It may be that these are actually middle verbs, but that the L class verbs have not been recorded. *Winanga-y* 'think, know, remember' is the middle form of *winanga-li* 'hear, tr' and is discussed at §8.2.3.2.

The case frames of middle verbs are often unclear, for the usual reasons. It is often not possible to distinguish some cases (Nominative and Accusative for most nominals, Nominative and Ergative for first and second person pronouns) or some functions (ergative and instrumental). When there is zero anaphora the case of the understood argument is not known. There are often few examples of a particular structure, so that comparisons and generalisations cannot be made.

The case frames of middle verbs in (667)(b), (668)(b) and (669) are ambiguous. Either there is a Nominative S and the Ergative marks an instrument or there is an Accusative O and the Ergative marks an agent.

(667) The child choked, himself, on a piece of bread. He choked on a piece of bread.

CW/AD 5129A 2968

(a) *giirr / ngiyarrma nguu dhuwarr dha-lda-ndaay /*

true / there 3SG.ERG bread eat-CTS-SUB /

When he was eating the bread, JG

(b) *ngawuma=nga / dhuwa-yu / **garra-nhi***

there=THEN / bread-ERG?INST / Ø(NOM?ACC) **choke.M**-PST

he choked on the bread/the bread choked him. JG

(668) A kangaroo with sore foot, in pain; AD/JM 3217A 1665

(a) *ngarrma bandaarr / bayn dhina / ngarrmu /*

there kangaroo / sore foot / there? /

That kangaroo has a sore foot. JG

(b) *dhina=yaa ngaama **gudhuwa-y**.la-nha / bayn-**du***

foot(nom?acc)=POT that **burn.M**-CTS-PRS / sore-ERG(?inst)

His foot must be burning. AD

His foot must be burning with the pain./The pain is burning (hurting) his foot. JG

(669) Look at the emu bush, how it covers itself with berries to feed my big family.

Nurraleh noill doowar yu booloobunnee. Parker l 66

*ngarra-la ngawil dhuwa-yu **buluba-nhi***

see-IMP emu.bush(NOM?ACC) food-ERG **cover.M**-PST

Look at the emu bush, covered in food. JG

8.2.3.1   Reflexive use of middle verbs

The following examples show reflexive (in a broad sense) uses of middle verbs. A range of case frames are found, particularly when body parts, instruments or causes are explicit. There are degrees of reflexivity. A verb such as 'roll (self)' is less reflexive than 'wash'. Rolling can be accidental and can be used of inanimate objects whereas 'wash' cannot easily be so used.

The only clear YG examples of a middle movement verb involve *biyuurra.M-y* 'roll intr' (cf. *biyuurra-li* 'roll tr') found mostly in stories, such as the crow rolling in the fire to put it out, or *Gilaa* (galah) and *garrbaali* (lizard) rolling in the burrs (670) as they fought.

(670)   They were rolling on top of bindi-eyes.   3219A 3354 JM/AD

   *giirr ngaama / bindiyaa-ga   / **biyuurra-y**.la-nhi / bulaarr.nga*
   true there   / bindi.eye-LOC / **roll.M**-CTS-PST   / two.PRON.**NOM**
   They rolled on the bindi-eyes.   AD
   They were rolling on the bindi-eyes, the two of them.   JG

It may be relevant that the rolling in (670) was not a deliberate act, rather the result of a fight.

guuma.M-y 'hide.M (self), intr' (cf. *guuma-li* 'hide.L, tr') is similar, having a single, Nominative argument.

(671) uses a middle verb to refer to a situation which is reflexive ('baby' is agent and object) but presumably not deliberate. It has a Nominative subject. (There are similar more complex examples involving *gudhuwa.M-* later.)

(671)   The baby burned himself on the fire.   CW/AD 5129A 2779

   *giirruu   nham' birralii-djuul,   **gudhuwa-nhi**,   wii-dja*
   true.very that   child-DIM.**NOM**, **burn.M**-PST,   fire-LOC

(672) (= (100)) shows a number of case frames. There are three reflexive uses of middle verbs. (a) has a Nominative subject, no object, (b) also has a Nominative subject, and an Accusative object, and (c) seems to have an Ergative subject, and an Ablative selected body part. I have no explanation for the apparent difference in case frames between (a) and (c), where the same middle verb is used.

(672)   The women stuck feathers to their skin and wore shells around their necks. JM/AD 8187 1748

(a)   *ngiyarrma / nhama **ganunga gaarra-nhi**, yinarr-galgaa   / nhama ngayagay /*
       there   / 3.DEF 3PL.NOM rub.M-PST, woman-PL.NOM / that   also   /
       The woman painted themselves, and also   JG

(b)   *maanggii-gu ngaama **waa**   / **yinarr**   / **wiima-nhi**   / dhaygal-a /*
       mussel-DAT   that   shell.ACC / woman.NOM / **put.down.M**-PST / head-LOC /
       mussel shells, the woman put in their hair.   JG

(c)   *nhama=ngu?* / *mubal.xx*   / *mubal-i*   *ngayagay* / *dhirra* **gaarra**-*nhi*

3.DEF=**3.ERG**? / stomach.ERROR / stomach-ABL also   / flash   **rub.M**-PST

They painted themselves on their bellies really well.   JG

(656) is a Wangaaybuwan example similar to (672)(b) which has a middle verb with Nominative subject and Accusative object.

(673) shows Fred Reece correcting himself, changing from an L class verb to a middle verb for reflexive meaning, and then contrasting the non-reflexive use of the L class verb.

(673)   Wash, wash yourself   JM/FR 1851A 68

wagirrma-la *ngulu* (corrects) *ngulu* **wagirrma-ya** / *bayagaa* **wagirrma-la**

wash.L-IMP   face   face wash.M-IMP / clothes   wash.L-IMP

Wash your face. [corrects] Wash your face. Wash the clothes.   FR

In contrast to (672)(a,b), (674), which involves a deliberate, reflexive action 'wash', has an Ergative subject with a middle verb.

(674)   He washed himself.   CW/AD 3995B 1869

Yaama nguuma / *nginu*   *gulii-yu*   / **wagirrbuma-nhi**

ques   3.ERG.DEF / 2SG.DAT partner-**ERG** / wash.M-PST

Did your husband wash himself?   JG

(652) also has a middle verb, and explicit object (hand) and Ergative subject, but the action there is likely not deliberate. No clear pattern has emerged of the conditions governing the choice of case frame for middle verbs with reflexive function.

There are many examples of *garra.M-y* 'cut' in Parker: (676) (1022), (497); and two in Laves, including (675). These are all from the Emu and Brolga/Bustard story. The subjects are first and second person pronouns or not expressed, so their case cannot be determined. The number of examples found, unelicited, in early sources shows that this was an important feature of traditional YG.

(675)   ʹ*buŋun ŋinu Karia*   Laves 10 p28

bungun   *nginu*   **garra-ya**

wing/arm 1SG.DAT cut.M-IMP

wings your cut   Laves

(676)   *Boonoong butndi nullee gurray*   Parker l 26

bungun=badhaay ngali **garra-y.**

arm=MIGHT   1DU   cut.M-FUT

We might?must cut our wings. / Let's cut our wings.   Parker

The pause after the first word in (677) is shown in Wurm. That implies that *nginda* is the subject of the second clause, and *bawa nginu* the object.

(677)	*bundagi / ŋində bawa ŋinu gamai*	SW p 100

       bundaa-gi / nginda bawa nginu   gama-y

       fall-FUT   / 2SG   back 2SG.DAT break.M-FUT

You will fall down and break your back.	SW
You will fall down and (break you back / your back will break.)	JG

Other uses of YG middle verbs may include an anti-passive use and semantic use. The details are not clear, partly because there are so few examples. Dixon (above) points out that in Yidiny the 'middle' suffix can have purely semantic effect, with no change in the argument structure when the S is 'not in control' or of lower animacy. (678) where YG middle verbs are found with non-animate A, follows the same pattern as Yidiny. The subject is inanimate and Ergative case and the Object is unambiguously Accusative. Examples like (678) are not common[180]. It is from the story of *Wuulaa* 'lizard' and *Gilaa* 'Galah' who are throwing boomerangs. *Wuulaa* is speaking. I assume that *nguumuu*, an unusual form, refers to the boomerang.

(678) (a) *banaga-ya barraay /* **buma-y**   *nguumuu*   *nginunha barran-du*

        run-IMP   fast   / hit.M-FUT 3SG.ERG＋?? 2SG.ACC boomerang-**ERG**

      no good, he wouldn't get out of the road till after the boomerang hit him.   AD/CW 3997A 138

Run quickly. It will hit you, the boomerang.	JG

    (b) *giirr nginunha* **buma-nhi**

       true 2SG.ACC hit.M-PST

Gee, it hit you.	JG

(679) and (680) are complex sentences which have a middle verb, *buma.M-y*, in (679) in a purposive clause, in (680) in co-ordinated clauses. In (679) it seems that use of the middle verb is motivated by the inanimate agent of the second clause, *maayama* 'rock'. This is not anti-passive use since the object is Accusative.

(679)	Don't pelt at me, don't hit me.	AD/CW 3994B 940

       garriya dhaay maayama wana-nga, **buma-y.gu** *nganha*

       don't   to.here stone   throw-IMP, hit.M-PURP 1SG.ACC

Don't throw no more stone to hit me.	AD

In (680) on the other hand the clauses are co-ordinated. The subject, *bilaarr*, is Nominative in (a). In (b), the second clause, there is nothing to show a change of subject case (changes of subject case are usually explicitly shown) and the 'object' is demoted to Locative case, with a middle verb. This is a classical anti-passive

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[180] Another example is in tape 3218B, where the boomerang throwing contest is also described, with similar use of *buma.M*. There Dodd corrects himself twice: once from *buma-y* (past tense of the *buma-li*) to *buma-nhi* (past tense of the *buma.M-y*) and the affected body part changes from *dhaygal-i* 'head-ABL' (Ablative marking an affected part) to *dhaygal* 'head-ACC'. This indicates that Dodd was not totally familiar with this area of grammar, and suggests caution in building too much on these examples.

construction (Nominative subject, object in local case, changed verb) for the purposes of Ergative co-ordination. However this is the only evidence for this structure in YG.

However (c) has the same subject, but it is now clearly Ergative (*-ngu*), the verb (*gama-li*) is L class, the object, *burriin* is Accusative case. I have no explanation for the change from middle to L class verb, or for the change in case of the subject.

(680)   Spears were whistling through the air and cracking onto the shields.   JM /AD 8186 2413

(a)   ***bilaarr*** = *bala ngaama, bamba bara-waa-nhi,*
       spear = CTR   that,   hard   fly-MOV-PST
       The spears flew quickly,   JG

(b)   *ngaarrma* = *nga buriin-**da** / **buma-nhi**,*
       there? = THEN?3   shield-**LOC** / hit.M-PST,
       and hit the shield.   JG

(c)   *ngiyarrma* = ***ngu** burriin ngaliman   **gama-y***
       there = 3SG.ERG   shield   nearly   **break.L**-PST
       and they nearly broke those shields.   JG

I now consider some case frames found with two common middle verbs, *buma.M-y* 'hit' and *gudhuwa.M-y* 'burn'. (681) - (684) include *gudhuwa.M-y* 'burn'. The case frames are given in Table 139. While no attempt is made at a complete description of the use of this verb it is clear it can be used with both standard intransitive and transitive case frames, or have no arguments (681). It can also be used with reflexive meaning. On the available evidence the L class verb is used only when there is an animate agent (685).

(681)   It is not very hot.   JM/AD 3218A 603
        *baliyaa nhalay // waal, waal **gudhuwa-y**.la-nha*
        cold   this   // not,   not   **burn.M**-CTS-PRS
        It is cold here, it is not hot.   JG

(682)   The meat was cooking in the fire.   CW/AD 3997B 1236
        *giirr nhama dhinggaa / wii-dja / **gudhuwa-y**.la-nha*
        true   3.DEF   meat.**NOM** / fire-LOC / **burn.M**-CTS-PRS
        The meat is cooking on the fire.   JG

(683)   They (the ashes) are hot.   CW/AD 3994B 2641 [tidied version]
        *giirr nhama / girran / **gudhuwa-y** nginunha // gudhuwa-y nginunha / girran-du*
        true   3.DEF / ashes / **burn.M**-FUT 2SG.**ACC** // burn.M-FUT 2SG.ACC / ashes-**ERG**
        The ashes, they'll burn you; the ashes will burn you.   JG

(684)   Don't crawl there.   CW/AD 5056 1272
        *garriya ngaarrmalay / dhuu-rraa-ya   // **gudhuwa-y** nginunha*
        don't   there   / crawl-MOV-IMP // **burn.M**-FUT 2SG.ACC
        Don't crawl there, you'll get burnt.   CW

Table 139 **Case frames of *gudhuwa-y* 'burn.M'**

Sentence	Subject case	Object case	Reflexive	Comment
(681)	Ø	Ø	No	Comment on weather
(682)	Nom	Not Applicable	No	simple intransitive; fire-LOC
(671)	Nom	Not Applicable	Yes	fire-LOC
(683)[181]	Erg (Inanimate)	Acc	No	
(684)	Ø (Inanimate)	Acc	No	

Ø indicates the argument is not realised.

(685)　*minya-gaayaa nguu　　?yaluu **gudhuwa-li***
　　　　what-IGNOR　　3SG.ERG　?again　burn.L-FUT
　　　　I don't know what he is going to burn.　　　　　　　　　　　　AD/JM 8186 3649

(686) - (688) include *buma.M-y* 'hit', which is also found in other examples. The case frames found with *buma.M-y* here and elsewhere are summarised in Table 140. The sentences are often complex, involving a person, affected body part and instrument, and with a reflexive interpretation. No passive, simple intransitive uses of *buma.M-y* have been found (e.g. 'You were hit#') This is in contrast to *gudhuwa.M-y* 'burn', *gama.M-y* 'break' (651) and *nhamurra.M-y* 'bury' (659). (687), like many examples with complex syntax, begins with a correction, indicating that the informants were at times uncertain about the structure.

The analyses of (686) - (688) remain unclear. None has an explicit subject. Accusative objects are common, as are Ablative Affected body parts. (686) could have *giniy-u* as A, with *buyu-dhi* as the affected part, but there is no explicit whole (*nganha* '1SG.ACC' is expected.) as found in almost all 'affected part' examples. Both (687) and (688), from different sources, have Accusative pronouns with a middle verb when describing a reflexive, non-deliberate situation.

(686)　I tripped on a stick and fell down in the mud.　　　　　JM/AD 3219B 3567
　　　　*giniy-u　　**buma-nhi　　buyu-dhi**　　/　bundaa-nhi＝nga　　ngaya*
　　　　stick-ERG　hit.M-PST　leg-ABL　　/　fall-PST＝THEN　　1SG
　　　　I hit my foot on a stick and fell down.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(687)　I stepped on a rock and hurt my foot.　　　　　　　　　CW/AD 3994B 1189
　　　　*maayama ngaama ngaya ?correction **maayama-dhi** nhama / nganha　/ dhina / **buma-nhi***
　　　　rock　　　that　　1SG　?correction　rock-ABL　　3.DEF / 1SG.ACC / foot　/ hit.M-PST
　　　　I hit me up against that rock.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　AD

---

[181] It appears that AD has corrected himself in (683), with 'ashes' originally in Nominative case, then in Ergative.

(688) *baṟaŋgali ŋanna bumanni*   SW p 101

      baranggal-i *nganha* **buma-nhi**

      ankle-ABL   1SG.ACC hit.M-PST

      I hit my ankle.   SW

      I hit me on the ankle. ?? It hit me on the ankle.   JG

Table 140   **Case frames of *buma-y* 'hit.M'**

Sentence	Subject case	Object case	Refl	Comment
(686)	Ø?	Abl of affected part	Yes	Is *giniy* A or instrument?
(687)	Ø?	Acc	Yes?	reason for Abl on *maayama* is not known
(688)	Ø?	Acc; Abl of affected part	Yes	
Earlier examples				
(680)(a)	Nom	Loc	No	?Antipassive
(679)	?	Acc	No	?Ergative coordination
(678)(a,b)	Erg (inanimate)	Acc	No	

There are a range of verb forms that can be used to describe a reflexive event: middle, reflexive and the simple root. (686) - (688) show use of the middle verb, *buma.M-y*, for apparently non-deliberate events. In (635) (he hit himself on the head) the reflexive meaning is shown by the reflexive suffix. It has many parallels with (673) 'wash your face': presumably deliberate action and certainly a body part as the affected object. It is not clear why (635) uses the reflexive suffix and (673) a middle verb. Nor is it clear why (635) does not use an Ablative affected body part nominal.

In (689) the action is reflexive, but the verb is neither reflexive nor middle. I have no explanation of the conditions motivating the choice between these three verb inflections.

(689)   (He's got a dirty face.) He should wash it.   CW/AD 3998B 307

      giirruu   *waal* **wagirrbuma**-*lda-nha*

      true.very not   wash.L-CTS-PRS

      He really doesn't wash it.   JG

There are other examples which, if accurate, show that even greater complexity is possible with middle verbs. (690) and (691), consecutive sentences on the tape, have a form of *yulaa-li* 'tie' which seems to be both middle voice and have the reflexive suffix. The sentences both involve 'tying leaves to oneself', but use different case frames. In (690) the subject is Ergative and 'leaves' Accusative. In (691) the subject is Nominative and 'leaves' in Ergative case with instrumental function. The YG reflects the English - with 'leaves' as object in (690), and instrument in (691).

(690) A man had stuck some leaves to his skin with beefwood gum and was holding a branch in front
    of him.   JM/AD 8187 749

    giirr nhama nguu   / *burrulaa* / *girraa*   / **yulaa-y-nyiili-nyi**
    true 3.DEF 3SG.ERG / many   / leaf.NOM / tie.M?-REFL-PST

    girran.girraa / **yulaa-y-nyiili-nyi** / *nguwama=nha=nga* / *dhirra 'naa-waa-nhi*
    leaves   / tie.M?-*y*-REFL-PST / there=3=THEN   / flash   go-MOV-PST
    He was walking along flash then with this leaf all round it.   AD
    He tied a lot of leaves to himself and then was walking along flash.   JG

(691) He was pretending to be a tree.   AD/JM 8187 824
    dhayn-duul=bala nhama-li / **yulaa-y-ngiili-ngindaa[y** / *girran.girraa-gu*
    man-ONE=CTR   3.DEF-?? / tie.M?-REFL-SUB   / leaves-ERG
    He tied himself up with leaves.   AD
    But the man who had tied himself up with leaves.   JG

8.2.3.2   Lexicalised middle verbs

Winanga-y 'think, know' and *dhama-y* 'rain' appear to be lexicalised middle forms, with meanings significantly different from those of the potential original verbs, *winanga-li* is 'hear, listen; tr' and *dhama-li* 'feel, tr'.

Winanga-y has a large number of glosses including 'understand, know, remember, think, love'. The meaning of *winanga-y* and *winanga-li* is related to *bina* 'ear', and both verbs include *wina-,* a lenited form of *bina.* The ear is clearly involved in hearing, but it is also the base for metaphors about knowledge in most Aboriginal languages, so 'think, understand' and so on are all related to 'ear' in Aboriginal languages. Middle verbs have reflexive use, and many Aboriginal languages have 'hear oneself' as the translation for words like 'understand, think, know, remember, love': see Turpin (1997) and Evans and Wilkins (2000). As Kemmer (1993:127) points out, middle verbs are widely used in the domain of mental events or cognition, which are the domains *winanga-y* is used in.

If *winanga-y* is a middle verb it could have a range of case frames, as other middle verbs do. In the dictionary *winanga-y* is described as always transitive, but there is at least one example, 3217A 3728, where it translates 'want', that appears to be intransitive. There is also a form that is not currently analysable, *winanga-y-nyi* at 3219B 421, used to translate 'felt sick'.

winanga-y is often translated 'think', as in (692), where the complement of 'think' includes a finite verb.

(692) My kids think I can beat anyone.   JM/AD 3220A 2937
    giirruu   ngay   birralii-dju / **winanga-y.la-nha** /
    true.very 1SG.DAT child-ERG / think.M-CTS-PRS /

ngaarrma nguu   / ganunga / badha-y
that?   3SG.ERG / 3PL   / thrash-FUT
My kids think he can thrash them all.   JG

(693) is a slowly constructed AD sentence. It has two unusual features. The first is the middle verb *winanga-y* with the L class continuous suffix. The second is the purposive suffix on a complement clause of 'think' - the only such example found.

(693)   I was expecting you to come earlier.   JM/AD 3220A 2742

*giirr ngay' nginunha **winanga.y??-lda-nhi** / yilaa nginda dhaay   dhurra-**li.gu** nganunda*
true 1SG   2SG.ACC think.M??-CTS-PST   / soon 2SG   to.here come-PURP 1SG.ALL
I was just thinking you'll come along anytime, that's all I can say.   AD

(694) is also a halting answer AD gave. It uses the L class verb *winanga-li* to translate 'think'. It may be an error.

(694)   My kids think that I can hit that bird with my throwing stick.   JM/AD 2832B 3110

*giirr=bala=nha, nguuma   birralii-gal-u   nganha   / **winanga-lda-nha** ngaya /*
true=CTR=3,   3ERG.DEF child-PL.DIM-ERG 1SG.ACC / think-CTS-PRS   1SG   /

nhama // dhinggaa / barriindjin   buma-ldaay.
3.DEF // meat   / peewee(bird) hit-SUB
Those kids thing the I can hit/kill that meat, that peewee.   JG

Analysing *winanga-y* as the middle form of *winanga-li* retains the semantic link between the two verbs, which is lost in the current analysis.

YG *dhama-li* is 'touch, feel, tr' and *dhama-y* is 'rain'. There is no obvious semantic connection between the verbs, so the similarity in form may be coincidental.

One would expect the middle verbs derived from *winanga-li* and *dhama-li* to have simple intransitive use, in the manner found with the pair *ngarra-li* 'see, look, tr' and *ngarra-y* 'look, intr'. If middle verbs were derived with similar meanings they would be *winanga-y* 'sound, intr' and *dhama-y* 'feel, intr'. However these verbs are not found, perhaps because of the other uses of these forms. YG has no obvious way of expressing the concepts: 'sound, intr' and 'feel, intr'.

8.2.3.3   RR and NG class middle verbs

YG has clear examples of middle verbs derived from L class verbs, but not from transitive verbs in other classes. In contrast Wangaaybuwan RR class verbs do have middle forms (655) (WN has no NG class). It seems likely that YG did have middle verbs derived from RR and NG class transitive verbs.

Using *-rri-* as the CM some examples of the putative RR class middle verbs, and the original root are:

Original *rr* verb   Gloss   Middle verb   Gloss

dhu-rri	spear	*dhurri-y*	get speared, spear self, etc.
wuu-rri	give	*wuurri-y*	be given, give self, etc.

There are at least three unclear examples which suggest middle forms of NG class verbs were found, possibly using a suffix *-ngi-y*, or *-ngi[i]-y*, with simplification of the middle form by haplology in many circumstances.

(695) suggests *mawu-ngi-y* as the middle form of *mawu-gi* 'dig, scratch', with the actual verb possibly *mawu-ngi[i]-ya* 'dig-middle-imp'. The hesitation and range of forms offered show Fred Reece was not confident about this form.

(695)   Scratch.   JM/FR 1988A 1802

   *mawu-ngi[i]-ya / **mawu-ngi-la??** corrects / **mawu-ngi[i]-ya***

   scratch.M?-IMP / scratch.M?-IMP corrects / scratch.M?-IMP

   Scratch (yourself).?   JG

At 8184 2829 AD, asked to translate 'there was frost all over the ground', has *dhandarr wana-ngindaay* 'frost throw-SUB'. The verb would be expected to be intransitive, the middle form of *wana-gi* 'throw, tr', which would be *wana-ngi-ngindaay*.

The third example comes from Wurm who has transitive and intransitive versions of an NG class verb *guɛ:gi* which is related to *wiya-gi* 'cook' (it may be *guwiya-gi*). One transitive example is (p 32) *guɛ:nji* '(I) have already cooked'. An intransitive example is (p 24) *ˈgûɛ̀:nj* 'is already cooked'. Apart from the absence of the final vowel there is no substantial difference between these two verbs.

The Wurm and Dodd evidence suggests the NG class middle has the same form as the standard verb, the Reece example suggests the NG class suffix is *-ngi-y*. If the Reece suggestion is followed, the subordinate middle of *wana-gi* is *wana-ngi-ngindaay*, which could easily be reduced by haplology to *wana-ngindaay*, and the same process could explain the similar or identical forms of the past regular and middle verb in the Wurm examples.

Some of the transitive NG class verbs which could have middle forms include: *gaa-gi* 'bring', *ngawu-gi* 'drink', *mawu-gi* 'dig, scratch', and *wiya-gi* 'cook'.

It could also be that there were middle forms of Y class verbs. The problem with this is that there is no obvious way of forming the middle stem from the Y class stem. There are relatively few transitive Y class verbs. Some are: *ngaawa-y* 'look for', *badha-y* 'give a hiding', *miinba-y* 'ask for', *wiila-y* 'whistle' and *dhuwi-y* stick into'. I do not speculate as to what the form may be.[182]

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182 There are a number of examples which seem to have a further suffix on a middle verb, or other intransitive or intransitivised verb. These are listed in Appendix B.

8.2.4   Reflexive strategies

YG has two common reflexive strategies, use of the reflexive suffix and the use of middle verbs. Typology can help inform the different functions of these strategies. Kemmer (1993: 24) points out, that in languages such as Russian and Turkish which have distinct reflexive and middle markers one is usually a 'heavy' and one a 'light' marker. The weight is measured 'in terms of the number of segments and degree of phonological dependence on the verb root' (1993: 25). The middle marker is light. In YG the strictly reflexive marker is *-ngiili-y* and the middle marker is *-y* (for L class verbs), clearly following the pattern Kemmer points out. The heavy marker is generally very or totally productive, with a clear reflexive meaning. The middle marker is often quite restricted in use, and often its meaning is non-reflexive. The two 'reflexives', when they exist, can have different meanings, for instance (Kemmer, 1993: 27) Russian 'exhaust + reflexive' translates as 'exhaust oneself' whereas 'exhaust + middle' is 'grow weary'. The light form also indicates situations where there is typically less control, or the reflexive aspect of the situation is less emphasised These differences between heavy (strictly reflexive) and light (middle) forms are found in YG.

Table 141 lists most of the YG verbs found with middle forms, with glosses given in the Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary (Ash et al., 2003).

Table 141   **YG middle verbs and their source verbs**

L class, trans	Languages, Gloss	Middle verbs	Languages, Gloss
bayama-li	YR; catch, hold	*bayama-y*	YR; be caught
biyuurra-li	YR; roll	*biyuurra-y*	YR; roll (self)
buluba-li	YR; cover	*buluba-y*	YR; cover (self), be covered
buma-li	YG; hit, kill	*buma-y*	YR; be hit, hit self
burranba-li	YG; cause (a change)	*burranba-y*	YR; become
dhadha-li	YG; taste	*dhadha-y*	YR; taste
dhirranba-li	YG; shake	*dhirranba-y*	YR; shake, shiver, wag, rattle
dhuwinba-li	YR; hide (plant)	*dhuwinba-y*	YR; hide (self)
gaarra-li	YG; rub	*gaarra-y*	YG; paint (self)
gama-li	YG; break, block (deflect)	*gama-y*	YR; break
garra-li	YG; cut	*garra-y*	YR; be cut, choke
gudhuwa-li	YG; burn, cook	*gudhuwa-y*	YG; burn, be hot, burn with pain, cook
mama-li	YG; stick	*mama-y*	YR; stick
marramba-li	YR; wrap up, cover up	*marramba-y*	YR; be wrapped
muurra-li	Yy; fill	*muurra-y*	Yy; fill
ngarra-li	YR; see, look, watch	*ngarra-y*	YR; look
nhamurra-li	YR; bury	*nhamurra-y*	YR; be buried
wagirrbuma-li	YG; wash	*wagirrbuma-y*	YR; wash (self)

L class, trans	Languages, Gloss	Middle verbs	Languages, Gloss
wagirrma-li	YR; wash	*wagirrma-y*	YR; wash (self)
wa-li	YR; put in	*wa-y*	YR; be in, be inside
wiima-li	YG; put down	*wiima-y*	YR; put (on self)
wiirra-li	YR; shave, shear	*wiirra-y*	YR; shave (self)
yilama-li	YR; cook	*yilama-y*	YR; cook
yuurrma-li	Yy; play with	*yuurrma-y*	YR; corroboree, play
Lexicalised middle verbs			
winanga-li	YG; hear, listen	*winanga-y*	YG; think, know, remember +
dhama-li	YG; touch	*dhama-y*	YR; 'rain' tr?

8.3 Valency increases

There are two distinct sets of valency increasing derivations. The first has only one member, the additional argument suffix, (this section) which adds an argument to both transitive and intransitive verbs. The 'transitivising' suffixes proper (§8.4) suffix intransitive verbs to form transitive verbs, and many of them also have a verbalising function, being added to nominals to form verbs.

8.3.1 *:li-y/-n.giili-y* 'Additional ARGument'[183]

This suffix adds an additional argument with various semantic affects. From a one place verb the suffix derives a two place, transitive verb. From a two place, transitive verb, it derives a three place verb, usually with a Dative third argument[184], but once with a clausal complement (701). The third argument is optional with the unsuffixed verb but obligatory when the suffix is used.

The suffix is very unusual in having two distinct forms: *-:li-y* for L and Y class stems, and *-n.giili-y* for NG and RR class stems. The L and Y class suffix lengthens the final vowel of the stem.

The most common use is with benefactive[185] meaning. The beneficiary is the subject of the original verb, when that is intransitive, but not when the verb is transitive. The derived verb can have non-benefactive use, e.g. (708) where the extra argument is the material the flood 'carried away/ran away with'.

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[183] No term has been found which applies to all the various uses of this suffix. It can have benefactive use and is in some ways similar to Applicative (cf Hogan, (2011: 910)) suffixes, but neither term is satisfactory, so the somewhat awkward 'Additional Argument' has been used.

[184] This use, with a transitive verb, is the only one Williams (1980: 85) describes.

[185] See Smith (2010:72) for discussion of the typology of benefactives.

The suffix is seen on transitive verbs in (696)[186] - (703), all except (701) having a Dative marked beneficiary. Use on intransitives is seen in (705) - (708).

(696) The men made the boys carry the spears.   CW/AD 5129A 3377

    gaa-n.giili-yaa-ya   / *ngay*

    bring-ARG-CTS-IMP / 1SG.DAT

    Carry along **for me**. (Williams: p 85, has: Bring it for me.)   AD

    Bring them for me.   JG

(697) Miimii, why don't you go out and catch an emu for me?   JM/AD 8184 1750

    miimii, nginda / *gaya-dha=nga yanaa-ya* / *dhinawan nginda ngay*   ***bayama-ali-y***

    granny, 2SG / turn-LOC=NOW go-IMP / emu   2SG   1SG.DAT catch-ARG-FUT

    Miimii, you go out now and catch an emu **for me** (so I could have a good feed of emu.) AD

    Granny, go, in your turn, and you will catch an emu for me.   JG

(698) The man built the camp **for them**.   CW/AD 5130 1164

    giirr *nguuma* / *dhayn-du* / *nhama walaay* / ***warrayma-ali-nyi*** / *ganungu*

    true   3ERG.DEF / man-ERG / 3.DEF camp / build-ARG-PST   / 3PL.DAT

(699) *wii* ***wiima-ali-nyi***   fire put.down-ARG-PST   made a fire (for them)   AD 5130 1123
(700) *wii* ***gudhuwa-ali-nyi***   fire burn-ARG-PST   made a fire (for them)   AD 5130 1140

In (701) the beneficiary is expressed in a complement clause, not a Dative marked nominal.

(701) The boys had to sing for the corroboree.   [very tidied version] CW/AD 5131 1735

    giirr nguuma / *birralii-gal-u*   / ***bawi-ili-y***   / *nguwama ganunga* / *yulu-gi.la-ndaay*

    true 3ERG.DEF / child-PL.DIM-ERG / sing-ARG-FUT / there   3PL   / dance-CTS-SUB

    That's when they's corroboreeing.   AD

    They, the children, will sing for them when they corroboree.   JG

(702) ***mawu-n.giili-y***   dig-ARG-FUT   dig for (you)   AD5130 1217
(703) ***gaa-n.giili-yaa-ya*** *ngay* bring-ARG-MOV-IMP 1SG.DAT carry it for me   AD5129A 3399

However benefactive meaning can be conveyed without the suffix, as seen in (704).

(704) I have killed a kangaroo for you.   JM/FR 2439A 1379

    bawurra   *ngaya* ***buma-y***   ***nginu***

    red.kangaroo 1SG   kill/hit-PST 2SG.DAT

    I killed a kangaroo for you.   FR

The suffix is on *banaga-y* 'run' in (705) - (708). It is rare on other intransitive verbs, probably found on *bara-y* 'fly' at 3220B 2456.

(705) He is stealing them now. (Dog stealing bones).   CW/AD 3997B 1543

    giirr nguu / *nhama*   / ***banaga-ali-yaa-ndaay***

    true 3SG.ERG / 3.DEF/there / run-ARG-MOV-SUB

    He is running away with it.   AD

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[186] The example Williams gives.

(706) The man stole another man's wife.   CW/AD 3997B 1480

      giirr ngaam / ngayagay-djuul-u dhayn-duul-u / yinaarr ngaama **banaga-ali-nyi**

      true that   / other-ONE-ERG   man-ONE-ERG / woman that   run-ARG-PST

      The other man ran away with that woman.   AD/CW 3997B 1497

(707) (The emu is running away with shingleback's sinews, which emu will then put in his own leg,

       giving him great speed)

      *yalagiirrmawu=bala dhinawan-du / nhamalay / dhunbil / dhiyama-y / * **banaga-ali-nyi**

      that.time=CTR   emu-ERG   / there   / sinews / pick.up-PST / run-ARG-PST

      Then emu picked up the sinews and ran away with them.   AD/CW 3997B 346

(708) *ugawaguu banagaalinyi*   Sim p 37

      wugawaa-gu **banaga-ali-nyi**

      flood-ERG   run-ARG-PST

      A flood washed it away.   Sim

      A flood ran away with it.   JG

In (708) the suffix does not have benefactive meaning, nor does it in *dhurra-ali-nyi* 'bring (a message)' ('come-ARG-PST' Sim (p 35, 37)).

No instances of benefactive suffixes have been found earlier than Sim (708). Mathews GR (p 267) has *bumullandhummi* with benefactive translation, 'beat on behalf of another' but no indication of the additional argument suffix. The verb is not currently analysable[187].

There are numerous examples of the additional argument suffix in Wurm. The tapes have around 20 L and Y class examples and around 8 NG and 2 RR class examples. In both of the RR class examples AD gives first a simple verb in response to the elicitations: 'he will spear a kangaroo for you' (*dhu-rri* 'will spear') and 'he speared a kangaroo for the women' (*dhu-nhi* 'speared'). After off tape discussion he gives additional argument verbs: *dhu-rru-n.giili-y* (future) and *dhu-rr-giili-nyi* (past). The first has *rru* as the CM, the second has no CM and modifies the initial element of the suffix[188].

In almost all instances AD uses the simple form of the verb first and then substitutes the suffixed form as in (709), indicating that this suffix was not part of his everyday YR. (704) shows benefactive meaning without the additional argument suffix being used, likely the result of language loss.

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[187] The form may be *buma-la-ndhami?-y* 'hit-RECP-WANT-FUT. Cf. *-Nhami-y* above.

[188] There is no CM for L, Y and NG classes. Williams (1980: 85) gives the CM as *rr*, but the resultant 3 consonant cluster, *-rr-n.g(iili-)* is not found elsewhere in the language, so a better solution is to use *-rri-* as the CM, as happens with a number of WN suffixes. The verb that AD was using is then *dhu-rri-n.giili-y*. A simpler form might be *dhu-rr-giili-y*, but this then posits a third version of the suffix.

(709) *giirr nguuma,   bandaarr **bayama-y** / nginu   nhama bayama-ali-nyi*
      true 3ERG.DEF, kangaroo catch-PST / 2SG.DAT   3.DEF catch-ARG-PST
      He caught that kangaroo for you.   AD/CW 5130 1071
      He caught a kangaroo. He caught it for you.   JG

There are possible occurrences of the suffix. At 8186 3066 AD has *bayama-a-lda-y* 'catch-?ARG-CTS-FUT', 'will be catching for'. The expected form is *bayama-ali-y.la-y*. It may be that AD has re-analysed the stem as L class. Without further evidence it is not clear if this is a mistake or a regular pattern.

(710) may include the suffix. However the form *yilawa-y.li-[y]* is irregular. The standard additional argument form is *yilawa-ali-y*. As well, if *=nya* is third person, it is Nominative, and the additional argument verb requires an Ergative subject.

(710) She sat down while they were drying.   JM/FR 2437B 3146
      ***yilawa-y.li-[y]**=nya / bayagaa / balal gi-gi.gu*
      sit-?ARG-FUT?=3   / clothes / dry   get-PURP
      She's sitting down for the clothes to get dry.   FR/JM 2437B 3162

It is clear that the sources do not give a full range of uses of this suffix. For instance there is no YG information on the effect of the suffix on three-place verbs, but such use is found in WN. Donaldson (1980: 179-183) has a long discussion of WN *-yili-y* which she glosses 'ulterior focus'. It has many of the functions of the YG additional argument, but there are differences. The extra argument in WN cannot be in Accusative case, but is in a local case. The WN suffix can have malefactive function, unlike the YG suffix. When used with 'give', a three place verb, it derives a four place verb: A gives B to C 'on my (D's) behalf'.

> While the YG additional argument can be used on intransitive verbs for events which involve self-interest, WN (Donaldson, 1980: 177) has a separate suffix *-dha-y* 'reflexive focus' for this, with a similar suffix *-thayi* in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004:164). The 'reflexive focus' and 'associated eating' suffixes in WN are formally identical, *-DHa-y*. Similar benefactive use of 'eat' is found in other languages: Creissels (2010: 59) points out that 'eat' verbs can 'grammaticalize as operators in autobenefactive periphrases'. It is possible that YG had a suffix which signalled self-interest on transitive verbs and it may have been *-dha-y*.

> A Muruwari suffix may be related, but at this stage the link is more speculative. (Oates 1988:186) has a morpheme *–tha* glossed 'Object focus (OBJ)' Oates' 5.405 is reproduced here as (711). Her other example of the suffix, 5.406, includes the verb *kaa-tha* 'take' in the sentence: 'go and get water and have a drink'. Both occurrences of *–tha* are open to an 'Associated eating' interpretation. It may be that an ongoing investigation will find examples of related morphemes in other languages.

(711) *Ti-tjana maa-**tha**-ga tapa-ku*
      that   put-OBJ-IMP supper-DAT
      Put the billy on for supper   Oates 5

8.4   Other argument increasing suffixes

While the additional argument suffix is found on both transitive and intransitive verbs the suffixes considered in this section are found only on intransitive verbs, and sometimes on nominals. The most common transitivising suffix is *-ma-li*, both in YG and elsewhere. Dixon (1980: 435) points out that 'both *-ŋa-l* and *-ma-l* occur quite commonly as transitive verbalisers, onto intransitive roots and onto nominals'. Dixon later (2002: 75) points out that a similar process exists for forming intransitive stems:

> Almost every Australian language has derivational processes for deriving both intransitive and transitive verbal stems from nouns and adjectives - an inchoative suffix (as in 'become an emu', 'become big') and a factitive suffix (e.g. 'make big', 'make into an emu'..).

> These undoubtedly originated in a coverb-plus-simple-verb construction. …the recurrent factitive suffix is *-ma-*, undoubtedly related to one of the two widely occurring simple verb *ma-l* 'do, make, tell' and *ma(:)-njin* 'hold, take, get.

Wangaaybuwan has a number of transitivising suffixes, some of them with very restricted use (Donaldson, 1980: 163). The simple causative is *-ma-li*. Others include *-giyama-li* 'cause by heating', *-DHinma-li* 'cause by hitting' and *-ganma-li* 'cause by behaviour', all including *-ma-li* as their final element. It also has *-ba-li*, found only on 'laugh' and 'cry', forming verbs 'laugh at' and 'cry at', and finally *-ganma-li*, a causative, found on 'laugh' and 'fear'. Yandruwantha also has *-ma* as a causative (Breen, 2004: 184) and Breen also notes that a number of verbs with final *ma* may be historical compounds. Yandruwantha also has a less common causative, *-lka*.

YG also has a range of transitivising suffixes, but the semantic distinctions between them may have gradually been lost. For instance YG has a number of verbs for 'wash' derived from the English word. All include *wagi[rr]* (from *wash (it)*) but have a number of final morphemes: *wagirr**ba-li*** (rare), *wagirr**buma-li***, *wagirr**bama-li***, *wagirr**ma-li***. There is no indication in the sources of any distinction in meaning between these four forms.

Variation in the root final suffix is also seen in the variety of words (or phrases) given for 'put out (fire)': *balu-wa-li, balu-burra-li, balu-burranba-li/(balu burranba-li), balu-bunma-li/(balu bunma-li)*. Each has *balu* 'dead/out' as the first element followed by a suffix or separate verb. The suffix *-wa-li* may be related to the verb *wa-li* 'put in' or be a lenited form of *-ba-li*. *Wa-li, burra-li* 'begin', *burranba-li* 'cause a change' and *bunma-li* 'cause a change' all occur as words. In the list above only *-wa-li* is unquestionably a suffix. Significantly none of the verbs include *-ma-li,* perhaps since 'hand' would not be used directly to put out the fire.

Table 142 lists the YG transitivising (and additional argument) suffixes and gives the Class Markers used with them.

Table 142   Valency increasing derivational suffixes

Suffix	Gloss	Verb class/Class Marker (CM)				Note
		L	Y	NG	RR	
:li-y/-n.giili-y	additional ARGument	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*rri*	
-ma-li	CAUSative	*l?*	*y*	*Ø*	*rr*	
-ba-li	DELOCutive	*?*	*?*	*Ø?*	*rr?*	mainly on nominals
-bama-li	CAUSative2	*?*	*?*	*Ø*	*?*	
-bi-li/-wi-li	LET, AWAY	*?*	*y +?*	*?*	*?*	
-mi-li	SEE	*?*	*?*	*Ø*	*?*	
-wa-li	GO.IN?	*Ø?*	*Ø*		*rr*	

Often middle forms of the transitivising suffixes are found: for instance *-ba-li* and *-ba-y* §8.4.2. These are discussed in the one section, often with little discussion of the middle form since its functions are generally predictable, and at times because its functions and syntax are relatively obscure.

The semantics of the suffixes are often better understood by considering the range of functions one form can have. These are, with examples including *-ma-li*

- causative suffix on intransitive and intransitivised verbs: *warra.y-ma-li* 'stand'

- (part of a) root final element, naturalising English verbs into YG: *wagirrma-li* 'wash'

- stem final element in synchronically monomorphemic roots: *buma-li* 'hit'

- factitive suffix on nominals and adverbs (See Dixon (2002: 75) for 'factitive'): *maaruma-li* 'heal'; from *maaru* 'well'.

Other suffixes are also found as free verb root: *wa-li* 'put in', *dha-li* 'eat'.

8.4.1   *-ma-li / ma-y* 'CAUSative/do with hand'

The form *-ma-li* is found as a verb suffix and with many other uses. It is likely there are two homophonous suffixes. One is as general causative suffix. The other is also causative, but, as in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 206), has the more restricted meaning 'do with hand'. It is often impossible to distinguish which a particular instance is. Williams (1980: 84) records *-ma-l* as a transitiviser and notes its use in deriving Yuwaalaraay verbs from English ones. The CMs are given in Table 142.

When *-ma-li* suffixes an intransitive verb the S of the original verb is the O of the new verb and a new argument is introduced as A. The form of the suffixed stem is

predictable when the intransitive verb is originally intransitive, but when the intransitive is a middle verb a range of boundary elements precede *-ma-li*.

There are restrictions on the causative use of *-ma-li*. Williams (1980: 84) notes Donaldson's comment for Wangaaybuwan, that '*ma-l* is only used where the introduced 'causer' is directly responsible for the events taking place'. That is, if an action requires active cooperation on the part of the subject of the intransitive verb, the causative *-ma-li* cannot be used. So it could be used on 'run' if the meaning is to 'make the car run' but could not be used on 'run' if the meaning is 'to make a person run', since in the latter case the person needs to agree to the action. At 3997A 1698 AD initially translates 'I let him go' with *yanaa-y.ma-li* (*yanaa-y* 'go') but then changes to *yanaa-y-nbi-li*, using another transitivising suffix. (713) is perhaps a borderline case, since the child has limited control over its action. As in Wangaaybuwan, Yuwaalaraay uses 'tell X to do Y' to translate 'make X do Y' when the subject has control of the action: see (716). *-ma-li* is not found on transitive verbs, presumably since the event generally involves the consent of the Agent.

Derived forms often have some restricted semantics, or a preferred restricted meaning. For instance *-ma-li* is most commonly found on *warra-y* 'stand' (712), (713) and the resulting verb often translated 'build'. However other interpretations are found: *warra-y.ma-li* can refer to 'standing a stick up' (2437B 185). *-ma-li* is less commonly found on position verbs such as 'sit' and 'lie/sleep' and on movement verbs such as 'fall' and 'crawl'. *Dhanduwi-y-ma-li* is 'put to sleep/ lie down tr / put to bed' from *dhanduwi-y* 'sleep/lie down; intr'. The suffix is found on few other Y class verbs, and those generally occur only one or two times. One is Ridley (p 33) *pindemulle* (*binda-y.ma-li*) 'hang, tr' from *binda-y* 'hang, intr'. Another is *gayla-ma-li* 'burn', but this is irregular in not having *y* as the CM. The suffix is relatively common in *bundaa-ma-li* 'knock down' in (714) from *bundaa-gi* 'fall', and in *dhuurr-ma-li*, 'pull' in (715), from *dhuu-rri* 'crawl' but rare on other NG and RR verbs, and has not been found on L class verbs, which are predominantly transitive. (712), (713) show *-ma-li* on Y class verbs, (714) on NG class and (715) on RR class.

(712)   *dhuyul-a gi.yaa.nha ngaya dhaadharr* **warra-y.ma-li**
       hill-LOC   going.to   1SG   hut   stand-ma-FUT
       I am going to pitch my humpy on that high knob.   FR/JM 1987A 978
       I am going to make my humpy on the hill.   JG

(713)   *ŋarima ŋaia birali ŋai (warimei / lauw(i)mei) ˈduˑdeguna*   Laves 9-98
       ngaarrima ngaya birralii ngay   **warra-y.ma-y,**   *yilawa-y.ma-y dhuu-dha-y.gu=Na*
       there   1SG   child   1SG.DAT stand-*y.ma*-PST, sit-*y.ma*-PST   crawl-CTS-PURP=3
       that place I my child (stood up/sat down) crawl purpose   Laves
       I stood, sat my child there for it to crawl.   JG

(714)   Don't knock that bird down from the tree.   CW/FR 5053 2127

      garriya nhama / **bundaa-ma-la** / *dhigayaa*

      don't   3.DEF   / fall-*ma*-IMP   / bird

      Don't knock that bird down.   JG

(715)   The man is pulling a log across the grass.

      giirr nhama=nha, nhaadhiyaan / *burrul nhaadhiyaan* / **dhuu-rr.ma-laa-nha**

      true 3.DEF=3,   log   / big   log   / crawl-*ma*-MOV-PRS

      He's got that big log there, rolling it.   AD

      That log, the big log, he's rolling it.   JG

    Dhuurrma-li is found with a range of other translations; 'pulling a canoe while swimming', 'shift the log', 'pull someone's hair', 'take something down from a tree'. (716) shows that *-ma-li* is not used when the action requires the consent of the actor.

(716)   They made him walk along the river.   CW/AD 5129A 3119

      giirr   *ngaama* / *biyaduul* / **guwaa-y** *nguwama* / *baga-dha* *yanaa-waa-y.gu*

      true   that   / one   / tell-PST there   / river-LOC go-MOV-PURP

      (They) told that one, there, on the river bank, to walk.   JG

8.4.1.1   Other uses of *-ma-li*

    Intransitivised verbs: When *-ma-li* follows a transitive root it appears that, historically at least, it is suffixed to a derived intransitive stem. For instance the common YR verb, *ngarranma-li*[189] 'show' is clearly derived from *ngarra-li* 'see'. However it is likely that *-ma-li* is suffixed on the middle form, *ngarra-y* rather than on the transitive verb. The basic meaning of *ngarranma-li* then is 'cause to be seen' rather than 'cause to see'. A similar process, but with the detransitivising step made clear in the gloss, is seen in *bumanabille* (*bumana-bi-li*) 'allow to be beaten' (*buma-li* 'beat') Ridley (p 8).

    The middle form, *ngarra-y*, is seen in (717), and the transitivised form in (718), (719). However there is an *n* between the root and *-ma-li*, rather than the *y* found for Y class intransitive verbs.

(717)   The moon was shining brightly.   JM/AD 8184 2548

      nguwama gaba **ngarra-y.la-nhi** / *gilay* / *ngiyama buluuy-a*

      there   good look.M-CTS-PST / moon / there   dark-LOC

      It looked good, the moon, at night.   JG

(718)   Show the meat to the girl's mother.   CW/AD 5129A 1748

      ngarra.n.ma-la

      show-IMP

      Show it!   AD

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[189] The derivation suggested here assumes that *-ma-li* can only be suffixed to intransitive roots. Ridley (720) suggests this is not so, and that the transitive *ngami-li* 'see' is here suffixed.

(719)   The child who fell over showed me his boomerang.   CW/FR 5053 1078

  *giirr   nganunda birralii-dju, **ngarra.n.ma-y** barran   / bundaa-ngindaay=nya*

  true   1SG.LOC   child-ERG,   show-PST   boomerang / fall-SUB=3

n also precedes *-ma-li* in presumably derived verbs such as *ngarrdanma-li* 'make mouth water' (the presumed, but not attested, verb is *ngaarrda-y* 'mouth waters', with *-da-y* a reflex of *-dha-li* 'eat') and when *-ma-li* has factitive use, as in *gaba-n.ma-li* 'heal' (*gaba* 'good') but no general condition has been found governing its use.

Ridley (720) has a derivation from GR *ngami-li* 'see', with the CM *l* rather than *n*. However it is not clear that the meaning is the same as that of *ngarranma-li*.

(720)   *ŋinda ŋai yarāman ŋummilmulla*   Ridley p 15

  *nginda   ngay   yarraaman   **ngami-l.ma-la***

  2SG   1SG.DAT   horse   see-l.ma-IMP

  you my horse show (make to see)   Ridley p 15

  You show my horse. (uncertain)   JG

There are other irregular derivations with *-ma-li*. Ridley (p 32) has *tubbiamulle -* 'allay' (JG: 'allay fear'). This appears to be derived from *dhabi-y* 'be quiet, be calm'; the *a* preceding the *-ma-li* is irregular. *Gaya-y* is 'turn, intr' and *gayma-li* 'turn, tr'. The regularly derived form (not found) would be *gaya-y.ma-li*. The actual form can be explained by the regular deletion of one of a pair of diphthongs. There is also *gayla-y* 'burn; intr' and *gayla-ma-li* 'burn; tr' (rather than the expected *gayla-y.ma-li*). This may be the simplification of a frequently used transitive form. Mathews (GR p 279) has *thamaiamulla* 'search' (*dhama-ya-ma-la?*). The first element, presumably *dhama-y*, is probably related to *dhama-li* 'touch/feel', but the derivation of *dhamaya* is not understood.

Factitive use: *-ma-li* can form a verb from a nominal or adverb. Examples are given in Table 143. The meaning is sometimes relatively predictable (*gaba-n.ma-li, giiyan.ma-li*) and at times not (*dhawu-ma-li*). There is frequent modification of the original nominal and a variety of forms found at the nominal/adverb *-ma-li* junction, including Ø, deleted *n*, (*dhawu.ma-li* from *dhawun* 'earth') and inserted *n* (*gaba.n.ma-li*). This suggests these are long-standing forms which have been reanalysed as monomorphic, rather than being regular derivations.

In verb roots: There are many verbs roots which end in *-ma-li*. Many of these are historically compounds, e.g. YG *dhama-li* 'touch'[190] but are not separable in current YG. However there are hints in the sources that speakers recognised the compound nature of the roots, and in particular the semantic content of the *-ma-li* and other root

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[190] The root element *dha-* has the meaning 'test' and is found in *dha.dha-li* 'taste' (test-eat) and *dha.ya-li* 'ask' (test-say). WN root initial *nga-* 'test' has a similar range of occurrences.

final elements. For instance Fred Reece (1851A 2401), asked to translate 'put out the fire!' gives *baluma-la* (*balu-gi* 'die', *balu* 'dead', *-la* 'IMPerative) but then corrects himself and says *baluwa-la,* with a different suffix on *balu-*. Donaldson's analysis of such Wangaaybuwan roots as compounds is discussed in §9.5.

Table 143   **Examples of factative use of *-ma-li***

Verb	Gloss	Nominal/adverb	Gloss
dhawu-ma-li	cook in the ashes, cover (with earth)	*dhawun*	earth
biiwan-ma-li	puff out chest	*bii* 'chest'; *-wan* 'with prominent' *biiwan* *biiwanbiiwan*	orphan woodswallow (bird)
gabanma-li	make better	*gaba*	good
giiyan-ma-li	frighten	*giyal*	afraid
maayu-ma-li	heal; YR	*maayu*	well
maaru-ma-li	heal; GR	*maaru*	well

ENGLISH borrowings: As in many other Aboriginal languages (e.g. Wangaaybuwan, (Donaldson, 1980: 212)) , English verbs borrowed into YG include a suffix which includes *-ma-li*. The YG suffix is at least *i-C-ma-li*, where C is *n, rr* or *Ø.* Examples are given below. There is considerable variation, even in the suffix on one English verb. *N* precedes *m* if the preceding consonant is a laminal (*dh* or *dj*) or *rr*, and *rr* (rarely *Ø*) precedes *m* otherwise[191].

Table 144   **Some YG verbs derived from English**

English verb	YG verb	Suffix	Comment
wash	*wagirrma-li; wagirrbama-li, wagirrbuma-li wagirrba-li*	*-irrma-i, -irrbama-li, -irrbuma-li, -irrba-li*	
kick	*gig-i-rr-ma-li, gigima-li*	*-irrma-li, -ima-li*	
pick	*pick-i-ma-li*	*-ima-li*	
boil	*baayl-i-rr-ma-li*	*-irrma-li*	
lose	**yuluurr-i-n-ma-li*	*-inma-li*	initial *yu*-added; initial *l* is not possible in YG
win	*biidj-i-n-ma-li*	*-inma-li*	from 'beat'
shoot	*dhuudh-i-n-ma-li;*	*-inma-li*	

*yuluurr-i-n-ma-li 'lose' has *yu* added since YG words cannot be *l* initial.

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[191] Koch comments that early loanwords came via Pidgin English, in which transitive verbs ended in *-im* or *-it*. It appears that the *-irr* forms above could be from *-it* final verbs and a form like *pickima-li* from 'pick'em'. The ones that add *n* may be more recent and follow the strategy of native derivations.

8.4.2 *-ba-li / -ba-y* 'DELOCutive, causative2'

The suffix *-bama-li* is also discussed here, since it is formally and functionally similar.

Often *-ba-li* has a clear delocutive function (to do with speech) but there are many other occurrences of the suffix for which no common function has been found. With delocutive function it occurs only on nominals and adverbs, and even with other functions it rarely if ever suffixes a verb.

Table 145 gives many examples of verb final *-ba-li*[192]. All the verbs in the first section are delocutive. The first element sometimes describes what is said (*gayrr* 'name') but many are not analysable: *dhayaam* may be 'a whisper', but there is no other evidence. At other times the first element is a bound root. The meaning of *miin* is possibly 'towards/for the speaker'. Evidence for this comes from *miinba-y* but also from *miinma-li* 'pull' and WN *minba-y* 'cadge', *min.bayma-li* 'beg and *min.ga-y* 'fancy sexually'.

Girribal 'riddle' is a nominal, but may be derived from *girriba-li*, an unattested verb, by a regular nominalisation process.

In WN *-ba-li* can be suffixed to actual words (*wangaay* 'no') or onomatopoeic elements. No such verbs are found in YG but the nominal *dhiidjiibawaa* suggests this can occur. *Dhiidjiibawaa* (also *dhiidjiimbawaa*) is 'soldier bird/yellow throated minor'. Arthur Dodd (8186 153) says of the bird: ''dhii, dhii', he goes like that'. The presumed delocutive verb from this call is *dhiidhiiba-li* 'say dhii dhii'. The suffix *-awaa* is 'habitual', and so *dhiidjiibawaa* is 'the thing that always says 'dhii dhii'.

The last section of Table 145 lists other *-ba-li* and *-ba-y*-final verbs. The first verbs in this section may have a factitive meaning 'sharpen, teach, heal', a function found for *-ba-li* in other languages and *guwiinba-li*[193] 'come near' has inchoative meaning. However quite a few of the uses of the suffix are unexplained.

There are other examples, or potential examples of the suffix. At 8184 3198 JM asks AD to translate: 'It made a hollow sound and I knew a goanna must be hidden underground', referring to someone hitting the ground with the point of a stick. In an unclear response AD seems to say: *dhurradhurra-ba-lda-nhi dhaymaarr* ' (*-lda-nhi* '-CTS-PST'). The verb seems to mean something like 'thumping the ground so that it made a noise'. *Dhurra* is likely to be related to *dhu-rri* 'poke' or be onomatopoeic.

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[192] Some roots may be *-ba-li*-final but not include the suffix.

[193] This verb is clearly intransitive in its three occurrences in the tapes, but the expected intransitive form is *guwiinba-y*.

Table 145   *-ba-li/-ba-y* : YG examples

Word	TR	Gloss	Element	Element gloss/Notes
'Delocutive' On onomatopoeic element, sound type, or other				
gayrrba-li	tr	name	*gayrr*	name
girriinba-li	intr	make a lot of noise	*girriin*	noise?
dhayaamba-li	tr	whisper	*dhayaa?*	
buuba-li	tr	fart	*buu*	air/wind?
gidjigidjiba-li	tr	tickle	*gidjigidji?*	armpit
miinba-y	tr	ask for	*miin*	#
yiilamba-li (word from TF)	tr	contradict	*yiili/yiilay*	angry
girribal		riddle	*girri?*	nominal
Nominal from delocutive verb which includes actual thing said.				
dhiidjiibawaa		soldier bird	*dhii-dhii*	'he says *dhii dhii*'
Non-Delocutive use of *-ba-li*				
yadhaba-li	tr	sharpen GR	*yadhala?*	sharp
burranba-li	tr	change	*burran?*	
buluba-li	tr	cover		
maṟuβulmɛːnj	tr	heal *(maaru-ba-l-mayaa-nhi:* well-*ba*-ONE.DAY-PST*)*	*maaru*	well; Wurm 40
ūrūunbulleː ??-ba-li	tr	teach (make to know)	*?*	Ridley 35
garranba-li	tr	push against, shove, stop	cf. *garra-li*	cut?
dhuwinba-li	tr	hide	*dhuwi-y*	stick into
biinba-li	tr	sweep		
dhurraaba-li	tr	make come out (blood, teeth, vomit)	*dhurra-li*	come
guwiinba-li	intr	come near	*guwiin*	close
gulagarranba-li	intr	come back	*gula*	fork;
gulagarranba	n	come back boomerang	*garra-li?*	cut?

#cf. WN *min-ba-li* 'cadge' *min-ga-li* 'fancy sexually'

CW (3998A 1595) asks AD to translate: 'the boy scared the girl with a grasshopper'. AD uses *garigari-ba-lay* (*garigari* 'afraid') in the answer, but other elements in his sentence suggest he may be using Wayilwan.

There are other possible instances of the suffix. *Dhurraaba-li* is 'make come out' and seems to be derived from *dhurra-li* 'come'. It occurs in sentences like: 'make

(someone) vomit' and 'the baby dribbled'. It may contain the suffix, but there is no explanation for the long *a* before *-ba-li*. Another possible example is a verb found only once, which also has *-aba-li*. AD3220A 2796 uses *winanga-aba-li* for 'think', derived from *winanga-y*, also 'think'.

8.4.2.1 *-ba-li/-ba-y* in other languages

The discussion of YG *-ba-li/-ba-y* has been informed by similar suffixes in other languages. Dixon (2002: 76) points out: 'some Australian languages have a delocutive derivational suffix .. which forms a verb 'say X' from lexeme X'.

WN has many examples of delocutive *-ba-li/-ba-y*, some with the suffix on an actual word, others with the suffix on an onomatopoeic element. The delocutive uses of the suffix include phonologically irregular verbs including *dagnba-li* and *ngabba-li*: Table 146. The suffix has other uses including inchoative and causative.

The uses on WN 'laugh' and 'cry' are unusual in that the effect is S > A, forming verbs 'laugh at', 'cry at', not S > O, as with most transitivising derivations. The range of WN uses of *-ba-li/-ba-y,* some not well understood, are seen in Table 146 (many of these examples are from Donaldson's unpublished draft dictionary). They suggest that YG also had a wide range of uses for these suffixes.

Table 146   **Some Wangaaybuwan examples of *-ba-li/-ba-y***

Word	TR	Gloss	element	comment
'Delocutive' On actual word/sound				
wangaaymba-y	tr	refuse	*wangaay*	*wangaay 'no'*
ngaawaampa-y	tr	agree	*ngaawaa*	ngaawaa 'yes'
dagnba-li	?	go 'dag'	*dagn*	phonologically irregular: Text 5-20
'Delocutive' On onomatopoeic element, sound type, or verb				
gulgulba-li	intr	make 'odd little noise'	*gulgul*	
ngabba-li	intr	fizz out	*ngab*	like 'phut'
dhuba-li (< dhub-ba-li)	intr	go 'dhub'	*dhub*[194]	(1980: 80)
murruba-li	intr	thunder	*murru?*	onomatopoeic?
ngalamba-li	tr	abuse	*ngalam*	?swearing
ginda-y-ba-li	tr	laugh at	*ginda-y*	laugh
yunga-y-ba-li	tr	cry (at)	*yunga-y*	cry
minba-y	tr	cadge	*min?*	

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[194] *Ngabba-li* is 'fizz out' approximating English 'go phut'. *Dhubba-li* is from a story, and refers to someone 'saying *dhub*' over and over. Information from unpublished Wangaaybuwan dictionary MS.

Word	TR	Gloss	element	comment
Inchoative non-Delocutive				
milanba-y	tr	get close to	*milan*	close?, one in YR
bugaba-y	intr	get rotten	*buga*	rotten, dead
ban.ga-y-ba-y	intr	dry out, perish, die	*ban.ga-y* *ban.gay*	be dry; dry (Adj)
Other non-Delocutive				
balabba-li	intr	twitch	*balab?*	
badjulba-li	intr	shoot out of	*badjul?*	
girrba-y	tr	torment	*girr?*	
ganaaba-li *ganaanba-y*	tr intr	put on shoulder ride (horse)	*ganaay*	legs apart

The WN evidence suggests that, as for *-ma-li*, there is a restriction that *-ba-li* can only be suffixed on a verb where the agent does not have control of the action. So it is suffixed on 'cry' and 'laugh', which are typically involuntary, but not on 'talk' or 'sing', which are typically voluntary.

> A similar suffix is found in other languages. In Kuku Yalanji Patz (2002:98) says that the 'state causative verbaliser *-bunga-l* has a reduced allomorph *-ba-l*'. These suffixes form verbs like 'make hard' from 'hard' and 'teach' from 'know'.

8.4.2.2   *-bama-li* '(delocutive) causative3'

The suffix *-bama-li,* like *-ba-li* seems to have a delocutive function and a more general causative function. Its unique use is as a causative (on a sound emission verb) forming *yu-bama-li* 'make cry' from *yu-gi* 'cry' (721). It is also found alternating with *-ba-li* in a number of verbs including *dhurraaba[ma]-li* 'make come out'. There is generally no discernable difference in meaning. Formally *-bama-li* is a compound of *-ba-li* and *-ma-li*, but the logic of the combination is not clear (perhaps cause by hitting?). It may be that semantically there is no difference between *-ma-li* and *-bama-li* in many situations, or that the *-ba* in *-bama-li* is epenthetic, as it often is in Wangaaybuwan. Donaldson (1980: 163) notes:

> Except for stems formed by attaching *-ma-l[i]* to Y1 conjugation roots, all the stems of transitivised Y conjugation verbs contain the syllable *ba*, either because the transitiviser *-ba-l[i]* is added to the root, or because the root itself ends in *ba*, or because an epenthetic *ba* occurs between the root and whichever causative suffix follows. But in the latter two cases the suffix has no discernable function.

There is much about this suffix that is not understood.

(721) shows *yu-bama-li*. Whereas *-ba-li* in WN changes 'cry' to 'cry at' (S > A) the YG *-bama-li* changes the S of the original verb (*yu-gi*) to the O of the derived verb.

(721)   The boy made the baby cry.   CW/AD 5129A 3679

    *giirr   nhama / birray-djuul-u / nhama / bubaay-djuul / **yu.bama-y***

    true   3.DEF   / boy-ONE-ERG / that   / small-DIM   / made.cry-PST

Some examples suggest that at times *-ba-li* and *-bama-li* are equivalent. 'Cover up' is found as both *buluba-y* (middle form, 5052 2921) and *bulubama-li* (1850A 1271). FR also has a fairly uncertain *bulubma-li* (2439A 3520). 'make come out (e.g. blood, teeth) is both *dhurraaba-li* (previous section) and *dhurraabama-li.* (722) is unusual in have 'nose' as the Ergative subject. A similar situation uses a middle form of the suffix (723). AD tried other forms of the verb before settling on *dhurraabama-nhi.* It is likely he was not sure of the appropriate form.

(722)   The baby's nose was running.   JM/AD 8185 1104

    *muyu, muyu-gu-la   nguu[ngu   ngaama / mirril **dhurra.a-bama-lda-nhi***

    nose,   nose-ERG-la? 3SG.ERG?DAT that   / snot come.out + *a-bama*-CTS-PST

(723)   The baby cried and dribbled down its chin.   JM/AD 8185 1060

(a)   *giirr nhama birralii-djuul / yu-gi.la-nhi ,*

    true 3.DEF   child-DIM   / cry-CTS-PRS ,

(b)   *ngaam = bala = Na wiiluun dhurraa?-y / **dhurra.a-bama-nhi***

    that = CTR = 3   dribble come?-PST / come + *a-bama*.M-PST

The same root form, this time L class and transitive, is found in (724), with a different meaning. AD translates it as 'catch up'.

(724)   He joined the other kangaroos (and they all hopped a long way into the bush).

                                                         JM/AD 3217A 1826

    *giirr ngaama = nha, ngaarrma nguu / **dhurra.a-bama-y***

    true that = 3,   that   3ERG / come + *a-bama*-PST

    He caught them up.   AD

-bama-li also occurs in the verb *wagirr-bama-li*, one version of Yuwaalaraayised 'wash'. There is a verb *bama-li* 'squash, knead (bread)', but there is no obvious relationship to the suffix.

8.4.3   *-bi-li/ -wi-li* 'LET, move away'

The suffix *-bi-li*[195] is found a few times as suffix on intransitive verbs, with a meaning that can broadly be described as 'let'. It, and its lenited form *-wi-li*, are common as verb root final elements with meanings 'away' and less commonly 'let', but not all verbs with root final *-bi-li* and *-wi-li* obviously include the meaning 'away'[196] or 'let'. Intransitive verbs suffixed with *-bi-li* 'let' form a transitive verb, and with original S > O and a new Agent argument introduced. When *-bi-li* occurs on a verb stem with meaning 'away' it seems to have no syntactic effect.

The verb *yanaaynbi-li* 'release, let go' (*yanaa-y* 'go') (725), (230) is common. The suffix here can be analysed as incorporating both 'let' and 'away'. A difference from the causative suffixes previously discussed is that the Object of the verb does have an active role in the result of the verb: they chose to go. The suffix is also found in *bindaybi-li* 'hang tr' (727) (*binda-y* 'hang intr'). These uses indicate that the suffix is productive. I have no explanation for the differences found at the root-suffix junction: *y* in *bindaybili*, *yn* in *yanaaynbili*. Further variation is found. Laves (726), (MS2188-9-12p148) has *yanaimbila* (*yanaaymbi-la*), with *ym* at the junction.

(725)   I let him go.   CW/AD 3997A 1698

        giirr ngaya **yanaaynbi-y**

        true   1SG   let.go-PST

In the elicitation of (725) Dodd initially says *yanaaymay*, then corrects it to *yanaaynbiy*.

(726)   *yanaimbila ŋalina*   Laves 9-67

        yanaymbi-la *ngalinya*

        let.go-IMP   2DU.ACC

        coming for us   Laves

        Let us (2) go.   JG

        Let us go.   JG

(727)   **bindaybi-la** *ngarribaa muyaan-da*

        hang-IMP   up   tree-LOC

        Hang it up on the tree.   FR/JM 1989A 2090

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[195] Other potential occurrences have been recently found. Greenway (*Science of Man*, Sept 1 1911 p 106 line 18) has *maiabía* for 'put his (arms) around (his neck)' in a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son. This may include the verb *ma-y* -be up' and *-bi-y*, the middle form of *-bi-li* 'away'.

The Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts (Barcaldine, Qld. : 1892 - 1922), Saturday 13 November 1915, page 9 (http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/printArticleJpg/79753840/4?print=y) has a Gamilaraay version of 'Long Way to Tipperary' including: *Wunnabilla!* Leicester-square! 'Let go! Leicester-square!', the verb likely *wana-bi-la*: cf. *wana-gi* 'throw, leave' and the particle *wana* 'let': cf. *wanoobilla* below from Milson.

[196] WN *-bi-li* (Donaldson, 1980: 202) has similar uses.

The suffix also occurs, rarely, on intransitivised verbs. Ridley (p 8) has *bumanabille* (*bumana-bi-li*) 'allow to be beaten' (*buma-li* 'beat'). Like *ngarranma-li* 'show' this appears to be the result of a two stage process, firstly the intransitivising of *buma-li* 'hit', then the addition of a causative suffix. However the form *buma-na* is not currently analysable. Intransitivised/middle *buma-li* is *buma-y*.

There are a number of verbs which may historically incorporate the suffix. They are listed in Giacon (2001: 73). Some, with the likely first element of the root are: *gurruubi-li* 'swallow' (*gurru* 'hole'), *wuulaabi-y* 'sun oneself, get warm' (*wuulaa* 'lizard'?), *dhabi-y* 'be quiet' (*-dha-y* 'mouthing') and less likely *dhubi-li* 'spit' (*dhu-rri* 'poke'). When *-bi-li* occurs on a transitive verb stem such as *dhu-rri* it seems to have no syntactic effect.

MathewsYR has *kaiaiabilla* 'masturbation'. The structure of the verb is uncertain but is likely to incorporate *gaya-y* 'turn' and *-bi-li*. *Gaya-y* and a lenited *-bi-li* are likely to be part of *gayawi-li* 'pelt'. Milson has *thooroobinea* 'let out' and *ooroobinea* 'put in'. These may be derived form *dhurra-li* 'come' and *wuru-gi* 'go in', suffixed with *-bi-y* and with *nea* representing =*nya* 3ACC. She also has *wanoobilla* 'let go', likely *wana-bi-la* 'let-*bi*-IMP'. These suggest the suffix was relatively common. Wurm (p 71) has *ga:bi:* 'to keep' (*gaa-bi-y*: *gaa-gi* 'take'), possibly using a Y class form of the suffix or perhaps past tense of *gaabi-li*.

Sim (1998: 67) has *yulaymbilanhi* (*yulaa-y-m-bi-y.la-nhi*) 'tangled'. This seems to be the result of multiple derivations and presumably incorporates *yulaa-y*, the middle verb from *yulaa-li* 'tie', *-bi-y* and the continuous suffix. I do not attempt to untangle the semantics.

Another likely occurrence of the suffix is in *binadhi wuubiyaan* 'slow worm', which Arthur Dodd indicates is based on *bina* 'ear' and *wuu-gi* 'go in' (cf. *-dhi* Ablative and *-yaan* nominaliser). The meaning of the suffix here is not clear.

More uncertain examples are found in Laves. He has (MS2188-9-12p065) *ŋinda yana·wiyaiyə* 'you can go' (*yana-y* 'go'), the gloss consistent with *-wi-y* being a reflex of *-bi-li*. At the same place he has *yana'wiya* 'hither you going', a similar verb but likely to be intransitive, and so inconsistent with the suffix. At MS2188-9-12p091 he has *gayawila* 'throw' and *'gayarabili* 'throw in return'. The first is *gayawi-la* 'throw-IMP', the second not analysed but likely contains *-bi-li*.

In Wangaaybuwan *-bi-li* is found in compound verbs with the gloss 'move away' and when used to categorise verbs it is associated with verbs like 'give' and 'throw'. It is not found with the meaning 'let'. WN examples include: *gaabi-li* 'vomit' (cf. YR *gaawi-li*: *gaa-y* 'bring, WN' *gaa-gi* 'bring, YR'), *magambi-li* 'hiccup', *ngudharrbi-li* 'feed' (*ngu-y* give, *dha-y* 'eating'). An interesting comparison is the WN and YR

adaptations of English 'shoot': *dhuudhimbi-li* and *dhuudhinma-li* respectively. The WN verb incorporates *-bi-li* 'away', whereas the YR has the general transitiviser *-ma-li*, suggesting YR language knowledge had decreased when it formed this verb.

In WN *-bi-y* (p 188) is an aspectual suffix 'behind', e.g. on *wii-y* 'sit' forming 'stay behind'. Other occurrences include on 'red' to form 'show red' as in 'the car lights showed red'.

8.4.4 *-mi-li/mi-y₁* 'SEE/eye'

The morpheme *-mi-li* is found in a small number of compound YR verb roots whose meaning includes, or likely includes 'looking'. The morpheme is almost certainly historically related to *mil* 'eye'. There is slight evidence that it could be a productive verb suffix. WN has a partially productive verb suffix *-mi-y* 'watch' and probably a verb stem formative *-mi-li.* As is many other instances there is less YG evidence than WN.

Table 147 has all *-mi-li*-final YG verbs. All have 'see' as a clear or likely component of their meaning.

Table 147　**YG verbs incorporating *–mi-li* 'see'**

WN verb	Gloss	Possibly related morphemes / Notes
ngami-li	see; tr; GR	cf. YR *ngarra-li* 'see', WN *ngaa-y* 'see'
dhurraami-li	wait for; tr	cf. *dhurra-li* 'come' (?look for someone to come); is 'meet' once, 8186 3293
wuumi-li	peep; intr?	*wuu-gi* 'go in'; *wuumi-li* is probably intransitive
gunmi-li	watch; tr	Uncle Ted Fields translates this word as 'cadging, look at something with a greedy look, a wanting look in the eye'. Cf. WN *gunmi-li* 'look-want'
yuuwaanmi-li?	lose; tr	?*yuwaal* 'no'*

* The relation of *yuuwaan* to *yuwaal*, the older form of 'no; YR', is speculative.

Ngami-li 'see, GR' is likely derived from a root related to *ngaa-y* 'see'. *Dhurraami-li* (728) is likely derived from *dhurra-li* 'come', with the lengthening of the final vowel seen in other derivations. It has an added A argument: the S of *dhurra-li* > O of *dhurraami-li*.

The common transitive use of *dhurraami-li* is seen in (728). Its use in (729) is unclear. There is no indication that the verb in (729) is transitive. It could indicate it is the children who will come back after looking, but that means the suffix can have different transitivity effects.

Wuumi-li is rare. It is found at AD 3217A 2023, used of a joey (young kangaroo) peeping out from its mother's pouch, clearly involving the two concepts of 'going in/being in' (*wuu-gi*) and 'looking'. JS3216B 652 uses it to translate 'looking in the

grass'. His use is further proof that the word was found in YG, but does not clarify its structure.

(728)   CW I waited for you. FR I waited for you.   CW / FR 5053 1380

    giirr ngay' nginunha **dhurraami-y**

    true 1SG   2SG.ACC wait.for-PST

(729)   (The two children went looking for the horse, they didn't know where it had gone.)

    They will come back later on.   CW/AD 5129A 2321

(a)   *giirr ngaama /* **dhurraa-mi-l.uwi-y**

    true that   / wait.for??(come-SEE)-BACK-FUT

    (speculative) They will come back after looking.   JG

(b)   *giirr ngaama yanaa-w.uwi-y dhaay / bulaarr / birralii-gaali*

    true that   go-BACK-FUT to.here / two   / child-DU

    These come back directly, them two little fellows.   AD

    They will come back here, them two, the two kids.   JG

A potential example is found in Wurm (p 86). He has *waɽeˀ:mˑi* in a sentence 'to the 2 children he said to look for the horse'. The verb may be *warray-mi-y* 'stand-*mi*-past'.

The WN evidence is from the published grammar and also from examination of the WN pre-dictionary (unpublished). They show that WN verb final *-mi-li* and *-mi-y* are quite common. Many of the verbs in the table do not have recorded YG equivalents, and the WN could serve as a model for developing YG verbs.

Donaldson (1980: 172) describes the suffix *-mi-y* 'watching', one of a number of 'implicative' suffixes, which imply an additional argument in the sentence. The verb remains intransitive, with the thing watched in Locative case. *-mi-y* has only been found attached to the three verbs of position which also function as existential verbs: *wi-y* 'sit', *wara-y* 'stand' and *yuwa-y* 'lie'. The first two entries in Table 148 suggest the suffix is also found in other historically compound roots.

The *-mi-li* verbs in Table 148 all have meanings related to 'seeing' and the suffix is in each instance attached to a recognisable or at least probable separate morpheme. This suggests that *-mi-li* could be added to the list of WN bound verb forms (Donaldson, 1980:202). There is clear WN evidence for *-mi-li* and *-mi-y* as suffixes, with at least some ongoing productivity. Compounds containing *-mi-li* are all transitive.

Table 148   WN examples of *-mi-li/-mi-y* 'watch/see'

WN verb	Gloss	Notes
Suffix *-mi-y*		
wii-mi-y	sit look; intr	derived from *wii-y* 'sit'
banmi-y	wait for; tr	
mayi(i)mi-y	seem, look; intr	
Suffix *-mi-li* - all transitive		
mugami-li	stare	cf. YG *muga* 'blind, blunt'
walimi-li	dislike	cf. *walindja-li* YG, WN 'be lonely', so *wali* as a meaningful morpheme
gulami-li	not find	cf. *gula-ma-y* 'hunt-fail; intr' WN; *gula-* 'fail' could be added to 'bound modifiers' and *-mi-li* to the list of 'bound verb forms' Donaldson (p 202).
gunmi-li	look-want	cf. GR gunmi-li
manmi-li	follow	
manaymi-li	sight (game)	cf. *manabi-y* 'hunt'
guunggaygmi-li	look round something at	

9 Other verbal morphology

This chapter considers other suffixes which do not change the transitivity of verbs. They may be described as medial suffixes since they occur after valency changing suffixes (§8) and before the inflectional suffixes (§7). It also includes potential verbal suffixes, and a number of other areas of verb morphology including nominalisations.

9.1 Verbal derivations with no effect on valency

This section gathers together a number YG verbal derivational suffixes which, in Donaldson's terms, (1980: 183) 'have no syntactic effect whatsoever' on the verb[197]. The suffixes are listed in Table 149, along with the Class Marker (CM) which precedes each suffix.

The suffixes discussed first are found many times and are have clear meaning. Suffixes lower in Table 149 are progressively less well understood.

Table 149   Derivational suffixes with no syntactic effect

Suffix	Gloss	Verb class / Class Marker (CM)			
Verb class		L	Y	NG	RR
-uwi-y	BACK	*l*	*W**	*g/b*	*rr*
-aaba-li	TOTal	*l*	*W*	*w/b; ?y*	*rr*
-DHa-y	EAT	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*
-ngila-y	TOGether	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*rr*
-mayi-y	UP	*l*	*y*	*Ø*	*rr*
-Nami-y	WANT	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*
-mi-y	DARE	*l*	*W*	*Ø*	*rr*
-nhumi-y	BEFORE	*l*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*rr*
-dhiya-li	AFTER	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*	*Ø*

*Upper case *W* indicates that the CM is *w* after *a,u* and *y* after *i*.

9.1.1   *-uwi-y* 'BACK'

The predominant use of the suffix *-uwi-y,* 'BACK', is to indicate motion back to some established point of reference. It is common with intransitive and intransitive

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[197] The continuous and TOD/DIT suffixes discussed previously also have no syntactic effect.

motion verbs such as 'go', 'run' and 'carry' or 'throw'. Relatively uncommonly it is used to indicate return to a previous state: 'go back to sleep' or other events that do not actually involve motion such as 'look back'. Some recent uses may involve calques of English expressions such as 'lean back'. It has a range of translations, such as 'back', 'home' and at times it is not explicitly translated. Sentences with *-uwi-y* have been translated: 'bring it home', 'the strangers walked away (back to their place)' and 'the men (after hunting) carried the meat'. Historically the morpheme may have been used in creating compound nouns and verbs, with some phonological adaptation. The CMs are set out in Table 149.

There are many clear examples of *-uwi-y* in later sources. There are likely occurrences in earlier sources but they are generally not clear. The suffix occurs around 180 times on the tapes, with over 50 instances involving *gaa-g.uwi-y* 'bring, take-BACK' around 50 *yanaa-w.uwi-y* 'go, come-BACK'; 30 *dhurra-l.uwi-y* 'come-BACK' and 10 *dharrawu-l.uwi-y* 'return-BACK'. There are a number of examples which suggest a broader use for the suffix.

(730) - (735) show the suffix with all verb classes, and with transitive and intransitive verbs. The movement back is of the subject: (730), (731) 'go, run'; the object: (735), (736) 'give, throw'; or both: (732), (733) 'carry'.

(730)   (Two men speared the kangaroo then) went back to camp.   CW/AD 3217A 2322

   yanaa-w.uwi-nyi*=nha ngaam' bulaarr=nga*

   go[Y]-BACK-PST=3   that   two=THEN

   The two of them went back then.   JG

(731)   The kids were happy when their father came home.   JM/FR 2437A 1306

   gayaa nhama birralii-gal   gi-nyi   / buwadjarr ganungu **dhurra-l.uwi-ngindaay**

   happy 3.DEF   child-PL.DIM get-PST / father   3PL.DAT come[L]-BACK-SUB

   The kids are all pleased because the father come home.   FR

   The kids are pleased because their father has come back.   JG

(732)   There he is bringing it home now.   AD/JM 8187 113

   nguwama / nhama nguu   ngaara-la / **gaa-g.uwi-yaa-ndaay**

   there   / 3.DEF   3SG.ERG look-IMP / bring[NG]-BACK-MOV-SUB

   Look at him there, bringing it back.   JG

(733)   The men carried the ducks and emus in the net.   JM/AD 8187 1415

(a)   *ngaama ganugu gula-dha /* **gaa-g.uwi-yaa-nhi**   */ dhinawan garrangay*

   that   3PL.ERG bag-LOC / bring[NG]-BACK-MOV-PST / emu   duck

   They were bringing them back in the net, emus, ducks,   JG

(b)   *minyaminyambul, ngaama, ngiyama ganugu walaay-gu* **gaa-g.uwi-nyi**

   everything,   that,   there   3perg   camp-ALL   bring[NG]-BACK-PST

   They brought everything back to the camp.   JG

(734)   He might crawl back to the camp.   CW/AD 5129A 2040

     giirr=badhaay=aa ngaama **dhuu-rr.uwi-y**

     true=MIGHT=POT   that   crawl[RR]-BACK-FUT

     He might crawl back.   JG

(735)   Give back my spear.   CW/AD 5056 2644

     wuu-rr.uwi-ya   *nhama ngay   bilaarr*

     give[RR]-BACK-IMP 3.DEF   1SG.DAT spear

     You give it back to me.   AD

     Give me back that spear.   JG

(736)   and then she put the little thing back into her bag.   JM/AD 8186 776

     yaluu ngaama **dhuwinba-l.uwi-nyi**

     again   that   hide[L]-BACK-PST

     She planted it again, (you might as well say).   AD

     (She) hid it again.   JG

There are instances of the suffix which are less obvious. One is *gaga-l.uwi-y* 'call back': ('sing out to him, make him come back, he'll get drownded' AD/JM 3220A 2593). Another is seen in (737), with a position verb. It is unclear if the boy is returning to a previous position, or if 'sit back' refers to the way of sitting. The same ambiguity occurs in the English, and the YR may actually be a calque from English.

(737)   The boy sat back against the log.   CW/AD 5131 188

     giirr ngaam / nhaadiyaan-da ngaam birralii-djuul / **wila-w.uwi-nyi**

     true that / log-LOC   that   child-DIM   / sit-BACK-PST

Another unusual use of *-uwi-y* is in *dhurraami-l.uwi-y* 'wait-BACK-FUT', which occurs in an unclear passage about two children who had gone to look for a horse (CW/AD 5129A 2331). AD quickly replaces it with *yanaa-w.uwi-y* 'come- BACK-FUT' 'these (children) will come back directly'. The interpretation of the original verb is not obvious, but could be 'wait (for the horse), then come back', encoding two actions by the children.

The verb *wana-gi* has two main senses, 'throw' and 'leave, let'. There is one example of *wana-w.uwi-y* 'throw-BACK' (5130 957) and there is one instance of *wana-g.uwi-y* 'leave' (AD3217A 1384) in 'they left him back there while they all went away.' In the latter 'back there' refers to a previous position of the subject, but not one they are returning to. In a similar example CW (5131 1904) uses *ngarra-l-uwi-nyi* for 'look back at the baby'. AD agrees with the translation, rather than offering it.

The CMs are given in Table 149 and seen in (730) - (735). The NG class CM varies. For *gaa-gi* 'bring, take' the CM is *g* except in rare FR instances when it is *w* (*gaa-w.uwi-y*). These are best treated as unsurprising phonetic lenition of stop

following a long vowel. *W* and *g* are found once each as the CM with *wana-gi* 'throw'.

There are few clear examples of the suffix in the old sources, one of which is (738), where Mathews apparently glosses the suffix 'again' Here the suffix may refer to an action being 'done back', with the original Patient now the Agent.

(738)   *Ngaia bumulluiñ Yalu bumaluia*   MathewsGR p 267

(a)   *ngaya* **buma-l.uwi-nyi**
    1SG   hit[L]-BACK-PST
    I beat again.   MathewsGR
    I hit (him) back. (I hit him.)   JG

(b)   *yaluu* **buma-l.uwi-ya**
    again hit[L]-BACK-IMP
    Beat again.   MathewsGR
    Hit him back again.   JG

In modern sources *-uwi-y* is well attested on *dhurra-li* 'come' and *dharrawu-li* 'return', where its use seems redundant. Similar examples are found in early sources, but the form is often unclear. Ridley (p 39) has *Turruwulla* 'go back'. MathewsGR (p 267) has *Thurrawullai* 'go home'. Laves has some clear examples including *darawaluinji* (*dharrawa-l.uwi-nyi*) unglossed, in a sentence to do with boomerangs (MS2188-9-12p110). Wurm (p 84) has a less clear example of the same verb: *ðaṟawalu(w)uj* 'will return'.

9.1.1.1   Fossilised use of *-uwi-y*

There are a number of now monomorphic YG words which may historically be compounds including *uwi*. There is formal and semantic evidence for this.

YR *dhaygaluwi*[198] 'pillow' is clearly based on *dhaygal* 'head' as AD points out when discussing the word (5052 1770) that a pillow is where 'you put your head back'. YR has *dhaan* 'sideways'. It is possible that the first syllable of the verb *dhanduwi-y* 'sleep, lie' is cognate with '*dhaan*' and the second part is *uwi*, giving it a compositional gloss something like 'lean back'.

There are similar suffixes in other languages, including Wangaaybuwan, which has *-buna-y, -burri-y* 'back' (in different dialects) (Donaldson, 1980: 192). While Williams (1980: 81) mentions use of *-uwi-y* only with 'intransitive verbs of motion and position' Donaldson also gives examples of use of the suffix with transitive verbs of motion such as 'give' and 'blow'. She also records 'sporadic' use with transitive verbs

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[198] Jane Simpson (p.c.) points out an alternative derivation, that *uwi* may have been historically a verb with a meaning such as 'lie'. There are correspondences in other languages of *yuwa* as a position verb; cf. Yandruwantha *yuka*.

when 'the agent performs the actions 'back(wards)'', such as 'look back' and 'think back'. She suggests these may be calque formations based on English. Bickerdike (2006) does not have a similar suffix, but preliminary study of the Wayilwan tapes suggest *-wuna-y* 'back' is found.

In Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 152) the form *thika* can be a free form, 'return' or can be the second part of a compound with a range of functions including:

a) 'action back to a previous spot (often the camp)': *minithika* 'to run back' (*mini* 'run'), *pakathika*, *pakanathika* 'to bring back, to carry home' (and many others)

b) 'action followed by a return to a previous spot (often the camp)' *kunathika* 'defecate' (*kuna* is a noun, 'faeces'; and the only verb for 'defecate' in the YA dictionary is *kunathika*), *warrkathika* 'to leave [over there]' (*warrka* 'to throw'), *mandrithika* 'to go and get' (dictionary definition)(*mandri* 'pick up, get, take'), *thangguthika* 'to go and visit' (*thanggu* 'stand'), *nhinatharrathika* 'to go and visit' (*nhina* 'sit, stay, live, be'; *tharra* 'fly') (and many others)

c) 'action directed back to the point of origin of an action to which it is a response': *nganathika* 'to tell [someone] back' (+many others)

d) 'action carried out on behalf of someone other than the actor' *nhapithika* 'to mix (damper)' (*nhapi* 'roll up; mix'), *wawawawanathika* 'to look after' (*wawa* 'see, look').

As well there are some unanalysed uses of the suffix.

The Yandruwantha uses a and c specifies the direction of the action, similar to the uses seen in YG. Use of b[199], as described, specifies two actions - that of the main root, and a 'movement back'. This is 'associated motion' as described initially by Koch (1984), (2006) and since by Wilkins (2006) and others. Evans (1985) points out that in Kayadild 'verb-return' means 'go and verb and return'. No examples of such use of *-uwi-y* have been found.

9.1.2 *-aaba-li* 'TOTal'

The function of *-aaba-li* 'TOTal' is largely as described by Williams (1980: 80):

The suffix indicates the completive aspect, and adds the meaning 'all' to the sentence. The suffix operates Ergatively, indicating *'all'* O [Object] for a transitive sentence, *'all'* S [Subject] for an intransitive.

However there are other uses which are less common and so more difficult to specify precisely. With verbs of intermediate transitivity the suffix has variant meaning. There are instances where the meaning is 'many' rather than 'all', and other

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[199] The b use is not always as straightforward as the description suggests. The suffix *-thika* is attached to a noun, not a verb, in *kunathika*. In *nhinatharrathika* 'to go and visit' the suffix is attached to a combination of two verbs, and the meaning is not compositional in that verb, or in *thangguthika*. On p 154 Breen points out that verbs can have both use a and b. *Wawathika* 'see-return' is used for 'look-back' but *wawathika* is more often used to mean 'go and see, go and visit'.

There is potential for YG to use *-uwi-y* more broadly with the 'associated motion' meanings found in b. For instance there is no recorded YG word for 'visit'. The list above includes three Yandruwantha words glossed '(go and) visit': *nhinatharrathika* (*nhina* 'sit, stay, live, be'; *tharra* 'fly'), *thangguthika* (*thanggu* 'stand'), *wawathika* (*wawa* 'see'). YG calques of these could easily be formed. The semantic differences between the three Yandruwantha words are not explicated.

instances where 'totally' or 'thoroughly' are more appropriate translations than 'all'. It may have an emphatic meaning when used with dual referents. With three place verbs it may be that the use can vary. In (742) the meaning is all O, in (743) it is all the indirect object. The CMs are as set out in Table 149.

The common meanings are seen in (739) - (742): all O in (739) (742), all S in (740) (741).

(739) *garrangay ngayagay ngaama / **yilama-l.aaba-y***
      duck   other   that   / cook-TOT-PST
      and they cooked all the ducks   AD/JM 8187 1459 JG

(740) They all hopped a long way into the bush.   JM/AD 3217A 1826
      *yurrul-gu ngaama **baa-w.aaba-y***
      bush-ALL that   hop-TOT-PST
      They all hopped into the bush.   JG

(741) All the children were quiet and went to sleep.   JM/FR 2436A 683
      *giirr=nga   ganunga   **dhanduwi-y.aaba-y***
      true=NOW   3PL   sleep-TOT-PST
      They are all asleep now.   FR

(742) The boys gave all the bread to the woman.   CW/AD 5131 933
      *giirr nguuma?? / birralii-djuul-u / dhuwarr ngaama **wuu-rr.aaba-y** / yinarr-gu*
      true 3ERG.DEF / child-DIM-ERG / bread   that   give-TOT-PST / woman-DAT

Non-simple uses are seen in the following examples. The Wurm translation of (743) gives no indication that all of the A or O is meant, and all O is semantically unlikely. However the previous sentence of the story includes 'all the children had got hungry'. In (743) 'children' is the IO, so indicating that *-aaba-li* can mean 'all IO'.

(743) Yesterday the mothers collected food for the children   SW p 72
      gi:ð gunədjɛr̃u gɛruβa:βai ðuwaḍ bir̃aligaĺu
      *giirr gunidjarr-u **gayarra-b.aaba-y** dhuwarr birralii-gal-u   giirr*
      true mother-ERG find-TOT-PST   food   child-PL.DIM-DAT true
      The mothers collected food for all the children.   JG

There are other examples where the suffix seems to refer to the O, but with meaning 'thoroughly' rather than 'all': for instance in (744) where *-aaba-li* seems to translate 'into small bits'. So it is not the amount referred to, but the completeness of the action. Wurm, in the sentence following (744), uses *gama-l.aaba-li* again and his translation is 'break the firewood into two', again a variant use for the suffix.

(744) I break this stick into small bits.   SW p 71
      gini nama gamala: βula
      *giniy nhama **gama-l.aaba-la***
      stick 3.DEF break-TOT-IMP
      Break that stick up totally.   JG

(745) has a similar elicitation to (744) but the verb form is different. It may be that AD has used a simplified form of *gamalaabali*. Alternatively, and less likely, there is a further suffix awaiting analysis.

(745)   I broke the stick into little pieces / I broke it all up   CW/AD 5057 1735

    *nhama ngaya bubay / giniy / gama-aba-y   (later) **??gama-aba-li***

    3.DEF 1SG   small / stick / break-aba-PST (later) ??break-aba-FUT

    I broke the stick all up into little pieces. ??Will break it all.   JG

In (746) also *-aaba-li* has a meaning like 'thoroughly' or 'really'.[200]

(746)   The kangaroo killed the dog with his claws.   CW/AD 5130 1746

(a)   *bandaa-yu   nhamalay / maadhaay nhima-y   / **nhima-l.aaba-lda-nhi** /*

    kangaroo-ERG 3.DEF.OST / dog   pinch-PST / pinch-TOT-CTS-PST   /

    The kangaroo pinched the dog, pinched him all over/really scratched him.   JG

(b)   *nguwama-Nu, ngaliman-lu   (Wayilwan?) / maadhaay, balu-waa-nha*

    there-?3.ERG, nearly-?3.ERG Wayilwan? / dog,   die-MOV-PRS

    That dog nearly dying now when that kangaroo scratched him.   AD

    There, … nearly, the dog is dying.   JG

There is nothing in the English of (747) which indicates 'all the S' but there are two other quantity words which may be translated with *-aaba-li*: '**very** tired' and '**all** night.

(747)   *yulu-y.aa-y.la-ndaay   yinggil **gi-b.aaba-y***

    dance-NIGHT-CTS-SUB tired   get-TOT-PST

    They got very tired corroboreeing all night.   AD/JM 3219A 812

With 'talk',[201] whether the transitive verb or the derived reflexive verb, *-aaba-li* seems to indicate all the subject, or to have a meaning such as 'together'. Wurm has three sentences with 'talk' where *-aaba-li* corresponds to 'together' rather than 'all'. (748) has the reciprocal verb, but the next sentence on p 77 and one on p 64 have non-reciprocal 'talk' (*guwaa-l.aaba-lda[-nha* 'say-TOT-CTS[-PRS'), translated 'we all talk together'.

(748)   We 2 talk together.   SW p 77

    gai ŋali gʷaluwa:bulda

    gaay ngali guwaa-la-w.aaba-lda[-nha

    word 1DU   say-RECP-TOT-CTS[-PRS

    We (2) are (both) talking.   JG

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[200] The first two words of (b) are probably Wayilwan.

[201] English 'talk' is translated in YR by *gaay guwaa-li* 'words tell-FUT', with *gaay* the Object of *guwaa-li*. If *-aaba-li* here means 'all O' *gaay guwaa-l.aaba-li* would be 'say everything'. However this is not the translation found. When 'talk' has a reciprocal sense it is translated by *gaay guwaa-la-y.la-y* 'words tell-REC-CTS-FUT'. This is a verb phrase which has an object, but is reciprocal and the Subject is in Nominative case. So the verb has a Nominative subject and an object. The simple analysis for TOTal does not cater for this situation.

The only other example found involving *guwaa-li* and *-aaba-li* has unclear meaning in a halting elicitation. AD begins to answer the elicitation and gives (749) before stopping, and then giving a sentence he translates with 'they are talking about me and you'. However (749) shows that *guwaa-l.aaba-li* was found.

(749)   The other people talked between themselves.   JM/AD 8185 3712

   *ngiyarrma   ngayagay-galgaa-gu dhayn-du   / gaay guwaa-**l.aaba**-wu??*
   there   other-PL-ERG   people-ERG / word tell-TOT-??

In (750) the function of *-aaba-li* is not clear, but again may mean 'thoroughly' or could indicate 'all the crayfish'.

(750)   She dusted the ash off the crayfish.   JM/AD 8185 3559

   *giirruu   ngaama nguu   / **buma-l.aaba**-y / yin.ga-galgaa*
   true.very the   3SG.ERG / hit-TOT-PST   / crayfish-PL
   She 'hit all over'? the crayfish. (uncertain)   JG

In (751) also *-aaba-li* has a non-standard meaning: 'for a long time', if the analysis is correct. There are a number of questions. *Gindama-y* is usually intransitive, and the final two syllables of Wurm's verb are uncertain.

(751)   The man has laughed a long time.   SW p 42
   mariðu ginðɛ mua:βilðu
   *maridhu   **gindama-w-aaba-lda[-nhi***
   man-ERG laugh-TOT-CTS[-PST

In (752) the meaning is 'all the O' but the expected verb is *dha-l.aaba-li*. The verb stem *dhala-y/dhalu-y* is unexplained. The same morpheme, *ðalu-* 'eat+?', occurs a few times in Wurm. In the absence of further information I will treat it as a variant form of the root.

(752)   He will eat it all up.   SW
   ðaluwa:βali
   *dhala-w.**aaba**-li*
   eat-LA?-TOT-FUT

The translation given for (753) has no completive meaning. The use of the suffix here remains unexplained.

(753)   [What] are you carrying about.   SW
   ŋinda ga:wa:βulda
   *nginda   gaa-w.**aaba**-lda-[nha*
   2SG   bring-TOT-CTS-[PRS
   You are carrying it all. (expected translation)   JG

9.1.2.1   *-aaba-li* 'TOTal' in old sources

No evidence of the suffix has been found in Ridley, Parker or Laves. MathewsGR (p 267) has a number of examples of verbs which include 'several' as part of the subject and have *-aaba-li* in the verb. Two of these are given below. Unlike in later analysis, the gloss of both the transitive and intransitive verbs includes all the subject. It is understandable that Mathews did not realise how the suffix operates. In the Tindale (1985: 11, 14) version of the story of Emu and Brolga the suffix occurs twice. In neither instance is 'all' translated, nor can it strictly mean 'all', since a key part of the story is that all the children **but two** are killed. In contrast to the Mathews' examples *-aaba-li* in Tindale refers to the object of the transitive verb.

Table 150   **'TOTal' in older sources**

Original	Original gloss	Current orthography	Gloss
MathewsGR			
Bumullabuldha	**several** are beating	*buma-l.**aaba**-lda-[nha* hit-TOT-CTS-PRS	are beating **all**
babiyabulda	**several** lying	*baabi-y.**aaba**-lda-[nha* sleep-TOT-CTS-PRS	are **all** sleeping
Tindale			
boma'la:bilika	You ask your husband whether you can kill yours also.	*buma-l.**aaba**-li.gu* hit-TOT-PURP	to kill **all**
boma'labekeir	Oh yes, we killed them, too right.	*buma-l.**aaba**-y ?giirr* hit-TOT-PST ?true	killed them **all**

There are around 40 clear instances of the suffix in Wurm, in both GR and YR. This is a surprising change of frequency from earlier sources. The suffix in Wurm generally begins with a long *a* but then there is considerable variation. Examples include: *a:bu, aˆ:βi, a:βi, a:βu, a:βa, a:βᵘ, aβu, a:β, a: βu,* and *a:βi* (the past tense is *-aaba-y*). There are two instances in Wurm of the irregular: *yana-b-aaba-la* 'go-TOT-IMP' 'all go'. The usual CM is *w*, not *b*. I will treat these as irregular forms. There are around 100 examples of the suffix in the tapes.

Irregular verbs are quite rare in YG. However *gi-gi* 'be/become' sometimes lengthens the first syllable vowel in a number of contexts, most commonly in *gii-b.aaba-y* 'get-TOT-PST' ('all became'). The verb vowel is generally, but not always clearly, lengthened. A number of NG class verbs use *b* as the CM with *-aaba-li*.

Jack Sands uses *giibaabay* (and at times *gibaabay*) 'be-TOT-PST' in a number of sentences such as: 'they got hungry', 'where did they get to?' Arthur Dodd also uses it a number of times, for example (754).

(754)   Where are you all?   CW/AD 5055 1823

  *minyaaya-ma   ngindaay **gii-b.aaba-y** // ngindaay means 'all of you'*

  where.LOC-DEF 2PL   get-TOT-PST // 2PL

Wurm (755) has a regular form of the verb, with short *i*.

(755)   *gɛruwaːnʼa ɖuwaḏ biřaligu : juːlŋin giβaːβai*   SW p 72

  *gayarra-waa-nha dhuwarr birralii-gu // yuulngin **gi-b.aaba-y***

  collect-MOV-PRS bread   child-PURP // hungry   be-TOT-PST

  They are collecting food for the children. They have become hungry.   SW

  They are collecting food for the children. They are all hungry.   JG

There is a commonly found time adverb, *giibaabu* '(early) in the morning' whose form suggests a relationship with *gii-b.aaba-li* and the *-uu* time suffix, but the detailed derivation is not understood.

9.1.2.2   'TOTal' in other languages

-aaba-li does not have cognates in nearby languages, but there are affixes with similar meanings. Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 202) has a verb prefix: *muun-* 'do to all', which refers exclusively to verb objects. In Yandruwantha the reduplicated form of *thika* 'back', *thikathika*, is a verb suffix meaning 'widespread action, action affecting many objects'. (Breen, 2004: 156) has 'it probably means action over the whole of the available area or affecting all the available objects'. With 'run' it is translated 'run around all the time'. One difference between it and *-aaba-li* is that *thikathika* never refers to 'all the subject'. While there is some overlap in meaning neither of these is closely related to the YG suffix.

9.1.3   *-DHa-y* 'EAT; associated mouthing'

The suffix *-DHa-y*[202] conveys the meaning that there was some sort of ingestion associated with the action of the main verb. There are quite a few YG examples of the suffix, but no examination of its effect in elicitations[203], so the description is derived from spontaneously occurring examples and the cognate Wangaaybuwan suffix[204]. The

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[202] Much of this section has been published in Giacon (2008).

[203] The suffix has been found at least once in early descriptions of Yuwaalaraay, in Mathews' Notebooks. (756) clearly has the suffix, and (757) possibly does. Williams (1980:74) notes Mathews' statement about a suffix that means 'after eating' but did not find it.

[204] Donaldson (1980:175-6) states that in Wangaaybuwan the 'associated eating' suffix 'indicates that an event occurs in association with eating and/or drinking. When *-DHa-y* is attached to verbs indicating position, (e.g. sit) the eating or drinking is **concurrent** with the event referred to by the verb root. When (it) is attached to other, active, verbs, (e.g. lean over, cook) it indicates that the action is undertaken in **order to** eat or drink. When *-DHa-y* is attached to a stative verb or *ga-l* 'be' in a nominal predicate construction, it indicates that the state **results** from eating or drinking (e.g. 'choke from eating'). (my emphases)'

suffix is clearly related to *dha-li* 'eat'. The term 'associated mouthing' is an adaption of 'associated motion' (see Koch (1984), (2006)). Both terms refer to suffixes which create a stem which indicates two events: that of the root and that of the suffix. For instance *balu-dha-y* (*balu-gi* 'die') 'die as a result of eating' refers to both 'dying' and 'eating'.

It is glossed 'EAT', since eating is the most common action referred to, but it also refers to (at least) 'drinking' and 'smoking'. One example each of the last two has been found in the YG sources. The association can take many forms but is mainly temporal (758) or causal. Often the translation does not make any reference to the suffix. Examples of the suffix are presented and then its current analysis summarised in Table 151. *-DHa-y* does not affect the transitivity of the main verb. The complex stem which incorporates the *-DHa-y* suffix can refer to two agents - one which is the subject to the main verb and one which is the subject of 'eating', as shown in examples (760), (761), where the subjects of 'give' and 'eat' are different, and in similar examples. The CMs are set out in Table 149.

Mathews has a clear example of the verb in (756) and a possible example in (757), from successive pages of his MS8006. In (756) the verb *bumadhe* and the translation make it clear this includes *-DHa-y*. (757) has *bumulde*. The *u* is inconsistent with 'hit'. The translation includes 'frequently' and is either an error or the verb has another, not currently known, suffix. The meaning, 'after eating' occurs in (756) and in (758), from a tape made in the 1970s. The meaning 'after, but not caused by, eating' does not occur in the Wangaaybuwan analysis, where the suffix can only mean 'concurrent eating; in order to eat; as a result of eating'.

(756) *Illa bumadhe*   Mathews' Notebook 3:62/ Williams p74
       *yilaa **buma-dha-y***
       soon hit-EAT-FUT
       I'll beat after eating.   Mathews
       (Will) beat after eating.   JG

(757) *Illa bumuldhe*   MathewsYR: 142; Mathews' MS8006 3:63/ Williams p74
       *yilaa **buma-dha?-y***
       soon hit-EAT?-FUT
       To beat frequently. MathewsYR: 142;   I'll beat often or continually   MathewsYR: 142
       (Will) beat after eating.   JG

(758) They all danced after the meal.   JM/AD 3220A 2097
       *giirr=bala ngaama ganunga **yulu-dha-nhi**   / bamba ganunga **yulu-dha-nhi,***
       true=CTR there   3PL   dance-EAT-PST / hard   3PL   dance-EAT-PST
       They danced after eating, they really danced after eating.   JG

More often the interpretation is causal. It is 'for the purpose of eating' on verbs such as *gaa-gi* 'take' and *wuu-rri* 'give': (759), (760), (761), (762)(b); 'as a result of

eating' on verbs such as *gi-gi* 'become' and *balu-gi* 'die': (762)(b) (763) (766) (759) -
(762)(b); and 'as a result of drinking' in (764). With a copula (763) or stative verb
(766) the suffix is not explicitly translated. In (765) 'get hungry' the use of the suffix
is not strictly causal.

(759)   I am going to take my meat across the river.   JM/AD 3217A 946

   ngaarri=bala ngaya gi.yaa.nha **gaa-dha-waa-y**

   there-CTS   1SGSA going.to   take-EAT-MOV-FUT

   I'll take this meat across the river.   AD

   I am going to take it across (to eat).   JG

(760)   The strangers asked for some food.   JM/AD 8187 1557

   waal ngiyani-luu **wuu-dha-y.la-nha**

   not   1PL-ALL   give-EAT-CTS-PRS

   We are not going to give (them) any.   AD/JM 8187 1574

   (This sentence follows a statement that some people had asked for food.)

(761)   The old man gives the children some emu.   JM/AD 3217A 766

   wayamaa-gu **wuu-dha-y.la-nha** *birralii-gal-gu,*   *ngaarrma dhinawan*

   old.man-ERG give-EAT-CTS-PRS child-PL.DIM-DAT, there   emu

   The old man give the emu to the kids to eat.   AD/

   The old man is giving the kids emu to eat.   JG

(762)   They were fat children and she fed them well.   JM/AD 8185 2483
(a)   *giirr ngaama ganunga wamu* **gi-dja-nhi**

   true that   3PL   fat   be-EAT-PST

   They got fat (from eating).   JG

(b)   *ngambaa-gu maayu dhuwarr ganungu* **wuu-dha-nhi**

   mother-ERG well   bread   3PL.DAT give-EAT-PST

   Their mother gave them lots of food (to eat).   JG

(763)   *giirr=nga=bala ngay   mubal* **gi-dja-nhi**

   true=NOW=CTR 1SG.DAT stomach be-EAT-PST

   My stomach is full now.   FR/JM 2440A 1424

   My stomach has now got food. (awkward, but tries to capture the sense)   JG

(764)   They walked to the river and had a drink.   JM/AD 3217B 847
(a)   *giirr ganunga ngaama yanaa-nhi / gaawaa-gu /*

   true 3PL   there   go-PST   / river-ALL /

   They walked to the river,   JG

(b)   *ngiyarrma=ngu / gungan ngawu-nhi /*

   there=3.ERG   / water   drink-PST /

   and drank some water,   JG

(c) *ngiyama / dhumbi mubal **gi-dja-nhi**   / gungan-di*

there / humped stomach become-EAT-PST / water-ABL

They had a good drink of water and got a big belly full of it.   AD

Their stomachs were full of water. / Their stomachs got rounded from drinking water.   JG

(765) *yuulngindi ganunga **gi-dja-nhi***

hungry   3PL   become-EAT-PST

They got hungry (for food/eating).   AD/JM 3217B 1168

(766) The stinking meat wouldn't make the dog sick.   JM/AD 2833B 287

*nhama maadhaay-u dha-li,   waal nhama **balu-dha-y***

3.DEF dog-ERG   eat-FUT not 3.DEF die-EAT-FUT

He'll eat that stinking meat, it won't hurt him.   AD

The dog will eat it but won't die (from eating).   JG

(767) - (769) illustrate further meanings of the suffix. (767) is the only one found where the suffix is associated with 'smoking'[205] and (768), a comment on a goanna being cooked, can be seen as casual, but is the only instance found with *buwi-y* 'smell'. In (769) the suffix may refer to anticipation of eating.

(767) The boy was pretending to smoke tobacco.   CW/AD 5131 2736

*ngaama nguu   gagil dhaygal **gi-dja-nhi,***

that   3?ERG?DAT bad   head   get-EAT-PST

He was smoking that tobacco and he got a headache out of it.   AD

His head got bad (from smoking)   JG

(768) The smell of the goannas was good.   JM/AD 8185 1717

*ngaama gaba **buwi-dja-nhi,** mangun.gaali*

that   good smell-EAT-PST tree.goanna

The goannas smelt good (to eat).   JG

(769) *yuulngindi ganunga **gi-dja-nhi***

hungry   3PL   get-EAT-PST

They got hungry (for food/eating).   AD/JM 3217B 1159

Table 151 has 'developed semantics' of *-DHa-y*. That is, it shows the uses found in YG, and some other uses expected in YG (marked#) since they are found in WN. It is also assumed that the use of the YG suffix is obligatory in the same circumstances that the Wangaaybuwan suffix is obligatory. The YG evidence points to this but is not conclusive.

There is potential for more examination of the suffix, including the ordering of the suffix when it co-occurs with other derivational suffixes. One relevant instance is at

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[205] After a version of the 2008 paper was presented Harold Koch noted that a number of Australian languages semantically linked eating, drinking and smoking and that this suffix might follow that pattern. The 'smoking' example was found on a subsequent re-examination of the tape transcripts.

3217A 3511, which has an unclear verb that may be *gaa-dha-y.uwi-yaa-nha* 'take-EAT-BACK-MOV-PRS' 'is taking (honey) home'.

Table 151   **Developed semantics of *-DHa-y* 'associated mouthing'**

Verb type	Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay	Wangaaybuwan
	Meaning	
active	for purpose of eating; after eating	for purpose of eating
position	concurrent eating#	concurrent action + eating
stative	results from eating#	results from eating
copula	results from eating	results from eating
copula +	anticipation of eating	

The suffix is not discussed in the Gamilaraay sources, but may occur in the story of Emu and Brolga (Austin & Tindale, 1985: 12, 13) in the verb *ngudharruldeigo (ngu-dha-rru-lda-y.gu)*. This is likely *ngu-* ('give' in Wayilwan and Wangaaybuwan, so perhaps in dialects of Gamilaraay) followed by *-dha-* 'eat', *Ru* (unknown meaning), *-lda* 'CTS' and *y.gu* 'PURP'. Unusually for a derived stem, it forms an L class verb.

A number of questions about the suffix arise from the sources. While the Mathews example (757) has *l* as the L class CM examples in Wurm have Ø; *l-dh* is not usually found, so I have listed Ø as the CM. 2437B 3324 has a verb *nhiidja-rri* 'cook' not found elsewhere. It is likely derived from *nhii* 'charcoal' and a form related to the suffix: but *nhiidja-rri* is RR class, and *-DHa-y* Y class.

In WN *-DHa-y* is obligatory whenever some NP argument in the sentence has to be interpreted as being ingested. E.g. (770) (Donaldson's 6-53). (771) shows the WN suffix having to do with drinking.

Wangaaybuwan

(770)   *badhaambadhaanh-dhi + ni balu-nh.**dha**-y-guwa-nhi*
       poison-CIRC = 3ABS + vis   die-EAT-CM-PITY-PST
       It was because of eating poison that this poor fellow died.   Donaldson (6-53)

(771)   *ngadhu nginu-ga   gaanh-**dha**-nha*
       I + NOM you + OBL-LOC carry-DRINK-PRS
       "I am bringing (some) for you to drink."   Wangaaybuwan Donaldson (6-55)

9.1.4   *-ngila-y* 'together'

The YG suffix *-ngila-y* is glossed 'TOGether'. In many examples it could mean 'in a group of two'. It has not been previously described. The meaning is not fully certain since the glosses vary and there are relatively few instances. The CMs, given in Table 149, would be expected to be the same as for other *-ng* initial suffixes.

There is a Wangaaybuwan continuous suffix of the same form (Donaldson, 1980: 191) and apparently also in Wayilwan since AD[206] occasionally uses it in YR elicitation when he slips into Wayilwan. However when *-ngila-y* co-occurs with a YG continuous suffix it cannot be continuous. Moreover the continuous use is clearly found only in AD material. All examples of the suffix found are given below, apart from a few Mathews examples similar to those in Table 152.

Mathews, in his GR (p 267) and YR (p 142) gives dual forms of verbs. (He also gives plural forms which contain the suffix *-aaba-li* and the translation 'several'). Table 152 shows some of these examples. They all finish with the present suffix *-nha/Ø*, preceded by one of the two continuous suffixes, *-la-y* or *-Caa-y*, so the previous suffix cannot be continuous. Most of Mathews' examples contain an element more or less interpretable as *-ngila-y*. A few, like 'fighting' do not: it has a reflexive and continuous suffix. The form varies. While his YR evidence suggests the form is *-ngila-y,* Mathews' GR suggests *-ngiili-y*, the Reflexive suffix[207]. The meaning in Mathews is consistently 'dual'. This is not always the meaning found elsewhere.

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[206] AD occasionally mixed Wayilwan with his YR elicitation (and often corrected it). The tapes contain a number of instances of *-ngila-y*. Some are clearly the Wayilwan suffix, as in 8184 3004 where AD uses the suffix on a Wayilwan verb *ginda-y* 'laugh. Other uses clearly refer to a singular: ('The old man was snoring.': 2832B 2042). In both the translation is continuous, there is no other continuous suffix, so *-ngila-y* is 'continuous'.

[207] Some of Mathews' examples suggest the suffix has the same form as the reflexive. There is evidence in other languages that reciprocal/reflexive suffixes can have wider uses than their names suggest. It may be that *-ngila-y* is derived from the YG reflexive, *-ngiili-y*, or in fact in GR be identical to it. Dench (1987: 332) quotes Morphy (1983) who

> argues against the conventional treatment of the unitary reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-mi* in Djapu. … First, inherently intransitive stems may also take the reflexive/reciprocal suffix. Further, when attached to intransitive verbs the suffix denotes an activity which the participants engage in together… This meaning is also available for transitive verb stems.

The Ngayarda languages are atypical of Pama-Nyungan Australian languages in that they operate on a Nominative-Accusative system, so that may influence their use of reflexive/reciprocal forms. However the system there may also inform the use of suffixes in YG. Dench's paper (1987: 337)

> has investigated the functions of a verbal derivational suffix … [which] .. appears to be very like the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes described for many Australian languages. However, in the Ngayarda languages the central meaning of the suffix is **collective activity** .. (my emphasis).

The Ngayarda suffix can also be used to signal that the activity is carried out by members of the same generation set in the Ngayarda kinship system.

The existence in other Pama-Nyungan languages of suffixes which indicate 'collective activity' is an indication that such suffixes might be found in YG.

Table 152   **Mathews examples of -ngila-y 'Together'**

Language	Mathews' gloss	Original	Analysis, Note
YR p142	A couple running	*bunnagangillellunna*	*banaga-**ngila**-y.la-nha*
	A couple fighting*	*bumullellunna*	*buma-<u>la</u>-y.la-nha* (reflexive)
	A couple running	*Bunnagangillellunna*	*banaga-**ngila**-y.la-nha*
	A couple standing	*Wurringillellunna*	*warra-**ngila**-y.la-nha*
GR p267	Two walking	*Yannungillawan*	*yana-**ngila**-waa-nh[a*
	Couple of people beating	*Bumullainyillila*	*buma-la-**ngiili**?-y.la[-nha*
	Two lying	*Babingiilila*	*baabi-**ngiili**?-y.la[-nha*
	Two sitting	*Ngurringiilila*	*ngaarri-**ngiili**?-y.la[-nha*

*This does not include the suffix, but has 'couple' in the English.

(772) is the one possible instance of the suffix in Ridley. The subject is 'we (plural)' - clearly not dual. The meanings 'together' and 'continuous' are both consistent with the translation 'we are reconciled' and with the verb form. The literal meanings with the two interpretations of the suffix are 'we are sitting well again' or 'we sit together again'.

(772) *yealo ŋeane murru ŋurriŋillone*   Ridley p 43

    *[yi]yaluu   ngiyani   maaru??   **ngarri-ngila-nhi***

    again   1PL   well   sit-ngila-PST

    We are reconciled.   Ridley

(773) *jana ŋilani 'mo:ŋi'lani*   Tindale l 11

    *yana-ngila-nhi   **mawu-ngila-nhi***

    go-ngila-PST   dig-ngila-PST

    (Emu and Brolga) went (to gather roots) (They spent time) digging.   Tindale

    They went together, they dug together.   JG

The subject is dual, and the suffix could refer to duality or be continuous, since this text has Ngiyambaa influence. However the first phrase in not likely to be continuous.

The context makes it clear there are more than two children involved in (774). The MOVing suffix means *-ngila-y* cannot be continuous. The meaning of the suffix is not clear, but 'action together' does fit the sentence.

(774) *gawaa-**ngila**-waa-nha＝nga   ganunga*

    chase-ngila-MOV-PRS＝NOW 3PL

    They (the kiddies) chasing one another now.   FR/JM 2440A 1475

9.1.5   *-mayi-y* 'move up'

There is a previously undescribed suffix found only on AD tapes on *warra-y* 'stand' which is of uncertain form and meaning. It is heard as *-mayi-y* and *-Nayi-y*. The initial

consonant is uncertain, as are the final elements of the suffix. If the final segments are *yi* the past tense suffix expected is *-nyi*, the usual form after stem final *i*, but *-nhi* is found. Two meanings consistent with the use of the suffix are 'adopt position' and 'move up'. As an interim measure I propose the form *-mayi-y*, the most commonly found form, and the meaning 'move up'. The CMs, Table 149, would be as for other *m*-initial suffixes: *l, y* and *rr* in those verb classes and *Ø* for NG class. Examples of the suffix are now presented, and similar suffixes in other languages discussed.

In (775) and (776) the suffix is written as *-mayi-y*, but at times it is heard as *-ngayi-y*. This latter is unlikely since that is the form of the 'morning' suffix (§7.5.2.1) and the two suffixes co-occur in (776). Other examples of the suffix, AD3220A 3673 and AD3220A 3578, also have the same uncertainty. In (777) and AD5056 324 the suffix is heard as *-nayi-y* or *-nhayi-y*. In AD5056 2575 the suffix is heard as *-nhay-nhi* after being heard a few seconds earlier as *-may-nhi*.

(775)   Get up or I'll hit you.   JM/AD 3219B 3132

(a)   *barraay = badhaay   ngiyama   **warra-y.mayi-ya**   / waal   nginda*

         quick = MIGHT   there   stand-*y.mayi*-IMP   / not   2SG

         Stand up quickly. If you don't   JG

(b)   *warra-y.**mayi**-y.ngindaay?   buma-li ngaya gi.yaa.nha nginunha*

         stand-*y.mayi*-SUB?   hit-FUT 1SG   going.to   2SG.ACC

         stand up I'm going to hit you.   JG

(776)   Get up, I am going to get up early in the morning.   CW/AD 5058 1673

         *giirr ngaya = laa warra-y.**mayi**-y.ngayi-y*

         true 1SG = DIR   stand-*y.mayi*-MORN-FUT

         I will get up in the morning.   JG

(777)   The emus came close to have a look at him.   JM/AD 8187 642

(a)   *guwiinbaa-ga nhama / dhinawan / nyiyarrma nguungunda / dhurra-y*

         close-LOC   3.DEF   / emu   / there   3SG.LOC   / come-PST.

         The emus came close to him.   JG

(b)   *nyiyam = bala = nha barraay warra-**Nayi**-nhi / bilaarr-iyaay nyiyam = bala = nha*

         there = CTR = 3   quickly stand-nayi-PST / spear-COM   there = CTR = 3

         (When the emus got close) he stood up quickly with his spear.   JG

The meaning of the suffix is also uncertain. It is found only on *warra-y*. There is no discussion of its meaning on the tapes, the only source. However nearby languages and similar forms in YG give clues to its meaning. Wangaaybuwan has an 'adopt position' suffix (Donaldson, 1980: 193) *-NHaani-y* which

> is added only to the three verbs of position which also function as existential verbs, *wii-y* 'sit' *wara-y* 'stand' and *yuwa-y* 'lie'. *-NHaani-y* converts these .. to verbs of motion, 'sit down' 'sit up' (from lying position), 'stand up' and 'lie down'.

In Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 161) there are suffixes which specify the direction of action: *-pandhi* and *-ngari* 'action directed downwards', *-thalka* 'action directed upwards' *-walpirri* and *-pada* 'action directed across'. All of these also occur as free form adverbs. Examples include *nhina-pandhi!* 'sit down' and *thanggu-thalka!* 'stand up!' Some other instances of *-thalka* are in: 'crawl up (leg)' and 'gallop (horse up hill)'. The WN and YA examples suggest two alternative interpretations for *-mayi-y*. One is 'adopt position', the other is 'movement-up'. The other verbs the suffix could be used would depend on which meaning it has.

A further piece of evidence is the Yuwaalaraay verb *ma-y*, 'be up' (778). This is only found in continuous form and is given as *ma-y* in the GY dictionary, but with suggestion there that the form could actually be *maya-y* or *maaya-y*. The form remains uncertain.

(778) He (the child) is on top of the stone.   CW/AD 3996A 1238

    giirr nhama **ma-y.la-nha**   *//* (repeated) **maaya-y.la-nha**

    true 3.DEF be.up-CTS-PRS // (repeated) be.up-CTS-PRS

    He's there, (on the stone).   AD

    He's up there.   JG

The form of the suffix is similar to that of the verb 'be up', suggesting a meaning 'move up' rather than 'adopt position'. While the evidence is inconclusive, at this stage the most likely form is *-mayi-y* and the most likely meaning 'move up'.

The scant information about this suffix suggests that other similar suffixes may not have been recorded. This may be an area for development of YG, ideally informed by a clear analysis of similar suffixes in other languages. To look at just a few examples: in Arabana-Wangkangurru (Hercus, 1994: 198) there is an inceptive suffix based on the verb *wanka-* 'to rise'.

9.1.6 *-Nami-y* 'want?'

There is a (potential) suffix, *-Nami-y* whose most likely meaning is 'want'. The form is clear, apart from the initial nasal, which is given as *n* in many examples, *ng* in one Wurm example, *ñ* and *ṇ* in Laves, and *nn* in Ridley and Mathews. This suggests *n*, but the evidence is not overwhelming; I use *-Nami-y* to show the uncertainty of the initial nasal. The first vowel is *a*, typically found as *a* and *u* in written sources. None of the examples suggest the use of a CM. I have no indication of the meaning of *da* in the last Laves example.

The most common gloss is 'want', which is found explicitly two times and can be read into other translations. Most instances found are given in Table 153. No instances have been found in the AD/FR tapes. Despite the lack of more modern examples the existence of the suffix is fairly certain, given its frequency and range of sources.

Not all examples fit the meaning 'want' neatly. Ridley's 'if you **dare**' is usually translated with *-mi-y*, below. Mathews' 'may as well' is not strong evidence for 'want' but Laves *ngaru-nami-y* 'I am thirsty' (drink-*nami*-FUT) could well be 'I want to

drink', and his other 'drink' and 'lie down' examples could well include the meaning 'want', as could Wurm's 'talk' examples.

Table 153   –*Nami-y* 'want' examples

Original/Source	Gloss	Current morphology	Ref / note
Ridley		*y* 'FUT'; *-ya* 'IMP'	
wīmunnumīa	Put down, if you dare.	*wiima-**Nami**-ya*	p10: cf. *-mi-y* 'dare': §9.1.7
MathewsGR			
Ngulli gurri bumunnami	We (dual) may as well also beat him.	*buma-**Nami**-y*	p266
Laves			
ngaru-nami	thirsty I	*ngaru-**Nami**-y* (drink)	8-3, 9-161, 9-164
yamadi ŋinda ŋaru ndami *	will you have a drink?	*ngaru-**Nami**-y*	9-173
ba /(?) biñami	lie down-will I	*baabi-**Nami**-y*	8-5
ba·banami-(e)	I am going to lie down for a while	*baabi-**Nami**-y*	9-132
ˈga·radanamileˑa	rub something on it (e.g. grease)	*gaarra-da?-**Nami**-y.la-ya* (rub-da-NAMI-CTS-IMP)	10-37
Wurm			
guŋən ŋai ŋaunumi	I want to drink water, (I am dry.)	*ngaru-**Nami**-y*	p71
gai ŋali gwalunumi:	We two will talk.	*guwaa-la-**Nami**-y*	p72
ga: ŋali gwaluŋami:	Sit down we 2 will talk.	*guwaa-la-**Nami**-y*	p76
ŋuɔːma ŋalundu wilan mi:	Sit down there.	*wila-**Nami**-y*	p76: May not be *-nami-y*
ga:j ŋaja ŋu:ŋunda guɔːnami	I want to talk to him.	*guwaa-**Nami**-y*	p84

*The *nd* here and the *ñ* in the next example may indicate that the consonant is *nh*.

There is at least one other possible occurrence of the suffix. MathewsGR (p 267) has *bumanamiya* 'beat first (before some event)'. This may include the suffix but it may be *-NHumi-y* 'first' §7.5.4.

YG has another way of expressing 'want', by suffixing *-nginda* to the future form of the verb: §2.4.1.4. At present there is nothing to separate the meaning of these two processes.

No equivalent forms are reported in Wangaaybuwan or Yandruwandha. The only formally similar verb suffixes are WN *-mi-y* 'watching' and *-ngama-y* 'busy' (Donaldson, 1980: 172, 173) which do not seem to be related.

9.1.7   *-mi-y₂*[208] 'dare'

There is a suffix *-mi-y* found only a small number of times, glossed 'if you dare', 'if you can' or 'yourself' by Ridley, the most common source. The detailed semantics remain unclear. Ridley (p 9) says:

> The ironical imperative is common to all verbs. It is remarkably indicative of the character of the race - scornful and jocular; irony is ingrained in their nature.

In all Ridley's examples the suffix is followed by *-ya* 'Imperative'. The other examples seem to be future tense.

All likely examples found are given in Table 154: Some may be instances of *-Nami-y* §9.1.6, but currently unexplained *-na-* is found a number times, for instance in *bumanabille* (*bumana-bi-li*) 'allow to be beaten' (Ridley p 8).

Table 154   *-mi-y* 'DARE' examples

Original	Gloss/note	Analysis	Class	Note
From Ridley				
goälmia	**speak**, if you can, or if you dare	*guwaa-l.mi-ya*	L	
wīmulmia	**put down**, if you dare	*wiima-l.mi-ya*	L	
wīmunnumīa		*wiima-na.mi-ya*	Y?	stem uncertain
kānamīa	**take**, if you dare	*gaa-na.mi-ya*	NG	
wīnuŋulmia	**hear**, if you can	*winanga-l.mi-ya*	L	
gimᵒbilmia	**make** it yourself (I won't)	*gimubi-l.mi-ya*	L	
Other				
daijalumi	see (779)	*dhaya-la.mi-y*	L	Tindale
ŋarunami: ŋea	Thirsty I;	*ngaru-na.mi-y* drink-NA-DARE-FUT	NG	LavesMS2188-9- 12p146
wilan mi	**Sit** down there	*wila-n.mi-y*	Y	Wurm p 76

There is variation at the suffix boundary. For L class examples Ridley has *l* as the CM, apart from *wīmunnumīa* and Tindale has *la*.

(779)   *ˊki:r! daijalumi koli:r ŋai ˊweira kolli kei ˊriar*   (Emu speaks) Tindale l 41

> *Giirr!* **Dhaya-la-mi-y**   *guliirr ngay   wayrra[?] guwaa-li giirruu*
> true   ask-?IMP-mi-FUT spouse 1SG.DAT ??   say-FUT   absolutely
> I'll ask my husband if he will say I can.   Tindale
> Definitely! I'll be brave and ask my husband if he will say 'yes'. (tentative translation)   JG

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[208] See §8.4.4 for *-mi-y1*.

At 3219B 3139 AD's translation of JM's 'get up or I'll hit you' includes a very uncertain form, currently transcribed *warra-y-ma-y-mi* (*warra-y* 'stand'). This may include *-mayi-y* §9.1.5 and *-mi-y.*

Neither WN nor Yandruwantha report a similar suffix.

9.1.8   Ordering of suffixes

While information is incomplete, what we do have indicates that the suffixes discussed in §9.1 come after the valency changing suffixes (reciprocal, reflexive, middle, causative, additional argument etc.) and before time suffixes, continuous suffixes and final suffixes (Tense, Mood, Subordinate).

It is not clear if there is a set order of the suffixes in §9.1 or if the order can be varied for semantic purposes. The scarcity of co-occurrence is illustrated by the fact that none of *-uwi-y* 'BACK', *-aaba-li* 'TOTal' and *-DHa-y* 'EAT' ever co-occur[209] in the examples in the thesis, even though they are all found there individually many times. In (729) *-uwi-y* follows the transitivising suffix *-mi-li* 'see'.

Except for possibly in *gaa-dha-y.uwi-yaa-nha*: see §9.1.3.

9.2   Possible suffixes

There are a number of other potential verb stem forming suffixes, with varying amounts of evidence. The more likely are discussed below.

9.2.1   *-wa-li/-wa-y*

The potential suffix *-wa-li* is considered in Giacon (2001: 79). There is considerable evidence which suggests *-wa-li/-wa-y* is a verb suffix, or at least as historically a stem forming element. The forms *-wa-li* and *-wa-y* are found suffixed on existing verb roots, probably suffixed on nominals, and as the final element of verb roots, often with the rest of the root being a recognisable morpheme. There is a verb *wa-li* 'put in' and its intransitivised form, *wa-y* 'be in'. Verb which are *-wa-li*-final are transitive, those which are *-wa-y*-final are intransitive. Some examples of the suffix are given in Table 155.

AD uses suffix *-wa-y* on *dhadha-y* 'taste intr' around five times on the tapes, including (780). *Dhadha-wa-y* is generally translated 'taste' (as *dhadha-y* is) but once is 'testing (the meat)'. In a number of instances Dodd then repeats the sentence with *dhadha-y* instead of *dhadhawa-y*, omitting the suffix, and indicating that he was aware of the alternate forms.

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[209] Except for possibly in *gaa-dha-y.uwi-yaa-nha*: see §9.1.3.

(780) Chicken tastes good.   JM/AD 8184 1927

  giirruu   gaba / gaba **dhadha-wa-y.la-nhi**

  true.very good / good taste.M-*wa*-CTS-PST

  It tasted good.   JG

Table 155 *-wa-li/-wa-y* '?go in'

Verb	Gloss	Compare	Gloss
dhadhawa-y	taste, intr	*dhadha-y*	taste; intr
oorrwalla (wuu-rr.wa-la)	bury	*wuu-gi* (Milson)	go in
garrawa-li	keep, store	*garra* 'a crack', *garra-li*	cut
gandawa-li	cover		
muyuwa-li	duck (in water)		
gudhuwa-li	burn, tr	also *gudhuwa-y* intr	
gundaawa-li	burn, tr	*gundaa*	cloud
ngaawa-y	look for	WN *ngaa-y*	see
buwawa-li	attack	*buwama-li*	shake down
dhanggiwa-li	deceive, play a trick on	*dhanggi*	trick, deception
baluwa-li	put out (fire)	*balu* 'dead'; *balu-gi*	die

Milson's *oorrwalla* 'bury' *(wuu-rr.wa-la,* 'go.in-*wa*-IMP') is the only occurrence of that word. Its meaning is consistent with *-wa-li* 'go in'. The next 3 examples, 'store', 'cover' and 'duck (in water)' all involve movement into something. This implication is not found in the following examples. However comparison of *buwa-wa-li* and *buwa-ma-li* strongly suggests a root-forming morpheme *buwa*, and is good evidence for a suffix *-wa-li. Dhanggiwa-li* likely has the suffix on a nominal, and *balu-wa-li* may involve *balu* 'dead' or *balu-gi* 'die'. The existence of the suffix is relatively certain, its function is quite unclear.

> An indication that YG *wa-li* 'put in', a free verb, could also act as a bound suffix is the fact that a similar situation exists in Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 148), where a number of free form morphemes also act as bound aspect markers. As free forms ten are verbs (e.g. *thayi* 'eat'; as suffix 'do for oneself'; *tharra* 'fly'; as suffix 'following; completion, thoroughness') and 5 are adverbs (e.g. *walpirri* 'across'; as suffix 'across'). That is, there is a large group of verbs which act as verb suffixes but whose meaning changes when used as suffixes. This suggests that the meaning of *-wa-li* could be quite different from that of the verb *wa-li/wa-y.*

9.2.2   *-rra-li/-rra-y*

Here I briefly consider another possible suffix *-rra-li/-rra-y.* It is discussed at greater length in Giacon (2001: 78).

As with other suffixes discussed, the evidence for the suffix is the existence of the form on verb stems and other morphemes. There are a number of verb 'roots' which consist of what is clearly or like a morpheme + *-rra-li*, e.g. *dhiyarra-li* 'dip' (*dhiya-* 'move up') *dhulirra-li* 'drip; intr' (*dhuli-y* 'bend down') and *ngarra-li* 'see' (cf. WN and proto-Australian *ngaa-y* 'see'). On tape 2436A FR uses *gaba-rra-y* before using *gaba giyaanha* 'getting good' (*gaba* 'good'), a possible indication of inchoative use for *-rra-y* or *-rra-li*.

(781) shows the likely occurrence of *-rra-li* on *wii-* 'lie' (a verb stem element). This is the only occurrence of this *wiirra-li* (there is homophonous *wiirra-li* 'shear'), and shows *-rra-li* as a transitivising suffix.

(781)   *tului wirri*   Ridley Gurre l 73
         dhulu-i   **wii-rra-y**
         tree-ABL lie-rra-PST
         on cross fastened   Ridley

9.2.3   *-Nhumi-y -ga-y, -dhi-y, -nga-y*

There is even less evidence for these suffixes. For the one instance of *-Nhumi-y*, possibly 'before' and its WN cognate see §7.5.4. One instance of *-ga-y* is AD5130 764. AD is talking of his pet emu who 'didn't want no-one to go near me' and uses *yanaa-y.ga-y* 'go-*y.ga*-FUT'; see also Table 156:5.

dhi-y is found at 2438A 537, where AD uses *gaa-dhi-y* (*gaa-gi* 'bring') in a sentence he translates 'he's gone home to get a mate to help him carry the kangaroo'. The *-dhi-y* may represent *-dha-y* 'eating', but this is by no means certain.

There is a suffix *-nga-y* '(in the) day' §7.5.2.2, but there may be a homophonous morpheme. The verbs *wunga-y* YR and *wurunga-y* GR 'dive, swim' are quite possibly compounds of *wuu-gi* YR *wuru-gi* GR 'go in' and *-nga-y*, which currently has no gloss. The FR verb *yanaa-y.nga-y* 'go-*nga-y*' (Table 125) may also be an instance of this second *-nga-y* suffix.

9.2.4   Questions about verb morphology

Questions remain about some verbs found in the sources.

9.2.4.1   *y*-final verb roots

One is how to analyse a number of L and RR class verbs whose stem is written as *y*-final. All other verb roots end in a vowel.

There are a number of L class verbs whose stem is heard as *y*-final. The Dictionary has *yaaya-li* 'chop', but that does not reflect the realisation of many instances on the tapes. FR5053 2078 has what is heard variously as *yaa-li* and *yaay-li*. AD3994B 1285 has *yaayli* three times, and 3994B 1253 has *yaay-lda-nha* 'is chopping'. *Baarra-y* is

'split, intransitive'. AD5054A 159 has a transitive form, *baarray-li*, three times. FR2439A 3155 has *baarramay-li* 'tease out (the sinews)' (cf. *baarra-y* above) and then the common transitivised form *baarrama-li* 'tear off'.

Other apparent *y*-final L class stems are found in: FR2438A 1529 *buma-la.y-li*. *Buma-la-y* is 'hit-RECP' = 'fight'; AD3999A 1605 *gudhuwa-y-li* '?singe'; cf. *gudhawa-y* (intr), *gudhuwa-li* (tr) 'burn'.

RR class verbs which seem to have *y-final* roots are:

- *baarray-rri* 'burst, split, crack (transitive) The tapes have 12 examples of *baarray-nhi*, past. There are also 3 examples of *baarray-li*: apparently an l-class future.

- *dhilay-rri* 'push away, throw out' (both FR and AD) and possibly *buulay-rri* 'be hot' (Wurm).

One issue for the L class verbs is that the past tense suffix is *y*, so the past tense verb has *y-y*, e.g. *yaay-y* 'chopped'. This is inconsistent with the phonological rules as formulated and there is nothing in the tapes to indicate how this word would be pronounced. Perhaps an underlying *yy* sequence is realised as simply *y*.

9.2.4.2   Unanalysed verbs

There are also a range of verbs in earlier sources whose structure is not clear. Some of them have been discussed earlier. An incomplete list of other such verbs is given in Table 156. The analysis in all instances is subject to revision. Further study of these sources is likely to lead to some further understanding of traditional YG.

Table 156   **Unanalysed verbs**

	Original	Analysis	Gloss	Source
1	*bumumalilɛin*	*buma-ma-la-y.lay-nhi* hit-CAUS?-RECP-LONG.T?-PST	have already fought	Wurm
2	*huŋaw a: bali-nji*	*wunga-w.aaba-li-nyi* swim-TOT-LI-PAST	were swimming yesterday	Wurm
3	*bumalɛ lɛ:nji*	*buma-la-y.l.ayi-nhi* hit-RECP-LONG.T-PST	Yesterday evening they were fighting together	Wurm
4	*ba:buŋɛinji*	*baaba-ngayi-nyi* sleep-MORN-PST	slept well last night	Wurm
5	*yan`yaigeui*	*yana-ngayi-ga-y.uwi-y* go-MORN-GA-BACK-FUT	coming back tomorrow	Laves
6	*ŋan'gai ŋauʷiyayə*	*??-uwi-ya* ??-BACK-IMP	come back (tomorrow)	Laves: MS2188-9-12p049

In 1 the syllable *-mu-* is unexplained. The form of 2 could suggest the benefactive/additional argument suffix, so that the verb is *wunga-w.aaba-ali-nyi* but

the translation does not reflect this. If 3 involves *-ayi-y* 'long time', formally the most likely interpretation, one would not expect the suffix to be preceded by *l*. The translation includes 'yesterday evening', which does not fit the formal analysis. 4 may literally be 'I slept till the morning' but this interpretation is not obvious. 5 has an unexplained syllable, likely *-ga-* or *-gay-*. 6 contains *-uwi-y* 'back' and possibly an initial *'na*, an abbreviated form of *(ya)na-y* 'go', but the rest is currently unanalysed.

9.2.4.3   YG Verbal lexical development.

As discussed current YG needs to develop: to fill the gaps in what has been recorded and to communicate in a new environment. One way to do that is to borrow from other languages. Table 157 lists some WN suffixes for which there is no current YG equivalent. YG could borrow these suffixes, either directly, or after further analysis to find if there are more appropriate forms to use in YG.

Table 157   **Some Wangaaybuwan verb suffixes**

Wangaaybuwan	WN gloss	Ref: (Donaldson, 1980)
-bi-y	behind	6.3.4.8
-biya-y	of necessity	6.3.4.9
-DHunma-y	in a group	6.3.4.10
-NHaani-y	adopt position	6.3.4.14
-guwa-y	pity	6.3.4.15

9.3   Nominalisation of verbs

Nominalisation of verbs has been covered in some detail in Giacon (2001: 129-144). Here I largely summarise that treatment and add a little new information.

Comrie and Thompson (1985: 349) and Goddard (1983: 50) classify nominals formed from verbs and adjectives into two classes –

A) action/state nominals. These are 'the name of an activity or state designated by the verb or adjective' (Comrie, 1985: 349). Examples of action nominals are 'running' and 'creation'. Examples of state nominals are 'sitting' and 'quietness'.

B) other. I will use Goddard's term 'Characteristic nominalisations' (1983: 76) to cover this second group which includes semantic areas such as: agentive nouns, instrumental nouns, manner nouns, locative nouns, objective nouns, reason nouns and other categories.

Comrie and Thompson (1985: 349) distinguish the two classes by pointing out that the first group (action/state nominals) often 'retain certain properties of the verbs or adjectives they are related to, while those in the second group typically behave like other nouns in the language, bearing only morphological and (often unpredictable and idiosyncratic) semantic relations to the associated verb or adjective'.

The subordinate suffix forms what might be called 'action/state nominals' and these are considered in Chapter 11. As in Yankunytjatjara (C. Goddard, 1983:75) this process is totally productive.

'Characteristic nominalisation' is considered here. YG forms 'Characteristic nominals' from the bare verb stem or by suffixation. The most common processes are seen in Table 158. For most processes there are relatively few examples. Agent nominalisation processes are generally distinct from non-agent processes. The limited sources means it is often not possible to determine how productive a particular process is.

Table 158   **More common nominalisation processes**

Verb Class	Verb	Gloss	Nominal	Gloss	Suffix, Note
Non-Agent nominalisation					
L	*buma-li*	hit	*bumal*	hammer	*-l*; common
L	*garra-li*	cut	*garra*	crack, split	Ø
Y	*warra-y*	stand	*warra*	standing	
Agent nominalisation					
L	*manuma-li*	steal	*manuma-dhaay*	thief	*-dhaay*
L	*buma-li*	hit	*buma-li-yaan*	hitter	*-yaan*
Y	*gubi-y*	swim	*gubiyaan*	swimmer	
L	*gudhuwa-li*	cook	*gudhuwan*	cook	*-n;* uncommon

9.3.1   Non-agent nominalisation

There are two more common processes of non-agent nominalisation. In the first the nominalising suffix is identical to a common CM. In the second the bare stem forms the nominal.

Williams (1980: 106) describes the stem + CM process, giving L and Y class examples. There are many examples of the process with L class verbs. I have found no evidence for the Y class examples she gives, *dhamaay* 'rain, noun', but consider others later. The meaning of the nominal is not predictable, and Table 159[210] shows the main semantic roles the nominal can have.

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[210] There is a long list of similar derivations in Giacon (2002: 136). *dhiirral* 'teacher' from *dhiirra-li* 'teach', is an agent. However this is almost certainly a recent derivation, and use of this process for agent nominalisation is most likely due to the loss of language knowledge.

Table 159   **Stem + CM nominalisation: semantic roles**

Semantic role	Nominal	Gloss	Verb	Gloss	Note
L class					
instrument	*bumal*	hammer	*buma-li*	hit	
product	*dhubil*	spit, saliva	*dhubi-li*	spit	
patient	*wiyayl*	quill (of echidna)	*wiyay-li*	remove quills	
location	*garrawal*	a store	*garrawa-li*	keep	
Y class					
	gayay	turn	*gaya-y*	turn	uncertain
instrument	*bumaluwiy*	hammer	*buma-l.uwi-y*	hit back	uncertain
RR class (a very tentative example)					
agent	*muundhuurr*	hornet	*dhu-rri*	pierce	fossilised form

The two possible examples of this process with Y class verbs are given in Table
159. There is only one instance of verb and nominal *bumaluwiy. Gayay* has not
previously been recognised as a noun. There are 3 occasions on the tapes where the
gaya-dha (*gayay*-LOC) is found, with the meaning something like 'in turn', including
(782) and (697).

(782) Gilaa throwed that, and he said to the Wuulaa then,   AD/CW 3994A 420

     wuulaa, nginda **gaya-dha**=*nga   wana-nga*

     Lizard, 2SG   turn-LOC=THEN throw-IMP

     Wuulaa, you, in turn now, throw it.   JG

There is slight evidence for this process with RR class verbs. The word
muundhuurr 'hornet' contains a WN 'bound verb modifier' (Donaldson, 1980: 202)
muun- 'do to all' and presumably a reflex of *dhu-rri* 'pierce'. If so then the name
appropriately means 'stings all'.

There is a small number of examples where the root of the verb (or something
homophonous with the root of the verb) is found with a meaning that is at least
possibly related to that of the verb (see Giacon, 2001: 137).

Table 160   **Zero nominalisation**

Verb	Gloss	Nominal	Gloss
garra-li	cut	*garra*	crack, split (nouns)
buma-li	hit, kill	*buma garriya*	a name for the place where the death of the *garriya* occurred.
warra-y	stand	*#warra*	standing
barra-li	sharpen	*barra*	thread, filament
*balu-gi	die	*balu*	dead
*guna-gi	defecate	*guna*	shit

    *The derivation here is likely to be from noun to verb.

9.3.2   Agent nominalisation

There are a number of agent nominalisation processes. The semantic differences, if any, between the processes are not clear. The first process has been recorded only with reference to humans, and the second mostly with human reference. *-awaa* is only found forming names of animals but may have a wider range of reference. Examples are given in Table 161.

The suffix *-DHaay* is found deriving the names of human agents on a small number of L class verbs. It is found many times on *manuma-li* 'steal' (783) and there are a number of rare or less certain instances with other roots. It is formally quite similar to the subordinate suffix (*-ldaay, -ngindaay, -dhaay, -ndaay* on different verbs).

(783)   That little boy is a thief to take the nardoo.   JM/AD 3219A 1400

       manuma-dhaay *nyama, birralii-djuul* // see, **manuma-dhaay** means thief

       steal-NML   3.DEF, child-DIM   // see, manumadhaay means thief.

       That little child is a thief.   JG

There is one similar L class example in Sim, *guluma-ldhaay* (possibly 'foster parent'); cf. *guluma-li* 'care for'. The *l* in the suffix might be an error, or a traditional variation. Parker (1905:145), has a similar nominalisation: *doore-oothai* 'a lover'[211] (*dhurriwuudhaay*): *dhu-rri* – 'pierce', *wuu-gi* 'go-in' or *wuu-rri* 'give'. It is reasonable to assume that this was a more productive process in traditional YG, but that limited evidence has been recorded.

There is evidence, largely from Sim but also from Ted Fields and others, for another nominalising suffix *–(y)(a)an*, added to the future tense verb (for Y class verbs it is realised as *–(a)an*). The nominal is most commonly the name of a human agent, but occasionally of a non-human, or an adjective. It has been found with L, Y and RR class verbs.

Arthur Dodd has *binadhiwuubiyan* – 'it goes into your ear': the name 'earwig' an insect. This seems to be *-yaan* on what is substantially a phrase including *bina* – 'ear'; *-dhi* –Ablative, and *wuu-gi* – 'go in', but the function of *-bi-y* is uncertain.

There is slight evidence for a verb stem + *n* derivational process. As well as *dhiinbin* there is a lily called *dhaygal baarrayn* (*dhaygal* 'head' and '*baarray-rri*' 'split') whose name is given two interpretations. One is reference to the bulb, which looks like a brain, with a split in it. The other is that eating it can give you a severe headache: this is a less likely origin since 'splitting headache' may not be a traditional YG metaphor.

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[211] *duri* is used in some NSW Aboriginal Englishes as both a noun and verb for 'intercourse'.

The suffix –*awaa,* glossed 'habitual' was recorded by Sim (1999), who would have received it from his fluent informants. It is found on one verb and a number of phrasal compounds.

Table 161   **More common agent nominalisation processes**

Verb	Gloss	Nominal	Gloss/Note
stem + *DHaay*			
manuma-li	steal	*manuma-dhaay*	thief
gulama-li	care for	*gulama-ldhaay*	possibly 'foster parent'
dhu-rri	pierce	*doore-oothai (dhurri-wuu-dhaay)*	lover; cf. *dhu-rri* below
stem + fut + *[y][a]an*			
buma-li	hit, kill	*buma-li-yan*	hitter, someone who is hitting something
yii-li	bite	*yii-li-yaan*	biter, savage. Note: *yii-li* verb and *yiili* adjective.
yiili/yiilay	savage, angry		
dhuba-y	point (Intr)	*dhubi-yan or dhuba-yan*	tattletale, dobber
banaga-y	run	*banaga-yaan*	runner
gubi-y	swim	*goobean (gubi-yaan)*	swimmer. LP (1905:145)
dhiinbi-y	dive	*dhiinbi-yaan*	a diver; cf. *dhiinbin* – diver, grebe (a bird)
dhu-rri	pierce, (and have sex)	*dhu-rri-yaan; dhu-rri-ya-yaan*	a man who plays around;
dhabi-y	stop	*dhabiyaan*	quiet
Stem + *n*			
gudhuwa-li	cook	*gudhuwa-n*	cook
dhiinbi-y	dive	*dhiinbi-n*	diver, grebe (a bird)
Stem + CM? *-awaa*			
wunga-y	dive, swim	*wunga-y.awaa*	Black Cormorant: a bird which hunts under water
dhiidjii-ba-li	say *dhiidjii*	*dhiidjiib-awaa*	soldier bird: it 'says *dhii dhii*': see *-ba-li* above
gaga-li	call	*mungin-gaga-.-awaa*	Pallid Cuckoo – a bird who is said to call up the mosquitoes (*mungin*) when it arrives each spring
garra-li	cut	*dhina-garra-.-awaa*	clever man who could kill; *dhina* 'foot', *dhinagarral* 'poison'

There are other pairs of morphologically and semantically related verbs and nominals which indicate other derivational processes.

AD3218A 2397 has *murru-dhi gindamalaa* 'Venus': *murru-dhi* 'bum-ABL' and *gindamalaa* derived from *gindama-y* 'laugh', interpretable as 'the one who laughed (at

the lady's bum)'. However there are no other occurrences of *-laa* as a derivational suffix.

There is an adjective *dhirrandhirran* 'shaking', which indicates the existence of unreduplicated *dhirran*. The derivational history of *dhirran* is not clear, but there are obviously related forms *dhirranba-li* 'shake, tr', *dhirranba-y* 'shake, intr' and *dhirra-li* 'wake up, tr'.

Table 162 lists more verbs and probably derived nominals without further comment.

Table 162   **Further nominalisation of verbs**

Nominal	Gloss	Verb	Gloss	Comment
yungiirr, yumbu	cry-baby	*yu-gi*	cry	
binamayaa	saltbush	*ma-y?*	be up	*bina* 'ear'
ngarraadhaan	bat	*ngarra-li*	see	*-dhaan* 'expert at'
warragil	straight (adjective)	*warra-y*	stand	

It is likely that ongoing examination of YG sources will reveal further potential derivational processes.

9.3.3   Nominalisation in other languages

Nominalisation processes in other languages will help analyse YG and also help the YG community to use the processes found to expand its current lexicon.

Nominal derivation in YG has similarities and differences with the same processes in other Australian languages. Dixon (2002: 75) points out that

> There is a derivational suffix *-(nj)dja,* found in a number of languages, which derives an action nominal from a verbal stem. However, on the whole Australian languages do not have much in the way of nominalisation strategies; in particular, there are rather few agentive and patientive nominalisations.

But later he says (2002: 237):

> Nevertheless there are a fair number of languages that have nominalising derivations. These often form an agentive nominal. … There may also be a suffix which derives a nominal referring to the action or state described by the verb.

Examples include: 'hunter' from 'hunt', 'butcher' from 'meat-get' and 'dying' from 'die' as in: 'he's talking about dying'.

Donaldson (1980:199) lists two Wangaaybuwan nominalising suffixes. The first, *-DHaayN-* (Donaldson, 1980: 199) is cognate with YG *-dhaay*, but unlike it has agent and non-agent function. It is apparently totally productive forming what Donaldson calls 'participles, i.e. de-verbal nominals'. The nominal can refer to the agent or form an adjective. (e.g. *mularri-djaay* 'shiverer, shivering' from *mularri-y* 'shiver';

ngalamba-daay 'foul-mouthed' 'swearer' from *ngalamba-li* 'swear'; *ngiya-l-garraa-dhaay* 'talkative, talker' from 'say-ALL.DAY'). The second suffix is *-warra* – 'prone to', and is found on a small number of verbs and nouns.

A brief inspection of Wangaaybuwan data shows that it also, like YG can form a nominal from an L class stem by adding *l*, as seen in the following WN examples: *yarrmal* 'mischievous', *yarrma-li* 'play'; *mamalmamal* 'policeman', *mama-li* 'catch' and *makumal* 'once', from *makuu* 'one' and *-ma-li*, causative suffix. YG shows a more varied set of nominalisation processes.

9.4   Verbalisation of nominals

There are relatively few examples of verbs formed from nominals: some are given in previous sections: §8.4.1.1 lists some formed with *-ma-li* and §8.4.2has others formed with *-ba-li*. There are two possible examples (*guna-gi, balu-gi*) in Table 160.

AD 3220B 1744 has *guwiinba-laa-ndaay* 'close-MOV-SUB', with a moving suffix on the adjective *guwiinbaa* 'close'. FR1850B 3337 has *nhuwi-y.la-nha* 'smell(rotten)-CTS-PRS' 'smells (rotten)' presumably derived from *nhuwi* 'smelly'. A few seconds later FR uses *ngawi-y-la-nha* 'smell-CTS-PRS' of something that smells good. It may be that the verbs have separate meanings, or FR may have confused them.

9.5 Compound structure of some verb roots[212]

Many YG transitive verb roots are historically compound. Recognising this compound structure makes the semantics of the verbs clearer, informs the interpretation of the verb elements in other contexts and opens the way to lexical expansion by using other combinations of the elements found in compound roots.

Examples of compound root are seen in *dha₁dha₂-li* 'taste tr', *dha₁ma-li* 'feel tr', *dha₁ya-li* 'ask tr'. These have a common element *dha₁₋* which can be glossed 'test'. The second elements above are *-dha₂-li* 'do.with.mouth', *-ma-li* 'do.with.hand' or 'general transitiviser' and *-ya-li* 'speak'.

Similar compound verb roots are found in many Australian languages (Dixon, 1980: 408). The extent of compounding varies considerably (Dixon, 1980: 280). Some other languages with compound stems include Warlpiri (Nash, 1986: 47) and Yankunytjatjara (C. Goddard, 1983: 120). Of particular relevance to YG is the compound nature of many Wangaaybuwan transitive roots (Donaldson, 1980: Chap 7). Donaldson's analysis of them has informed the study of similar verbs in YG.

9.5.1 Bound modifiers and bound verbs

Donaldson calls the first elements in compound roots 'Bound Modifiers' (Table 163) and the second elements 'Bound verb forms' (Table 164). Bound modifiers are followed by a 'bound verb root' to form a verb stem. The process of combining the two root elements is highly productive in WN, but not all combinations of modifier and bound stem are found. Both WN and YG verb elements are set out in Table 163 and Table 164.

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[212] This topic has been more extensively discussed in Giacon (2001: Chap 3).

Table 163   **Bound modifiers in WN and YG**

Wangaaybuwan		Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay		
Form	Gloss	Form	Comment/YG example	
1 Action-oriented				
gunuN-	with energy			
bala-	with little energy			
mayN-	fail			
mulan-	repeatedly			
dhuguN-	satisfyingly			
2 Object-oriented				
muun-	(do to) all			
garruun-	(do to) none			
manuN-	(do to) somebody else's	*manu-*	*manu-ma-li*	steal
gibayN-	(do) in return (to)	*gaya-*	*gaya-wi-li*	pelt
nga-	test	*dha-*	*dha-ya-li*	ask
3 Result-oriented				
bun-	change	*bun-*	*bun-ma-li*	change
ga-	break	*?ga-*	*ga-ma-li*	break
bun-ga-	open (change-break)			
wirrba-	split			
burra-	snap off	cf. *burra[n]*	*burran-ba-li*	change
wuruun-	(move) out	*dhuwi-?*	*dhuwi-ma-li*	take out
dhirra-	(move) up	*dhiya-*	*dhiya-rraa-li*	dip (up)
wirri-	(move) down	*wii-*	*wii-ma-li*	put down
dhilan-	shake	*dhirra[n]-*	*dhirran-ba-li*	shake
wayuN-	(move) in circles			
yan-	join up with			

Many elements such as *manu-* are identical in both languages, while others (*wirri, wii*) are cognate and some have different forms, but the same function (*nga-, dha-*).

Donaldson divides the Wangaaybuwan bound modifiers into 3 groups: Action oriented, Object-oriented and Result-oriented. YG morphemes corresponding to some of the second two WN groups have been recognised

Table 164 Shows the WN and YG transitive bound verb forms, including some not in Donaldson's list.

Table 164   **Transitive bound verb forms**

Wangaaybuwan		Yuwaalaraay Gamilaraay		
Form	Gloss	Form	YG example	Gloss
-ma-li	transitive	*-ma-li*	*buma-li*	hit
-giyama-li	heat			
-DHinma-li	hit			
-bi-li	move away	*-bi-li/-wi-li*	*gaa-wi-li*	vomit
-DHa-li	do with mouth	*-DHa-li*	*dha-dha-li*	taste
-DHi-li	do with foot			
-ga-li	pierce	*?-rra-li*	*ga-rra-li*	cut
-ya-li	speak	*-ya-li*	*?maa-ya-li*	whisper
Additional bound verbs				
?-mi-li	see	*-mi-li*	*nga-mi-li*	see
	?	*-ba-li*	*dhirran-ba-li*	shake

Bound roots and verbs are recognised by their occurrence in a number of verb roots with recognisable meaning. They may have cognates in other languages. For bound verb roots there may be identical free forms and suffixes.

For instance *dha-* is found as the sole element of the root in the verb *dha-li* 'eat', as the second element in *dha₁dha₂-li* 'taste tr' (see above), as a verb suffix *-dha-y* 'associated mouthing' §9.1.3 and in nominals such as *dhalay* 'tongue' and *dhaal* 'cheek'. It is also found at FR1848A 2944 in the imperative verb *bidja-la* '*bidja*-IMP' which FR says means 'something like 'bite it'. This is the only instance of the verb *bidja-li*, which is analysable as *bi-DHa-li*, which includes *dha-* 'eat/mouth' and an unanalysed *bi-*.

There is some evidence that the YG had a more extensive system of verbs roots than has been recorded, with some of those roots formed by compounding, as seen in the verbs used to translate 'steal'. For 'steal', done by humans, informants in WN and YG languages use *manu.ma-li*. In WN this is analysed as a preverb/bound modifier *manu-* 'do to other's' and verb/bound verb *-ma-li* 'transitiviser/do with hand'. When it is a dog stealing, the WN is *manu.dha-li*, (*-dha-li* 'do with mouth') since the dog steals with its mouth, not with its hand.

It seems AD was aware that *manuma-li* was not appropriate to describe a dog stealing something. He often uses *manuma-li* for 'steal': at 3220A 3006 of 'a person stealing meat'. But, at the same place he uses *dha-li* 'eat' for the act of the dog stealing the meat. At 3997B 1521 he translates 'the dog stole the meat'. He initially uses *manu.ma-li*, but then changes to *banaga-ali-y* 'run away with'. I take this to mean the Dodd realised that *manuma-li* was not appropriate for the action of the dog, but

that he did not know *manu.dha-li* as a YR word, and so uses *banaga-ali-y*. I assume earlier YG speakers would have used *manu.dha-li*.

The process of recognising verb root elements is cyclical. Once a potential element has been recognised, for instance *bi-* in *bi.dja-li*, it can be further investigated. It is likely that with further investigation more bound modifiers and bound verbs will be recognised in both languages. It seems there is a bound modifier *wali-* to do with negative feelings, and a bound verb *-mi-li*, to do with seeing. The element *wali-* is found in WN *walimi-li* 'dislike', in WN and YG *walindja-li* 'be lonely' and in YG *walingay* 'out of place' 'lonely, sulky'.

The element *-mi-li* is found as the final element in GR *ngami-li* 'see' (cf. YR *ngarra-li* 'see', WN *ngaa-y* 'see') and in YG *wuumi-li* 'peep', (*wuu-gi* 'go in') *gunmi-li* 'look greedily at' (cf. WN *gunuN-* 'with energy) and *dhurraami-li* 'wait for' (*dhurra-li* 'come'). It is found in WN *gunmi-li* 'look-want' *manmi-li* 'follow' *mugami-li* 'stare' (cf. YG *muga* 'blind') *walimi-li* 'dislike' (cf. *wali*, previous paragraph), *gula-mi-li* 'not find' *guunggaygmi-li* 'look round (something) at' AND *manaymi-li* 'sight (game)' (cf. YR *maniila-y* 'go hunting'). (WN has *banmi-y* 'wait for', which while not L class is likely derived from *-mi-li*.) As well as showing that *-mi-li* is a common, and presumably productive root final element these examples point to potential previously unanalysed bound morphemes such as *gun-, man-, muga* and *manay/manii*. They will not be further examined here.

Other YG verbs are also compounds, but less transparently so. The verb *winanga-li* 'hear' has *wina*, a lenited form of *bina* 'ear', often found in 'hear' in Australian languages. The semantics of the element *-nga-li* are not clear, but may be related to WN *ngaa-y* 'see'.

Another potential bound modifier is *gaya-* 'in turn'. It is found on *dhu-rri* 'pierce' ((784) = (1085)). The element also occurs in *gayarrabi-li*, 'throw at **in return**' found only in Laves MS2188-9-12p091. The form *gaya* is found with very similar meaning in *gaya-dha* 'in turn' (*gayay*-LOC), and with related meanings in *gaya-y* 'turn', *gayawi-li* 'pelt' *gayma-li* 'stir, turn tr'.

(784)   *ŋaia ŋinana ˈbumali // bumala ŋana : ŋaia ŋinana ˈ**gaidyuri** / yalagīru??*

YR Laves MS2188-9-12p092

ngaya nginunha buma-li // buma-la nganha   //
1SG   2SG.ACC hit-FUT // hit-IMP 1SG.ACC //
I will hit you. // Hit me,   JG

*ngaya nginunha **gaya-dju-rri**   / yalagiirruu*
1SG   2SG.ACC in.turn-pierce-FUT / just.like
I you hit will //   I you hit you back   Laves
and I will spear you in turn the very same way.   JG

Further YG verbs can be developed from combinations of bound modifiers and bound verbs. This process can use bound modifiers and bound verbs found in YG, but in combinations. For instance *manu* 'do to other' and *-dha-li* 'eat' are found in YG, but not the combination *manudha-li* discussed above. The process can also use elements not recorded in YG. For example WN has the bound verb *-dhi-li* 'with foot', found in *nga.dhi-li* 'feel/test with foot' and *bu.dhi-li* 'hit with foot'. The YG forms corresponding to these are *dha.dhi-li* and *bu.dhi-li*. The latter could be used for 'kick': YG currently uses the English borrowing *gigirrma-li*.

10   Simple sentences and NPs

This chapter considers simple YG clauses which consist of a single statement, typically non-verbal or with a single verb, and then NPs, a concept that has some applicability to YG. Compound sentences - coordinated and subordinated - are considered in §11. I begin with a consideration of the sources, and the effect they have on the study of this topic.

10.1   The sources of information

The variation in the sources and the factors which may have caused them have already been discussed in §1.3. Some features particularly are relevant to the analysis of sentence structure. Pauses and intonation are not recorded in written sources. At times it appears that texts do not reflect fluent YG. The texts may have been composed, or partly composed by the English writer, rather than being a record of a fluent speaker, or the speaker may have simplified the language for the non-fluent listener. Language which is being dictated will also be different from normal continuous speech. The tapes have more information about sentence structure but they were made in the 1970s and the informants may well have been influenced by language loss and by English.

Ridley's and Greenway's sentences have a very English word order and they generally do not use Ergative case. Parker has relatively few demonstratives and uses time words as sentence connectors, not the locationals and demonstratives found in later sources. Wurm almost always has *nhama* in first position, and often has pronouns there, unlike later YR sources which have these in second position, e.g. (785), = (288).

(785)   *nama gundiða ŋadjiḷa*   SW p 25
        nhama *gundhi-dha ngarri-y.la-nha*
        nhama house-LOC   sit-CTS-PRS
        He is in the house sitting down.   SW

Fred Reece's sentences have fewer demonstratives and pauses than Arthur Dodd's, but he does have more of these than the earlier, written, texts. His sentences tend to be more English-like than AD's, for instance with fewer epistemic particles. He does share other features with AD, such as pronouns in second position.

AD's texts have the greatest proportion of demonstratives, epistemics and cross referencing. His YR sentences share a number of features with the sentences on his Wayilwan tapes. His YR may have been influenced by his Wayilwan, his mother's language. The separation of sentences into intonational units is also clearer in AD. While some of his pauses are clearly part of fluent YR, at times they are due to his uncertainty about how to say something.

10.2   Simple Clauses

In this section simple clauses are considered. Firstly the arrangement of constituents in a YG simple sentence, i.e. consisting of a single clause. Then the types of clauses are examined, firstly non-verbal, then verbal clauses, looking in particular at variations in argument structure or transitivity. Finally examples are given of the different types of sentences: declarative, interrogative and imperative.

The concept of sentence is taken as a given. In 'real speech' there is often considerable ellipsis which is only briefly considered here.

YG sentences and clauses share a number of properties with many other Pama-Nyungan languages, and also have less common features. They generally show the properties that Hale (1983: 5) describes as typical of 'non-configurational' languages: '(i) free word order, (ii) the use of syntactically discontinuous expressions, and (iii) extensive use of null anaphora'.

Word order is now considered, then the tendency of YG to group the words of a simple sentence into small 'clusters' or 'intonation phrases' and then the use of cross-referencing pronouns.

10.2.1   Word or constituent order

Rather than 'free word order' YG has 'variable word order' since there are some clear rules and also strong tendencies in word order.

Within those constraints YG follows principles found in other Australian languages. Blake (1987: 155) (quoted in Wilkins (1989: 443)) points out that two principles of discourse which are common in Australian languages are: '(a) topic precedes comment, (b) focus comes first'.

Speakers were aware that word order could be varied with no obvious impact on meaning. At 1987B 139 Fred Reece and Janet Mathews have a discussion about word order, and then FR gives a number of examples where one English sentence is given a number of YR translations, including (786). In a later tape he gives (787), again with alternative versions of the YR sentence, and both times comments on the fact that the variation in word-order does not change the meaning.

(786) (Discussion from FR about word order.) JM/FR 1987B 145

(a) *ganadhaa nhama / dhaymarr / mawu-nhi, wanda-gu*

deep there / ground / dig-PST, white.man-ERG

'White man dug a deep hole [*biyuu*] there.' FR

'white man' is last, or you can say: FR

(b) *wanda-gu nhama ganadhaa / biyuu mawu-nhi*

white.man-ERG there deep / hole dig-PST

It doesn't matter which way [word order] you say it to a black man, it all sounds right. FR

(787) I hit the dog with a stick. JM/FR 2436B 294

(a) *maadhaay ngaya buma-y muyaan-du*

dog 1SG hit-PST stick-ERG

(b) *muyaan-du ngaya maadhaay buma-y*

You can say it back the front. It is just the same. FR

However word order is by no means random. Factors which influence YG word order include:

- Words that are obligatorily in first position. These include interrogatives (§6) and many particles (§15). Words that are overwhelmingly in first position include negatives, time words, the demonstrative *yalagiirrma* 'like', and forms derived from it.

- Focus first. The most salient information or new information is given first.

- Pronouns (§4) and demonstratives (§5) are generally in second position, or if there are more than one, in second and subsequent positions. These pronouns and demonstratives in second position tend to be unstressed or weakly stressed.

- The default order seems to be AOV or SV.

- YG often has sentence final afterthoughts, such as nominals in local cases and instrumental case (787)(a), or adjectives.

- Clitics are often on the first word of the clause. When not they are often at the end of the IIP (§10.2.2.1).

Terms such as AOV are not really adequate for discussing YG word order. One reason is that YG sentence constituents are often discontinuous. NPs are often discontinuous and main and auxiliary verbs are also frequently separated, e.g. (477). Secondly YG has frequent use of null anaphora, discussed later.

An examination of the first 70 lines of Text 6, a narrative about people getting fire, gives an indication of the distribution of constituent orders in YG. Having discontinuous NPs means we have to allow for two or more constituents jointly filling the A, S or O slot, so simple statements of structure, such as SOV do not work. Table 165 gives the order of the verb and main arguments, where applicable, in these

sentences. The results seem to be broadly consistent with other YG texts. It is clear that a wide range of arrangements is found, with no absolute restriction on the order of arrangement of A O and V. That said, it is clear that V final is strongly preferred (AOV or SV: 57 instances). There are four V initial sentences and three which have no argument realised.

A very strong feature of this text is the number of constituents represented by pronouns. Predominance of pronouns is typical of most oral texts. This pattern would not be expected in non-continuous text.

Table 165 **Constituent order frequency in Text 6, lines 1-70**

Verb	Order	Num		Order	Num		Order	Num		Order	Num
All arguments realised											
Intrans	SV	20		VS	Ø						
Trans	AOV	20		AVO	7		VAO	3		OVA	3
Some arguments not realised											
	[Ø]AV	6		[Ø]OV	11		[Ø][Ø]V	3		[Ø]VA	1

Different constituent orders can be seen in many examples including: OVA (786)(a); AOV (786)(b); OAV (787)(a); AOV (787)(b); OAV (866). In (787) the instrumental nominal is sentence-final in (a) and sentence-initial in (b). The OAV order in (866) is influenced by the need to have the pronoun in second position.

10.2.1.1   Focus first

If possible the focus, i.e. the most salient information, comes first in the sentence. However salience is at times difficult to determine, since it depends on the speaker's understanding of what is most important.

In (788)(a) (=(285)) the focus is on the woman's illness. In (b) the new information, the focus, is 'when the sun came up', and this is first. (*Nhama* is second in both of the clauses it occurs in.)

(788)   She is very ill.   JM/FR 2437B 434

(a)   *dhaala-nhi*   *nhama yinarr*
       be.sick-PST 3.DEF   woman
       That woman is very sick.   FR

       She was very sick when the sun came up.   JM/FR 2437B 472
(b)   *yaay dhurra-laa-ndaay* / *bamba*   *nhama yinarr*   *dhaala-nhi*
       sun   come-MOV-SUB   / with.energy 3.DEF   woman be.sick-PST
       She was very sick at sunrise.   FR 2437B 472

The elicitation sentence in (789) has no connection with the previous discussion. FR translates 'the kids were happy' three times, each time using the same four words,

but in different orders. Twice he has *gayaa* first, indicating this is the focus. (c) is probably FR's preferred version: when an informant changes a structure, the last structure is likely to be a correction of or improvement on the earlier ones[213]. (b) has *buwadjarr* as the first word, indicating that is the focus.

(789)   The kids were happy when their father came home.   JM/FR 2437A 1282

(a)   (i) **gayaa**   gi-nyi *[nhama birralii],* (ii) *[birralii-gal   nhama] gayaa gi-nyi,*
            happy   get-PST nhama child,   child-PL.DIM nhama happy get-PST
        The kids were happy.   JG

(b)   **buwadjarr** *dhurrawu-l.uwi-ngindaay*
        father   come-BACK-SUB
        When their father came back.   JG

(c)   **gayaa** *nhama birralii-gal   gi-nyi*
        happy nhama child-PL.DIM get-PST
        The kids were happy.   JG

In summary, there are some absolutes in the ordering of words in YG sentences, some very strong tendencies, some variation that seems to have pragmatic importance, and also some random variation. Word order is also likely to be influenced by individual style, and one would expect that all records have been influenced by the English of the recorder or speaker.

10.2.2   Intonation patterns of YG sentences

Phonologically YG sentences typically consist of a number of intonation phrases.[214] Each phrase consists of a relatively small number of words, generally four or less. This intonation unit has little or no pause between words, generally decreasing volume and, in declarative statements, falling pitch. It is separated from the next intonation phrase by a pause[215].

Intonation phrases are clearly seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2, which show the volume, frequency and pauses in (790). Figure 1 shows falling volume in four of the five intonation phrases and Figure 2 shows the falling pitch in these units. The text for each unit is aligned with the start of the volume or frequency contour.

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[213] There could be at least two factors at play here. One is a not fully fluent FR recovering language as he uses it. Another is the intrinsic variability of word order. Hale (1983: 6) points out that in Warlpiri it is unusual for a sentence to be repeated with the same word order by a fluent speaker.

[214] There has been some discussion of this in §13 on phonology. See Figure 4.

[215] A comma in the YG of tape transcriptions indicates a small pause, a slash (/) a longer pause, and two slashes (//) an even longer pause. Some pauses are features of fluent language but some, especially the longer ones, have other causes including uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

(790)   Sometimes she collected mussels and fish.   JM/AD 8185 2211

(a)   *yalagiirrmawu ngaama=nga / yanaa-y.la-nha /*
         at.that.time   there=THEN   / walk-CTS-PRS
         She kept going around, and   JG

(b)   *maanggii ngayagay ngaama nguu   / guuma-lda-nhi / guduu ngayagay*
         mussel   other   that   3SG.ERG / gather-CTS-PST / cod   other
         she also collected mussels, and fish.   JG
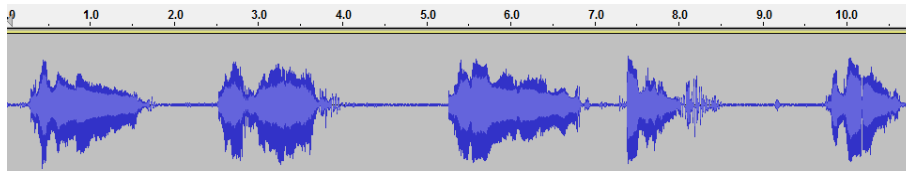
Figure 1 Volume in (790)

Figure 1 was produced with Audacity.
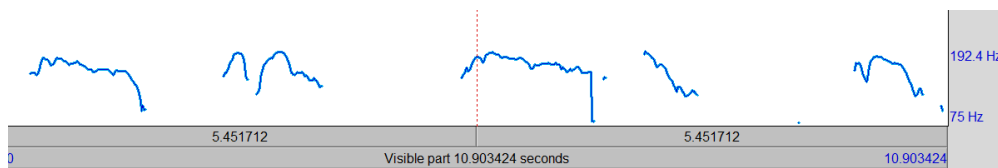
Figure 2 Frequency in (790)

Figure 2 was produced with Praat.

The difference between AD's YG intonation, seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2, and his English intonation seen in Figure 3 is clear. It shows the volume above and the frequency below.
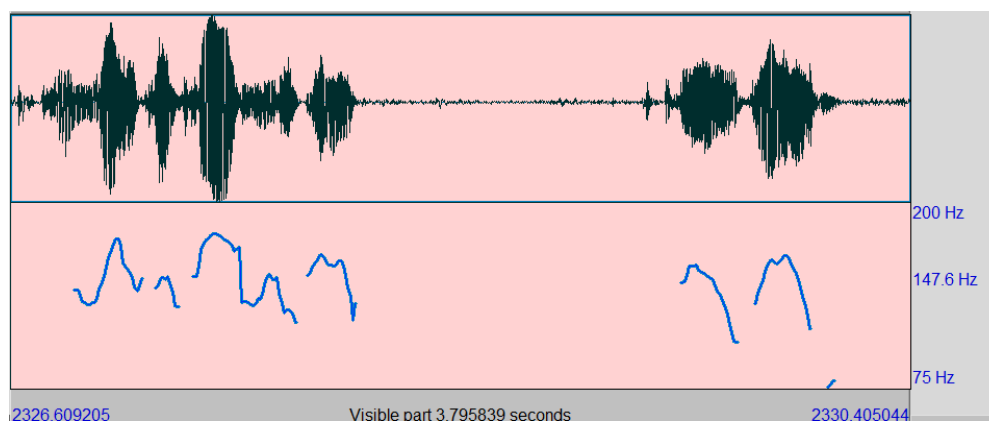
He brought the crawfish back,   to his wife. 8185 2326

Figure 3 Arthur Dodd's English intonation pattern

Figure 3 was produced with Praat.

(790) has other typical YR features, including the unclear function of *ngaama* and the separation of the English NP 'mussels and fish' into two separate and discontinuous YR elements.

10.2.2.1   Initial Intonation Phrase (IIP)

The first word cluster, which I call the Initial intonation phrase [IIP] is phonologically similar to other IPs, but the content is distinctive. It alone contains morphemes which are obligatorily early in the clause. Elements found only in the IIP are first position particles, interrogatives, clitics (including clitic pronouns) and discourse connectives. Other pronouns are overwhelmingly in the IIP, particularly pronouns in core cases, as are demonstratives. Clitics are always found in the IIP, but at times the IIP includes elements to the right of clitics, for example *ngarray* 'saw' in *yilaa nguu=nha ngarray* 'then he saw them' in (202).

The IIPs of 100 example sentences from early in the thesis were examined. (Examples from written sources were not considered, nor were coordinated or subordinated clauses.) The IIPs varied considerably in length: One word: 18; two words: 28: three words: 36; four words: 18. Most of the four-word IIPs were verb final. Clitics were not counted as words[216].

The most common words in the first three slots of IIPs in the sentences examined are listed in Table 166. It shows that particles (40) and nominals (39) are the most common sentence-initial words, and also that pronouns are predominantly in second position. *Giirr ngaya* 'true I' and *giirr nhama* 'true that' are very common as the first two words.

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[216] Clitics are obligatorily phonologically bound. They include reduced pronoun forms but not pronouns that may be unstressed but do not have deleted segments.

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There are many other examples of IIPs throughout the thesis. (866) begins with *baburr ngaya = laa*, with the clitic *= laa* indicating the right boundary of the IIP. In (786) *nhama* indicates the end of the IIP, in both (a) and (b).

Other languages, including Wayilwan, have intonationally defined units similar to the IIP. In Wayilwan (Bickerdike, 2006: Chap6) the intonation unit includes an obligatory auxiliary, similar to those found in some other languages including Warlpiri.

Table 166   **Components of YR Sentence Initial Cluster**

	Number in position		
Morpheme	first	second	third
giirr or *giirruu*	26		
negative	8		
interrogative	3		
other first position particle	3		
(other) nominal	32	12	20
1SG (*ngaya*)	1	28	
other pronouns	2	13	1
nhama/ngaama	4	22	8
other demonstrative	15	3	1
giyaanha (going.to)		1	5
other verbs	4	4	17

10.2.3   Cross referencing pronouns

Pronouns (including some demonstratives) in the IIP can be the sole manifestation of a verb argument, or they can cross reference another nominal with explicit identity later in the clause. Cross referencing pronouns are mostly third person singular in core cases: *= nha, nhama, nguuma* and *nguu*, with *nguu* perhaps the least common. However others are found, for instance *ganugu* (3PL.ERG) in (795) (which precedes (422)).

The cross-referenced nominal and the cross-referencing pronoun are generally both before the verb: e.g. *= nha* and *birralii-djuul* in (791), *= nha* and *nhaadhiyaan* in (792)b, *nguu* and *ngambaa-gu* 'mother-ERG' in (421)). They can be separated by the verb, but rarely: e.g. *= nha* and *bulaarrnga* (3DU.ACC) in (202) and *bulaayu* (3DU.ERG) and *dhayndu* (man-ERG) in (162). In (793) *nhama* and *maadhaay* both follow the verb.

Examples of cross-reference include (791) (=(1015)): =*nha* cross-references *birraliidjuul* in the first clause (and is the sole representation of the S in the second clause). =*nha* cross-references *nhaadhiyaan* in (792)b (=(290)).

(791)   The boy fell over and hurt himself.   CW/AD 5056 2442

giirruu   nhama=**nha** / *birralii-djuul bundaa-nhi* / *nhama*=**nha**=*yaa* / *yu-gi.la-nha*
true.very   that=3   / child-DIM   fall-PST   / that=3=POT   / cry-CTS-PRS
He's crying there.   AD
The child there fell over, and she/he is crying there.   JG

(792)   Turn that log over.   FR/CW 5053 1702
(a)   *gayma-la nhama   nhaadhiyaan*
        turn-IMP   that/there log

(b)   *garra-la nhama*=**nha**=*nga nhaadhiyaan* / *warangana nhama wa-y.la-nha*
        cut-IMP   there=3=THEN   log   / honey   there   be.in-CTS-PRS
        Cut that log open, there's honey in it.   FR

nhama can have pronominal, adnominal or locational function. It can only cross-reference when it has pronominal function, as it seems to have in (793), (230) and (171) where there is a pause between *nhama* and a co-referential nominal.

(793)   I will hit him with a stick.   CW/AD 3996A 1002

yilaa ngaya=*laa buma-li* **nhama** / *maadhaay nginu*   / *giniy-u*
soon 1SG=DIR   hit-FUT nhama / dog   2SG.DAT / stick-ERG
Then I will hit your dog with a stick.   JG

The singular Ergative pronoun *nguu* apparently cross-references the plural *birraliigalu* in (794) (= (424)). I would expect a pause between *nguu* and *birraliigalu*, but Wurm's text rarely indicates pauses. *Nguu* has cross-referential use in (192). *Nguuma* often has cross-referential use, including (270)(a) and (271).

(794)   *wa:l ŋu biřaligaldu winaŋalda*   SW p 86

waal=**nguu** *birralii-gal-u   winanga-lda-nha*
not=3.ERG   child-PL.DIM-ERG listen-CTS-PRS
The children aren't listening.`   SW

In contrast to (794) the plural *ganugu* cross-references *birraliigalu* in (795).

(795)   The children looked at the dancing before they fell asleep.   JM/AD 3219A 718

giirr ngaama ganugu, birralii-gal-u   / bamba   ngarra-lda-nhi /
true there   3PL.ERG, child-PL.DIM-ERG / with.energy look-CTS-PST /

waaluu ganunga / *dhanduwi-yaa-ndaay*
not.yet 3PL   / sleep-MOV-SUB
The children were all looking at the dancing before they went to sleep.   JG

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As often happens the change of verb transitivity is signalled by the case of the IIP pronouns in (795), with an Ergative pronoun in the first clause and a Nominative in the second.

Pronouns are found early in the sentence in other languages, with cross-referencing function or as the sole representative of the argument. Bickerdike (2006: Chap6) points out that clitic pronouns are obligatorily attached to the Wayilwan second position auxiliary. In Warlpiri clitic pronouns are also obligatory and are found on the auxiliary which is found in second (or Wackernagel's) position. Mushin and Simpson (2008) point out that second position pronouns are common in Australian languages.

It may be that YG the cross referencing pattern extends beyond core constituents to other parts of the sentence; for instance that locational NPs can be cross-referenced with a demonstrative; cf *ngiyarrma* and *walaa-dha* in (802)(b).

10.2.4 Null anaphora/reduced reference

The ellipsis or omission of an argument, also called null anaphora, is very common in Aboriginal languages and in YG, particularly with identifiable third person singular arguments in core roles (A,S,O). Hale (1983: 7) defines it as 'the situation in which an argument (e.g. subject, object) is not represented by an overt nominal expression in phrase structure'.

(796) shows null anaphora: of the subject in both clauses (both third person; Nominative singular and Ergative plural respectively) and of the object (Accusative, third person singular) in the second clause (with the English for these **bolded**.)

(796)   They buried him when he died, they buried the man who died.   CW/AD 3994B 622
        giirr balu-nhi / balu-nhi // giirr gi.yaa.nha nhamurra-li
        true die-PST / die-PST // true going.to   bury-FUT
        dead, he died; *nhamurra-li* means going to bury   AD
        He died, **he** died and **they** are going to bury **him**.   JG

Null anaphora is seen in sentences probably elicited in isolation—((797) (798) (799) all have no expressed O)—but more commonly in connected text such as (800), (801) where the referent can be more readily be identified from the context. The bolded English shows the omitted referents.

(797)   *dhaygal buma-la* 'Hit **him** on the head' [head hit-IMP]   JM/FR 1849B 56
(798)   *garriya dha-la* 'Don't eat **it**.'   JM/FR 1987A 207

(799)   *gidjigidjiba-la*
        tickle-IMP
        Tickle **him**!   FR/JM 1851A 33

(800) *giirr ganugu nhamurra-y*
      true 3PL.ERG bury-PST
      They buried **him** all right.   FR/JM 2440A 637

(801) has 'predicate *nhama* Subject' structure in the first clause and null anaphora of the Object in the second.

(801) That coolamon has a hole in it.   JM/FR 1850A 3453
      gagil nhama wirri, wana-nga
      bad 3.DEF dish, throw-IMP
      That wirri is no good, chuck **it** away.   FR

(802) shows null anaphora of Ergative and Accusative third person singular represented (and *ngiyarrma* as a linking adverb, but easily interpretable as a pronoun); see also (287), (317)(d). (579) shows a dual S not realised.

(802) Her mother took her home and put her to bed.   JM/AD 3219A 3133
(a)   *giirr ngaamu / ngambaa-gu nguungu / gaa-g.uwi-nyi /*
      true 3SG.ERG?? / mother-ERG 3SG.DAT / take-BACK-PST /
      She, her mother, took **her** home.   JG

(b)   *ngiyarrma =nga / bulaanggiin-du / bulubama-y // walaa-dha / dhanduwi-y.ma-lda-nhi /*
      there =THEN   / blanket-ERG   / cover-PST   // camp-LOC / lie.down-CAUS-CTS-PST /
      and covered **her** with a blanket, at the camp, **she** put **her** to bed.   JG

(c)   *ngiyarrma dhanduwi-y.ma-y*
      there   lie.down-CAUS-PST
      she put **her** to bed.   JG

Null anaphora of S in a finite clause is found, but this is more common in subordinate clauses, as in (803).

(803) I pulled her out of the river.   JM/AD 3219A 3085
      dhuwima-y ngaya ngaama / ngaliman garungga-ngindaay
      pull.out-PST 1SG that?there / nearly drown-SUB
      I pulled her out. **She** was nearly drowning.   JG

Null anaphora is found with non-third person arguments. For instance in (804) where two English second person pronouns are not realised in the YR.

(804) *dhala-baraay / dhala-baraay / mil*
      eye.dirt-COM / eye.dirt-COM / eye
      You got gum on **your** eyes.   AD/LO 2833A 1882

There is considerable difference between English and YG as to when possessive pronouns are required, particularly when the 'possessed' is a body part.

AD also (1989A 660) translates 'where will you make the fire?' without and with a second person pronoun, and at 2437A 3167 has no explicit IO in the second clause of: 'be good to them women and give **them** plenty of tucker [food]'.

415

It will often not be possible to determine precisely the causes of variation in completeness of reference. Factors will include context and individual style, as well as syntactic requirements. (805) shows a range of ways a participant is referred to. The O of the main clause is never explicitly referred to and is the same person as the S of the subordinate clause, which is referred to by Ø in (a), a clitic pronoun in (b) and a noun (c). The bolded English pronouns in (805) have null anaphora in the YR.

(805) I saw **him** when **he** turned around.   CW/AD 5054A 366

(a) *giirr   ngaya   ngarra-y   /   gayrra-ngindaay*
     true   1SG   see-PST   /   turn-SUB

     I will see him turn around, I will see him when he turns around.   CW

(b) *giirr ngaya=laa ngarra-li / gayrra-ngindaay=nya*
     true 1SG=DIR   see-FUT   / turn-SUB=3
     I will see **him**, when he turns around.   JG

(c) *giirruu   ngaya=laa ngarra-li / gayrra-ngindaay   ngaama dhayn*
     true.very   1SG=DIR   see-FUT   / turn-SUB   there   person
     I will see **him**, the man, when **he** turns around.   JG

While null anaphora is very common, reference can also be reduced in other ways, for instance by using only an adjective when the full reference would also include a noun. This is found in other languages, including English, but is more common in YG, such as Parker (Emu Bustard; l 46) using *bulaarr* 'two' to refer to 'two children'.

Since demonstratives can have pronominal or adverbial function it is not always possible to determine if there is null anaphora or if a demonstrative such as *nhama* represents the argument. In the first 40 pages of Wurm sentences with 'he (Nominative)' as often have no explicit subject, e.g.(806)(=(287)) as they have *nhama* e.g. (807)(=(288)). (806) clearly has null anaphora, (807) may.

(806) *buðaigu galiawaːn*   SW p 17
       mudhay-gu   galiya-waa-nha
       possum-PURP climb-MOV-PRS
       for the possum he is climbing up   SW
       He is climbing (to get) the possum.   JG

(807) *nama gundiða ŋadjiḷa*   SW p 27
       nhama *gundhi-dha ngarri-y.la[-nha*
       nhama house-LOC sit-CTS[-PRS
       He is in the house sitting down.   SW

10.2.5   Predicative possession

This section considers a semantic topic, predicative possession. This is not a closely defined concept, but includes the concepts included in English sentences such as 'I

own that car', 'I've got a car', 'the car is mine' and 'there's a hole in the dish/the dish has a hole in it'.

The aim is to gather the major relevant YG structures to make it easier to see the range of structures available and the situations in which they might be used. As in many other topics in this thesis the treatment here will be limited.

Predicative possession has been found expressed in YG by the use of the comitative and dative case and by collocation of elements, as well as verbally. In YG it is often not possible to distinguish attributive possession ('that is his dog') from predicative possession ('that dog is his'), and in fact the distinction may sometimes not be valid.

Verbless predicative possessive constructions found in YG include:

-   a Datively marked possessor: e.g. (808)(=(19)) 'those children are ours' (809)(=(20)) and 'there will be no bread of/for us soon./We'll have no bread soon'. (810)(=(17)) translates an English predicative sentence: 'that dog belongs to my brother' with attributive possession: 'that's his dog there'.

(808)   Those children are ours.   JM/FR 1852B 2050
    ngalingu nhama birralii
    1DU.DAT 3.DEF child
    Them children is ours.   FR
    Those children are ours.   JG

(809)   *maayrr=nga ngiyaningu=laa dhuwaarr gi-gi*
    none=THEN 1PL.DAT=DIR   bread   be-FUT
    We'll have no bread directly.   AD/CW 5129A 2203
    There will be no bread of/for us soon.   JG

(810)   That dog there belongs to my brother.   LO/AD 2833A 532
    nham=bala=nha maadhaay nguungu
    that=CTR=3?   dog   3SG.DAT
    That's his dog there.   AD

-   comitatively marked 'possessed': (811)(=(106)) 'there's a hole in the dish'; (812)(=(115)) 'the tree has a hole in it'; (116) 'they had clubs' and (117) 'man with a beard'.

(811)   The water leaked out of the dish.   CW/AD 5058 1868
    biyuu-biyaay=yaa nhama dhindhirr
    hole-com=POT   3.DEF dish.
    There must be a hole in the dish.   JG

(812)   It might be under a tree. Look under the tree.   JM/FR 2438A 3214
    muyaan-di ngaarrma / muyaan-da ngaarrma ngarra-la / biyuu-biyaay
    tree-ABL   there   / tree-LOC   there   look-IMP / hole-COM
    Have a look at that tree there. There's a hole in it.   FR

- unmarked (668) 'the kangaroo with the sore foot'.

(813) A kangaroo with sore foot, in pain;   AD/JM 3217A 1665

(a)   *ngarrma bandaarr / bayn dhina / ngarrmu /*
       there   kangaroo / sore foot / there?   /
       That kangaroo has a sore foot.   JG

(814)(=(21)(a)) uses Dative and Comitative in two renditions of 'we've got meat'.

(814) They say: 'I'm not going to give you some'.   AD/CW 5056 1844

(a)   *giirr=bala ngiyaningu dhinggaa, dhinggaa-biyaay ngali /*
       true=CTR 1PL.DAT   meat,   meat-COM   1DU /
       We've got meat (There is meat for us.), we (two) have got meat;   JG

Variant ways of showing possession are seen within the one sentence. (117) 'the man has a beard and long hair' uses comitative on *yarray* 'beard' but has no marking on *guyarraala=nha dhaygal* 'long=3 hair'. This is consistent with McGregor's finding that qualities of an inalienable part are commonly expressed without use of marking such as comitative or dative. McGregor (2001) discusses the Predicative possession in Nyulnyulan languages, looking at, *inter alia*, the range of verbal and non-verbal constructions involved and their formal and semantic differences.

(118) 'you have many kids but I've only got two' uses Comitative case in the first clause and the verb *gaa-gi* 'take/bring' in the second. (815) also uses two different strategies to show possession, Dative in the first clause and Nominative in the second.

(815) I have more meat than that man/ you have.   JM/FR 1989A 1145
       I have more meat than you.   FR
       *maayrr **nginu**   dhinggaa, giirr=bala **ngaya** burrulaa*
       none   2SG.DAT meat,   true=CTR 1SG   many
       You got no meat, but I got plenty.   FR

Tentative conclusions are:

Unmarked constructions are used when a quality of a closely inalienably possessed part are used.

Dative is used more for alienable possession (children, bread)

Comitative is used for both alienable and inalienable possession.

All the above constructions can use word order to signal the possessor or possessum as topic by fronting it.

10.3   Clause types

YG sentences can be divided into two groups. The first consists of verbless sentences (nominal clauses) and sentences where verbs give only tense and aspect information. In the second group verbs carry semantic information.

10.3.1   Nominal clauses and related sentences

Nominal clauses are relatively common. They are generally assumed to imply present tense and continuous aspect. Alternatively tense and aspect information is conveyed by a semantically bleached verb, most commonly the copula *gi-gi*, but also by stative verbs ('sit/lie/stand'), common motion verbs ('walk, run') and perhaps by others.

(816) (=(1020)), (817) (=(8)) (818) and (821)(a) are typical nominal clauses (but note that AD's translation is different from the elicitation in (821)(a)).

(816) I'm stronger than you·   Sim p 43
    ngaya gugirrii-biyaay, nginda=bala gugirri-dhalibaa
    1SG   sinews-COM,   2SG=CTR   sinews-PRIV
    I have muscles (am strong) but you have no muscles (are weak).   JG

(817) I am a strong man.   JM/FR 1852A 2016
    walanbaa   ngaya dhayn
    strong(NOM) 1SG   person(NOM)

(818) *Gagil nhama yinarr*
    bad   3.DEF   woman
    That woman is no good.   FR 1849A 2754

In (819) (=(569)) *gi-gi* provides tense and aspect information. In (b) and (c) the past tense is used with perfect meaning.

(819) The man that came yesterday was mad.   CW/AD 3999A 380
(a)   *wamba, wamba ngaama dhayn*
    mad,   mad   that   Aboriginal.Man
    He **is** mad, that blackfellow.   AD

    My eye**'s** ok **now**, It was sore, but it's all right now.   CW
(b)   *giirr nhama ngay   gaba mil gi-**nyi***
    true 3.DEF   1SG.DAT good eye get-PST
    My eye **is** good.   JG

    It **was** sore.   CW
(c)   *giirr nhama bayn gi-gi.la-nhi.   giirr=Na gaba gi-**nyi***
    true 3.DEF   sore   get-CTS-PST.   true=3   good get-PST.
    It got all right now.   AD
    It **was** sore. It **is** all right now.   JG

(820) has a moving continuous verb with inchoative meaning.

(820) I am getting sleepy.   CW/AD 5056 1461
    garriyawu, dhanduwi-y.nginda gi-yaa-nha   ngaya
    wait.on,   sleep-WANT   get-MOV-PRS(getting) 1SG
    I want a sleep.   AD
    Wait on, I am getting sleepy.   JG

(821) (= (444)) has a present continuous verb, but the sentence would seem to have the same meaning without the verb.

(821) *ŋaːndi nama ḍeːinj gɛːˈr gigilana*   YR: SW p 93

ngaandi nhama dhayn gayrr gi-gi.la-nha

who   3.DEF   man   name be-CTS-PRS

Who's that man coming over this way?   SW

What is that man's name?   JG

Other verbs carry tense and aspect information. *Banaga-y* 'run' in (822)(= (119)) (a) and (b), *wila-y* 'sit' in (822)(c); *yanaa-y* 'walk' in (823)(= (120));

(822)   Their children were always hungry.   JM/AD 8185 2435

*giirruu   nham birralii-gal   / yuulngindi / **banaga-y.la-nha***

true.very that   child-PL.DIM / hungry   / run-CTS-PRS

Those kids are (running around) hungry;   JG

*dhuwarr-dhalibaa yuulngindi **banaga-y.la-nha** /*

bread-PRIV   hungry   run-CTS-PRS   /

hungry, (running around) with no food;   JG

*nhama = ŋa/nga yuulngindi **wila-y.la-nha***

3.DEF = 3/THEN   hungry   sit-CTS-PRS

He's sitting down there nothing to eat, he's hungry.   AD

they are (sitting down) hungry.   JG

(823)   Soon there will be no meat left.   CW/AD 5130 3085

maayrr = laa ngiyaningu dhinggaa gi-gi   //

none = DIR   1PL.DAT   meat   be-FUT //

There will be no meat for us;   JG

*dhinggaa-dhalibaa ngiyani **yanaa-y.la-y***

meat-PRIV   1PL   walk-CTS-FUT

We'll be (walking around) without any meat.   JG

The semantics of nominal clauses is often not clear. The following is a very preliminary discussion of three types of English sentences which are often translated by YG nominal clauses. Attributive English sentences A (noun) is B (adjective) are most commonly translated by a YG sentence consisting of : (adjective demonstrative noun) or of (adjective pronoun/noun): for instance (818), (819)(a), the second clause of (829)(= (121)

Existential and equational sentences are sometimes topic initial, as in (824), (825), and (826) (= (62)(a)). However in (827) FR's translation is existential but his YR is adjective-initial. Clearly the analysis is far from complete. Other exceptions to the above generalisations are due to word order considerations. For instance (828)(a) (= (134)) has two similar clauses. In the first *giirruu* is obligatorily in first position, but it does not appear in the second, where the adjective takes first position.

(824) If I wanted to know what meat you were, how would I ask you? JM/FR 1849B 3210

ngaya=*bala marrii*   *dhinawan*

1SG=CTR   marrii(section) emu(totem)

I'm a marrii dhinawan blackfellow.   FR

(825) *nhama,*   *nhama*=*nga*   *burrul-bidi ngaaluurr*

nhama,   nhama=THEN? big-AUG   fish

That is a big fish.   FR 1988B 3248

(826) There is a prickle in my foot.   JM/FR 1986B 2505

(a) *bindiyaa nhama ngay*   *babu-ya;*

prickle   3.DEF   1SG.DAT foot-LOC

(827) *gaba nhama nginu*   *yinarr*

good nhama 2SG.DAT woman

That's a good woman of yours.   FR 1988B 3774

That woman of yours is good. Your wife there is good. She's good, your wife.   JG

(828) I am hungry for a meal of emu.   JM/AD 8184 1660

(a) *giirruu*   *ngay' yuulngindi / dhinawan-nginda / dhinawan-nginda ngaya, yuulngindi /*

true.very 1SG   hungry   / emu-WANT   / emu-WANT   1SG,   hungry   /

I am really hungry, need some emu, I want emu; hungry;   JG

(b) *bamba*   *ngaya dhinawan dha-li.gu*

w.energy 1SG   emu   eat-PURP

I could really eat some emu.   JG

The two clauses of (829)(= (121)) show that quite different nominal clause structures can have very similar meanings.

(829) There are no clouds.   JM/FR 2438B 1988

maayrr gundaa / gundaa-dhalibaa nhama gunagala

none   cloud   / cloud-PRIV   3.DEF   sky

The sky has got no cloud in it.   FR

There are no clouds. The sky is cloudless.   JG

Nominal clauses can be quite complex, as seen in (830). There are likely to be YR near-equivalents to (831) which would, like the English translations, have subtle differences in meaning.

(830) *Gullarh nayr nay birrahleegul boorool luggeray Dinewan?*   Parker Emu l 49

gulaarr   *ngaya ngay*   *birralii-gal*   *burrul yalagiirray*   *dhinawan*

how?   1SG?   1SG.DAT child-PL.DIM   big   just.like   emu

How can my children be big like the emu's.

What can I do to have my children as big as the emu's?   JG

(831)   nose   LO/AD 2833A 2615

      muyu-bidi＝nda

      nose-AUG＝2SG

      muyu means your nose.   AD

      You've got a big nose. / Your nose is big. / You are big-nosed.   JG

10.3.2   Verbal clauses

The case frames of YG verbs are briefly treated here, then the illocutionary force of sentences is discussed.

10.3.3   Case frames in verbed clauses

The majority of verbs are intransitive or transitive. An intransitive verb is defined as having a single, Nominative argument, and a transitive is defined as having an Ergative argument, and usually an Accusative argument. Some verbs, e.g. *bawi-li* 'sing' typically have only the Ergative argument. Three place verbs (e.g. *wuurri* 'give') have an indirect object in Dative or Locative case. Many derived verbs, including reflexive, reciprocal and middle verbs, can have a variety of case frames.

(832) shows an intransitive verb, (833) a transitive verb, (834)(＝ (10)) a three place verb, (835) (＝ (629)) a reflexive which is intransitive and (836) (＝ (194), (635)) a reflexive verb which is transitive, shown by the Ergative *nguu*.

(832)   dead bullock   JM/FR 1853B 3185

      giyarral   nhama balu-nhi

      cattle.NOM there   die-PST

      The cattle are dead.   FR

(833)   *bugalaa nhama wadjiin-du   bayama-y*

      ball.ACC there   white.woman-ERG catch-PST

      That white woman caught the ball.   FR/JM 1853B 502

(834)   He gave us some meat.   JM/FR 1988B 2616

      giirr ngiyaningu dhinggaa nguu   wuu-nhi

      true 1PL.DAT   meat.ACC 3SG.ERG give-PST

      He gave us some meat.   FR

(835)   *giirr nhama / birralii-djuul   / garra-ngiili-nyi, nhaayba-gu*

      true 3.DEF / child-ONE.NOM / cut-REFL-PST,   knife-ERG

      cut himself   AD 5131 1565

      The boy cut himself with a knife.   JG

(836)   *buma-ngiili-nyi / nguu   dhaygal*

      hit-REFL-PST   / 3SG.ERG head

      He hit himself on the head.   FR/JM 1989A 95

10.3.4   The illocutionary force of sentence types

The discussion of illocutionary force applies equally to verbed and verbless sentences, except that verbless sentences cannot be imperatives. The basic sentence type is a statement. Negation has been discussed at length in §6.4. Briefly, statements are negated by the use of particles *waal* YR and *gamil* GR. Imperatives are negated with *garriya*. (Nominals can be negated with *maayrr* YR *marayrr* GR).

10.3.4.1   Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences use an imperative verb form, many examples of which are found in §7, particularly §7.3.1. In positive imperative sentences there is a tendency for the verb to be in first position: (838), (839), (841). This is consistent with the verb being the focus in such sentences. Negative imperative sentences begin with *garriya* 'don't': (840) and §6.4.2; Positive imperative sentences generally do not contain an explicit subject, but there are exceptions such as (837) and 5057 873, where AD uses the dual *ngindaali* 'you', perhaps to make it clear who the imperative is addressed to.

(837)   *Nginda bumulla* 'Beat thou'. [*Nginda buma-la*]   Mathews1903: 266.

(838)   Burn this paper!   LO/AD 6215 737
        gudhuwa-la
        burn-IMP
        Burn it!   AD

(839)   Tell the kid: 'Jump into the water! Jump in!   CW/FR 5053 2606
        babaaluma-ya // babaaluma-ya gungan-da
        jump.in-IMP   // jump.in-IMP   water-LOC
        Jump in! Jump in the water!   JG

Negative imperative sentences often include a second person free or suffixed pronoun as in (543). It is relatively common for the object of imperatives not to be made explicit, as in (838) (797) (798). There is slight evidence that Imperative verbs are used to indicate hortative sense: 'let us/me' as in (548) and (549). There is a tendency for AD to translate imperatives in English elicitations with YR questions: (433), (547). At least once (841) FR translates an English statement with an imperative.

(840)   Stop running!   JM/FR 1850B 1502
        garriya banaga-ya // yilawa-ya, garriya banaga-ya
        don't   run-IMP   // sit-IMP,   don't   run-IMP
        Don't run! Sit down! Don't run away.   FR

(841) You are a big boy, you can wash yourself.   JM/FR 2438B 1727

  burrul-bidi＝nga birralii gi-nyi,   bayagaaa nginda / wagirrma-la guyungan-du
  big-AUG＝NOW child get-PST, clothes 2SG   / wash-IMP self-ERG
  You're a big kid now, you can wash your clothes yourself.   FR
  [You] are a big kid now. You wash the clothes yourself.   JG

10.3.4.2   Interrogative sentences

Polar questions are considered first, then content questions.

10.3.4.3   Polar questions

Polar questions are most commonly indicated by question intonation, a rising tone at the end of the statement: see §13.10.1. The other way of asking a polar question is with the particle *yaama* §6.1, which, added to the start of a statement, changes it to a question. When *yaama* is used polar questions have the same intonation pattern as statements. (842) and (843) are tonal questions which have the same structure, the same word-order, as statements, but with rising final intonation.

(842) Are you cooking the emu?   FR/JM 2435B 3286

  giirr＝nda yilama-laa-nha dhinawan?
  true＝2SG cook-MOV-PRS emu   [rising tone]
  (That's the word you want.) Are you cooking the emu?   FR
  You are cooking the emu?   JG

(843) *ˈnama ˈŋínù: wádjìn/ˈhínəř̃*   SW p 4

  nhama nginu   wadjiin/yinarr
  3.DEF 2SG.DAT white.woman/black.woman
  This thy black woman?   SW
  That's your (white) woman/black) woman?   JG

(844) is a question with rising intonation. (It follows 3994B 645 'bury him!'). It shows other typical YG sentence features: Initial *giirr*, a pronoun in second position and null third person singular object.

(844) *giirr nginda nhamurra-y?*
  true 2SG   bury-PST   [rising tone]
  Did you bury him?   AD/JM 3994B 692

10.3.4.4   Content questions

Content questions have a sentence-initial interrogative, as in (845). §6 examines interrogative particles and has many examples of such sentences.

(845) How did you do it?   CW/AD 3996A 315

  gulaarr ngaama＝nda / ngarra-y
  how   there＝2SG / see-PST
  How did you see it?   AD

As well as in §6 and elsewhere in the thesis, there are many interrogative sentences in texts. Some are listed below, with the interrogative used:

Emu/Brolga; l 7, 49; *gulaarr* 'how?'; l 17, 45 *minya-gu* 'what for'; l 68 *minyaaya* 'where.loc?'

Text 6 Fire l 40, 110 *gulaarr* 'how?'; l 57, 60 *minyaaya* 'where.loc?'; l 111 *minya* 'what?'

Text 4 l 20, 21, *minya-gu* 'what for/why?;

10.4 Noun Phrases

An argument of a verb can be represented by a single element NP, a multiple element NP or by null anaphora. A single element NP can consist of standard nominal (noun or adjective), a pronoun or a demonstrative with nominal function. The same constituents can be part of a multiple member NP. None of the elements is obligatory. Further discussion generally refers to NPs with more than one element.

I use the term Noun Phrase to refer to nominals in a clause that have the same referent and are in the same case. This is not the classical use of the term, which also generally assumes other qualities, such as that the NP constituents are adjacent, and the NP itself is moveable.

The relevance of the concept of an NP for some Australian languages has been often discussed. Blake raises the question of the status of the NP in the subset of non-configurational languages he calls word-marking languages - 'languages that mark case on all relevant words' (1987: 86) i.e. on all constituents of the potential NP. YG are word-marking languages. He (1987: 89) refers to his description of Kalkatungu, which does not use the NP concept, but rather he considers that the head noun and modifiers are in apposition. He also discusses Heath's (1978: 52) questioning of the status of NPs in word-marking languages. See also Nordlinger (2014).

To facilitate discussion I will treat cross-referencing pronouns as parts of the NP. Nominals that are left or right dislocated and agree in case with the head of the NP are treated the same way. Because of their multiple functions, it is often not possible to determine if demonstratives are part of the NP or have an adverbial function.

10.4.1 Analysis of NPs

Pama-Nyungan languages generally have a number of types of multi-constituent NPs with different syntactic properties. I will consider the analyses of these NPs in Yankunytjatjara and briefly in other languages to provide background for the analysis of YG.

Single constituent NPs have a single nominal and are not problematic. Goddard's treatment of Yankunytjatjara NPs ((1983: 47-53), summarised in Table 167) has parallels with what is found in YG and indicates that there are more NP types than are sometimes analysed. It shows the complexity that can be found in these structures when a strong language is carefully analysed, and Goddard (1983: 47, 53) notes that there is room for even more investigation of these structures in Yankunytjatjara. Variation in the constructions includes whether elements must be adjacent, whether the head is first in the construction, and in fact whether the construction has multiple heads; whether the final element only, or all elements, are case marked and whether there is a fixed order for the elements. As well there are semantic rules about the use of some of the constructions.

Table 167   **Some Yankunytjatjara NP types**

1. HEAD-MODIFIER CONSTRUCTIONS elements adjacent; final element case marked		
(a) **Noun-adjective** e.g. *papa tjapu* 'dog small'		
noun (head)	descriptive adj	quantifying adj
(b) **Generic-specific** e.g. *kuka malu* 'meat kangaroo' [kangaroo meat]; *kapi piti* 'water hole' [water from a hole]; *waru puyu* 'fire smoke' [smoke from a fire]		
generic noun (head)	specific noun + Case	
2. MODIFIER-HEAD CONSTRUCTIONS elements adjacent; final element case marked		
(a) Noun compounds (Whole-part is a common but not only use of the construction) only for **things**, not people; 'part' need not be attached to 'whole' e.g. *apara makaly* 'gum hollow-branch' [hollow branch of a gum tree]; *ngura walytja* 'place owner' [owner of a place]		
noun (attributive)	noun (head) + Case	
3. Non [head-modifier] constructions		
(a) INCLUSIVE CONSTRUCTION; elements adjacent; **all** elements case marked e.g. *nyuntu ngali* '2SG 1DU.NOM' [you and I];		
pronoun/noun + Case	pronoun + Case (broader reference)	
(b) PERSONAL CONSTRUCTION; elements **optionally** adjacent; element order **variable**; **all** elements case marked; Primary (broader reference) **always** denotes a person. e.g. *wati-ngka* verb *kuru-ngka* 'man-LOC -- eye-LOC' [in the man's eye]; *tjina-tja* 'foot.ACC-1SG.ACC' [(hit) my foot]; *mama tjina* 'father foot' [father's tracks]		
whole (noun/pronoun) - part (noun); 'part' broadly understood		

Type 1(a) in Table 167 is non-controversial. The remaining NPs consist of multiple nouns, or pronouns and the division into various types is less obvious. Goddard gives reasons (which I do not go into) for separating 1(b), Generic-specific, from 2(a), Noun compounds. A simpler analysis could easily regard these as one category. The

Yankunytjatjara Inclusive construction is clearly a separate construction since all elements are case marked, and similarly the Personal construction is the only one where the constituents can be separated, and also has the semantic condition that the Primary constituent can only refer to a person. Again both elements indicate case.

Others have also commented on NPs that consist of multiple nouns/pronouns. Blake (1987: 93) discusses three 'superordinate' putative noun phrase types: ('which have in common that one nominal is more inclusive and one more specific'); inclusive constructions (my inclusory §10.4.4); generic specific and whole-part, 'where reference is made to a whole and a part of that whole as in *man's head, leaves of tree, bank of the river*[217], etc. ' As he points out (1987: 95) 'In some languages **on the east coast** the genitive is an option frequently used, but **in most other suffixing languages** (emphasis added) the genitive is rare for *my hand, your foot*, etc. ' The distribution of this feature, and others, may well be an indication of the strong influence of English rather than traditional language. He points that part-whole NPs are often different from other NPs, as seen in Yankunytjatjara (above).

Dixon (1980: 293) points out that:

> Almost all Australian languages have two distinct ways of marking possession. A genitive suffix can be added to the possessor noun … to indicate 'alienable possession'. Inalienable possession .. is shown by just apposing possessor and possessed nouns, without any special suffix such as genitive.

He takes a similar position later (Dixon, 2002: 59, 77) but does not indicate that these structures have a wider application than 'inalienable possession'. Inalienability in a number of languages is explored in Chappell & McGregor (1996). They point out (p 3) that in languages of many families (as in Australian languages) possession can be shown by two methods. One method is used for body parts and other 'personal' things, and another method for other possession. Both methods can be used for one noun, with different meaning; e.g. 'my liver' can indicate my body part or the liver I am going to cook, depending which method is chosen.

With humans, inalienability generally applies to what Chappell and McGregor refer to as the 'personal domain', which is language and context dependent, and typically contains some of: kin terms, body parts and culturally basic possessed items. The same structures may apply to non-human part-whole expressions and or spatial relations. McGregor (1996) points out that protective clothing is inalienably possessed in Nyulnyul, a non-Pama-Nyungan language. There are common features of inalienable possession across Australian languages.

Donaldson (p 230) describes two types of possession (an imprecise term),

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[217] However see Goddard below. It is not obvious that the bank is part of the river, and Goddard's comment raises questions about the non-person 'whole' such as 'tree'.

there are two types of possession, one in which the possessed item is part of or relative to the possessor, indicated simply by apposition, and one in which it is separate from the possessor, indicated by prior dative marking of the possessor.

The inalienable possession construction is used while something is part of the whole, e.g. a person's hair, or clothes that are being worn, but a Dative possessive is used when the part is separated from the whole, e.g. when the hair has been cut or the clothes are not being worn.

Some of Donaldson's other examples of the first type are: *gurrugu ngamu* (cow breast/milk) 'cow's udder', *dhagarr malda* (ice lump) 'lump of ice'; *Ivanhoe-ga milan-da* (Ivanhoe-LOC neighbourhood-LOC) 'in the neighbourhood of Ivanhoe'. The last two are not strictly whole-part. It may be the recent Wangaaybuwan has collapsed some previously syntactically distinct structures, or there may have been just one structure.

It is quite likely that traditional YG had a similar variety of NP structures to Yankunytjatjara, but with differences in detail. Recorded YG quite likely does retain some of the earlier complexity, which may be revealed by further research. It is also likely that these relatively similar constructions have to some extent coalesced. The analysis below is therefore incomplete and revisable. YG NP structures recognised include whole-part arrangements and distictive inclusory constructions.

10.4.1.1 One constituent NPs

One-element NPs are common. *Dhayn,* in both parts of the (846), is the O NP. The clitic =*nda* in (846)(b)[218] is the sole constituent of the Subject NP.

(846) Do you see someone?   JM/FR 2437A 3248

(a) *yaama dhayn ngarra-y* / (b) *yaama*=**nda**   **dhayn** *ngarra-y*

   ques   person see-PST /   ques=2SG   person see-PST

   Did **you** see a man?   FR

An NP can consist of just a modifier. Unlike English, where use of an adjective as a noun generally has syntactic consequences such as the article in (I like **a** red) there is no such marking in YG. In (847) *burrul-bidi*, an adjective, is the O NP (*bubaay-djuul-u* contains an adjective *bubaay* nominalised by use of *-dhuul.*)

(847) The **skinny** fellow kicked the **fat** man in the stomach.   JM/AD 3219B 99

   ngiyama=*nga bubaay-djuul-u* / *girrgima-y ngaama* / *burrul-bidi mubal-i*

   there=THEN   small-ONE-ERG / kick-PST   there   / big-AUG   stomach-ABL

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[218] (846)(a) is a rare instance of zero realisation of second person pronoun.

It is relatively common for a number to be the sole constituent of an NP, especially in Parker (Emu and Bustard) and it is also found in Wurm (848). This feature is more common in YG than in English.

(848) *bula:ḍ nama ba:bilə*   SW p 19
      bulaarr nhama baabi-y.la-y
      two   there   sleep-CTS-FUT
      Two people are sleeping.   SW
      Two people will be sleeping.   JG

10.4.2   Noun Modifier NPs

The NP can have more than one standard nominal and in instances such as inclusory constructions can have more than one pronoun.

The constituents are all in the same case.

The constituents need not be adjacent, and even if adjacent are often separated by pauses.

The order of constituents can vary, but traditionally modifiers follow the noun they qualify.

The use of multiple modifiers in one NP is not common, and when there are multiple modifiers it is rare for them not to be in separate Intonation Phrases. The less salient modifier is generally said after a pause, still agreeing in case. This can be regarded as an 'afterthought' or apposition construction.

NPs that consist of just a modifier are relatively common.

While possessive NPs are not simple NPs they are like simple NPs in having variable constituent order and constituent separability, although they are more likely to have the modifier follow the head. The possessive constituent is in Dative case and takes no further case marking.

Topicalisation, where an argument is introduced at the beginning of a sentence, before a pause, also occurs. Here however the topicalised phrase is generally Nominative case, irrespective of the function of the argument in the main part of the clause, as in (849) (=(39)), where the next reference to 'baby' is by the Ergative *nguuma*.

(849) The baby dribbled on its chest.   JM/AD 3220B 2634
      nhama birralii-djuul / nguuma   / bii-dja   nguungunda / gaarra-y.la-ndaay wiiluun
      3.DEF child-DIM   / 3ERG.DEF / chest-LOC 3SG.LOC   / spill-CTS-SUB   dribble
      That child, (it is) dribbling stuff on its chest. [halting response by AD to the question]   JG

10.4.2.1 NP constituent order

The location of NP elements is constrained by sentence-level rules, particularly the location of pronouns (commonly cliticised or in second position). The rules for constituent order have been set out above. The patterns found vary between sources. It seems that later sources in particular have been influenced by English. Since modifier-noun order was permitted, but not common in traditional language, it may have been relatively easy for speakers to move to this as the predominant pattern.

Mathews (1903: 262) has, of GR, 'adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, and take the same inflections for number and case' and of YR (1902: 136) has: 'an adjective qualifying either the nominative or objective, follows the noun'. He gives numerous examples to illustrate the feature, including (850) from (1903: 263).

(850)   Mathews noun-adjective order:

	Original	Gloss	Analysis	Gloss
(a)	*Murri bural,*	A man large.	*mari burrul*	man big
(b)	*Murridu buralu*	The big man (is beating the child.[Ergative]	*mari-dhu burrul-u*	man-ERG big-ERG
(c)	*Murrigu buralu*	The big man's (boomerang)	*mari-gu burrul-u*	man-DAT big-DAT

The most authentic old text is Parker's 'Emu and Bustard'. It has few multiple element NPs, the most common modifiers being *burrul* 'big', *burrulaa* 'many' and *maayrrngay* 'none'. In this text these immediately precede nouns and *ngay* 'my' generally precedes the head noun, but is also found following it. The order here contrasts with Mathews.

Indirect evidence that modifiers traditionally follow the noun comes from compound words and other languages. YG names such as *dhuyubagan* 'bandy bandy (a snake)' (*dhuyu* 'snake', *bagan* 'stripe(d)') generally have the modifier second and likely retain more traditional usage. In many other Australian languages adjectives and quantifiers follow the noun, for instance in Pitjantjatjara (C. Goddard, 1983: 17) and Wangkumara (Hercus, p.c.). In Gumbaynggirr, a closer language, the adjectives also predominantly follow the noun (Morelli, 2008: 258-262).[219]

In the tapes and other recent sources there is a variety of noun-modifier arrangements. Most commonly the modifier immediately precedes the noun, but it can

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[219] An area for further investigation is the relative infrequency of case marked adjectives in later YG sources. In (850) Mathews has *burrul* with Ergative and Dative suffixes. There are over 250 tape instances of *burrul*, all in Nominative and Accusative case. There are over 600 instances of *gaba* 'good' or *gagil* 'bad' on the tapes, but only 6 are case marked. The exceptions are *bulaarr* 'two' and *burrulaa* 'many', with a combined total of 600 instances, 70 of which are Ergatively marked.

also follow the noun or be separated from it. In particular quantity words are generally found before the noun, but there are exceptions.

The following examples show a variety of NP arrangement in later sources. Most commonly the adjective precedes the noun and they are adjacent, particularly for quantity adjectives. Other arrangements are also frequent. Possessive pronouns follow the noun more commonly than other modifiers.

Non-quantifier adjectives. (851)(a) has the *gagil* preceding the noun in an NP. (851)(b) includes one of the rare examples of a non-quantity adjective with Ergative marking, but the noun and adjective are separated and again it is not certain they form an NP, as the alternative translation suggests.

(851)   This is bad water, we can't drink it.   JM/AD 3220B 3439

(a)   *nhalay＝bala **gagil gungan** / waala ngiyani / ngawu-gi*
        this＝CTR   bad   water   / can't 1PL.ERG / drink-FUT
        This is bad water. We can't drink it.   JG

(b)   *gagil / **gagil-u** ngaama / **gungan-du** / ngiyaninya bayn burranba-li*
        bad   / bad-ERG there   / water-ERG / 1PL..acc   sore change-FUT
        The bad water will make us sick.//The bad stuff, the water, will make us sick.   JG

In (852)(b) *gaba* precedes the noun and probably forms an NP with it. (852)(a) shows the quality adjective *gagil* following and preceding the noun, but with pauses, so no clear conclusion can be drawn about NP structure. In (1027) *gagil* is used twice, both preceding and following the noun.

(852)   There's no bad meat in the camp.   CW/AD 5130 3025

(a)   *maayrr nhalay   dhinggaa / **gagil** / **dhinggaa** /* (b) *giirr **gaba dhinggaa** nhalay*
        none   this/here meat   / bad   / meat   /   true good meat   this/here
        Only good meat here.   AD
        There is no bad meat here, there's good meat here.   JG

(853)(b) shows the adjective following the noun. While (b) is likely an NP, 'cold water' it may be a verbless clause: 'It's cold water'.

(853)   The water was cold.   JM/FR 2438B 1808

(a)   ***baliyaa**＝bala nhama **gungan** /* (b) *gungan baliyaa*
        cold＝CTR   3.DEF water   /   water   cold
        That's water very cold.   FR
        That water is cold. Cold water.   JG

Quantifiers. There are numerous NPs consisting of a noun and a quantifier. They can be adjacent (854)(b), (856) or separated (854)(a), (855), but adjectives generally precede the noun on the tapes.

(854)   A whole lot of us are walking.   JM/FR 1849B 1432

(a)   ***burrulaa*** *yanaa-waa-nha* ***dhayn***

        many   walk-MOV-PRS man

        A lot of blackfellows walking.   FR

(b)   *yanaa-waa-nha* ***burrulaa*** ***dhayn***

        walk-MOV-PRS many   man

(855)   *bijəḍ ŋaja bumai banda:ḍ*   SW p 62

        biyarr *ngaya buma-y* ***bandaarr***

        one   1SG   hit-PST kangaroo

        I have killed a 'roo with a spear.   SW

        I killed one kangaroo   JG

(856) is one of the relatively few instances where the quantifier follows the noun.

(856)   *gi:ð nama maɽi buḍla ŋaɽi ja:bulḍa*   SW p 35

        giirr nhama ***mari***   ***burrulaa*** *ngarri-y.aaba-lda-nha*

        true 3.DEF   Aboriginal.person all   sit-TOT-CTS-PRS

        All these man have sat down / they are sitting.   SW

        All the Aboriginal people are sitting down.   JG

10.4.2.2   Multiple modifiers in an NP

It is relatively uncommon to find multiple modifiers in one NP, and if a NP has more than one adjective they tend to be separated, often with one coming at the end of the sentence.

(857) shows the three NP elements (noun and two adjectives) separated by pauses.

(857)   We 2 two ate a lot of fish.   JM/FR 2436A 1987

        bamba   ngali   dha-y, ngaaluurr, ***gaba,*** ***wamu***

        with.energy 1DU.ERG, eat-PST fish,   good, fat

        We ate a lot of fish. It was gaba, good.   FR

        We ate a lot of fish, good and fat.   JG

In (858) two English adjectives have been rendered with two YR clauses, one adjective being in Locative case and one in Nominative case. In the first clause *gunganda* and *baliyaaga* are intonationally separated.

(858)   The baby fell into the cold black water.   CW/AD 5130 543.

        birralii-djuul ngaama=nga bundaa-nhi, gungan-da / ***baliyaa-ga*** */*

        child-DIM   that=THEN fall-PST,   water-LOC / cold-LOC /

        The child fell into the water, and it was cold.   JG

        buluuy *ngaama gungan*

        black   that   water

        That water was black.   JG

The NP in (859) also has two adjectives, both separated from the noun by pauses and in one instance by the verb. It is not clear that there is a multi-element NP here. *Ngarragaa-gu* could be '(that) poor thing' and *biyaduul-u* is likely a secondary predicate, so neither of them qualifying *yina-yu*.

(859) The little old woman sang a song.   CW/AD 5130 518

   *?? / ngaama   / **ngarragaa-gu** / **yina-yu**   bawi-lda-nhi / **biyaduul-u***

   ?? / that∕there? / sad-ERG   / woman-ERG sing-CTS-PST / alone-ERG

   That poor old woman was singing alone. [?? = not understood]   JG

In (860) the Agent is represented by four Ergative constituents, most separated from other constituents by pauses or other words. It is unlikely they form one NP.

(860) A thin hungry boy ate all the fish   CW/AD 5130 500

   *giirruu   ngaama / **ngarragaa-gu dhayn-du** / **birralii-djuul-u** /*

   true.very that   / poor-ERG   man-ERG / child-DIM-ERG /

   That hopeless person, the little kid,   JG

   *guduu ngaama dha-y   / **biya-duul-u***

   cod   that   eat-PST / one-DIM-ERG

   AD He ate. CW He ate them all by himself.

   he ate the fish/cod by himself.   JG

The Object in (861), in English, is 'the black ants' nest'. In YR this is initially referred to by a Ø or perhaps as *ngaama*, then by *giidjaa-gu*, and finally by *walaay ganungu*, which contains a second possessive - so suggesting that these could be analysed as three NPs: *ngaama, giidjaa-gu* and *walaay ganungu*, the last two forming a single intonational unit.[220] AD in particular uses such intonationally separated repeated references to one argument.

(861) I smashed the black ants' nest.   CW/AD 5055 1673

   giirr ngay' ngaama, gama-y   / giidjaa-gu // walaay ganungu

   true 1SG   there,   break-PST / ant-DAT   // camp   3PL.DAT

   Indeed I it, smashed, the ant's, their nest.   JG

   I broke the meat ant's nest.   JG

(862) shows at least three intonationally separated units referring to 'my poor mother'.

(862) My mother had to bring us up on her own.   AD/JM 3218A 1121

   guyungan-duul-u / guyungan-du / ngarragaa-gu ngay,   ngambaa-gu /

   self-ONE-ERG   / self-ERG   / poor-ERG   1SG.DAT, mother-ERG /

   All by herself, by herself, my poor mother   JG

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[220] The constituent order (861) depends on the interpretation of the first section. If *ngaama* is seen as a cross referencing demonstrative, or if the object is regarded as a non-realised third person pronoun, then the sentence is AOV, with O explicated after the verb. Otherwise the order is AVO.

nganha   / gaa-gi.la-nhi
1SG.ACC / bring-CTS-PST
My poor mother was bringing me up by herself.   JG
brought me up.   JG

(863) has a complex NP, including the simple NP *gaba ngulu* ('good face') 'good looking' which modifies *dhayn*, but *gaba* and *ngulu* are separated. The reason for the intonation structure of this NP, with a pause after *dhayndu*, is not clear. All constituents of the A NP are ergatively marked. (863) contains *nguuma*, a cross-referencing pronoun, discussed in §5.3.2.

(863)   The good looking man made a joke (and all the people laughed).   JM/AD 3219A 2909

   giirr=bala nguuma, gaba-gu   dhayn-du, ngulu-gu / minyagaa gaba guwaa-y
   true=CTR 3ERG.DEF good-ERG man-ERG, face-ERG / something good say-PST
   The good looking man told a joke (something good).   JG

Almost invariably nominals in one YG NP have the same case. There are numerous examples above. Others include (39) - (46); 2436A 2220 '(I slipped off the) <u>smooth tree</u>' with 'smooth' and 'tree' Ablative and adjacent, and 2438B 1679 'we put <u>clean clothes</u> on the children' with 'clean' and 'clothes' both Ablative and separated by *nhama.*

10.4.2.3   Possessive NPs

By 'possessive NP' I mean one with an explicit nominal or NP in possessive function, i.e. Dative case. Only the head is marked with the case appropriate for the higher level NP. Often English possessives are not translated explicitly in YG. For instance at 2833A 77 'your foot' is *dhina nginu* twice and *dhina* once. See also below on part-whole.

MathewsGR (p 264) has the possessive pronoun second: *Gai ngai* 'child my' (*gaay ngay*), whereas the alternative order is seen in AD's 3219B 3334 (*ngay guliirr* 'my wife') and elsewhere in recent sources. (864) shows AD using noun-possessor order once and his more common possessor-noun order twice.

Again the noun and qualifier can be separated, as in (865) and (866), which also shows the possessive pronoun following the noun in a relatively recent source. (118) also has noun-possessor order in a recent source, but this may be influenced by the fact that this is a traditional story, and so has kept more of the traditional structure.

(864)   My dog barked at yours.   JM/AD 3220B 1037

(a)   **buyuma-gu ngay**   / (b) *bamba*   **ngay**   **buyuma-gu** / *gula-lda-nha* /
      dog-ERG   1SG.DAT /   w.energy 1SG.DAT dog-ERG   / bark-CTS-PRS /
      My dog, my dog is barking loudly   JG

(c) *nginu / buyuma*
     2SG.DAT / dog
     at your dog.   JG

(865) Don't you eat my meat, else I will hit you.   SW p 76
       gaṟija ŋin.də ðiŋa: ðalla ŋai, bumala:ꞵali
       *garriya nginda **dhinggaa** dha-la **ngay**,   buma-l.aaba-li*
       don't   1SG   meat   eat-IMP 1SG.DAT, hit-ALL-FUT
       Don't eat my meat. [I] will hit [you] all.   JG

In (866) the NP constituents *baburr* and *nginu* are separated by the A, probably because pronouns tend strongly to second position. See a similar pattern in (196).

(866) I will tickle your feet.   JM/FR 1986B 2547
       ***baburr** ngaya = laa **nginu**   / gidjigidjiba-li*
       foot   1SG = DIR   2SG.DAT / tickle-FUT

10.4.2.4   Whole-part NPs

There are two YG NP constructions which consist of two nominals which can be nouns or Adjectives. One is the whole-part construction, and the other the Inclusory Construction §10.4.4.

Inalienable possession has been discussed in §10.4.1. In YG the elements are in the same case: e.g. *birralii bungun* 'child arm', with both elements Nominative case. The list of what is inalienably possessed varies from language to language. What could be 'inalienably possessed' in YG is not clear. In other languages typically body parts and personally significant items such as voice, name, shadow, clothes or track are inalienably possessed.

The predominant YG order is whole first, part second and the nominals commonly adjacent, but this is not universal.

In the current analysis YG inalienable possession covers the functions of Goddard's 'generic-specific', 'noun compounds' and 'personal construction', suggesting that the YG analysis is simplifying a more complex reality.

Inalienable possession (the NP is underlined) use of whole-part structure is seen in (867), the first two words of (868) and in (869) (part of (1084)) and in the examples that follow.

(867) What is your meat? (Social Section)   JM/AD 3219B 701
       minya = bala nginda dhinggaa, minya
       what = CTR   2SG   meat,   what

(868) *mil ngaia da'lani gi'an* mil ngaia wal g'il bamar*[221]   Laves MS2188-9-12p083

   <u>*mil*</u>   *ngaya*   *dhaala-nhi // gi.yaa.nh[a mil   ngaya wagirrbuma-y*

   eye.NOM 1SG.NOM be.sick-PST // going.to   eye.ACC 1SG   wash.M-FUT

   eye I sick bushes (sic) eye I wash   Laves

   My eyes got sick and I am going to wash my eyes.   JG

(869)   (Mum has taken burrs from the girl's back,) then she said to the boy:

   'I'll take the burrs from your back too'.   JM/AD 3219A 3478

   ngaya, nginundi ngayagay / ngaya / <u>bawa-dhi</u> dhuwima-li / bindiyaa,

   1SG,   2SG.ABL as.well   / 1SG   / back-ABL take.out-FUT / prickle,

   So he stooped down.   AD

   I'll take the prickles out of your back too.   JG

At 3998A 1134 AD translates '(he dropped the stone) on his mother's head' with *ngambaa-ga dhaygal-a* 'mother-LOC head-LOC' and repeats the sentence, but with *dhaygal-a* / *ngambaa-ngunda,* with *-ngunda,* the Personal Declension Locative, the order is reversed and the constituents separated. As well there is no reflex of 'his' in the YR.

At 5129A 1577 AD twice translates '(there was blood) on his face' with *nguungunda ngulu-ga,* '3SG.LOC face-LOC'. He (8184 2013) translates '(the boomerang might cut) your (head off)' with *nginunha dhaygal* '2SG.ACC head.ACC'. Even AD's English reflects his use of this construction. At 2833B 519 he uses 'he head' where standard English would use 'his head', and at 5052 218 says: '*dhaygal* means you head'.

There are instances where the whole-part construction might be expected, but AD uses a Dative possessor. At 5056 847 'the dog's tail (is wagging)' is *dhiil* (*dhirranbay.la-nha*) *maadhaay-gu,* 'tail .. dog-DAT' and at 8186 976 '(the yamstick made) his head (very flat)' has *dhaygal nguungu* 'head 3SG.DAT'. This refers to a lizard. It may, or may not, be coincidence that both these have non-human referents. The whole-part construction is not (or very rarely) used by FR. For instance at 1987B 1582 '(cut) my hair' has *ngay dhaygal* '1SG.DAT hair', with the same phrase at 2438A 991. As noted above by Blake the use of a Dative in this construction is common in Eastern Australia and Hercus (2005) suggests it is the result of English influence.

No information has been found on whether YG used part-whole structure with inanimates such as 'tree leaf'.

There are other uses of the 'whole-part' construction, in NPs that contain what might be called an attributive noun. The examples below are not inalienable possession since the body part has been separated from the body. The attributive noun

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[221] The '*' is in Laves. He has a note: '*certain bushes used for sore eyes'. It seems more likely he has misinterpreted the word.

can have a wide range of semantic functions - cf. generic nouns and noun compounds in Goddard. However there is also currently unexplained variation in the YG structure used for what seems to be identical English structures. Sometimes the whole-part structure is used and at other times a Dative possessor is used. For instance 'kangaroo skin' (Nominative/Accusative) is found many times in the tapes, mostly translated *bawurra-gu yulay* 'red.kangaroo-DAT skin'.[222] However 2439A 3211 '(the women are going to make a bag) out of kangaroo skin' has *bawurra-dhi; yulay-i bawurra-dhi*, with Ablative marking on both nouns. The two structures are found in translations of '(make a bag) out of possum skin'. AD3220A 955 has *mudhay-gu yulay*, but in (870) FR uses the whole-part structure with both constituents Ablative.

(870) I have a good bag, it is made of possum skin.   JM/FR 2438A 198

There was a special name for possum skin. I'll have to say *mudhay-gu yulay*.   FR

gaba	*nhama*	*man.garr* /	*ngaya*	*gimbi-y* /	**mudhay-dji**	**yulay-dji**
good	there	bag /	1SG	make-PST /	possum-ABL	skin-ABL

I made a good bag out of that possum skin.   FR

Locational NPs also use the whole part structure. Here what I call a locational nominal and a referential nominal, have the same case. In some instances the locative nominal indicates part of the reference nominal, as in (53) *mudhu-ga walaay-dha* 'inside the camp', where the inside is part of the camp. Both nominals are in Locative case. On the other hand the referential nominal may not include the area indicated, as in the Locative case examples: *guwiinbaa-ga nguungunda* 'close to him' (308) (*guwiinbaa* 'close'); cf. 'close to the water' *guwiinbaa-ga, gungan-da* (AD8186 782, *gungan* 'water') and 'close to me' *nganunda guwiinbaa-ga* (AD8185 161), *ngaarri-gili-dja, gungan-da* 'on the other side of the water' (*ngaarri-gili* 'far-side'; 3220A 1782). The order of the referential nominal and locational nominal is variable, with the locational found first in most instances.

More complex part-whole structures are found, often as part of a currently unanalysed structure. (871) and (872) are 'part whole' constructions where one constituent is itself a multi element NP: *buwadjarr ngay* in the first.

(871) I can touch my father's head.   JM/AD 3220B 2279

waal	*ngay'*	*gi.yaa.nha* /	*[buwadjarr ngay]*	*dhaygal* /	*bayama-li*
not	1SG	going.to /	father	1SG.DAT head /	hold-FUT

I am not going to hold/touch my father's head.   JG

---

[222] *bawurra-gu yulay* is sometimes found even when further case marking on *yulay* would be expected, for instance (8184 1499) 'we stuff the feathers in a kangaroo skin' uses *bandaarr-gu yulay*, where I would expect a Locative suffix on *yulay*. At 8185 1121 AD translates '(I wrapped the baby) in a kangaroo skin' with the confusing *bandaa-ya yula-dhu* which is apparently (kangaroo-LOC skin-ERG).

> *waal ngay' gi.yaa.nha*
> not 1SG going.to
> I am not going to.   JG

In (872) the modifying NP is *guyaarr bungundu,* with the constituents not agreeing in case. This may be an error, or may be to signal that 'long' qualifies 'arm', not 'man'.

(872)   A man with long arms, gets out the porcupine.   JM/FR 2438A 3292

> *guyaa-yaxx, [guyaarr / bungun-du] / dhayn-du / bigibila-laa   dhuwima-li*
> long-LOC.xx, long   / arm-ERG   / man-ERG / echidna-SOON pull.out-FUT
> A man with long arms will pull him out directly.   FR
> A long-armed man will pull the porcupine out soon.   JG

It does suggest that the languages had structures for such uncommon, but not unrealistic phrases.

Another area which is not fully analysed has to do with sensations and effects on body parts. English has multiple possible structures, fairly closely related, and with often subtle semantic differences for such situations. For instance: 'my hand is sore/hurts', 'I hurt my hand', 'my hand is hurting', 'my hand is hurting me', 'I've got a sore hand' and there are more similar sentences. I expect YG had similar complexity. I do not attempt to analyse the YG found, rather to list some elements of the structures and give some examples. It may be that there is influence from English in this YG.

(873)(a) has zero anaphora of the whole - neither the 'he' or 'his' is realised in the YR. In (873)(b) the *=nga* may be 3SG but is more likely to be 'then'. *Gama-nhi* is a middle verb.

(873)   JM He hurt himself. FR don't know 'hurt' JM He broke a leg.   JM/FR 1849B 1803

(a)   *buyu gama-nhi*
> leg   break.M-PST
> He broke his leg.   FR

(b)   *bundaa-nhi=nga muyaan-di, buyu gama-nhi*
> fall-PST=3?THEN tree-ABL,   leg   break.M-PST
> He fell off the tree and broke his leg.   FR

(874) has no realisation of the S; *gaylanhi* is intransitive.

(874)   The boy touched the hot stone.   CW/FR 5053 2366

> *dhuu-biyaay maayama / bayama-y   maa-gu   / maa gayla-nhi*
> fire-COM   rock   / pick.up-PST hand-ERG / hand burn-PST
> Burnt his hand.   FR
> He picked up the hot rock with his hand, and burnt his hand.   JG

In (875) the subject, 'my hand' is inalienably possessed, but a Dative is used, not a whole-part construction. The use of a possessive here, rather than Ø, may have to do with the fact that the referent is not third person. However in (876), with a second person referent, the possessive is used in (a) but not repeated in (b).

(875)   sore   JM/FR 1850A 1136

    bayn // bayn [ngay   maa]
    sore // sore 1SG.DAT hand
    My hand is sore.   FR

In general, the possessor is not mentioned twice (cf. English: **she** hurt **her** foot) as in (876) where the possessor is only explicit in (a). (673) has 'wash your face' with a middle verb and face-ACC, and no 'your'.

(876)   your eye   LO/AD 2833A 1853

(a)   *nginu   nhama mil*
    2SG.DAT 3.DEF eye
    That's your eye there.   AD

(b)   *dhala-baraay / dhala-baraay / mil / dhala-baraay*
    eye.dirt-COM / eye.dirt-COM / eye / eye.dirt-COM
    You got gum on your eyes.   AD

In contrast with (875), (687) has a first person referent but includes a whole-part construction <u>*nganha dhina buma.nhi*</u> ' 1SG.ACC foot.ACC hit.M-PST' 'I hit my foot (against a rock)', and also has a middle verb. On the other hand 2438A 3464 has 'your foot (might burn)' as *baburr nginu*, with the Dative following the body part and (536) also uses a Dative in a similar sentence.

Both (877) (= (686)) and (687) have the middle form of 'hit'; they both involve contact between the speaker's foot and something on the ground (stick, rock) and a result (falling down; being hurt). The answers given do not closely reflect the elicitations, and the constructions are quite different. (877) has 'foot-ABL' and a middle verb. In (687) 'I hit me up against that rock' 'me' and 'foot' are Accusative. There are further similar examples in §8.2.

(877)   I tripped on a stick and fell down in the mud.   JM/AD 3219B 3567

    *giniy-u   **buma-nhi**   **buyu-dhi** / bundaa-nhi = nga   ngaya*
    stick-ERG   hit.M-PST   leg-ABL   / fall-PST = THEN   1SG
    I hit my foot on a stick and fell down.   JG

(878) illustrates some of the complexities of analysis and of the structures. *Biiwii-dju wamu-gu* is clearly a part-whole construction, in Ergative case with instrumental function. *Bigibila-gu* could be either Ergative or Dative. The FR translation suggests that *bigibila-gu wamu-gu* is Ergative with ergative function, but the absence of a transitive verb suggests it has instrumental function. These two phrases are then

whole-part constructions with attributive nouns. At first glance the first phrase is attributive, 'your leg is sore, (rub it with)', but the final phrase suggests that *bayn buyu* is a whole-part construction, as suggested in the alternative JG translation. I arrive at no definite conclusions, except that there is great complexity in this area of YG.

(878) We will rub goanna on our sores, festering sores.   JM/FR 2438A 3734

bayn	*nhama*	*nginu*	*buyu* /	*gaarra-ya* /	*wamu-gu* //	[*biiwii-dju*	*wamu-gu*] /
sore	3.DEF	2SG.DAT	leg /	rub.M-IMP /	fat-ERG //	goanna-ERG	fat-ERG /

Rub your sore leg (your leg sores) with fat, with goanna fat;   JG

[*bigibila-gu*	*wamu-gu*]	*nhama*	*gaba*	*gimbi-li.gu,*	*bula* /	*bayn*	*nhama*	*nginu*
echidna-ERG.	fat-ERG	3.DEF	good	make-PURP,	also /	sore	that	2SG.DAT

Porcupine fat will make it good too.   FR
or with echidna fat, to make it better, as well; those sores of yours.   JG

Factors which may be relevant to the syntax include whether an action is deliberate or not (e.g. I broke my leg; I washed my face), discourse factors such as assumed or established knowledge, and whether the sentence refers to third persons or not. Analysis and development of YG would be assisted by other studies, such as (Wilkins, 1989)(Wilkins, 1989)Wilkins' (1989: 167) section on 'body parts causing pain' in Arrernte. The structure for affected parts (e.g. 'hit him <u>on the leg</u>') is discussed at §2.3.6.4.

The attested constructions are for sentences which involve someone and their affected body part.

-   body part unmarked, Agent/possessor not expressed: (873), (874), (673) (imperative)
-   body part Ablative, Agent/possessor not expressed: (877)
-   body part unmarked, possessor as Dative pronoun: (875)

10.4.3   Coordination in NPs

In YG as in other Australian languages coordination of syntactically equivalent nominals is commonly effected by 'simple juxtaposition' (Blake, 1987: 91), cf. Wilkins (1989: 404). Coordination involving people ('me and you', for instance) is done by use of Inclusory constructions §10.4.4. An additional topic can be introduced by *ngayagay* YR/*ngaragay* GR 'as well'.

Simple juxtaposition is seen in (879) below, and in 8186 3079 where *dhinggaa, dhuwarr* 'meat, bread' are juxtaposed and in 8186 3341 where *burrulaa* **ngaama** *guduu, burrulaa* **ngaama** *yin.ga* 'many that cod, many that crayfish' translates 'fish and crayfish'.

(879)   After that they could all cook their fish and meat.   JM/AD 8186 1950

    wii   ganugu   / guyungan / gimbi-lda-nhi / nguwama＝nga ganugu   /

    fire   3PL.ERG / each   / make-CTS-PST / there＝THEN   3PL.ERG

    Each made their own fire, and then they   JG

    dhinggaa / guduu / yin.ga   / gudhuwa-lda-nhi

    meat   / cod   / crayfish / cook-CTS-PST

    See how they cooking everythings there then.   AD

    were cooking the meat, fish and crayfish.   JG

Wilkins (1989: 405) points out that in Arrernte elements which are conjoined by simple listing 'cannot be used for the subject of symmetric (e.g. reciprocal) predicates, although conjoined NPs formed by any other strategy may be'. YG information is not sufficient to make such detailed observations.

10.4.3.1   Adjective coordination

The use of multiple adjectives modifying one noun has been discussed at §21.3.3.1.4. The interpretation of (880) (which follows (827)) is not clear, but it is likely that the two adjectives are alternatives rather than conjoined ('bad or lazy woman').

(880)   She is lazy and can't cook.   JM/FR 1988B 3780

    gagil nhama yinarr, yinggil   or yinggil   nhama yinarr, gagil

    bad   3.DEF woman, tired∕lazy or tired∕lazy that   woman, bad

    very tired woman that, or lazy   FR

    That woman is bad/sick, and lazy. or That woman is lazy, sick, you could say.   JG

10.4.4   Inclusory constructions

Inclusory constructions (IC) are common in Australian languages and are found in YG. ICs correspond to English coordinated NPs. An IC refers to a group. The IC consists of a superset, non-singular pronoun which includes all members of the group and a subset nominal or nominals which refer to a member or members of the superset.

In (881)(a) the superset pronoun is third person, *gaalanha* '3DU' and the subsets are *dhayn* 'man' and *yinarr* 'woman', with all referents of the superset pronoun explicitly mentioned. This is not the case when the superset pronoun is first or second person. The speaker or addressee is not explicated. For instance in (881)(b) and (c) the superset is *ngali*, '1DU' and the subsets are *nginda* and ＝*nda* '2SG'. The speaker is not explicated as a subset - there is no *ngaya* '1SG'.

(881)   Examples of YG inclusory constructions:

(a)	*dhayn **gaalanha** yinarr*	man **3DU** woman	The man and the woman.
(b)	***ngali** nginda*	**1DU** 2SG	Me and you.
(c)	***ngali**=nda*	**1DU** = 2SG	Me and you.
(d)	*baawaadhi ngay **ngali***	sister 1SG.DAT **1DU**	My sister and I
(e)	*ngiyaninya **ganunga***	1PL.ACC **3PL.ACC**	Them and me/them and us.
(f)	*ngaana **ngindaali***	who? **2DU**	You and who (1 person) (907)

The superset is bolded.

Exclusive pronouns in YG are best considered as ICs, and are looked at in the next section.

The superset pronoun can be dual or plural, of any person and of any case. The most common superset pronoun is *ngali* '2DU'. Singer (2001a, 2001b) are extensive studies of ICs in a number of Australian languages. She notes that the most common superset is the dual, but plural pronoun supersets are found. Singer also notes that examples in non-core cases are rare, but do exist, as seen the Kayteye Aversive case example she gives (2001a: 13). Sim (1998 Appendix: 2) gives a YR paradigm of ICs of all cases with the first person dual superset pronoun.

Other syntactic features of ICs include:

- The elements are generally but not always contiguous, and most commonly the superset element is first.

  - are of the same case as the superset pronoun

  - subset elements can be free pronouns, clitic pronouns, nouns or NPs

There are a few cases such as (886) - (888) where the subset noun has a comitative suffix. The semantic implications of this are not clear, nor are the semantic effects of variations in the relative positions of the IC constituents.

While the number of ICs in YG sources is relatively small the examples cover a wide range of case forms and pronoun number, particularly those in Sim. It likely that current sources do not show the prevalence or range of IC structures traditionally found. There are a number of reasons for this. ICs are a complex structure, and easily lost as languages decline. More complex instances of ICs are less likely to be retained and recorded. They could easily be missed by recorders creating paradigms, and finally many IC structures were probably rare. The fact that ICs are found in many languages also suggests that they were more common in YG.

10.4.4.1   ICs with at least one noun

This section considers ICs with at least one noun in the subset or subsets. (882) - (884) have simple ICs, *ngali* as the superset and a noun as the subset element. Most such examples so far found are in Wurm, but (884) is from FR. In the Wurm examples

(882), (883), the subset nominal precedes the superset pronoun, but in (884) the subset nominal is not contiguous with the pronoun and follows it (while the superset pronoun is Ergative, *garrimaaydji* is Nominative, so perhaps an error). *Ngali* usually has an inclusive meaning, but not so in these and many of the later ICs.

(882)   *hinər nama ŋali janæwai*   SW p 14

  yinarr   *nhama*   ***ngali***   *yana-waa-y*

  woman   3.DEF   1DU.NOM   go-MOV-FUT

  The woman with me come.   SW

  The woman will be going with me. / The woman and I will go.   JG

(883)   *ba:wadi ŋɛi ngali buɔ:ŋa: ŋɛi ngali*   SW p 86

  [baawaadhi ngay]   *ngali*   *// baawaangaa?? ngay*   *ngali*

  sister   1SG.DAT   1DU.NOM   //   sister   1SG.DAT   1DU.NOM

  We 2, I and older sister We 2, I and younger sister   SW

(884)   I can't go near my mother in law.   FR/JM 2437B 1064

  waal=bala ***ngali***   *gaay*   *guwaa-lda-nha* /   ***[garrimaay.dji***   ***ngay]***

  not=CTR   1DU.ERG   words   tell-CTS-PRS   /   mother.in.law.NOM   1SG.DAT

  We don't talk, me and my mother in law.   FR

Other constructions are found which seem to be variations on the basic IC pattern. The IC in (885) could be seen as: *ngaya yinayu ngali-yuu,* with two subsets - a pronoun *ngaya* and noun *yinayu*. Alternatively *yinayu ngaliyuu* could be regarded as a separate NP, and this structure as a way of adding a constituent: 'woman-also'. *Ngaliyuu* contains *-yuu* 'TOTal', introducing a new element into the possible structure of the IC.

(885)   I saw the snake and so did the woman.   Sim p 39

  ngaya *dhuyu ngarra-y,* ***yina-yu***   ***ngali-yuu***

  1SG   snake   see-PST,   woman-ERG   1DU.ERG-EXCL?

Elements of (886) - (888) have some similarities to ICs but the structure remains uncertain. (886) and (887) are IC-like in having *ngali* with exclusive use (it is usually inclusive) and a subset element, but the subset element in Comitative case, and is intonationally separated from the superset element, unlike in (882) - (884).

(888) is different again, having *ngalinya,* the exclusive Nominative dual, as the apparent superset. It may be that (888) does not contain an IC, but that *birralii-biyaay* is a dyadic form: see (112). The comitative nominals in (886) (887) may have similar use. This is an area for further investigation.

(886)   *yanaa-y /* ***guliirr-iyaay, ngali***   *gi.yaa.nha*   *yanaa-y, wadhi-gu*

  go-FUT   / spouse-COM, 1DU.NOM going.to   go-FUT,   bush-ALL

  Me and my missus gonna walk in the bush.   FR/JM 2437B 2716

(887)   My little boy can stay behind with me.   JM/FR 2437B 3530
        My little boy stay behind with me.   FR
        gaarrimay-a = bala,   **ngali**   *gi.yaa.nha*   *yilawa-y*   /   ***birralii-biyaay***
        camp-LOC = CTR,   1DU   going.to   sit-FUT   /   child-COM
        We are going to stop at the camp, me and the kid.   FR

(888)   We two - baby and me - feel good now.   JM/AD 3217B 770
        giirr **ngali.nya** *gaba, gaba gi-nyi*   /   ***ngali.nya***   /   ***birralii-biyaay***
        true   1DU.EXCL good, good get-PST / 1DU.EXCL / child-COM
        me and my baby   AD

10.4.4.2   Multiple subsets in Inclusory Constructions

There are a few examples where inclusory constructions consist entirely of third person referents. In (889) (=(881)(a)) *dhayn gaalanha yinarr* is an IC, with *gaalanha* '3DU' as the superset and two subsets, *dhayn* and *yinarr*. (890) is similar, but the nominals are Ergative, while *gaalanha* is still Nominative/Accusative. I take this to be a error given that case agreement is the general rule.

(889)   I saw the man and the woman.   Sim p 40
        dhayn gaalanha yinarr   *ngaya ngarra-y*
        man   3DU.ACC woman 1SG   see-PST

(890)   The man and the woman killed the bird.   Sim p 46
        dhayn-du gaalanha   ***yina-yu***   *buma-y dhigayaa*
        man-ERG 3DU.ERG?? woman-ERG hit-PST   bird

Sim also has the dual *gaalanha* in (891), a dual superset while the sum of the subsets is more than two. Again I take this to be an error, and that *ganunga* (Nominative) or *ganugu* (Ergative), the plural pronouns, would be more correct. In (892)(= (16)) *gaalanha* has non-animate reference, showing that ICs can have animate and inanimate use.

(891)   My father and his brothers.   Sim Appendix p 3
        [ngay   *buwardjarr]* **gaalanha** *galamingaa-biyaay*
        1SG.DAT father   3DU   brother-COM

(892)   The man brought his boomerang and also his spear.   Sim p 39
        dhayn-du dhiyama-y **barran**   *nguungu bilaarr* **gaalanha**
        man-ERG pick.up-PST boomerang 3SG.DAT spear   3DU.ACC

10.4.5   Inclusory constructions and Exclusive meaning

This section first considers inclusive/exclusive constructions in other languages then the use of the inclusive constructions to distinguish these meanings in YG. These YG

ICs are commonly a single word, with a subset of suffixed pronouns, but can also be phrasal. YG also uses ICs to form emphatic inclusives.

Many Australian languages make a distinction in first person dual and plural pronouns between inclusive ('we' includes the addressee(s)) and exclusive ('we' does not include the addressee(s)); cf. Dixon (2002: 69). One way this is done is with special pronoun forms, often with the inclusive as the unmarked form. This is the pattern in Gumbaynggirr (Morelli, 2008: 283) where the exclusive of all cases is formed by adding –*gay* to the inclusive. Sometimes there are minor changes to the inclusive form, or other variations, such as an infixed -*gay* in the Allative exclusive: *ngalimbagaygu* '1DU.EXC.ALL'. Table 168 shows some of the Gumbaynggirr inclusive and exclusive pronouns, with -*gay* bolded.

Table 168   Some Gumbaynggirr inclusive/exclusive forms

	Nominative	Ergative	Accusative	Dative	(+ 4 other cases)
dual inc	*ngalii*	*ngalii*	*ngaliinya*	*ngalimba*	
dual excl	*ngali-**gay***	*ngali-**gay***	*ngalinya-**gay***	*ngalimba-**gay***	
plural inc	*ngiyaa*	*ngiyaala*	*ngiyaanya*	*ngiyamba*	
plural excl	*ngiya-**gay***	*ngiyala-**gay***	*ngiyanya-**gay***	*ngiyamba-**gay***	

The other common way languages form inclusives or exclusives is by a phrasal or morphological compound of pronouns, i.e. an Inclusive Construction. So, for instance, 'we.pl-you' is inclusive, since it says there is a group which includes the speaker, and the addressee is also included. 'we.pl-they', on the other hand, specifies that the speaker and some others are included, and it is understood that the addressee(s) is not included.

There is a fundamental difference between the two approaches. The Gumbaynggirr approach details whether the addressee is excluded or included. The IC details who is included, but not who is excluded. So 'we.pl-you' details that the speaker, addressee (and, since 'we' is plural, others) are included. It does not entail any exclusion. With the dual superset 'we.2', inclusion of the addressee: 'we.2-you', or of a third person: 'we.2-she' entails the exclusion of others, but this is not the case with a plural superset. So languages like YG can use plural ICs with the implication, but not entailment, of a clear inclusive or exclusive meaning.

Two approaches to distinguishing inclusive and exclusive pronouns have been found in YG. The most common has the inclusive as the unmarked, and the exclusive as marked, the pattern more common in Australian languages.

YG inclusive meaning is usually conveyed by the bare pronoun, e.g. *ngali* '1DU' and exclusive meaning is conveyed or implied by an inclusory construction, consisting

of the first person pronoun and (synchronically or historically) a third person pronoun. This is most clear in GR, where *ngali-nguru* (MathewsGR: 264) is transparently '1DU-3SG.ERG'. It uses the full forms of the pronouns and has the explicit meaning 's/he and I', and so has exclusive meaning. It is not clear if this is a phrase or a single morphological unit.

An alternative pattern is found in Sim (1998: Appendix: 2). He has the dual inclusive as always phrasal, e.g. *ngali nginda* '1DU 2SG' (we 2) and the exclusive as a single word for some cases: e.g. *ngali* and phrasal for other cases: e.g. *ngalinguu nguunguu* '1DU.DAT 3SG.DAT' 'ours (mine and hers/his)'. This is the less common pattern in the YG sources and typologically. The rest of the discussion assumes that the traditional YG pattern has the inclusive as unmarked.

10.4.5.1   Nominative / Ergative inclusive and exclusive

The unmarked YG inclusives are dual *ngali* 1DU and *ngiyani* 1PL. The Nominative exclusives are *ngalinya* and *ngiyaninya* formed by adding =*nya*, an allomorph of =*NHa* '3'. (*ngalinya* and *ngiyaninya* are homophonous with the inclusive Accusative forms.) The YR exclusives are *ngalilu(u)*[223] and *ngiyanilu(u)*, formed by adding *-lu(u)*. This suffix is not found elsewhere in YG, but is possibly derived from or a cognate of the Wangaaybuwan =*lu*, the third person clitic pronoun. *-lu* is also a widespread Ergative suffix. The Nominative/Ergative distinction in exclusive pronouns was not recognised in earlier analyses. Evidence for the GR exclusives is very limited, but indicates they are *ngali-nguru* and *ngiyani-nguru*. *Nguru* '3SG.ERG' is a elsewhere a free pronoun, but may be bound here.

Sentence examples are YR, mostly from the tapes. (893) - (897) show dual inclusive and exclusive pronouns. (893) and (894) have the inclusive *ngali*, Nominative and then Ergative. (895) and (896) have the exclusive, Nominative *ngalinya* and then Ergative *ngalilu*. The Nominative and Ergative exclusive are contrasted in (897).

(893)   I will go with you.   CW/AD 3996A 1109
      yanaa-waa-y=badhaay **ngali**
      go-MOV-FUT=MIGHT   1DU.INC.NOM
      I'll go with you.   AD
      Lit: 'We two may go.'   JG

---

[223] The vowel tends to be short in *ngalilu* and long in *ngiyaniluu*. YG contrasts with WN and Gumbaynggirr and many other languages in distinguishing Nominative and Ergative exclusive forms. The WN exclusives are *ngalii-na* (dual) and *ngiyani-na* or *ngiyanu-na* (plural) (Donaldson, 1980: 123). Each can be Nominative or Ergative.

(894) **ngali**   *gi.yaa.nha dha-li   ngaaluurr*
1DU.INC.ERG going.to   eat-FUT *fish*
Me and you going to eat fish. *Ngali* means two.   FR/JM 2436A 2058

(895) I am going to lie down and the little boy can stay behind with me.   JM/AD 3220A 280
nhama ngayagay birralii-djuul / **ngali.nya,**   *dhanduwi-y.la-y, nguwalay*
3.DEF other   child-DIM   / 1DU.EXCL.NOM, sleep-CTS-FUT,   here
(I am going to stay) and that other child too, we will stay here.   JG

(896) AD describes cooking a porcupine, then he and another man ate it.   AD/JM 5130 1701
ngiyarrma **ngali.lu**   *dha-lda-nhi /*
there   1DU.EXCL.ERG eat-CTS-PST /
The two of us [he and I] were eating it (there).   JG

(897) two men (say): We two are going fishing, we'll catch a big cod/catfish tonight.
                                                                          JM/AD 3219B 1216

yilaa **ngali.nya** = *laa   yanaa-y / guduu-gu   /*
soon 1DU.EXCL.NOM = DIR go-FUT   / cod(fish)-PURP /

ngiyama **ngali.lu**   *gaygay bayama-li*
there   1DU.EXCL.ERG catfish catch-FUT
We will go to get some cod there, and we will catch some catfish.   JG

Many elicitation sentences have the informant and elicitor as referents of *ngali*, so the inclusive use is clear. Sentences with *ngiyani*, 'we, plural' often have unclear referents, so it is difficult to decide if reference is inclusive or exclusive.

The plural inclusive pronoun *ngiyani* is Nominative in (898) and Ergative in (899). The context shows that the people are actually 'speaking to themselves' – the reported speakers are also the audience - so inclusive use is clear. The elicitation sentence in (900) shows that the listener is not included, and so elicits the exclusive Nominative form (the YR given after beginning with a Wayilwan pronoun) and the pronoun in (901) is clearly exclusive and Ergative.

(898) (The big mob said:) we'll make a corroboree (for her).   JM/AD 8186 1346
giirr **ngiyani** = *laa   / bamba   yulu-gi   /*
true 1PL.INC.NOM = DIR / with.energy dance-FUT /

(899) (They all said:) how can we get the fire (from the pelican)?   JM/AD 8186 1281
gulaarr.ma **ngiyani**   *nhama = laa wii / dhuwima-li /*
how.DEF   1PL.INC.ERG 3.DEF = THEN fire / take.out-FUT /

(900) All of you went back to the camp.   CW/AD 3997A 1986
giirr **ngiyanu.nha** *xx   * **ngiyani.nha**   */ yanaa-w.uwi-nyi walaay-gu*
true 1PL.EXCL   correction 1PL.EXCL.NOM / go-BACK-PST   camp-ALL
We went back to the camp.   JG

(901)   We don't want to feed you (two).   JM/AD 3219B 2814

waal=bala **ngiyani.luu**   *gi.yaa.nha / ?nginu   / dhuwarr, dhinggaa wuu-rri*

not=CTR   1PL.EXCL.ERG going.to   / 1SG.DAT / bread,   meat   give-FUT

We are not going to give you any bread or meat.   JG

In (901) two people are being spoken to, so the use of the singular Dative *nginu* is not standard.

Table 169 shows the YG Nominative/Ergative inclusive and exclusive pronouns. Forms marked # are expected rather than attested. Well attested forms are bolded.

Table 169   **YG inclusive/exclusive pronouns: Nominative, Ergative**

	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
Case	Ergative		Nominative	
	Yuwaalaraay			
Dual	*ngali*	*ngali-lu[u]*	*ngali*	*ngali.nya*
Plural	*ngiyani*	*ngiyani-lu[u]*	*ngiyani*	*ngiyani.nya*
	Gamilaraay			
Dual	*ngali*	*ngali-nguru*	*ngali*	*ngali-nya*
Plural	*ngiyani*	*#ngiyani-nguru*	*ngiyani*	*#ngiyani-nya*

Table 170 has information about Nominative/Ergative exclusives from older sources. This information is largely from paradigms, rather than texts. Some examples show the exclusive structures given above, and others are not exclusives, but suffixed forms which could be easily misinterpreted as exclusives, since:

1. The old analyses did not realise there were distinct, Nominative and Ergative case forms, so conflated them.

2. There are two other suffixes which can easily, and generally mistakenly, be interpreted as inclusive or exclusive markers. These are *−Yuu* 'TOTal': (see §4.7.) and *yiyal* 'just, only' (also a free form; see §15.3.5). Like the Inclusory Construction these suffixes can have implications that are not entailments.

Table 170   **Other Nominative Ergative evidence**

Source	Form	Gloss	Standard	Notes
Dual				
Ridley	*ŋullina*	we two - he and I	*ngali-nya*	The only excl form Ridley gives; this is Nominative
MathewsGR	*Ngullingura*	We, exclusive	*ngali nguru*	this is Ergative, excl
MathewsYR	*ngulliyu*	We, exclusive	*ngali-yuu*	both of us; incl

Table continued on next page.

Source	Form	Gloss	Standard	Notes
Plural				
MathewsGR	*Ngeanyel*	We, exclusive	*ngiyani-yiyal*	just us; – not excl
MathewsYR	*Ngeaneyu*	We, exclusive	*ngiyani-yuu*	all of us; incl

Other cases of exclusive pronouns are now considered. There is much less information about these.

10.4.5.2 Exclusive pronouns: other cases

The evidence for exclusive pronouns in other cases is mixed and largely from earlier sources. Sim's evidence, in particular, has phrasal ICs with exclusive meaning, rather than single words. I will largely present the evidence and make a few comments, rather than suggesting paradigms.

10.4.5.2.1 Accusative

There are no tape examples of the exclusive Accusative in YG. The evidence found elsewhere is given in Table 171.

Table 171   **YG Accusative inclusive/exclusive evidence**

Source	Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes
RHM-GR	*Nungullina*	dual	*nha-ngalinya*	3ACC-1DU.ACC
RHM-YR	*Nungullinya*	dual	*nha-ngalinya*	unusual in having *nha-* as a prefix.
RHM-GR	*Nganinagunnunga*	plural	*?nganinya-ganunga*	*ganunga* is 3.PL.ACC
RHM-YR	*Nganigunnunga*	plural	*?ngani-ganunga*	*ngani* may be a variant of *ngiyani* 1PL.NOM/ERG or a mishearing of it. *ngiyaninya* is the standard 1PL.ACC
Sim	*ngalinya nginunha*	dual	*ngalinya nginunha*	Explicit **inclusive**:1DU.ACC 2SG.ACC.

Sim has the explicit inclusive *ngalinya nginunha* (1DU.ACC 2SG.ACC) for 'me and you, Accusative'. The 2 Mathews dual exclusive Accusative pronouns are unusual in having the subset element (*nha-*) as a prefix. This may be a mistake, but more likely it is an irregular form, perhaps understandable in terms of the awkwardness of alternative, 'regular' *ngalinya-nha*, which includes word final *–nya-nha*.

The Mathews plural has *ngani* as a variant of the usual plural *ngiyani*. *Ngani* is found in other languages. There is variation between his GR and YR. While in the GR both elements of the exclusive are case-marked Accusative in the YR only the final element, *ganunga*, is Accusative. This variation, between case marking both elements and case marking only the final element, is found in other exclusive constructions.

10.4.5.2.2　　　Exclusive pronouns: Dative and local cases

Evidence found for Dative, Locative and Ablative exclusives is shown in Table 172. One would expect the exclusive pronouns to follow other pronouns and base the Locative and Ablative on the Dative, (the so-called 'oblique stem') so once the Dative pattern is found the other two cases will be obvious.

Table 172　**YG Dative, Locative, Ablative exclusive evidence**

Source	Form	Gloss	Standard / note
Dual			
MathewsYR	*ngullingubla*	Ours, excl	*ngalingu-bula?bala*
MathewsGR	*ngullingurungu*	Ours, excl	*ngali-ngurungu*
Sim YR	*ngalingu nguungu*	Ours, excl	Each phrase consists of the 1DU and the 2SG in Dative, Locative and Ablative cases respectively
Sim YR	*ngalingunda nguungunda*	Loc, excl	
Sim YR	*ngalingundi nguungundi*	Abl, excl	
Plural			
MathewsYR	*ngeninyella*	Ours, excl	*ngiyani-yiyal-a*
MathewsGR	*Ngeanyellangu*	Ours, excl	*ngiyani-yiyal-a-ngu*

The MathewsYR dual Dative form is unclear. It may be *ngalingu=bala* '1DU.DAT=CTR'. The MathewsGR dual Dative, formally *ngalingurungu*, is open to a number of interpretations. It may be the Ergative exclusive dual, *ngalinguru*, with the Dative suffix, *-ngu*. Alternatively it may be a compound of two Datives, *ngalingu-ngurungu*, which has been reduced by haplology. For the dual the Sim has phrasal exclusives: the exclusive consists of the inclusive plus the free third person singular.

The plurals are more problematic. Mathews' YR plural Dative is very similar to the Nominative in Table 170, so may be an error.

Mathews' *Ngeaneyellangu* 'ours, excl' is likely *ngiyani-yiyal-a-ngu* '1PL.NOM-just-*a*?-DAT', which includes *yiyal* 'just'. It is currently unanalysable. Its meaning is almost certainly not exclusive but may at times overlap with the exclusive.

Another possible exclusive Dative example is seen in (902). The Dative suffix follows the exclusive marker, *–nha*.

(902)　*njɛːninaŋu bujuma*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SW p 79
　　　*?ngiyani.na-**ngu** buyuma*
　　　1PL.EXCL-DAT　dog
　　　that man's dog　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SW
　　　?our.EXCL dog　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

10.4.5.3   Other pronominal ICs

There are phrasal and suffixed ICs which consist of two pronominal elements but whose meaning is not exclusive. The most common has *ngali* 1DU with a 2SG pronoun, as in (881)(b) and (c), and (903) - (905). I interpret these as explicit or emphasised inclusives: *ngali=nda* / *ngali nginda* 'me and you', since both *ngali* and *ngali=nda* are inclusive. The English translation often includes emphatic elements, such as 'two' (903), (904); and 'together' (904). The majority of the instances are in Wurm. The IC is Ergative in (903) and Nominative in (904).

(903)	ŋalində ði: ðali	SW p 33
	ngali=nda dhii dha-li	
	1DU.NOM=2SG.NOM meat eat-FUT	
	We two ate the meat.	SW
	Me and you will eat the meat.	JG

(904)	ðaia wuwa ŋalindạ janawa:	SW p 24
	dhaay-aa?? wuwa?? ***ngali=nda*** yana-waa-y	
	to.here-?? ?? 1DU.NOM=2SG.NOM go-MOV-FUT	
	Come here, we two will go together.	SW

The phrasal IC *ngali nginda* is less common than *ngali=nda*. It is found once in the YR tapes (5054A 1696 said by CW, agreed to by AD), at most two times in Wurm, including (905) and is also in Sim. He has *ngalinginda* (1998: 39) and *ngali nginda* (1998 Appendix: 2) as inclusive, Nominative case forms, given in paradigms.

(905)	ŋallɛi balla ŋalli ŋində jila:wilanna bulla:i iəl ðɛi:nj	SW p 96
	nhalay??=bala ***ngali*** ***nginda*** yilawa-y.la-nha bulaarr-yiyal dhayn	
	this∕here=CTR 1DU.NOM 2SG.NOM sit-CTS-PRS two-just men	
	the two of us and you are sitting down, two men	SW
	You and I are sitting here, just two men.	JG

(906) is a unique example, if the interpretation is correct: i.e. a first person suffix on the dual first person pronoun. This then would be an inclusive construction, probably with the emphasis on the 'I': You and **I** will …'. There is a slight possibility it may be an exclusive. Dench (1994: 176) argues that *-ju*, the exclusive suffix in Jiwarli, is derived from the first person Dative, so a first person suffix may be associated with exclusive meaning.

(906)	ŋaliðu wi:ðɛ muḍei ˈguˌðɛlɛ	SW p 24
	ngali=dhu wii-dha mudhay gudha-la-y	
	1DU.ERG=1SG.ERG fire-LOC possum burn-CTS-FUT	
	We two will put the possum on the fire.	SW

ICs with second person superset pronouns are rare, but would be expected since there is no other way of saying things like 'you and Kim' in YG. (907) is unusual,

probably unique, in having a second person superset pronoun and an interrogative pronoun as the subset element. The interrogative pronoun is sentence initial, as it usually is.

(907) *ŋanna ŋindali gianna*   SW p 86
       ngaana   ngindaali *gi.yaa.nha*
       who.NOM 2DU   going.to
       Who will go with you?   SW
       You and who are going to …?   JG

Questions remain: There are a number of instances of AD using what may be *ngiyani-nu:* 8185 1861 in response to 'we all, but not her'; 8185 680 responding to 'we walked through the bush one after the other'. The *-nu* may be a second person element, (as it is in Wangaaybuwan) creating an emphatic inclusive, but that analysis is quite speculative.

The existence of unique examples like (906), (907) and (885) suggests that many IC structures have not been recorded and encourage an expansive use of ICs rather than one limited to attested structures.

Table 173 gives further evidence related to inclusive and exclusive forms from the early sources.

Table 173 **Summary of complex pronoun forms in sources**

Source	Inclusive	Gloss	Analysis	Exclusive	Gloss	Analysis
Dual - Nom/Erg						
Ridley	*ŋulle*	we two; thou and I	*ngali*	*ŋullina*	we two; he and I	*ngali-nya*
MathewsGR	*Ngulli*	We, inclusive	*ngali*	*Ngullingura*	We, exclusive	*ngali-nguru*
Dual - Accusative						
MathewsGR	*Ngullina*	Us, incl	*ngalinya*	*Nungullina*	Us, excl	*Nhangali-nya*
MathewsYR	*Ngullinya*	Us, incl	*ngalinya*	*Nungullinya*	Us, excl	*Nhangali-nya*
Dual - Dative						
MathewsGR	*Ngullingu*	Ours, incl	*ngalingu*	*Ngulli-ngurungu*	Ours, excl	*ngali-nguru-ngu*
MathewsYR	*Ngullingu*	Ours, incl	*ngalingu*	*Ngullingubla*	Ours, excl	*ngalingu-bula*
Plural - Nom/Erg						
MathewsGR	*Ngeane*	We, incl	*ngiyani*	*Ngeanyel*	We, excl	*ngiyani-yiyal*
MathewsYR	*Ngeane*	We, incl	*ngiyani*	*Ngeaneyu*	We, excl	*ngiyani-yu*
Plural - Accusative						
MathewsGR	*Ngeaninna*	Us, incl	*ngiyani-nya*	*Nganinagun nunga*	Us, excl	*ngiyaninya-ganunga*
MathewsYR	*Nganninno*	Us, incl	*ngiyani-nya*	*Ngangunnun ga*	Us, excl	*ngan??-ganunga*
Plural - Dative						
MathewsGR	*Ngeanengu*	Ours, incl	*ngiyani*	*Ngeaneyella ngu*	Ours, excl	*ngiyani-yiyal-a-ngu*
MathewsYR	*Ngeanengu*	Ours, incl	*ngiyani*	*Ngeniyella#*	Ours, excl	*ngiyani-yiyal-a*

11 Subordination

Coordination of clauses and sentences is not considered at any length. Both locational and time words are frequently used to link sentences, often with both types of coordinators used in the one sentence and demonstratives with nominal function are used to track participants. See §5 Demonstratives; §15.5 Time particles.

11.1 Subordination

There are two morphological processes involved in forming subordinate clauses. One involves the purposive suffix *-gu*, formally identical with (one of the allomorphs of) the Allative suffix, and of the Dative suffix. This is suffixed to the future form of the verb: *gubi-y* 'swim', *gubi-y.gu* 'to swim'. The combination of future suffix and *-gu* are glossed as one element, 'PURP'.

The second subordination strategy uses the SUBordinate suffix (Table 106). The suffix has a number of allomorphs (*-ldaay, -ngindaay, -dhaay, -ndaay*). *-ndaay* is used after verb stems whose final component is a continuous, Time of Day or Distance in Time suffix, *-ldaay* after L class stems, *-ngindaay* after Y and NG class stems and *-dhaay* after RR class stems. Clauses with subordinate marked verbs have a wide range of uses which can be difficult to label, but are generally considered as adnominal (relative), adverbial (time and place), conditional and complementation.

YG have fewer subordination strategies than WN. WN verbs has three purposive forms (Donaldson, 1980: 162, 280, 283), whereas YG has only one. WN dependent verbs can also be marked with *-waadji* 'for fear' (Donaldson, 1980: 285). WN dependent verbs can be marked with *-NHaarraN-* (p 287), which is very similar in use to the YG SUBordinate suffix. Finally WN has complex sentences with finite dependent verbs marked with *-ba* subordinator (p 291).

The simpler set of strategies in YG may reflect the historical situation of the language, or may involve some element of language loss.

11.2 Purposive clauses

11.2.1 Syntax of purposive sentences

Verbs with purposive inflection overwhelmingly occur in a dependent clause. In most instances an argument is shared between the main clause and the dependent

clause, most commonly the Subject of the main clause. It is generally expressed in the main clause and not in the dependent clause. For instance in (908) 'boy' is the A of both clauses. In this instance both clauses also have a common O 'frog', also expressed only in the main clause. When the main clause verb is 'tell' or similar the O of the main clause is generally the Subject of the purposive clause, as in (914) - (917). In rare cases another argument of the main clause is the Subject of the purposive clause. In (909) the shared referent is the Dative IO of the main clause and the A of the purposive clause.

Purposive clauses can be dependent on a verbless main clause: e.g. (919), (921), (926).

(908)   The boy caught the frog to eat.   CW/AD 5130 2012

    giirr nguu-mu, **birralii-djuul-u,** *baaybal bayama-y, dha-li.gu*

    true 3SG.ERG-?? child-DIM-ERG frog   catch-PST, eat-PURP

(909)   The women might give us milaan to cook.   CW/AD 5131 696

    giirr=badhaay=aa ngaama yina-yu, **ngiyaningu**   */ milaan wuu-dha-y*   */ dha-li.gu*

    true=MIGHT=POT that   woman-ERG, 1PL.DAT   / yam   give-EAT-FUT / eat-PURP

    The women might give us yams to eat. [for us to eat]   JG

In coordinated clauses a change in verb transitivity is usually signalled by including a pronoun in each clause: one Nominative and one Ergative. This practice is not followed when one of the clauses is dependent, as seen in (910)(= (562)) where the main verb is intransitive and the dependent verb transitive. If the second verb were finite the Ergative pronoun *ganugu* would be used in that clause, as seen in (418).

(910)   *yilaa=bala ngaama* **ganunga** *dhaay [ya]'naa-nhi, ngarra-li.gu*

    prox=CTR that   3PL   to.here come-PST,   see-PURP

    They just come down to have a look.   AD/JM 8187 1549

However the non-repetition of arguments is a tendency, not a requirement, as seen in (911) where the A, *nguu,* is repeated in the purposive clause.

(911)   In the bag she carried a bit of firewood.   JM/AD 8185 2548

    giirr ngaama **nguu**   */ gulbirr ngaama /* **nguu**   *man.ga-ya / gaa-gi.la-nhi*

    true that   3SG.ERG / few   that   / 3SG.ERG bag-LOC   / bring-CTS-PST

    wugan-galgaa / ngiyama **nguu**   *wii wiima-li.gu*

    wood-PL   / there   3SG.ERG fire make-PURP

    She was carrying some kindling in a bag to make a fire.   JG

Some rare examples suggest that purposive clauses can have independent use, not just dependent use. That is, they can form a complete statement. At 5129A 2108 AD translates CW's 'he (the baby) did crap there', then asks 'where is his mother?' and

continues with (912). It, and (913)(b) (=(493)) show purposive verbs used in independent sentences with apparently modal force 'needs to'. (913)(b) is perhaps a less convincing example.

(912)　*barraay nhama gaanba-li.gu / guna*
　　　　quick　3.DEF　wipe-PURP　/ shit
　　　　Wipe him quickly.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　AD5129A 2123
　　　　She needs to wipe that shit off quickly.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(913)　(FR and AD are talking.) FR: Who is hiding them? AD You!　　　5129A 2551

(a)　　FR *waal, maayrr, maayrr ngay　　maayama / maayrr*
　　　　FR no,　none,　none　1SG.DAT stone　/ none
　　　　FR: No, none. I've got no opals. None.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(b)　　AD *waal=bala=nga dhayn-da　ngarranma-li.gu*
　　　　AD not=CTR=THEN people-LOC show-PURP
　　　　AD: (That is) So that (you don't have to) show them to people.　　　　　JG

11.2.2　Semantics of purposive sentences

Purposive clauses are commonly found in a number of semantic situations. They are commonly in the complements of speech verbs, when the sentence involves a direction or request (tell to, ask to) rather than a statement (tell that). They are found very rarely in the complement of verbs such as 'teach', 'show' and 'know' and again only when the meaning is 'teach **to**' and 'know **how to**', not 'teach that' or 'know that'. When the English uses '(tell/teach/know) that' the subordinate verb inflection is used. Non-complement purposive clauses are dependent on verbal and non-verbal predicates. Most frequently there are shared referents between the clauses, but sometimes not, e.g. 'I came so that you could go'.

11.2.2.1　Purposive complements

Purposive dependent clauses can be the complements of speech verbs and other verbs such as 'make' (make X do Y)'. In these instances the O of the main clause is generally the S/A of the subordinate clause. (914), (915), (916) show purposive complements of *guwaa-li* 'tell', and (1061) a purposive complement of *dhaya-li* 'ask'

(914)　Tell that kid off because he has been bad.　　　　　　　　CW/AD 3998A 1178
　　　　guwaa-la nhama-lay **yanaa-y.gu**
　　　　tell-IMP　that-OST　go-PURP
　　　　Tell him to go.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(915)　*nginda=badhaay nganha　guwaa-y / **garra-li.gu** bawurra-dhi*
　　　　2SG=MIGHT　　　1SG.ACC tell-PST / cut-PURP　kangaroo-ABL
　　　　You told me to cut the skin off the kangaroo.　　　　　　　FR/JM 2436B 2311

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Guwaa-li is semantically complex and is found in (916) and elsewhere translated 'make', but see (929) below where a different structure is used.

(916) They made the men bury the emu in the ashes. CW/AD 5129A 3452

  *giirr ganugu / nhama guwaa-y / dhinawan / **dhawuma-li.gu***
  true 3PL.ERG / 3.DEF tell-PST / emu / cook.in.ashes-PURP
  They made (?told) the men to cook the emu in the ashes. JG

(917) is one of the few examples of the verb *dhiirra-y* 'teach', here found with a purposive complement. At 2437A 2734 *ngarranma-li* 'show/teach' is used in a similar sentence ('teach to cook').

(917) I taught the boy how to sing the song. CW/AD 5054A 35

  *giirr ngaya / birralii-djuul / dhiirra-nhi / **bawi-li.gu***
  true 1SG / child-DIM / teach-PST / sing-PURP
  I taught the child to sing. JG

Expressions of competence in YG overwhelmingly use the continuous verb forms[224]: e.g. (503) 'I do not know how to throw a boomerang' and non-competence is expressed by the same verbs with *waala/gamila* 'can't', e.g. (587) 'the baby can't walk properly'. (918) is a rare example of a purposive verb used for such an expression. The fact that *waala* 'can't' is used with scope over *winanga-y.la-nhi* where *waal* 'not' would be expected suggests the example should be treated with caution.

(918) The other people didn't know how to make a fire. JM/AD 8185 3026

  *ngaama ngayaga-djuul-u dhayn / waala winanga-y.la-nhi / wii **wiima-li.gu***
  there other-ONE-ERG person / can't know-CTS-PST / fire make-PURP

Expressions to do with 'wanting' and 'needing' generally do not involve the purposive suffix, but *-nginda* 'want'; see §2.4.1.4. The suffix can be found on a nominal (919) or verb (920).

(919) I want to eat meat. CW/AD 5056 1086

  *dhinggaa-**nginda** ngaya, dha-li.gu*
  meat-WANT 1SG, eat-PURP
  I want some meat, to eat. JG

(920) I didn't want to see him. JM/FR 2437B 2292

  *waal nhama ngaya / ngarra-li.**nginda** / dhayn-duul*
  not 3.DEF 1SG / see-WANT / man-ONE
  I didn't want to see that man at all. FR

The suffix *-nginda* is only found on verbs where the 'wanter' is also the S/A of the verb: see (132) 'I want to sleep'. It is not used in sentences like: 'I want **you** to eat it'. Sentences like that can be translated with *guwaa-li* 'tell'.

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[224] This contrasts with WN where the knowledge verb is in the main clause and the activity verb is in the dependent clause.

YG has no recorded 'fear/aversive' suffix. It is likely that the few expressions about fear in the sources, at times at least, represent various attempts to construct an adequate reply rather than full, traditional YG. 'Fear/aversive' suffixes are common in many languages and the lack of one in YG may be due to language decline. Subordinate clauses of the predicate 'afraid' are expressed with the purposive form of the verb and Ablative suffixed nominals, as in (921).

(921) The young fellow was afraid to go hunting in the dark.   JM/AD 8184 2151

 nhama ngayagay / birray-djuul / garigari gi-gi.la-nhi, **maniila-y.gu,** *buluuy-a* /
 3.DEF other   / boy-DIM   / afraid get-CTS-PST, hunt-PURP, black-LOC /

 minya-dhi-yaayaa garigari gi-gi.la-nha?
 what-ABL-IGNOR afraid get-CTS-PRS?
 don't know what he's frightened of   AD

11.2.2.2 Non-complement purposive clauses

When purposive clauses are not complements there need not be referents common to both clauses, as in (922), but there often is, as in the subsequent examples. In (924) the common referent is Ablative in the main clause and Ergative in the dependent clause.

(922) Go sleep so I can cook the meat.   SW p 76
 ba:buwaia ði: ŋaia guðaligu
 baaba-waa-ya dhii ngaya **gudha-li.gu**
 sleep-MOV-IMP meat 1SG.ERG cook-PURP

(923) I will come and see you afterwards.   CW/AD 5055 262
 giirr ngaya=laa yilaa / dhaay yanaa-y   / **ngarra-li.gu** *nginunha*
 true 1SG=DIR   soon / to.here come-FUT / see-PURP   2SG.ACC
 I'll come here soon to see you.   JG

(924) Keep it away from the dog (poor quality sound).   JM/AD 2833B 424
 maadhaay-dji, nyiimu/ngiimu[225] dhinggaa ngaawu?? / dhuwinba-la /
 dog-ABL   from+??   meat   ??   / hide-IMP /

 waal maadhaay-u **dha-li.gu**
 not dog-ERG   eat-PURP
 Don't let the dog eat it.   AD
 Hide the meat from the dog, so the dog won't eat it.   JG

(925) *giibaabu   ngaya warra-y.mayi-nhi   / **yanaa-y.gu** walaay-gu*
 early.morning 1SG   stand-?ADOPT.POSN-PST / go-PURP   camp-ALL
 I got up next morning and went to the camp.   AD/JM 3220A 3578
 I got up early in the morning to go to the camp.   JG

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[225] *ngiimu* contains *ngii-* 'Ablative' see but the *-mu* is unanalysed, as is *ngaawu* later in the sentence.

The main clauses can be a nominal clause, as in (926).

(926)   The water is too muddy to drink.   JM/AD 3218B 1202.
   gungan ngaama gagil / *ngawu-gi.gu*
   water   there   bad / drink-PURP
   The water is bad for drinking.   JG

   (927) (= (497)) has a rare instance of a purposive verb, *garra-y.gu*, in the complement of a verb of cognition: and then a non-complement purposive clause, with *bara-y.la-y.gu*.

(927)   She (Bustard) decided that she would only be able to do so by injuring her (Emu's) wings and
     checking her power of flight.   Parker: Emu and Bustard l 9
   Baiyan noo winnanunnee boonoong gurrahgoo, wahlneh burraylaygoo.
   baayan nguu   winanga-nhi bungun ***garra-y.gu,*** *waal=nha* ***bara-y.la-y.gu.***
   soon2 3SG.ERG think-PST   arm   cut.M-PURP not=3   fly-CTS-PURP
   Then she (Bustard) thought (to get the emu to cut her wings/get her wings cut), so she couldn't
   fly.   JG

   Adjacent purposive clauses are relatively common, as in (928)

(928)   I will stoop down and pick up a stone to kill the snake with.   CW/FR 5053 2044
   dhuli-y   ngaya gi.yaa.nha   / maayama ***dhiyama-li.gu***   /
   stoop-FUT   1SG   going.to   / stone   pick.up-PURP   /

   gayawi-li-gu *ngaya* / *ngandabaa*
   pelt-PURP   1SG   / snake
   I will stoop down to pick up a stone so that I can pelt the snake.   JG

11.2.3   Questions about purposive clauses

   (929) follows (916) and has a similar English structure, but the verb in (929) is the simple future, not the purposive. I have no explanation for the use of the future here.

(929)   The men made the women cut the meat. CW/AD 5129A 3471
   giirr ngaama dhayn-galgaa-gu / guwaa-y / nhama /
   true there   man-PL-ERG   / tell-PST / 3.DEF /

   yinarr-galgaa-gu ***garra-li*** *nhama dhinggaa*
   woman-PL-ERG   cut-FUT 3.DEF   meat

   (930)(= (448)) has a purposive clause. The role of the verb suffix is *-ga-y* is not known. Its use is consistent with it being an aversive suffix, but there is no other evidence.

(930)   He (a pet emu) got used to me; he would stand halfway along the track, stopping people since
     (he) didn't want no-one to go near me.   AD/JM 5130 764
   waal nganunda ngaandi.yaa=badhaay ***yanaa-y.ga.y***
   not 1SG.LOC   who.INDEF=MIGHT   go-??
   So that no-one would come near me.   JG

11.3   Subordinating suffix

The previous section has considered Purposive clauses. This section considers the other YG subordinating strategy, which involves use of the non-finite SUBordinate suffix: *-ldaay* (L class stem)*, -ngindaay* (Y and NG class stem)*, -dhaay* (RR class stem)*, -ndaay* (continuous stem). It is similar to a subordinating strategy found in other languages which Blake (1987: 135) comments on:

> Perhaps the most notable feature of clause linking in Australian languages is the widespread use of one type of subordinate clause for both adnominal and adverbial functions.

This feature has also been pointed out in Hale (1983), Nordlinger (2006) and Dixon (1980: 459). The authors just mentioned also point out the considerable variation that occurs in subordinate structures. Often a language has one subordination strategy using finite verbs, and another using a non-finite verb, unlike YG where there is no subordination which involves finite verbs.[226]

The subordinating processes which involve finite verbs often use a suffix on the subordinated verb: see Blake (1987: 135), Nordlinger (2006). Wangaaybuwan has such a process and suffix, *-ba*. Donaldson (1980: 291-304) has an extensive description of the suffix and its functions (subordinating, complementising), more extensive than her description (1980: 287-291) of the non-finite subordinating suffix *-NHaarraN-*.

Hale (1976) discusses a range of dependent clause structures under the general title of 'adjoined relative clause'. His main discussion is of Warlpiri, and includes finite and infinitive dependent clauses. The finite clauses are all adjoined - before or after the matrix clause, rather than embedded within it. They have a clause initial complementiser, such as *kutja*, intonational separation from the matrix clause, and the verb is marked for tense. Warlpiri also has infinitive clauses (1976: 81) which are predominantly adjoined, and with a large range of complementisers which are suffixed to the infinitive verb form, such as *-kura* in *ŋa-ninjtja-kura* 'drink-infinitive-COMP'. The infinitive clause, particularly when it consists of one word, can be a constituent of the main clause (1976: 95; ex 40).

These Warlpiri dependent clauses can have a range of functions, a range of English translations. Hale (1976: 79) begins with what he calls the NP-relative interpretation, which requires that there be an argument common to the Matrix and dependent clause, as in 'I will cook the kangaroo you killed', where kangaroo is the common argument. The T-relative, 'time', interpretation is available when the two clauses make identical time reference, as in 'I was trimming the boomerang when you came up'. Other uses

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[226] It may be that there were other subordinating processes in YG which have not been recorded or recognised.

for the dependent clauses include conditional ('I will shoot the dog if/when it bites you') (p 80) and causal or purposive (p 81) 'I am going to strike that dog because it bit this child'.

Of particular relevance to YG are the properties of non-finite subordinate forms. The non-finite forms can often be suffixed with local case markers, adding further information.[227] Sometimes adverbial, non-finite clauses can precede or follow the main clause, but when the same infinitive clause has relative function it can only follow the main clause. Some languages have switch reference markers, explicating the relationship or arguments of the main clause with those of the subordinate clause: see Austin (1981b).

As Nordlinger (2006: 7) points out, this is a complex area of language and one often not fully covered in grammars. She also points out the change in her own description of this aspect of Wambaya.

A full description of subordination is a major task. It presumes access to a large corpus of well-structured and complex language whose context is well understood. Ideally the linguist is able to test various theories about the finer points of subordination with fluent speakers.

It is understandable that complex structures will not be well represented in the sources. Apart from Parker there is no long old text from fluent speakers - hers is around 300 words. Parker does have 13 examples of the SUBordinate suffix, 12 of them on continuous stems. Later written sources have examples of the SUBordinate suffix, but not in connected text and often in short sentences that may well have been simplified, either by the speaker or by the recorder.

Much of the relevant tape material is from tapes 5056 and 5130, where Corinne Williams was eliciting examples of subordinate clauses. In 5056, inter alia, she examines which cases of arguments in the matrix clause can be relativised. In 5130 there are a series of relative clause elicitations: 5130 2202 'the girl who saw the dog cried'; 5130 2299 'the baby who drank the water crawled away' interspersed with temporally coordinated sentences such as: 5130 2285 'the kangaroo ate some grass **then** hopped away'. Later she elicits adverbial subordinate clauses: 5130 2905 'the boy drowned because he couldn't swim'; 5130 2956 'the boy looked at the men because they shouted at him'. In many instances the informant struggled to formulate an answer. His hesitations and frequent reformulation of answers is generally not captured in written and necessarily tidied text.

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[227] Donaldson (1980: 287) gives examples of the Ablative on *-NHaarraN-* and a range of cases are so used in other languages. Case marking of subordinate verbs in YG is rare.

A further indication that information about the subordinate suffix has been lost comes from Ridley (p 9). Table 174 shows the subordinate suffix after three Time of Day/Distance in Time suffixes. The combination of DIT/TOD suffixes and the Subordinate suffix is not found elsewhere, but is almost certainly traditional YG. The subordinate suffix allomorph after TOD/DIT suffixes is *-ndaay*, the same as the form after continuous suffixes.

Table 174 **Subjunctive verbs in Ridley**

Verb form	Original	Analysis	Morphemes	Gloss (Original)
Subjunctive	*goäldai*	*guwaa-ldaay*	tell-SUB	If (you) speak.
Participles				
Imperfect	*goäldendai*	*guwaa-lda-ndaay*	tell-CTS-SUB	speaking
Perfect	*goäldŋendai*	*guwaa-l.ngayi-ndaay*	tell-MORN-SUB	having spoken
	goälmiendai	*guwaa-l.mayaa-ndaay*	tell-ONE.DAY-SUB	having spoken yesterday
	goällendai	*guwaa-l.ayi-ndaay*	tell-LONG.T-SUB	having spoken long ago

In summary the recorded YG subordination processes are considerably fewer than those found in Wangaaybuwan and in many other Pama-Nyungan languages. The sources do not contain the detailed information needed to readily distinguish the different uses of the subordinate suffix. It is possible that YG had a finite subordination strategy, as Wangaaybuwan does. Ridley's examples, uniquely, suggest that time information could be included in non-finite forms.

The analysis that follows considers the use of the subordinate suffix for adnominal and adverbial functions, as well as in complement clauses.

11.3.1   Syntax of subordinate clauses.

As in many Australian languages subordinate clauses generally come before (931) or after (932) the main clause, rather than be embedded in it.

(931) The kangaroo who ate the grass died.   CW/AD 5130 2358

     bandaa-yu   *ngiyama,*   *ngaama* *buunhu* **dha-ldaay** / *balu-nhi* / *balu-dha-nhi*

     kangaroo-ERG there,   that   grass   eat-SUB   / die-PST / die-EAT-PST

(932) many I saw men standing up   Laves GR 12 p 024

     burrulaa ŋaia ŋarai dein Warɛlandai

     burrulaa *ngaya ngarra-y dhayn* **warra-y.la-ndaay**

     many   1SG   see-PST   people stand-CTS-SUB

     I saw lots of people standing up.   JG

In general arguments common to the main and subordinate clause are expressed only once, as in (931) and (932), However in (933) the A of both clauses is overt.

(933) This dog spewed all the meat up.   AD/CW 5056 480

  giirr **nguu-??** / **maadhaay-u** / *burrul, dhinggaa dha-ldaay* /
  true 3SG.ERG-?? / dog-ERG   / big,   meat   eat-SUB   /
  The dog which ate a lot of meat,   JG

  *giirruu   ngiyama = **nguu** = Na gaawi-y*
  true.very there = 3SG.ERG = 3   vomit-PST
  it spewed it up.   JG

Apart from the Ridley examples in Table 174 SUBordinate verbs are not found with tense or time information. Rare examples of subordinate verbs followed by a case suffix are found, including the suffix *-gu*. Purposive and Allative: (934), (935) and (958).

(934) The old men were hitting boomerangs together.   JM/AD 8184 3553

  giirr = bala wuulman-du nguuma   / wayamaa-gu / barran   buma-lda-nhi /
  true = CTR old.man-ERG 3.ERG.DEF / old.man-ERG / boomerang hit-CTS-PST   /

  *bawi-lda-ndaay-**gu***
  sing-CTS-SUB-**PURP**
  The old men were clapping boomerangs for the singing/for the ones who were singing.   JG

(935) Dinewan ran off to her salt-bush where she had hidden her ten young ones.   LP GG 72
  Dinewan bunnagunnee binnamayahgoo nayr noo doorimbundigoo birrahleegul.
  *dhinawan banaga-nhi binamayaa-gu ngayrr nguu dhurrinba-ndaay-**gu** birralii-gal*
  Emu   run-PST   saltbush-ALL there? 3.ERG hide-SUB-**ALL**   child-PL.DIM
  The emu ran to the saltbush where she had hidden the children.   JG

(183): 'I heard you talking about the men fighting' is a rare example of recursive subordinate clauses.

11.4 Functions of subordinate verbs

Clauses with subordinated verbs can function as relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complements.

11.4.1 Relative clauses

In YG Relative clause (RC) verbs are marked with the subordinating suffix.

Andrews (2007 206) defines a Relative Clause (RC) as: 'a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP ..'. as in 'the book *[I bought yesterday]* was a trade paperback', where the italicised words constitute a RC. The RC in this example is 'central' (to use Nordlinger's (2006: 11) terminology: others would say 'embedded'). That is the RC separates elements of the main clause (MC). In contrast in YG the RC and the MC are separate: one is on the left and one on the right: RC-MC or MC-RC. The argument common to the MC and RC is explicit in the left clause, and may be explicit in the right clause.

(936) - (940) show nominals in a range of cases being relativised. It seems that NP of any case in the MC can be relativised.

In (931) the RC is on the left and the common argument is not explicit in the MC, *balu-nhi* or *balu-dha-nhi*. In (933) the argument is repeated as a pronoun, Ergative both times. In (936) the common argument, *bandaarr,* is repeated: Accusative in the MC and Ergative in the RC. In (937) the common argument occurs only in the MC, in Ablative case.

(936) The men speared/killed the kangaroo that was eating the grass.   CW/AD 5130 2585

    *giirr nhama / dhayn-duul-u ngaama / bilaa-yu   dhu-nhi   / **bandaarr**   /*

    true that   / man-ONE-ERG there   / spear-ERG pierce-PST / kangaroo.ACC /

    That man?men speared the kangaroo   JG

    *ngiyarrma=**nguu** / buunhu dha-lda-ndaay*

    there=3SG.ERG   / grass   eat-CTS-SUB

    that was eating the grass there.   JG

(937) I jumped off the log that you cut.   CW/AD 5055 1484

    giirr ngay' nyiyam' baa-nhi / nhaadhiyaan-di / nginda garra-ldaay

    true 1SG   there   hop-PST / log-ABL   / 2SG   cut-SUB

However in (938) AD translates an English RC with a main clause. This may indicate he was uncertain about having an RC modifying a nominal in Ablative case.

(938) I stood on the log that broke.   CW/AD 5055 1323

    giirr ngay' ngiyama nhaadiyaan-di galiya-nhi / and gama-nhi=bala=nha / ngaarrma

    true 1SG   there   log-ABL   climb-PST / and break.M-PST=CTR=3 / there

    I climbed on the log and it broke.   JG

(939) shows a RC modifying a nominal in Locative case. In (940) a nominal in Ergative case, instrumental function, is relativised, and the shared argument is repeated as a full NP.

(939) I am sitting in the house that my father built.   CW/AD 5055 1262
       giirr ngaya / wila-y.la-nha / **gundhi-dja** *ngaama /*
       true 1SG / sit-CTS-PRS / house-LOC that   /
       I am sitting in that house,

       ngay   buwadja-yu / baayama-ldaay
       1SG.DAT father-ERG / make-SUB
       That's when he made, built that house.   AD
       that my father built.   JG

(940) The man speared the emu with the spear I made.   CW/AD 5055 1182
       giirr nguuma   / dhayn-duul-u ngaama / bilaa-yu   dhu-nhi   / dhinawan
       true 3.ERG.DEF / man-ONE-ERG there   / spear-ERG pierce-PST / emu
       That man speared the emu   JG

       / ngaama   bilaarr ngaya / maayu / gimubi-ldaay
       / 3.ANA.DEF spear   1SG   / well   / make-SUB
       With that spear that I made well.   JG

In (941) the prosody indicates that, in contrast to previous examples, the shared argument is realised in the subordinate clause. That is, *bugalaa nginda dhuwinbandaay* is an internally headed RC. Such RCs are relatively common with verbs of perception: cf. (969).

(941) I'm going to look for the ball you planted (= hid).   JM/FR 1987B 459
       ngaawa-y   ngaya gi.yaa.nha / bugalaa nginda dhuwinba-ndaay
       look.for-FUT 1SG   going.to / ball   2SG   hide-SUB
       what you planted   FR
       I am going to look for (it,) the ball you hid.   JG

11.4.2   Adverbial function: time; reason; location

Verbs with the subordinate inflection are used in clauses with adverbial function. This is most commonly expressed in English in time terms such as 'when, after, while'. Adverbial function can also be expressed in causal or conditional term, such as 'because' 'if' and 'since'. Less commonly subordinate verbs are used in indicating location. The different functions can sometimes be deduced from the context or from the use of time particles or other particles in the SC. At times the function of the SC remains unclear.

11.4.2.1   Temporal function of subordinate clauses

Temporal use of SCs is common. In many instances the context makes the temporal function of the SC clear: (942), (943) and (944). However often a temporal adverb

makes this function explicit: *yilaa* in (946), (948); *yalagiirrmawu* in (945), *waaluu* in (949) - (952). The temporal adverbs can also explicate the temporal relationship between the two clauses: before, during or after. SCs with temporal function are more commonly second, but are found in first position: (945)(=(422)) and (948). Often there is an argument common to the SC and MC: (942), (952), but, unlike with relative clauses, this is not necessary: (943). In (944) the main clause is ellipsed.

(942) describes the Emu showing off her many children in triumph after she had fooled the Bustard into killing most of hers.

(942) *dirrahbeel ginnee noo boobootella, gwallandy, "Boom, boom."*   Parker GG l 73
      *dhirra.biil gi-nyi nguu   bubudhala / **guwaa-lda-ndaay** "buum-buum".*
      flash.??   be-PST 3.ERG?DAT tail   / say-CTS-SUB   "buum-buum"
      Her tail stood up proud, as she was proclaiming 'boom, boom'.   JG

(943) He will return later at sunset.   SW p 84
      ðaṟawalu(w)uj ðuni gaṟiŋindai
      dharrawaluwi-y / dhuni gaarri-ngindaay
      return-FUT   / sun   go.down-SUB

(944) When are you going? (JM)   FR/JM 1851A 3706
      / yaay dhurra-laa-ndaay
      / sun   come-MOV-SUB
      (Tomorrow), when the sun rises.   FR

(945) The children looked at the dancing before they fell asleep.   JM/AD 3219A 752
      [AD talks of the children watching and the others dancing, then has:]
      yulu-y.aay-la-nhi,   ngarran gi-yaa-ndaay / yalagiirrmawu-ga?
      dance-NIGHT??-CTS-PST, dawn   get-MOV-SUB / then-LOC??[or ***ga(nunga)***?

      ganunga dhanduwi-y.aaba-y
      3PL.NOM sleep-TOT-PST
      When it's daylight that's the time they knocked off and gone to sleep.   AD
      They danced all night, and as the dawn was coming they all went to sleep.   JG

(946) I came in while you were talking.   JM/AD 3220B 3538
      yilaa ngaya dhurra-y / nguwa? nginda gaay guwaa-lda-ndaay.
      soon 1SG   come-PST / here? 2SG   word tell-CTS-SUB
      I just come here when you was talking.   AD

(947) My sisters go and dig the yams while I go and hunt the kangaroo. CW/AD 3999A 776
      ngam=bala ngay   / baayan-du / milaan / muwa-gi.la-nha
      that=CTR   1SG.DAT / sister-ERG / yam   / dig-CTS-PRS
      My sisters are digging milaan, yams,   JG

      / bandaarr-gu   maniila-ngindaay ngaya
      / kangaroo-PURP hunt-SUB   1SG
      when I hunt for kangaroo,   AD

(948)   In the story of Guniibuu (Robin red-breast) two people had hidden a kangaroo from a hunter and
        were waiting for him to go.   JM/AD 3996B 1521

yilaa=bala ngaama=nga / yanaa-ngindaay dhayn / ngii.muu, bulaa-yu / dhuwima-y
soon = CTR that = THEN   / go-SUB   man   / from.??, two-ERG / pull.out-PST
When the man had gone the two of them pulled out (the kangaroo).   JG

The particle *waaluu* 'not.yet', §15.5.6, is found relatively frequently in SCs: (949) -
(952), generally translated 'before'[228]. In most instances it could also be translated
'lest'.

(949)   I'd run away before the snake had a chance to bite me.   JM/AD 8184 2277
giirr nhama=*laa*=*nha* / *waaluu* ngandabaa-gu yii-ldaay /
true 3.DEF = DIR = 3   / not.yet snake-ERG   bite-SUB /
Well, before the snake bites her,   JG

/ *yalagirrmawu*=*bala*=*nha* miimii=nya? banaga-y
/ same.time = CTR = 3   granny = 3?   run-FUT
Miimii would run away.   JG

(950)   They ran very fast and reached the camp before the pelican did.   JM/AD 8186 1220
bamba   ganunga banaga-nhi / *walaay-gu* / *ngiyarrma*=*nga* ganunga dhurra-y,*
w.energy 3PL   run-PST   / camp-ALL   / there = THEN   3PL   come-PST

walaa-dha / *waaluu* ngaarrma / gulaanbali dhurra-laa-ndaay
camp-LOC / not.yet that?   / pelican   come-CTS-SUB
They ran fast to the camp, and they got there, to the camp, and the pelican had not yet arrived.
                                                                          JG

(951)   The baby lost its bread.   CW/FR 5053 1585
gaa-nga nguungundi / *waaluu* nguu   dha-ndaay
take-IMP 3SG.ABL   / not.yet 3SG.ERG eat-SUB
(He dropped it in the dirt,) take it away before he eat it.   FR
Take it from him before he eats it.   JG

In (952) AD first uses a continuous verb and then a non-continuous verb.

(952)   Pull him out of the water (so that he won't drown). (tidied example) CW/AD 3998B 996
barraay dhuwima-la / *waaluu*=*nha* / *garungga-waa-ndaay*, *waaluu* garungga-ngindaay
quickly pull.out-IMP / not.yet = 3   / drown-MOV-SUB,   not.yet drown-SUB
before he gets drownded   AD
Pull (him) out quickly, before he drowns.   JG

(953) (=(348)) consists of two subordinate clauses, an indication that a sentence
can consist of just a subordinate clause. However there was some hesitation and
uncertainty in the elicitation. (954) also suggests the possibility of a stand-alone

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[228] Harold Koch comments : This is an interesting difference between YG and English, for language-
teaching purposes: 'before X happens' is expressed by 'when X has not yet happened'.

subordinate clause. However the sentence is the answer to a question, so a main clause, 'he ate' could be ellipsed.

(953) AD: When the sun rose, JM: there was frost all over the ground.   AD/JM 8184 2829

*giirr ngaama yayaay dhurra-ldaay / **yalagiirrmawu** ngaam   /*

true that   sun   come-SUB / that.time   that/there /

When the sun came up, then there,   JG

ngaarrigula ngarragula, dhandarr wana-ngindaay, dhaymaa-ya

that.way   other.way,   ice   throw.M-SUB,   ground-LOC

All over the frost was lying, on the ground.   JG

(954) What did the boy eat the kangaroo for?   CW/AD 3998B 1047

yuulngindi=yaa gi-ngindaay

hungry=POT   get-SUB

When he got hungry, I suppose.   AD

11.4.2.2   Consequence function of subordinate clauses

YG does not always distinguish temporal, consequence and conditional use of SCs. (955) could easily be translated 'when ..' or 'because..' rather than 'if' and similarly FR's 'if' in (956) could easily be replaced by 'when' with little impact on the meaning. In (731) both a temporal and reason translation are given: 'the kids are pleased **when/because** their father has come back'.

(955) If it's raining I won't go.   SW p 88

ðamaiŋindai, wa:l ŋa ŋaja nai

dhama-ngindaay, waal=nga ngaya (ya)naa-y

rain-SUB,   not=THEN 1SG   go-FUT

(956) *guwaa-la nganha / buma-ndaay nginunha*

tell-IMP   1SG.ACC / hit-SUB   2SG.ACC

Tell me if he hits you.   FR/JM 2437A 1762

(957)(b) has a SC with conditional use. It precedes the main clause.

(957) Keep away from the fire for fear of getting burnt.   JM/AD 8184 1945

(a) *yanaa-ya=badhaay ngiyamu? / wii-milan-di   / ngaama? nginunha?? nguu gudhuwa-y /*

go-IMP=MIGHT   there??   / fire-CLOSE-ABL / that   2SG.ACC   3.ERG burn.M-FUT /

Go away from there, from the fire, it will burn you.   JG

(b) *waal nginda **yanaa-ngindaay** / gudhuwa-y   nginunha ngaama??*

not 2SG   go-SUB   / burn.M?-FUT 2SG.ACC that??

If you don't go away it will burn you there.   JG

11.4.2.3   Location

SCs are occasionally used to indicate location, but the non-finite verb is often marked with a local case when the clause has this use: Allative case in (934) and (958).

(958)   Then Gumbulgaban went back to where the emu was eating.   Parker line 66
   *baayan=nga dharrawuluwi-nyi nhama=nga   dhinawan-du **dha-lda-ndaay-gu***
   soon2=THEN? go.back-PST   3.DEF?there=THEN?3 emu-ERG eat-CTS-SUB-ALL
   Then she returned to where the emu was eating.   JG

In (959) and (960) the subordinate verbs have locational function, but no case marking, and AD explicitly points out their locational use. However in (960) the Ablative marked *maniila-ngindaay-i* be expected, but this could easily be missed since the Ablative suffix has little or no phonological impact.

(959)   I'll get along directly to have a look, see where he is buried.   CW/AD 3994B 724
   giirr ngaya=laa yanaa-waa-y / ngarra-li.gu / nhama / nhamurra-y.la-ndaay
   true 1SG=DIR go-MOV-FUT / see-PURP / 3.DEF / bury.M-CTS-SUB
   nhamurra-y.la-ndaay, that's 'where he's buried'   AD
   I will be going soon, to see that, where he is buried.   JG

(960)   The man will lie down when he comes home, from hunting.   CW/AD 3998A 201
   giirr nhama=laa / dhayn-duul / dhandhuwi-y / dhurra-ldaay=nya /
   true 3.DEF=DIR / man-ONE / sleep-FUT / come-SUB=3   /

   maniila-ngindaay // maniila-ngindaay means where he was hunting
   hunt-SUB   // AD *maniila-ngindaay* means where he was hunting

11.4.2.4   Nominalisation: subordinate suffix

There is some evidence that subordinate forms can be nominals. AD832B 2811 has *balungindaay* 'dead' (*balu-gi* 'die') and the same word is seen in Milson: *bollondi* 'dead'; and Sim: *baluungindaay* 'corpse'. In (961) a subordinated verb is followed by -*giirr* 'like', a suffix not found on verbs.

(961)   The goannas are stiff when they come out of the ground and you can pick them up like a lump
    of wood.   JM/AD 8184 1229
   nginda / bayama-li ngaama / maa-gu //
   2SG / catch-FUT that / hand-ERG //
   You will hold them, with your hand,   JG

   and *ngiyama=nda gaa-gi.la-y / **balu-ngindaay-giirr** ngaama*
   and there=2SG take-CTS-FUT / die-SUB-LIKE   that
   You take them with your hand; like if they dead.   AD
   And you will carry them as if they are dead.   JG

In (962) AD translate 'dig-SUB' as 'burrow'.

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(962) *rabbid-du = yaa* / *ngaama* **mawu-ngindaay**

rabbit-ERG?DAT = POT / that dig-SUB

(That porcupine, he got into the log when the fire was coming, burning the log too, so he got

out of the log and got into) the rabbit burrow AD/JM 3217B 1544

The thing that the rabbit dug. JG

11.4.3 Relative clauses as verbal complements

English complement clauses are realised by two different structures in YG, both of which use relative verb forms. In one the subordinate clause is a complement of the verb, as in (972) where 'men' is Ergative, clearly part of the SC. The structure is 'I heard (the men talking)'. The second structure, seen in (963), involves a relative clause. The object of the main verb is a nominal, 'you', not a clause. The structure of (963) is 'I saw you (hitting the dog)'. Relatively frequently no nominal is realised, as in (967), so the structure cannot be determined. Generally there is no argument shared and the main clause is first but there are exceptions including (969). Complements of verbs of perception and intellection are found, most commonly of 'see' and 'hear'.

11.4.3.1 See

All three patterns are common with *ngarra-li* 'see'. Relative clause structure is used in (963) (964) and (968); complement clause structure in (965) and the structure cannot be determined in (966) and (967).

(963) *Giirr ngaya nginunha ngarra-y* / **maadhaay buma-lda-ndaay.**

true 1SG 2SG.ACC see-PST / dog hit-CTS-SUB

I saw you hitting your dog. FR/JM 1850A 3599

I saw you hitting the dog. JG

(964) (The men are coming) to look at all of you when you are making a corroboree SW p 62

ŋaraligu ŋina:nja ðaŋguramallindai

ngarra-li.gu ngingaaynya / **dhan.gurrama-y.la-ndaay**

see-PURP 2PL.ACC / dance-CTS-SUB

(965) They could see what she was doing. JM/AD 8186 701

giirr ngaama ganugu ngarra-lda-nhi / **nhama nguu minya.gaa gimbi-lda-ndaay**

true that? 3PL.ERG see-CTS-PST / 3.DEF 3SG.ERG something make-CTS-SUB

They could see her making/doing something. JG

(966) They saw her making a fire. JM/AD 8186 715

giirr ganugu ngarra-y // **wiima-lda-ndaay,** **wii wiima-ldaay**

true 3PL.ERG see-PST // put.down-CTS-SUB, fire make-SUB

They saw (her) making the fire, when she made the fire. JG

(967) Tomorrow we will see (him) swimming.   Sim p 48

       *Buliyaa.gu ngiyani ngarra-li / **gubi-ngindaay***.

       Tomorrow 1PL   see-FUT / swim-SUB

In (968) there are two subordinate clauses, which can be regarded as in apposition, or the second one subordinate on the first. There is no realisation of the subject of either.

(968) He saw two kangaroos eating grass.   JM/AD 3220A 1366

       *giirr nguu   ngarra-y, bulaarr bandaarr // **dhuu-rraa-ndaay** //*

       true 3SG.ERG see-PST, two   kangaroo // crawl-MOV-SUB //

       He saw two kangaroos, crawling along,   JG

       *// ngiyam?? / buunhu **dha-lda-ndaay***

       // there??   / grass   eat-CTS-SUB

       eating grass.   JG

(969) is a rare example of a complement clause preceding the main clause. It is from a fairly hesitant and fractured example, and the structure may be because two 'see' clauses are being contrasted, and the speaker wanted to keep them adjacent to each other.

(969) They could only see the pelican.   JM/AD 8185 3483

       *ngaarrma=bala=nha / gulaanbali **wila-y.la-ndaay** / ngarra-lda-nha / waal=bala wii ngarra-y*

       there=CTR=3   / pelican   sit-CTS-SUB   / see-CTS-PRS / not=CTR   fire see-PST

       The pelican sitting there was all they could see. They did not see the fire.   JG

While 'see' generally has a subordinate complement, other structures are possible, as in (970). The prosody does not make it clear if (a) is a complement or relative clause. (b) has two coordinate clauses.

(970) I see a man coming to the camp.   JM/FR 2437B 571

(a)   *giirr ngaya ngarra-y / **dhayn, yanaa-waa-ndaay** gaarrima-wu*

       true 1SG   see-PST / man,   come-MOV-SUB camp-ALL(irreg)

       I saw a man going to the camp.   JG

(b)   *giirr ngaya ngarra-y, dhayn yanaa-waa-nha gaarrima-wu*

       true 1SG   see-PST   man   come-MOV-PRS camp-ALL(irreg)

       I saw that man going home to his camp.   FR

       I saw that, a man is going to the camp.   JG

(971) shows a dependent 'if/whether' clause which does not use a subordinate construction (no translation was provided by the informant).

(971) She got to take them (the fire) out in a moment; they were all watching and watching the

       pelican.   JM/AD 8186 685

       bamba ganugu ngaama ngarra-lda-nhi, yaama.gaa nguu   / dhuwima-li ngaama

       hard   3PL.ERG that   see-CTS-PST, perhaps   3SG.ERG / take.out-FUT that

       They were watching her carefully to see if she would take it out.   JG

11.4.3.2 Hear

The same range of structures is found with *winanga-li* 'hear'. The case of the speakers shows that (972) and (973) have complement clauses, (974) has relative clause structure and the structure of and (975) cannot be determined.

(972) I heard the men talking.   JM/FR 2437A 2533

*giirr ngaya / winanga-y / **dhayn-du gaay guwaa-lda-ndaay***

true 1SG   / hear-PST   / men-ERG word tell-CTS-SUB

I can hear the men talking   FR

I heard the men talking.   JG

(973) Miimii, have you listened to good stories?   JM/AD 3219B 2273

*miimii, yaama=nda winanga-lda-nha // nhama gaba / **gaay-aa wana-gi.la-ndaay-ga** /*

Granny, ques=2SG   listen-CTS-PRS   // 3.DEF   good / word-?? throw-CTS-SUB-??   /

ngaandu.waa=badhaay

someone=MIGHT

Granny, do you listen to anyone who tells good stories?   JG

(974) I have not heard his father talking.   JM/FR 2437B 796

*waal ngaya ngaama buwadjarr / winanga-y / **gaay guwaa-lda-ndaay***

not 1SG   that   father   / hear-PST / word tell-CTS-SUB

I never heard his father talking.   FR

(975) I listened to the men talking.   JM/FR 2437A 2553

giirr ngaya / winanga-lda-nha / gaay guwaa-lda-ndaay

true 1SG   / hear-CTS-PRS   / word tell-CTS-SUB

I can hear them talking.   FR

11.4.3.3 Verbs of speech

Subordinate complements of verbs of speech, such as (976) are relatively rare and generally the MC and SC do not have shared arguments.

(976) Miimii [grandmother], tell me if he is coming back or not.   JM/AD 3220A 2711

*guwaa-la nganunda miimii / **dhaay ngaama dharrawuli-yaa-ndaay** / **dhayn-duul** /*

tell-IMP   1SG.LOC granny / to.here that   come-MOV-SUB   / man-ONE   /

yilaa ngaya=laa=nha / guwaa-li

soon 1SG=DIR=3   / tell-FUT

You tell me when he comes back, and when he come back I'll go and tell him. AD

Miimii, tell me when he comes back and I will tell him then.   JG

11.4.3.4 Verbs of intellection

Verbs of intellection are rarely translated into YG using a verb and complement, and even less frequently using a subordinate clause complement. 'Think' is often translated using the potential clitic *=Yaa* 'POTential' §15.2.1 or *ngadhan.gaa*

'HYPothesis' §0. 'Know' is rendered in a number of ways, sometimes by a continuous form of the verb, sometimes (rarely) with a complement, subordinate clause as in (977). Complement clauses can be used in translating 'don't know' (978) but these generally use the ignorative suffix §6.5.1.

(977)   My dog always knows when a stranger is close.   JM/AD 3219A 2354

     giirr / *winanga-lda-nha* / *maadhaay-u ngay*   // **ngaandi.yaa＝badhaay** / **yanaa-waa-ndaay**

     true / hear-CTS-PRS   / dog-ERG   1SG.DAT // someone＝MIGHT   / come-MOV-SUB

     My dog hears(knows) when someone is coming.   JG

(978)   He doesn't know how you made the spear.   CW/AD 5129A 1967

     waal nguu.mu   / *winanga-y.la-nha* // *gulaarr-aa＝ndu?* / **bilaarr** / **gimbi-ldaay**

     not   3SG.ERG.?? / know-CTS-PRS   // how-IGNOR＝2SG / spear / make-SUB

12 Summary and conclusion

In preparation for this thesis a large amount of YG material has been analysed and keyboarded in the now standard orthography. The material is therefore easily referred to and easily searchable. It is available on the disc that accompanies the thesis. The actual thesis has considerably expanded on previous descriptions of YG, making it possible for any rebuilt YG to incorporate more of the original language. It has also briefly considered ways of expanding the used YG grammar and lexicon so that rebuilt languages can be more functional.

12.1 The main areas covered in the thesis.

This thesis has expanded the grammatical description of the languages, building in particular on Williams ([1980](#)). A wide range of sources are examined, from the mid-19th century to the tapes made in the 1970s, and even material collected in recent years. Light is shed on them by the growing body of typology of Pama-Nyungan languages and in particular by Donaldson's ([1980](#)) Grammar of Wangaaybuwan, which along with Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay, Wayilwan and Wiradjuri form the Central New South Wales language sub-group.

The main topics covered are nominal morphology (Chapters 2-6), verbal morphology (Chapters 7-9) and syntax (Chapters 10-11). Chapter 8 covers interrogatives, negatives, indefinites and ignoratives. In almost all areas there is some advances in the description of YG.

Nominal case forms have been more accurately described. The variation in the suffixes on *y*-final words has been detailed. The Allative and Dative have been shown to be separate cases. A much broader range of functions has been described for cases, particularly for Ablative case.

While the complex set of Demonstratives has not been fully described (and perhaps never can be) the components of demonstratives have, particularly the demonstrative-final suffixes: -*ma* 'definite' and -*lay* 'ostensive'. The various functions of YG demonstratives have been more clearly described.

The thesis has an expanded description of YG verbs. A few of the main areas are given here. Additional functions have been described for previously recognised forms, such as the perfect use of the past suffix. The "additional argument" suffix has been

much more fully described and its use recognised with intransitive, y class verbs. The description of continuous suffixes has been further refined. There is a new analysis of the distinctive Time of Day suffixes (morning, afternoon and night), and Distance in Time suffixes, an areal feature. A number of likely additional suffixes have been listed, for which there is only slight evidence.

A major advance is the description of YG middle verbs. A similar feature had been recognised in Wangaaybuwan, but not in YG. The description here indicates a much more complex set of uses than the simple intransitive recognised in Wangaaybuwan.

While the concept of NP is not obviously applicable to YG a number of related structures have been analysed. Included is the first analysis of YG Inclusory constructions, including their use to form exclusive pronoun forms and emphatic inclusives.

Some syntactic features have also been noted. Notable, but also widespread in Australian and other languages, are pronouns in second position in the clause. As well the use of cross-referencing pronouns is described for the first time for this language, as is the use of pronouns to signal change in verb transitivity across clauses. The syntactic structure of the clause often includes a sentence initial grouping which includes the focus, particles, pronouns and demonstratives. This grouping forms the Initial Intonation Phrase.

While phonology has been briefly treated this is perhaps the first time that the discussion has progressed beyond segmental phonology and a fairly preliminary treated of word level stress. The phonological structure of clauses is in relatively short word groups (short phrases), typically with each phrase having descending volume and pitch.

12.1.1 Problems encountered

A number of issues arise in the analysis of the resource material and in making decisions about the actual grammar.

There are philological questions in interpreting the original texts. The Laves material is often faded, and so even reading it can be challenge. There is often difficulty in interpreting the handwriting or symbols used. For instance in older texts the letter 'u', particularly in the first syllable, can represent phonemic *a* or *u*. Many texts do not distinguish vowel length. At times words in early documents have been run together, or broken up.

The status of text material is often not clear. For instance Ridley's *Gurre Kamilaroi*, (bible stories) seem to be highly simplified GR, perhaps composed by Ridley or Greenway, and so not an accurate version of GR. By contrast Parker's Emu and Bustard story is much more likely to be authentic and more complex.

Some early materials are in the form of grammars. They therefore give the writer's interpretation of the language. They are valuable, but also miss many features of the language that were not recognised by the writer - for instance the four verb classes. They will also contain some misinterpretations, for instance Ridley's *mullionkūnda* 'with an eagle at rest' (see §2.2.3). In developing the final grammar a decision needs to be made about the status of early interpretations.

Later materials, apart from Williams, contain more language text and less interpretation. The question there is more often about the fluency of the informant. Two questions are the extent to which the language given has been influenced by English and how much of the original language the informant retains. Fred Reece often says: 'there is a way of saying that, but old Reece has forgotten it'.

Another issue is the variation between the sources. This can have many origins. There were no doubt dialectal, and personal, differences in the language, as well as diachronic differences. But there are also the differences due to language decline, and differences created by incomplete recording. However there is little prospect of being able to accurately describe the dialectal differences, and for language rebuilding to have any prospect of success there needs to be standardisation. Apart from YR-GR distinctions no effort has been made in the current study to incorporate dialectal differences.

There are also variations within sources. Words can be differently realised - for instance final *-li* and *-lay* seem to be allomorphs, but this is not certain. As well informants sometimes give different versions of the one sentence. It is not always clear if these different versions are both grammatical or if the second is a correction of or improvement on the first.

The writing of the grammar also involves a law of diminishing returns. Further review is likely to take considerable effort and may have minor results. Similarly some of the main points of grammar are easily and briefly described but minor points can take a disproportionate effort to analyse and describe. This is seen in the case suffixes. The more common case allomorphs are clear. However there is variation in the sources, including for the Allative case with *l* and *rr* final stems. There is also variation in some case suffixes with *y*-final stems. These are relatively minor points, but since the analysis is uncertain many pages can be taken up to consider the possibilities and to argue for a final position.

The transcription of text materials also involves a number of decisions. One is whether to use morphemic or phonetic transcription. A morphemic transcription is much easier to search and much quicker to do. It enables generalisations to be much more quickly discovered. However it greatly understates the phonetic features of the language. It is also limited to the currently known body of morphemes, so

unrecognised suffixes are likely to stay unrecognised. In a number of instances it is not clear if a number of forms are allomorphs or separate morphemes. I have generally used morphemic transcriptions since this allows quicker analysis, and added a note when there was material that suggested further, later, investigation.

A final point is the completeness of the sources. There tape material is all from old males, talking to a linguist or researcher. The one attempt to record a conversation, between Fred Reece and Arthur Dodd, is perhaps 30 seconds. Perhaps Reece's deafness prevented any further conversation. There is little from other people: women, children, families. The genres recorded are mainly stories, wordlists and elicitation sentences, the last often with a strong focus on grammatical features such as dual and plural pronouns, and inclusive and exclusive forms.

12.2 Possible further investigations

There is considerable scope for further work on these languages, both analytical work to better describe the historical language and developmental work, to build YG for wider current use.

12.2.1 Sources: re-examination, and further sources.

Other linguists examining the current resources will do so with a different background from the current writer and will see features that have escaped me. The more familiar they are with Australian languages, the more they will see.

As well the current resources can be reviewed. For instance my transcripts of Wurm and Laves were done some time ago. A re-examination of the originals, with increased knowledge of the languages, will lead to a more accurate interpretation of them, and some previously not understood sections will become clear. Similarly a re-transcription of the tapes will no doubt result in clearer understanding of now uncertain areas and will also reveal misinterpretations.

The Mathews manuscripts and the National Library have not been exhaustively examined. There are other materials that have only been slightly considered. It seems that there is more difference between Ridley and Greenway than I had previously thought, but this became clear when it was too late to consider Greenway closely. There are also a number of minor sources which have not been closely examined.

12.2.2 Incomplete areas.

Frequently throughout the thesis it will be clear that an area is not fully understood. This is nowhere more clear than in the discussion on demonstratives. There is considerable scope for re-examination of the sources and comparison with other

languages, hopefully resulting in a more complete description. For instance the function of *ngaama* and its relation to other demonstratives are not really clear.

Another of the many areas for further investigation are verbs - for instance what is the status of suffixes listed here as 'uncertain'? Can more be determined about the order of verb suffixes? Ridley describes relative verb forms which include Time of Day and Distance in Time suffixes. These have not been recognised elsewhere and are not used in current YG. They could well be examined further.

There is great scope for work on YG phonology. Word stress is not well described - for instance the stress in suffixed forms. An example is purposive verb forms, some of which have 'irregular' stress according to the current paradigm; both *búma-li.gu* (predicted by current rules) and *bumá =li.gu* (irregular by current rules) 'hit-PURP' are found. Virtually no work has been done on phrasal or clausal phonology, including on major areas such as typical interrogative and declarative intonation.

A YG dictionary has been published, but again it could be improved on. Too often YG words are described in terms of one of two English words, whereas their meaning is likely to be much more complex, and not overlap with English.

12.2.3 Language development.

An area not considered in many grammars, is language development - filling the 'gaps' in YG: areas that have not been recorded or areas that need new language. There needs to be lexical development. Of particular relevance for this are the sections on derivational morphology and compound verb roots. However there is great scope for the development of idioms based on traditional patterns. Works such as Peile (1997) Turpin (1997) and Ponsonnet (2013) can provide background for this.

The language can consider expanding its grammatical tools. This may be by borrowing verb suffixes as discussed at zzz 9.2, or could involve more complex developments. Wangaaybuwan has a suffix *-ba* zzz (Donaldson, 1980: 291) which is a subordinator of finite clauses and is very commonly used. YG could consider such a suffix.

As noted above demonstratives are poorly described. It might be helpful to develop a 'current understanding' of demonstratives, a set of rules to guide their use. These would not be based solely on the YG evidence but on a comparative study of Australian languages. For instance *ngaama* may be given a specific participant tracking function.

While this is a novel approach it fits the reality of language rebuilding. If a feature is described, with rules given for its use, there is the possibility that it will be so used, i.e. used with some traditional function. If such rules and descriptions are not

developed the new speakers of the language will revert to English patterns; they will have no alternative.

12.3   Implications for revival

Language rebuilding, also called language revival, is a complex process, but it seems to me there is at least one clear feature. A part of the language can be learnt and used only to the extent to which it has been described.

This is very different from situations where language can be absorbed, with little or no specific description of the language features. For instance by living with fluent speakers or by listening to radio and films in the language,

For instance if *buma-li* is defined solely as 'hit' it will be used as English 'hit' is used. However this does not reflect much of the traditional use of the word. In YG *buma-li* is also used to translate 'kill' in some circumstances. In Wangaaybuwan *buma-li* is also 'hit' but is not used to translate 'the car hit the tree', and this was quite likely the case also in YG - but there is no data. Only if the detailed use of *buma-li* is described, and then learnt and practised will YG retain the traditional use of the word.

The many language features in described in this grammar will shape rebuilt YG to the extent that they are incorporated in classes, learning materials and in YG language, and to the extent that people have the opportunity to spend long hours learning and practising the language.

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Appendices and Resources

13   Phonology

The phonology of YG has been previously described, including in Austin (1993a) and in Williams (1980). It is very similar to the phonology of Wangaaybuwan, described in Donaldson (1980). As well Austin (1997) has discussed the relation of YG phonology to that of proto-CNSW (Central New South Wales) and to the other CNSW languages. There is also important information in Ridley, MathewsGR and MathewsYR. Austin (1993a), (1997) has also discussed the systematic sound changes between GR and YR.

This chapter is largely a brief summary of that material, and it introduces some other questions particularly about stress, prosody and word boundary features. I also draw on Oates (1988) in discussing the actual realisation of words in casual speech, particularly clitic pronouns and demonstratives. There is scope for a much more comprehensive analysis of YG phonology with the topics in Fletcher and Butcher (forthcoming) and Baker (2014) indicating areas for investigation.

13.1   Limitations on phonological analysis

Current studies of YG phonology are largely based on written sources and the YR tape transcriptions and both have limitations.

The interpretation of written sources is not straight-forward. At times recorders have not noticed features and the symbols and orthography used may be difficult to interpret. For instance while Ridley and Mathews observed that voicing of stops was not significant neither recorded two different rhotics and Ridley did not recognise lamino-dental nasal /nh/.

The tape transcripts are a major source for this study. The major focus of my transcription was to record lexical and syntactic features, so phonological features are under-recorded. This also made the work of transcription simpler and made the transcription more easily searchable. At times variation in the realisation of phonemes was occasionally transcribed, for instance some examples of /nh/ /ny/ alternation after /i/ are transcribed. On the other had the different realisations of /rr/ as trill or tap (or even as an approximant) are not noted. Even major variations in vowel quality are rarely recorded. There is room for a much more thorough study of these features. As well the two main informants were recorded when in their 80's, with probably few or

no teeth, and at least one of them was fairly deaf - all factors which are likely to affect their sound production.

Neither the written sources or the tapes provide the visual clues which can be vital in some areas, for instance in distinguishing /n/ and /nh/. The absence of fluent speakers means that further direct studies are not possible.

YG rhotics exemplify the challenges in describing the phonology of YG. As in many other Australian languages YG has two rhotics, /r/ and /rr/, with /rr/ in particular having a number of allophones. Ridley and Mathews did not recognise phonemic differences between the two rhotics. At times it is difficult to fully interpret the symbols used. Wurm in his material distinguishes the retroflex approximant rhotic (he usually records it as 'ṙ', also as 'r') from the trill or tap (he records it as 'ḍ', 'r' and 'r̃'). The variant realisations of /rr/ include as a tap or trill. I assume *ḍ* represents an alveolar tap or stop, *r* and *r̃* a trill, but some uncertainty remains. Some of the variation in Wurm's rhotics are seen in Table 175. Laves did not generally distinguish rhotics, generally using *r* in all words and positions, as seen in Table 175. However on occasions he varied the symbol, as seen in *ma<u>r</u>i* and *barran*, but the significance of the *<u>r</u>* and *rr* are is uncertain. On the tapes it is often not possible to distinguish intervocalic /r/ and /rr/.

Table 175   **Some Wurm and Laves rhotics**

Wurm	Gloss	Phonetic	Standard orthography
/r/ recorded as <ṙ>, i.e. [ɹ]			
mári̇̀	man	*maɹi*	*mari*
bu̇ruma	dog	*buɹuma*	*buruma*
intervocalic /rr/ recorded as <ṙ>, <r> <r̃> and <ḍ> i.e. [ɹ], ʔ, [r] and [ɾ]			
ˈjáṙà:n, yara:n	gum tree	*jaɹa:n; jara:nʔ*	*yarraan*
jar̃a:n	gum tree	*jara:n*	
ˈjáṙəl	stone	*jaɹəl*	*yarral*
ˈjáḍəl	stone	*jarəl*	
final /rr/ recorded as <r̃> and <ḍ> i.e. [ɹ], ʔ, [r] and [ɾ]			
ínəḍ	woman	*inər*	*yinarr*
hínər̃	woman	*ʰinər*	
banda:ḍ	kangaroo	*banda:r*	*bandaarr*
bándàr̃	kangaroo	*bandar*	

Table continued on next page.

Wurm	Gloss	Phonetic	Standard orthography
pre-consonant /rr/ recorded as <r̃> <r> and <ḍ> i.e. [r], ?, and [ɾ]			
ˈmúr̃gù	oak tree	murgu	murrgu
múḍgù	oak tree	murgu	
murgu	oak tree	?murgu	
Laves: Some Laves rhotics			
mari, ma<u>r</u>i	man	maɹi	mari
ḍara	thigh	ðara	dharra
baran, barran	boomerang	baran?	barran
barən	boomerang	barən?	

13.2   Phoneme inventory

The YG phoneme inventory is typical of Pama-Nyungan languages, as discussed in Yallop (1982) Dixon (2002: 125) Baker (2014) and Fletcher & Butcher (forthcoming).

There are three vowels, with phonemic length contrast. Long vowels can be found in any syllable. Each vowel has a wide range of realisations.

Consonants have five places of articulation for stops and nasals.

YG has a laminal contrast, but no apical contrast, consistent with what Dixon 2002 p 147 shows for the area. Voicing of stops is not phonemic. There are two rhotics, an alveolar approximant and a trill and two glides, /w/ and /y/. Table 176 gives the YG phonemes in the standard orthography. Voiced symbols are chosen for the stops since that is their most frequent realisation.

Table 176   **YG Segmental Phonemes**

Consonant phonemes					
	Bilabial	Lamino-dental	Apico-alveolar	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Stop	b	dh	d	dj	g
Nasal	m	nh	n	ny	ng
Lateral			l		
Tap/Trill			rr		
Approximant			r		
Glide	w			y	
Vowel phonemes					
High	i, ii				u, uu
Low			a, aa		

Minimal pairs to establish the status of most phonemes are relatively common and listed in earlier sources. The exception is the laminal/palatal contrast. In most

instances the choice of laminal or palatal is conditioned, with the majority of palatals found after *i* or less commonly before *i*. The contrast between laminal and apical stops is shown by the minimal, or near minimal pairs below.

madja	sorry	*madhamadha*	rough
widja	bread	*wiidhaa*	Bowerbird

The alternation between the nasals /nh/ and /ny/ is generally conditioned by the environment, most commonly by the preceding vowel, with /ny/ generally after *i* and /nh/ after *a, u*. For instance in the past tense suffix for 3 of the 4 verb classes -*NHi*: (*yana-nhi* 'walked', *gubi-nyi* 'swam'); and in the clitic =*NHa* '3' (*nhama*=*nha* 'that.there' (289); *balu-nhi*=*nya* 'he died' in (568)). Most other occurrences of /ny/ are in the environment between /i/ and /a/, e.g. *minya* 'what'. Previous studies had not cited minimal pairs, cf. Williams' (p 18), Austin (1993a: 46). Contrasts have been found. *gunyamurr* 'east wind' is the only occurrence of /ny/ which is not preceded or followed by *i*. It forms near-minimal pairs with *gunharr* 'kangaroo rat', *gunha* 'scorpion' and *nginunha* '2SG.ACC'. As well there is the minimal pair *nyii* 'anus' (and derived forms) and *nhii* 'charcoal', and *nyii* contrasts with a number of *nhi* initial words including *nhiirruu* 'burial bark' and *nhingil* 'saltbush'. While this shows that /ny/ is not simply a conditioned variant of /nh/, non-conditioned variation is rare.

13.3   Phonotactics

Words in YG are never vowel initial[229] and begin with a single consonant: stop, nasal (but not the apicals, /ny/ and probably not /dj/) or glide. That is with: *b, m, dh, nh, g, ng, w, y*. Words can end with any vowel, long or short, /y/ and apicals (apart from /d/ and /r/). That is with: *i/ii, a/aa, u/uu, n, l, rr* and *y*. These are set out in Table 177, which shows that the word initial (*underline*) and word final (shaded) phonemes are mutually exclusive, except for /y/ which occurs in both positions. /d/ /dj/ and /r/ occur in neither position. /ny/ is found word initially once. /rr/ is found word finally, intervocalically and as the first element of a consonant cluster. /r/ is found only intervocalically, where it contrasts with /rr/.

The intramorphemic consonant clusters Austin and Williams find are listed below. All possible homorganic nasal-stop clusters are found: *mb ngg nhdh ndj nd*. The homorganic lateral-stop cluster *ld* is found, but the evidence is uncertain. Non-homorganic medial clusters are given in Table 178. Clusters listed only in Williams are labelled [CW]. Generally very few instances of these have been found, often only one.

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[229] But see below for comment on the realisation of word initial /wu/ and /yi/.

Table 177   **Word initial and word final phonemes**

Consonant phonemes					
	Bilabial	Lamino-dental	Apico-alveolar	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Stop	_**b**_	_**dh**_	_d_	_**dj**_	_**g**_
Nasal	_**m**_	_**nh**_	_**n**_	_**ny**_	_**ng**_
Lateral			_**l**_		
Tap/Trill			_**rr**_		
Approximant			_r_		
Glide	_**w**_			_**y**_	
Vowel phonemes					
High	_**i, ii**_				_**u, uu**_
Low			_**a, aa**_		
Key					
Word Initial: <u>**underline, bold**</u>		**Word final: shaded, bold**			

Table 178   **Non-homorganic medial consonant clusters**

		Second element							
		_b_	_g_	_ng_	_dh_	_m_	_rr_	_n_	_l_
F i r s t	_y_	_yb_	_yg_			_ym_ [CW]	_yrr_	_yn_	_yl_
	_**n**_	_nb_	_n.g_	_nng_ [CW]		_nm_			_nl_ [CW]
	_l_	_lb_	_lg_		_ldh_ [CW]				
	_**rr**_	_rrb_	_rrg_	_rrng_ [CW]		_rrm_ [CW]			

As Austin (1993a: 53) points out: 'intermorphemically a greater range of consonant combinations is found (and even more are predicted although they do not occur in the corpus) but again the first element of a cluster is restricted to one of the consonants which can occur word-finally'. Table 179 lists intermorphemic clusters given in Williams and Austin. The lists are identical except that Austin predicts that GR would have /yng/ and /nng/, but did not find examples in the corpus.

Table 179   **Intermorphemic consonant clusters**

			Second member					
			_b_	_m_	_d_	_dj_	_g_	_ng_
F i r s t	m e m b e r	_y_	_yb_	_ym_		_ydj_	_yg_	_?yng_
		_l_	_lb_	_lm_	_ld_		_lg_	_lng_
		_**rr**_	_rrb_	_rrm_			_rrg_	_rrng_
		_**n**_	_nb_		_nd_		_n.g_	_?nng_

One issue is the analysis of sounds described by Williams (p 20) as diphthongs, including [ɛi], found for instance in [bɛin] 'sore'. These sounds could be analysed as a V_1GV_2 sequence, as VG or as V_1V_2 (G = glide; $V_1 \neq V_2$). Bosch's (2012) analysis of the sonority indicates that they are not diphthongs and he proposes their transcription as [ɛj]. There is no evidence at this stage for choosing a two syllable or one syllable analysis of the sound. In the practical orthography they are written as 'ay', so *bayn* 'sore', *gayrr* 'name', with the aim of making accurate pronunciation easier for readers. Alternate spellings have previously been used: *bayin* and *gayirr*. An associated question is the orthography of the verb [wiɛili] 'remove quills', cf. *wiyayl* 'quill'. If the verb is written *wiyay-li* the past tense is *wiyay-y*, a highly unusual form, so it is written *wiyayi-li*, somewhat inconsistently. Alternatively the language could introduce the rule that *y* need not be pronounced after another *y*.

Another question is whether the language has medial /ly/, whether analysed as one phoneme, or as a sequence of two phonemes. Both of these are heard in versions of *maliyan* 'eagle'. The current analyses do not include an *ly* phoneme or an *l-y* cluster.

13.3.1   Word structure

There are a number of YG words of one syllable, more in YR because of the /r/ > /Ø/ sound change (§13.5). If the vowel is short the syllable must be closed, e.g. *mil* 'eye'. Other one syllable words include *maa* 'hand, YR', *waal* 'no, YR' *buu* 'leaf, testicle, base of bucket', *dha-y* 'eat-past', *baa-y* 'hop-FUT YR'. *yii-y*, 'bite-PST' is pronounced as a long vowel with no consonant component since the initial *y* is generally not realised before *i* and the final glide assimilated to *i*.

13.4   Orthography

The practical orthography adopted for phonemes is seen in Table 176. Other features of the orthography include:

Consonant clusters involving digraphs are simplified, *nhdh > ndh* and *nydj > ndj*, for instance *mandha* 'bread', not *manhdha**.

The sequence /n//g/ is written *n.g* to prevent confusion with /ng/.

13.5   GR > YR sound changes

There are a number of systematic but not universally applied sound changes between GR and YR. The similarity of GR to Wangaaybuwan and Wiradjuri indicates that it is YR which has changed. Austin (1997: 27) describes the changes in GR /r/, which can be retained in YR, but more commonly changes to Ø or *y*.

Table 180 **GR to YR sound changes**

GR	YR	English	
/r/ > Ø This occurs when the GR /r/ is between two identical vowels in a disyllabic word, or there is a /y/ in a later syllable.			
mara	*maa*	hand	
dhuru	*dhuyu*	snake	cf. WN *dhurru*
barayamal	*baayamal*	black swan	
/r/ > /y/ This can occur between identical vowels, but also elsewhere: e.g.			
mararra	*mayarra*	a wallaby	
wuru	*wuyu*	throat	
yira	*yiya*	tooth	
dhigaraa	*dhigayaa*	bird	

Similar changes are found in other languages. Laughren (1982: 152) points out that: '*Ngayi* is derived from *ngari* by a regular process[230] of shift from *r* to *y* in Warlpiri'.

There are other changes involving /r/ but these are rare, e.g.

  ngarugi   *ngawugi*   drink

YR has retained the /r/ phoneme, for instance in *wiringin* 'clever man'.

The following pairs have *b~w* change, but not in the same direction. It is not known which is the original form.

GR	YR	English
=*wadhaay*	=*badhaay*	might
-*ban.gaan*	-*wan.gaan*	very

There are other changes, including:

  baaya-li GR   *yaaya-li* YR   chop

Language internal alternation is found in *bulaawulaarr* 'four', a reduplication of *bulaarr* 'two'.

On the Wurm tape (2895a) (see Wurm p 36) one speaker has *buruma*, *buyuma* and *buuma* 'dog', so it is likely that sound changes were still happening recently.

There is also a 3 way relationship between Wangaaybuwan, Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay, with *rr* in WN being *rr* or *r* in GR and the *y* in YR as shown in the following table of examples from Austin (1997: 28ff). This further strengthens the case for considering -*ngarri-y* and -*ngayi-y* as variants.

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[230] Koch (p.c.) suggests this change can only occurs in Warlpiri when *r* is followed by *i*.

Wangaaybuwan and YG: Sound changes involving rhotics

Wangaaybuwan	Gamilaraay	Yuwaalaraay	Gloss
gurraarr	*guraarr*	*guyaarr*	far
wirraN	*yira*	*yiya*	tooth
wurru	*wuru*	*wuyu*	throat/neck

13.6 Sound changes in central NSW languages

Austin (1997) considers sound differences between the CNSW languages (Wiradjuri (WI), Wangaaybuwan (WN), Wayilwan (WW) and YG). He interprets the differences as sound changes and reconstructs proto-CNSW forms, which in almost all cases are identical to the WI forms. A common change involves word final /ng/ and /ny/. This is found in WI. In WN and WW the nasals are not found in citation forms of the cognate nouns, but are found in suffixed case forms: cf. WN/WW *guway* 'blood', *guway-ng-gu* 'blood-ERG'. Such WN/WW nouns are written with a final *N, guwayN.* In YG the /ng/ is not found. The /ny/ changes to /y/ in both WN and YG. The variant forms shown in the table are from Austin (1997).

Word final *ng/ny* sound change in CNSW

ProtoCNSW	WI	WN	YG	English
*guwany	*guwany*	*guwayN*	*guway*	blood
*ngamung	*ngamung*	*ngamuN*	*ngamu*	breast

There are other changes. In some circumstances WN /rr/ corresponds to GR /r/ and to YR /r/y/Ø/, at other times it does not change. Austin gives conditions which generally govern the changes. Sporadically WN /b/ and /g/ shift to YG /w/. WI WN and Wayilwan frequently have homorganic nasal + stop clusters where YG has just the stop, for instance WN *-mbil* and YG *-bil* 'with.much', and Wayilwan *gamba* YG *gaba* 'good'.

13.6.1 Realisation of phonemes

There is considerable variation in the realisation of many phonemes. I will not provide a detailed description of the phonemes but comment on some unusual and more important features.

13.6.1.1 Vowel/glide realisation and variation

There is considerable variation in the realisation of vowels but I have not studied it in detail. Expected variations can be found in Donaldson (1980: 19), who points out the many realisations of vowel phonemes in WN, with *a* having the greatest variety, realised as six phones. The main variations in YG are the raising of /a/ after /y/

(Williams has *yinaa-y* for *yanaa-y* 'walk, go') and the tendency of /a/ to be more back after /b/ and /w/. This is one factor leading to the confusion between /a/ and /u/, noted also in Ridley (1875: 5) '[B]etween the short vowel sounds of a and u it is often difficult to determine'. This overlap is also seen in Wurm (p 34) who has [burumugu] for *buruma-gu* 'dog-ERG'. A few other variations have been noted in the transcriptions. FR2437B 1826 has [u] and [ɨ] as two pronunciations of the first vowel of /yurraamu/ 'grog'. A closer study of the tapes would reveal more variation.

The glides are generally not realised or are reduced in word initial /wu/ and /yi/, so *wuurri* 'will give' is heard [uːri], and *yinarr* 'woman' as [inaɹ]. It seems that the realisation of these glides has weakened recently, since word initial /yi/ is quite common in Ridley and Mathews.

Austin (1993: 48) and Williams describe four "diphthongs" in the languages. I analyse these phonetic diphthongs as having a glide consonant, either VG or VGV. The phonemic and phonetic representations Austin[231] gives are:

ay	[ɛɪ]
aay	[aːi]
awu	[ou]
uwa	[oːu]

As well word final *iy* is realised as a long vowel, [iː], for instance in *giniy* 'stick'. There is variation in some of these 'diphthongs' for instance /Gamilaraay/ realised as [komilarai] or [komilaroi]. Some VGV sequences are occasionally realised as long vowels, with this happening more commonly in later sources.

13.6.1.1 Consonant realisation and variation

Austin (1993a: 31) describes the realisation of consonants and variations in that realisation. He describes /dh/ and /nh/ as produced 'with the tongue tip between and protruding from the teeth' whereas Williams (1980: 16) has 'produced with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth'. It may be that there was variation in actual production. The main feature of these phonemes is that that there is contact between the blade of the tongue and the front part of the mouth, i.e. the upper teeth and/or the alveolar ridge. Both Austin and Williams agree that /dj/ and /ny/ are 'produced with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth'.

There is considerable variation in the realisation of rhotics. The variant realisation of /rr/ has been shown in Table 175. As well rhotics are sometimes realised as laterals and occasionally as the glide /y/ and less commonly as /w/.

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[231] Austin gives *dhuwarr* 'bread' and *buwadjarr* 'father' as examples of *awu*. The realisation of these words by Fred Reece is [doɐr] and [boɐɟɐr]. Reece can be heard on Gayarragi Winangali.

/rr/ is mostly a tap intervocalically, but at times its realisation merges with that of /r/, i.e. an approximant. It is generally a stop finally, unless emphasised, when it is trilled. At times final /rr/ is not realised as in *'gúnðìˑ,* (*gundiirr*) 'feathers' (Wurm). FR2439A 129 has *galaa-laa-nga* for 'how then?'. The standard form of 'how' is *galaarr*, and there are other similar examples. *Rr* final words which are followed by a suffix often drop the *rr*, particularly for suffixes beginning in /d/ or /dh/. So *yinarr-DHuul* 'woman-ONE/LITTLE' is realised *yinaduul*. This feature is also fossilised in the word *biyaduul* 'alone', from *biyarr-DHuul* 'one-ONE/LITTLE'.

There are many instances of alternation between /rr/ and /l/: *'gálaŋài,* (*garrangay*) 'duck' (Wurm); *ŋaˑru* (*ngaaluurr*) 'fish', and *babul* (*baburr*) 'foot' (Laves). At AD5130 906 on different hearings the one token is heard as *yilaala* and *yirraala* 'then'. FR1988A 1114 has *gulal* initially, then *gularr* 'head band'. Some variation may be in the perception of the recorders, but there are many instances where the difference is in the production, and is consistently heard.

Similar variation is found in other languages, sometimes with clear conditioning factors. Threlkeld and Fraser (1892: 60) point out that for Awakabal: 'in the formation of the tenses and modifications, the letter *r* is changed into its relative liquid *l*'. Hercus (1982: 193) points out that Baagandji has '*-la* consonantal dissimilation to *–ra* if the verb-stem contains an l-sound' (/r/ in Baagandji is a tap).

There is also *rr ~ w* alternation. AD 3999A 1791 has *dhurrinba-nhi* 'hid' whereas the usual form is *dhuwinbanhi*.

The laminal dental /nh/ is difficult to distinguish from /n/ auditorily, but it is recognised by Mathews, Williams (1980) and Austin (1993a). It is very common as the first segment of *nhama* 'there' and in some past and present tense suffixes. A number of recorders did not recognise /nh/. Ridley consistently has <n> or <nn> where the current analysis has /nh/. Wurm recognised /nha/ word finally a small number of times, but never recorded /nh/ word initially. Since many others who recorded the language recognised the initial laminal and initial apicals are not found in CNSW it may be that Wurm missed the initial lamino-dental. Alternatively, since there is no contrast initially between apicals and lamino-dentals he just wrote them all as apicals. Table 181 shows some of Wurm's recording of /nh/.

/nh/ /ng/ and /n/ can all be modified following /i/ and /y/ across word boundaries. At times they also change in other situations, often when followed by /i/ as in *nginda* 'you' and sometimes for no clear reason. Examples are given in Table 182.

Table 181   Wurm's recording of /nh/

	First Syllable		Last syllable		
	Wurm	Standard	Wurm	Standard	Gloss
common forms	[nama] ['náma] ['námà] ['náma]	*nhama* 'that/there'	/na/ /na̓ / /nna/	/nha/	present tense
rare forms			*giaṉṉa*	*giyaanha*	going to
			náṉaṉà	*nhanganha*	boot
			ṉaṉa	*nganha*	1SG.ACC

Table 182   Word boundary changes in realisation of nasals

Realisation	Standard	Gloss	Source
/nh/ > /nj/ after #_, y#_			
nguuwi nyama	*nguuwi nhama*	sweat that	Tapes
bayama-li nyama	*bayama-li nhama*	catch-FUT there	Tapes
dhaay nyama	*dhaay nhama*	to.here 3.DEF	Tapes
/nh/ > /nj/			
bunda:nj	*bundaa-nhi*	fall-PST	Wurm
munji	*munhi*	louse	Wurm
/n/ > /ny/			
bigu:nj	*biguun*	pig	Wurm
gínjbài	*giinbay*	mussel	Wurm
/ng/ > /nj/			
dhii nyinda	*dhii nginda*	meat 1SG.NOM	Tapes
nama njinu:	*nhama nginu*	that 1SG.DAT	Wurm

13.7   Elision / abbreviation

There is considerable elision at word boundaries, most commonly /-ma b/ > /mb/; e.g. *nhama birray* 'there/that boy' is realised as *nham'birray*. *Ngaya* 'I' is often realised as *ngay* in many phonological environments, particularly before word initial /ng/. Abbreviations are found, most commonly *yanaa-y* YR being realised as *'naa-y*. It would be expected that elision would be more common in phonologically unstressed environments such as the Sentence Initial Cluster.

Adjacent identical syllables are sometimes reduced, a process called haplology. For instance *ngaya yanaay* 'I will go' is generally realised *ngayanaay*.

At times the present tense suffix is reduced word finally, /nha/ > /nh/ or Ø. This is quite common in GR, including omission of the whole suffix. It is rare in YR.

In the tape transcripts and other recent documents elision of a final vowel is shown by an apostrophe; *nham' birray*. Haplology has generally not been shown in these documents. Verbs with reduced tense suffixes were largely recorded in older documents and no indication was given of the abbreviation, perhaps because it had not been recognised.

13.8   Unusual features

There are a number of distortions, generally word final. The most common is transcribed /wu/ and is heard for instance after *nhama*, 'that', *ganunga* 3PL.NOM and =*nga* 'then', heard as [namou], [ganuŋou] and [=ŋou]. The added sound may sometimes be a realisation of the *Buu* 'all' suffix, or of -*gu* [Dative, Allative], it may be an emphatic gesture or a semantically empty element.

Oates (1988:17,18) points out that in Muruwari (neighbouring Yuwaalaraay, and with a similar history of decline) there was 'large-scale acceptance of consonant phonemes other than the norm in given words and utterances, **particularly in word-initial position**' (emphasis added). 'Fluctuation occurred most frequently between peripheral phonemes, but [p], [m], [k] and [ng]' were all at times realised as [w]'. Similar variation has been noted in YR, particularly in demonstratives in unstressed positions in the Initial Intonation Phrase. The main change is /ng/ ~ /w/, often with change in vowel/VGV realisation, for instance with what I assume is /nguwama/ realised as [wɔ:ma], [wɔma] or [wɔmu]. A rarely found alternation is /ng/ ~ /y/, for instance *ŋellibu* or *yellibu* 'also' in Ridley.

Word initial /guw/ is generally realised as [gw] or [gʷ], e.g. *guway* 'blood'.

There are other variations that seem limited to individual words. In *guwaali* 'tell' the long /aa/ is pronounced [ɔ:]. /aay/ is generally pronounced [ɒi] in the word Gamilaraay.

There is occasional *b~nb~mb* alternation. Laves has *yanaịnbila* and *yanaịmbila* for 'let go', (*yanaaynbila*), based on *yanaay* 'go', so the variation is at what may be historically or currently a morpheme boundary: the suffix -*bi-li* is uncommon. *Dhiidjiibawaa* is common for 'soldier bird' but it is also heard as *dhiidjiịnbawaa* (FR1849A 43 et al.) and *dhiidjiịmbawaa* (AD8186 143). At 2438A 889 FR's word for 'other' is heard as *wurraṇbaa* and *wurruṃbaa*. Some of this may be due to the influence of nasal + stop clusters found more commonly in the other CNSW languages.

There is considerable variation when *y-final* stems are suffixed. See Appendix B: Background material: 2.2.4 on the formation of Ergative and Locative forms. Another example of this variation is FR1987B 390 *ngindaa-bala* 'you.pl-CTR' with a reduced

form of the pronoun *ngindaay*. An irregular elision is found at FR1852A 3047, where 'head-COM' is realised in two ways: *dhaygal-iyaay* and *dhaygal-yaay*.

13.8.1   Free word and/or affix

A further area for later clarification is the phonological behaviour of some morphemes that have variation in their interaction with the preceding words. Some of these morphemes occur in the IIP, others elsewhere.

The second and subsequent words in the Initial Intonation Phrase do not have stress or have weakened stress. However I define as clitics only those that can be phonologically reduced or adapted. So I define *=nda* '2SG' as a clitic, but not the full pronoun, *nginda*, in the same position, even though it does not carry stress.

By this definition some particles are in some instances clitics and at other times not. For instance *=Yaa* 'potential' (§15.2.1) occurs after the first grammatical word of the clause. At times it is phonologically adapted to the previous word, and at times not. After *=badhaay* 'might' it is sometimes is adapted to *=aa*.[232] It can be followed by other clitics, for instance *yilaa=badhaay=aa=bala* (then=MIGHT=IGNOR=CTR) ('might then'). On the other hand *giirr=yaa* 'true-IGNOR' ('might') and *waal=yaa* 'not=yaa; YR' ('might not') are common and the form shows no phonological adaptation. The analysis is further complicated by the fact that *yaa* is occasionally used as a sentence initial word, for instance in Milson, where it begins a question.

The form *-dhalibaa* 'caritative' is generally realised with an initial *dh*, irrespective of the preceding phone, and so does not have the same degree of phonological adaptation as *-dh* initial suffixes such as *-DHuul*, which is dj/i_ and d/n,l_. *Dhalibaa* is perhaps best categorised as a free particle which refers to the word it immediately follows. The semantically similar Comitative suffix *-Biyaay/-Baraay* is always phonologically adapted to its base.

13.9   Word stress

The acoustic realisation of stress has not been measured instrumentally, so the degree to which it is realised by pitch, loudness or length is not known. Nor is it clear that all primary stress has the same emphasis. Stress rules have been given in Williams (1980: 27) and Austin (1993a). There are exceptions, but the great majority of words are covered by these rules:

1. Long vowels are stressed, even if in adjacent syllables; e.g. *dháadháa* 'grandfather'. For the purposes of stress, VG and VGV sequences count as a long vowel. E.g. *ngíyaningùnda* '1PL-LOC'.

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[232] But closer phonetic examination of these might lead to a different analysis.

2. If there is no long vowel, primary stress is on the first syllable. E.g. *gába* 'good'

3 Secondary stress is on syllables two and four away from primary stress: *gúmbulgàban* 'turkey', *bàluwáa* 'slowly'.

These rules mean the verbs vary in stress. Firstly verbs with final *Vy* have stress on the last syllable, e.g. *gubí-y* 'swim-FUT' and *bumá-y* 'hit-PST', but the same verbs, in other tenses, may have stress on the first syllable: *gúbi-nyi* 'swim-PST' and *búma-li* 'hit-FUT' (rule 2). Secondly the stress can depend on the length of the stem (i.e. rule 3). So *búmaldànha* 'is hitting' but *gímubìldanha* 'is making', with stress on *lda* in one word, but not the other.

There are exceptions to the rules above, including in some Purposive forms. *Búmalì* is 'hit', but the stress changes in many realisations of the purposive: *bumáligù*, not complying with rule 2. (On tapes and e.g. *buˈmaligo* in Laves MS2188-9-12p123). A similar pattern is found with *wanagi* 'throw'. The stress is on the first syllable, but the purposive form is *wanaˈgigu.* These are both 3 syllable stems, with all vowels short. A similar change in stress is found in WN. The area awaits further study.

As well stress on some suffixed and reduplicated words does not follow the rules above: *Gàmilaráay* (or perhaps equal stress on the first and last syllable.); *màrrgamarrgáay* 'trapdoor spider'.

13.10   Prosody/intonation

13.10.1   Clause prosody

This section is not covered in any detail, but some main issues are mentioned. There are at least two prominent features of YR clause prosody (There is insufficient material to comment on GR, but I assume that the YR features also apply there.) The first is what I call the '(clause) initial intonation phrase', often with several particles and/or clitics and a second position pronoun, and sometimes other words, with a single falling intonation contour, and followed by a pause. See §10.2.2.1. The rest of the clause generally also consists of short intonation phrases [IPs], of one or more words, with similar falling intonation, so there are many pauses in long clauses.

The feature is found in other Australian languages. Fletcher and Butcher (forthcoming: 43) report that 'Ross (2011) found that the average IP length in Dalabon is 2.4 grammatical words and 2.3 grammatical words in Kayardild. Bishop and Fletcher (2005) report mean IP lengths of 1.9 grammatical words in Bininj Gun-wok'.

(979) shows the text of one AD elicitation and Figure 4 Intonation contours shows other features, including the pitch contours. (The sharp fall in the frequency graph under *waaruu?* is a construct of Praat, showing half the actual frequency, and probably affected by features of AD's voice.)
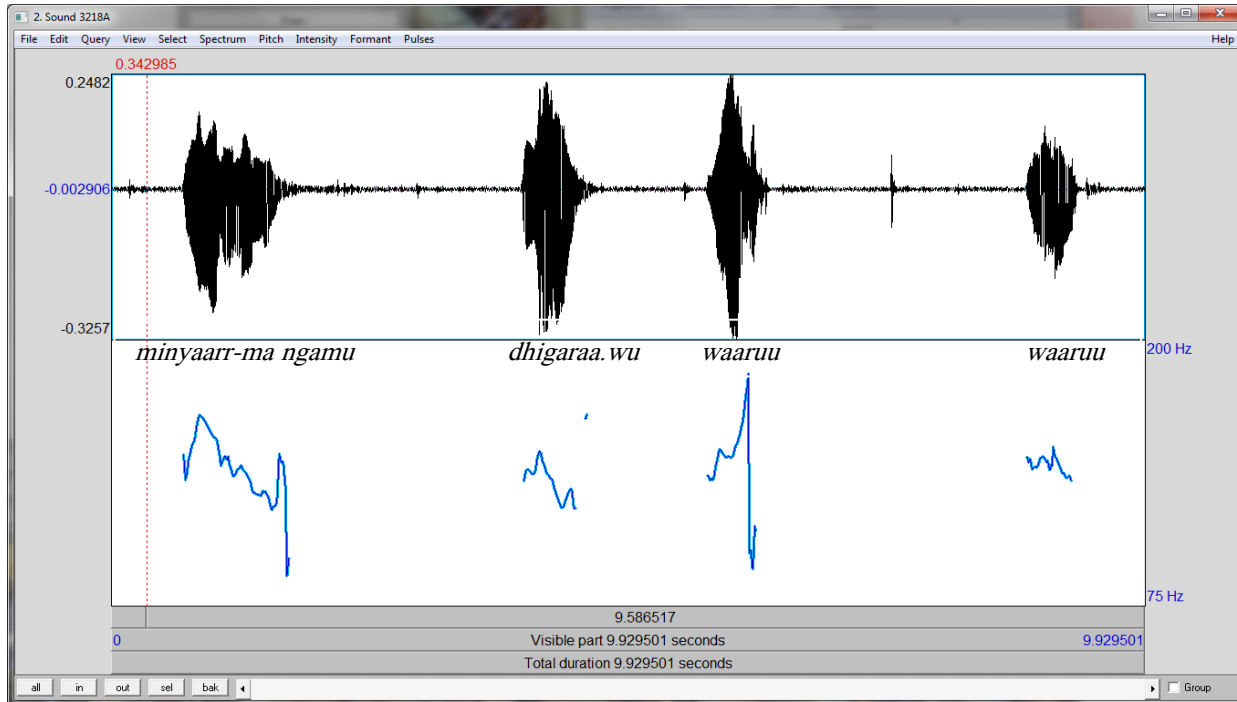
Figure 4 Intonation contours and gaps between intonation phrases: (979)

(979)   Which bird is a crow?   JM/AD 3218A 2853

minyaarr-ma ngamu?ngaamuu   // *dhigaraa.wu* //   *waaruu?* //   *waaruu*

which-DEF that?   // bird.DIST   //   crow?   //   crow

What is that bird? A crow? [It is a] crow.   JG

Prominent features in the Praat picture include:

1 falling inflection on the first phrase, *minyaarr-ma ngamu* 'what is that?'

2 falling inflection on the second 'phrase', *dhigaraa-wu* 'bird'

3 rising inflection on the third phrase *waaruu?* 'crow?' (Is it a crow?) (the drop is a construct of Praat, showing half the actual frequency)

4 falling inflection the fourth phrase; *waaruu* 'crow' (It's a crow/crow)

5 the pauses which are characteristic of AD's responses - but longer here than on average.

Generalisations include that statements and content questions and (*Yaama*-initial questions) have falling intonation. However polar questions are more commonly asked with rising inflection, rather than by particles. However some polar questions have a more complex inflection pattern.

The intonation contour of imperatives has not been studied in any detail, but the FR examples (Figure 5, Figure 6) below show a rise/fall intonation pattern and do not have the steady decrease in volume. Figure 6 has FR saying *nhama bayamala* twice, and then JM repeats it.
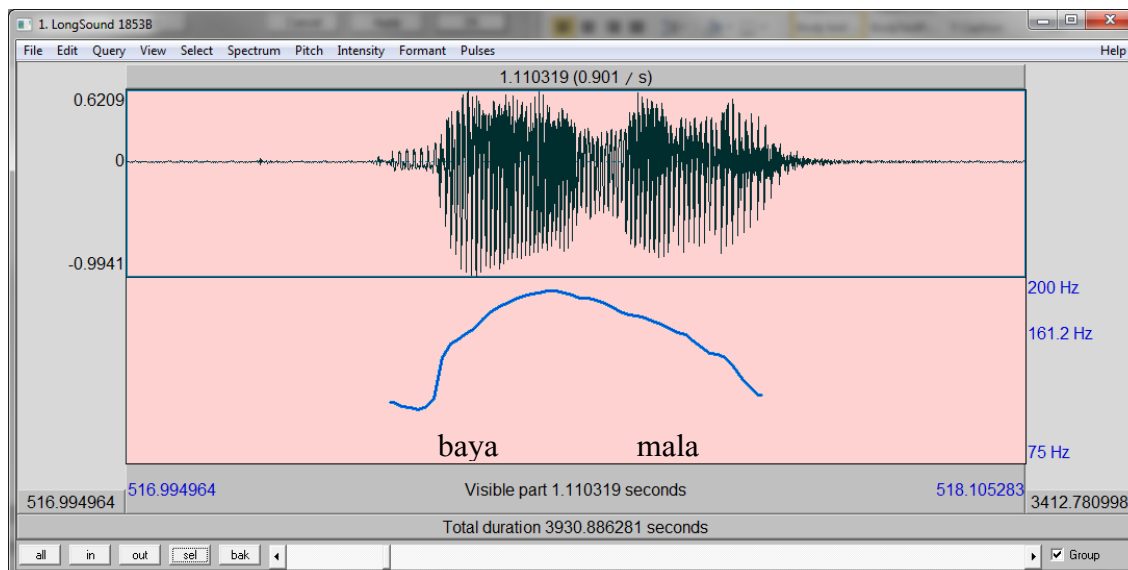
Figure 5 Volume and pitch of *bayama-la* 'catch it!'

Figure 5 was produced with Praat. The sound is from FR 1853B 516.
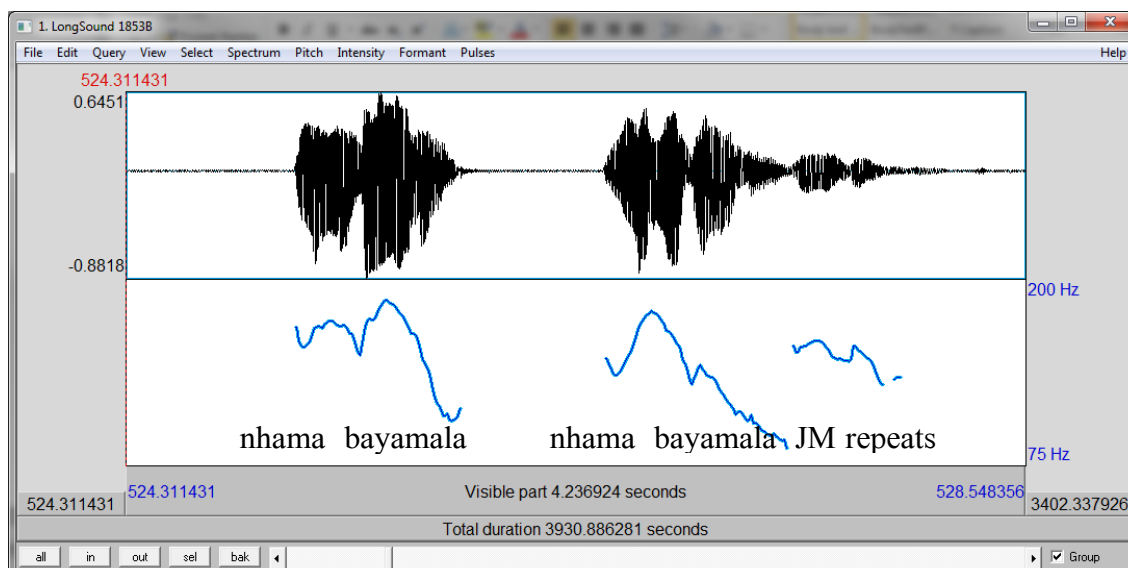
Figure 6 Pratt depiction of nhama bayama-la 'catch this!'

Figure 6 was produced with Praat. The sound is from FR1853B 524.

The highest pitch and volume is on *BAY* in first *nhama bayamala* in Figure 6 and on *nhama* in second instance. The phrase is then repeated by JM.

Ridley (1875: 9) has *goälla* (*guwaala*) 'speak' and *goāllawā* (*guwaalawaa*) 'speak; you must and shall! The emphasis of the command is measured by the prolongation of the syllable -*wā*'. Hercus (1982: 207) says that in Baagandji 'all imperatives are alike in having a strong rising intonation on the final syllable' [this includes imperatives expressed by present tense forms and future tense].

14   Reduplication

Reduplicated words are common in Australian languages and in YG[233]. Fabricius[234] (1998: 10) describes the process:

> The term 'reduplication' is used to refer to the entity of a complex word form in a language which may be recognised as being made of up two parts which are identical, or partly identical, in phonological form. Furthermore the complex form constitutes a single grammatical word, and usually, though not always, a single phonological word. …Reduplication is thus defined here as the partial or complete copying, to the left or right of, or internal to, the lexical root or stem, or some portion of greater length than a single segment.

While YG has many words which are reduplications there is little or no evidence in the sources that the process was actively used by informants[235]. It seems that reduplicated words were parts of the standard lexicon and not spontaneously produced. For some YG reduplications the base has not been recorded, for instance *marrgamarrgaay* is 'Trapdoor spider' but the assumed base, *marrgaay*, has not been recorded.

I firstly consider the morphology of reduplication, then reduplication of verbs and then of nominals.

14.1   Morphology of reduplication

It is common in Australian languages to have a number of reduplication patterns, often with one pattern used by a particular word class or semantic group. With nominals full reduplication of the base is common. With verbs it is generally the root that is reduplicated, either fully or with (part of) the first two syllables of the root copied left (Fabricius, 1998). When reduplication is partial or involves modification

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[233] See (Giacon, 2001: Appendix 2) for a list of YG reduplications found.

[234] I have made considerable use of (Fabricius, 1998), A published version of her thesis, which was written under the name Dineen. The theoretical aspects of the phonology of reduplication have been discussed by both Evans and McCarthy and Prince in Goldsmith (1995), with Evans paying particular attention to Australian patterns.

[235] This is another area where study of YG can be informed by other CNSW languages. WN and Wiradjuri, a CNSW language that was largely recorded much earlier than YG, have many examples of reduplication. This suggests that reduplication was an active feature of all the CNSW languages. Some of the Wiradjuri examples have been collected in a document available in the Thesis resource disc.

the copied element is clearly to the right or left of the original. Most commonly in Australian languages reduplication is to the left. Most YG reduplication copies two syllables or the first syllable and the first CV of the second. This second process is the only one Donaldson (1980:69) reports for WN.

At times there is phonological[236] adaptation at the boundary of the copy and base as Fabricius (1998: 45) points out. This is generally governed by standard YG phonotactics, as in *dhunidjuni* 'Jacky Winter (bird)' < *dhuni* 'tree gum', where the lamino-palatal occurs adjacent to *i*. Lenition is also common at the boundary. While most reduplications in Australian languages are a single phonological word, following stress rules based on their overall shape, some can be two words phonologically, with the copy and the rest of the reduplication having separate stress assignment, for instance YG ˈ*marrgamarr*ˈ*gaay* 'trapdoor spider'. This area has not been fully examined in YG.

There is sometimes a degree of variability in reduplication patterns. Fabricius (1998: 39) quotes Dixon (1972:251) who gives four options for reduplication of *bara-n* 'punch' (it forms a reciprocal). *Bara* is copied left with *Ø, l, n* or *ln* between it and the base.

14.2   Verbal Reduplication

The YG data on verbal reduplication is very limited and somewhat problematic so I first consider verbal reduplication in other languages.

Dixon notes the effects of verbal reduplication include 'intensity' (1980: 326); 'reciprocal' (1980: 433) and in (2002: 201) points out that 'about 90% of Australian languages have a process of verbal reduplication' with variation in process and meaning: 'the most common semantic effect is 'continuous action' or 'repeated (iterated) action'. … 'In just a few languages it indicates 'lack of intensity''.

Fabricius (1998: 14; 98) discusses the iconicity of the semantics – the proposed relation between the larger, repeated morpheme, and the meanings and states that, for verbs:

> reduplication is used generally to mark aspect, more specifically, imperfective or durative/continuative aspect, rather than perfect aspect. The extent to which this process is grammaticalised in the language varies widely.

She (1998: 100) lists the effects of verbal reduplication as: iteration, durative; intensification; plurality of arguments; habitual; action in progress; attenuative. Specific examples, from a number of languages, include (the original verb > the

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[236] Dixon (2002: 572-3; 617-8; 625) discusses the phonotactics of reduplication.

reduplicated verb): sit > be sitting for some time, they all sat; died > all died; see > look thoroughly, examine, keep looking; eat > bolt food down, keep eating.

In contrast, in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 271) reduplication, whether of nominals or verbs, makes them 'more or less' (e.g. 'green' > 'greenish', 'two' > 'a couple or so' and 'to rain' > 'to drizzle').

YG examples of verbal reduplication are given in Table 183. The only common reduplicated verb is *ngarrangarra-li* 'look after' (980) (= (375)). It is spontaneously used by informants. Most of the other examples are found once, and many do not arise spontaneously. On tape 5131 Williams seems to be testing Donaldson's definition of the semantic effect of reduplication (to add 'sort of' to the meaning) and seeing if YG can reduplicate monosyllabic and trisyllabic verb roots. Most of the reduplications actually produced are either said by CW, with AD 'sort of' agreeing, or are said by AD after the tape has been stopped, so perhaps the results of CW's suggestion.

The morphological process seems to be to copy the first syllable and first CV of the second syllable to the left. *Yuyu-gi* suggests reduplication of monosyllabic verb roots is possible, but it too may be Williams' suggestion.

Table 183   **Reduplicated verbs**

Reduplication	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Source/comments
Forms found as part of natural language				
ngarra-ngarra-li	look after, keep an eye on, care for	*ngarra-li*	look/see	~10 on tapes
garra-garra-aba-y	cut (it) all up	*garra-li*	cut	AD5056 467: expect *garra-l-aaba-y* as 'cut all'
yana-yana-y	walk ?around	*yana-y*	walk	1 ex: Tindale: (981)
buma-buma-i	fight (Recip)	*buma-li*	hit	WurmYR: 52, 56
?ngarri-ngarri-y	(many men) sit	*ngarri-y*	sit	WurmGR: 18
Tape 5131: forms seem to be suggested by Williams				
warra-warra-y	almost stand	*warra-y*	stand	2 ex: 5131 2830
bara-bara-y	almost fly?	*bara-y*	fly	1 ex: 5131 2856
bana-banaga-y	sort of run	*banaga-y*	run	not on tapes
yu-yu-gi	sort of cry	*yu-gi*	cry	5131 2042

The semantics of YG verbal reduplication are not clear. For *ngarrangarra-li* the effect can be considered as both durative aspect and decrease in intensity. *Bumabuma-li* also seems to have durative aspect and *ngarringarri-y* plurality.

(980)   The kids will be good as long as I am watching them.   JM/AD 3220B 3612

   *giirr nhama gaba / birralii-gal   / maayu-ndaay **ngarrangarra-lda-ndaay***

   true 3.DEF good / child-PL.DIM / well-2PL   look.REDP-CTS-SUB

   Those kids will be good while you are watching them.   JG

In (981) Tindale's English gives little indication of the effect of reduplication.

(981)   *ʹmaruwaʹðai   ʹjenejene jeʹle*   Tindale/Doolan line 24

   *marra = wadhaay **yanayana-y.la-y***

   there = MIGHT   walk.REDP-CTS-FUT

   out here (like this) they walk   (Doolan)

   Out there (my kids) are just strolling around.   JG

14.3   Nominal Reduplication

Reduplication of nouns can result in nouns or adjectives. When the result is a noun Dixon points out it can indicate: 'plurality' (1980: 267; 2002: 77); 'unreality/pretend' or 'diminutive' (1980: 326). Fabricius (1998: 14) states: 'In the case of nominals, reduplication may express plurality or various kinds of collectivity'. The productivity of reduplication for forming plurals is often limited; sometimes to humans, sometimes to a limited subgroup such as children, old people and widows – often notably omitting 'core' human categories such as 'person', 'woman' or 'man'.

Fabricius (1998: 77) points out another effect of noun reduplication:

> One very common noun reduplication function derives adjectives, specifically, an adjective referring to a quality on the basis of the reduplicating noun referring to the entity which is notable for that quality. This type of derivation occurs most commonly, but not exclusively, in the derivation of colour terminology,' (and terms for other visual qualities e.g. 'translucence, transparency, brightness, multi-colouredness, spotted'.

The most common example is 'red' < 'blood'; also common is 'green' < '(green) plant'. Common non-colour reduplications are 'skinny' < 'bone', 'hot' < 'fire' and 'rough; full of holes (e.g. of a road)' < 'hole'.

Reduplicated nouns can also have idiosyncratic meanings, such as Bandjalang *balunybaluuny* 'cumulus cloud' < *baluny* 'kidney' (Fabricius, 1998: 74).

Fabricius (1998: 82) notes that the most common function of adjectival reduplication is intensification, and another is de-intensification, both effects also listed by Dixon (1980: 326). A rare effect is 'quality' to 'object'. It is also used for plurality. Commonly the effect is 'quality' to 'multiple instances of' e.g. 'big' to 'big ones'.

> Donaldson (1980: 72) gives a long list of WN adjectives which, when reduplicated, add the qualifier 'more or less'. *Magumaguu* is 'around one' < *maguu* 'one'; *bulabulagarr* 'a couple or so' < *bulaarr* 'two'; *gulbigulbirr* 'more or less than a few' < *gulbirr* 'few'; *bunggubunggu* 'more or less than many' < *bunggu* 'much, many, a lot'; *magamagaaN-* 'various, heterogeneous, of all sorts' < *magaN-* 'other, different'. A similar WN

reduplication of a noun has an idiosyncratic effect: *dhanadhanaN-* 'pimple' < *dhanaN-* 'sebaceous cyst'.

14.3.1 YG nominal reduplication

Fabricius (1998: 20) talks of 'systematic structural difference between nominal and verbal reduplication in Australian languages' and this fits with what is found in YG. There are a number of nominal reduplication patterns in YG. The most common is full reduplication of a disyllabic word, sometimes with phonological adaptations. Examples are seen in Table 184. The reduplicated word is generally an adjective which describes a property of the noun. *Buunhubuunhu* and *girraan.girraa* are exceptions and *mamalmamal* and *bulilbulil* may actually be derived from the verbs. *Gawaarrawaarr* is a reduplication with phonological adaptation at the boundary, as presumably are *bin.gawin.gal* (no base recorded) and *girraan.girraa*.

Table 184   **Reduplication of nouns: full reduplication**

Reduplication	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Source/comments
guwayguway	red	*guway*	blood	MathewsGR: 278
barranbarran	new (moon) so narrow, curved: cf. *gilay* 'moon'	*barran*	boomerang	*burranburrangille*: Mathews MS 8006/3/9 book 3 p19
mulamula	soft	*mula*	a boil	
wayawaya	crooked	*waya*	left hand	
dhurrundhurrun	hairy, furry	*dhurrun*	fur	
baganbagan	all stripes (e.g. butcher's apron)	*bagan*	stripe	
buunhubuunhu	long grass	*buunhu*	grass	
Derivation from verb?				
mamalmamal	sticky	*mamal* *mama-li*	friend stick (verb)	
bulilbulil	slippery	*bulil* *buli-y*	? slip	
With phonological adaptation				
gawaarrawaarr	green	*garaarr*	grass	
bin.gawin.gal	needle bush			
girraan.girraa	leaves	*girraa* (rare word)	one leaf	

An uncommon nominal reduplication process involves copying to the right with lengthening of the second syllable. This is the only pattern used to forms plurals of nouns, albeit only in *miyaymiyaay* and *birraybirraay*: see Table 185. The use of

barranbarraan as 'centipede' may be an extension of a plural meaning, 'many boomerangs' (see *barranbarran* in Table 184).

> Hercus (p.c.) points out that Mathi languages have *painggu* 'child' and *paimpainggu* 'children' (formed by reduplication). This is the only Mathi plural formed by this process. The process has other semantic effects, as seen later in Table 185.

Table 185   **Noun reduplication: copy right, lengthen second syllable**

Reduplicated word	Gloss	Base / Note	Source
miyaymiyaay	little girl	*miyay* 'girl' 'girl <11 y.o.'	AD3218A 240 AD3217A 1174
	young girls		JS3216A 1891
	Mallee Willow (tree)		AD5051 1720
	'girls', 'Seven Sisters' (stars)		Sim (1998: 1)
miyaymiyaay-djuul	girl	*-djuul* 'dim'	AD3219A 1980
miyaymiyaay-lu	little girl	*-lu:* function unknown	AD3218B 2051
miyaymiyaay-galgaa	girls	*-galgaa* 'pl'	AD8186 3589
birraybirraay	no translation	*birray* 'boy <11 y.o.'	AD3218A 360
	'boys', 'Orion's belt' (the stars)		Sim (1998: 1)
barranbarraan	centipede	*?barran*; perhaps 'many little boomerangs'	
dhurradhurraa	'untidy', 'confused', 'thrown about', 'all over the place'	*?dhurra-li* 'come' *meaning of* dhurra *not clear*	
gunagunaa	brown (?yellow)	*guna* 'faeces'	

There are few attested YG reduplications of adjectives: see Table 186.

Table 186   **Reduplication of adjectives**

Reduplication	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Effect
gayn.gayn	calmed; Native lime (tree)	*gayn*	smooth, a rake	
balabalaa	butterfly <? whitish	*balaa*	white	'sort of'
giyalgiyal	itchy	*giyal*	afraid	
madhanmadhan	weighty, too heavy	*madhan[baa]*	heavy	intensify
yiiliyiili	peppery, hot tasting	*yii-li* *yiilay/yiili*	bite savage	

These mainly involve full reduplication and have different semantic effects, but the initial product seems to be another adjective. As with reduplicated nouns this adjective

can be reinterpreted as a noun, generally a name: *balabalaa* 'butterfly' is presumably from *balabalaa* 'whitish'. A common species of butterfly in the area is predominantly white.

As well as the presumed de-intensification of 'whitish' and *giyalgiyal* 'itchy' there is intensification with *madhanmadhan*, and perhaps *yiiliyiili*.

14.3.2   Reduplication of indefinites

In YG the only well attested examples of reduplication of indefinites (§14.3.2) derives the universal *minyaminyagaa* 'all, everything' from *minyagaa* 'something'. *Minyaminyagaa* occurs some 15 times on the tapes and there are closely related forms in early sources: Table 187. The examples do not allow one to distinguish two potential morphological processes: full reduplication of the first two syllables, or reduplication with only the first CV of the second syllable.

Table 187   **Reduplication of indefinites**

Reduplication	Gloss	Base	Gloss	Effect/Source
minyaminyagaa	everything	*minya-gaa*	something	
minnaminnabūl [*minyaminyabuul*]	all things whatever	*?minyabuul*	?	Ridley: 6
minyaminya-m-bul	?all	*?minyabul*	?	AD8187 1433
minyaminya-ma-gaa	everything	*?minyamagaa*	?something	AD8186 1727

WN has a much more extensive record of reduplication of similar words, indicating that this part of YG may have been poorly recorded. Donaldson (1980: 270) states: 'Indeterminates can be reduplicated in exactly the same way as words of other classes subject to reduplication', and some of the many possible Wangaaybuwan reduplications are given in Table 188. These divide into 3 categories. Most are interrogatives with an obligatory IGNORative suffix (adds the meaning 'I don't know' and forming 'some' words like 'someone', 'something'). One is a interrogative with the EXCLAMatory suffix (used in questions: 'Who? What?'). Other suffixes, such as a Locative, can precede the IGNORative/EXCLAMatory suffix. As well the table contains a reduplicated demonstrative: *ngadhingadhi-y* 'thereabouts' is from *ngadhi* 'there-ABL'. Donaldson (1980: 274) points out it is the one counter-example she found to her earlier statement that, among the closed word classes, only indeterminates are subject or reduplication. The three word (sub-)classes reduplicated in WN correspond to questions, indefinites and demonstratives in YG.

Table 188   **Wangaaybuwan reduplication of indeterminates**

Reduplicated indeterminates - Ignorative		
Reduplicated form	**Gloss**	**Analysis**
widjuwidju-gaa	(tied hair up) anyhow	redup.how-IGNOR
ngaandingaandi-gaa	everyone, all and sundry	redup.who-IGNOR
minyaminya-la-gaa	(work) at lots of things	redup.what-LOC-IGNOR
minyaminya-gaa	(taking) a little bit of everything	redup.what-IGNOR
widjuwidju-gaa	(tied hair up) anyhow	redup.how-IGNOR
Reduplicated indeterminates - Exclamatory		
ngaandingaandi-waa	Who? (expects plural answer)	redup.who-EXCLAM
Reduplicated demonstrative (one instance only)		
ngadhingadhi-y	(came) from all around	redup.there + CIRC(ABL)

14.4   Questions about reduplication

There are a number of examples of (potential) reduplications which are currently unexplained. (982) may involve a partial reduplication of *ngaandi* 'who' or *ngaandigaa* 'someone' with a dual meaning.

(982)   The people said: Who are you two? JM/AD 3219B 627

  ngaandi / **ngaa.ngaandi-ga** / *ngindaali* / *ngaandi*=*bala nginda*

  who   / redp.who-ga?   / 2DU   / who = CTR   2SG

AD8186 3589 has 'girls.NOM' as *miyaymiyaay-galgaa*. This could be double marking of plurality, with the detailed semantics unknown. It could be using *miyaymiyaay* as 'little girl', but that raises the question of how to decide the meaning of the reduplicated form.

warrawarra 'standing up' is presumably form *warra-y* 'stand, intr', but the nominalisation process which produces *warra*, the base, is not understood.

Sim (1998: 31) has: *yaluyalu* 'same', 'the same', 'equivalent', 'a copy of', 'duplicated' from *yalu* 'again' (probably *yaluyaluu* and *yaluu* in current orthography).

There are two examples of possible reduplicated demonstrative bases. AD5050 1196 has: 'you listening everywhere; *bina ngarrangarra*'. *Bina* is 'ear', *ngarrangarra* is likely from *ngarra* 'there', but possibly from *ngarra-li* 'see'.

Laves (MS2188-9-12p084) notes the reduplication in *ŋari ŋari biuga* – 'thither ??? long way'?, Like much in Laves there is considerable uncertainty, but this could be *ngaarri* 'far' reduplicated, and biyuu-ga 'far-LOC'.

15 Particles

Particles are non-inflecting words or clitics. Free forms are often in topic position and clitics are generally in the Initial Intonation Phrase (IIP: §10.2.2.1). Common particles include negatives, some interrogatives and some time words. Discourse particles are also common. Some particles are transparently or probably historically inflected forms, but now have restricted meaning. Other word forms have the same function as particles - for instance time information can be conveyed by particles, inflected nouns, and verb inflections.

Some particles considered in this chapter can be grouped into categories, but others not. Many of the particles have to do with the truth of statements, broadly understood. Speakers may affirm, negate or have doubts about a statement. Others have discourse use, for instance linking clauses or showing deference to the hearer. There are also time particles.

For convenience *-ban.gaan/-wan.gaan* 'very' and *-Buu* 'Total2' are discussed in this chapter, even though they are not particles but modify the words to which they are attached.

15.1 Positives

The speaker can convey many attitudes to the truth of a statement. Negatives indicate the speaker does not believe the statement to be true. The assumption is the statements with no 'truth indicator' are true, but speakers can assert the truth of a statement or varying degrees of certainty. They can also express the evidence they have for making a statement. In this section a range of positive particles, listed in Table 189, and evidentials are discussed. Many of these can occur as one word statements, referring to previous parts of the discussion and some can be used as 'fillers'.

15.1.1   Positive particles

Table 189   **YG positive particles**

YR	GR	Gloss	Notes
ngaa	*ngaa*	yes	common
yawu (one token)	*yawu*	yes	common in GR
ngaayaybaay		all right, all right then	common
ngaayay	*ngaayay*	all right/I see	rare
ngaawawu		all right	Yy only?
ngaay/ngaygilaa/ngii		yes	rare

15.1.1.1   *ngaa/yawu* 'yes'

ngaa 'yes' is common in YR. The only GR source is Milson. It is typically used to answer a question. Variants or derivations discussed below. When *ngaa* is used to answer yes/no questions, as in (983), it is often followed by a more explicit sentence which often begins with the modal particles *giirr* or *giirruu*.

(983)   Can you cook an emu?   JM/FR 1853B 1134

Ngaa means yes; **ngaa, giirr** *ngaya yilama-y burrulaa*

ngaa   means yes; yes,   true 1SG   cook-PST much

Yes, I cooked a lot.   FR

A second use of *ngaa* is as a 'filler' at the start of a sentence. This use is only found in AD, e.g. (984), (985)(c). In (985)(c) he is perhaps using 'yea' and *ngaa* as an introduction to a summing up. With filler use *ngaa* is followed by many other words apart from *giirr*: e.g. *ngaya* (a pronoun in topic position) in (984), *waaluu* 'before' at 8185 2757, *ngiyama* 'there' at 3219B 570.

(984)   I stayed behind to catch possums (and my wife disappeared)   JM/AD 3219B 3334

ngaa, *ngaya=bala, ngiyarrma wila-nhi / mudhay ngaya bayama-li.gu*

yes, 1SG=CTR,   there   sit-PST / possum 1SG   catch-PURP

Yeah, I sat down there, to catch possums/for me to catch possums.   JG

(985)   In the story of bigibila (echidna) the nephews tell the meat ants that uncle (echidna) will not
        share the emu he took from them.   AD/CW 5129A 1434

(a)   *waal nguu   minya.gaa ngay   / wuu-dha-nhi*

not   3SG.ERG anything   1SG.DAT / give-EAT-PST

He wouldn't give me anything.   JG

(b)   *waal ngay   gana wuu-nhi, waal ngay   gii   wuu-nhi*

not   1SG.DAT liver give-PST, not   1SG.DAT heart give-PST

ngaayaybaay, so they, all them meat ant fellows come there with a spear,   AD

He didn't give me the liver, he didn't give me the heart.   JG

(c)   *yea, ngaa, ngaama-dhaay=nga? ganunga / buurrngan / yanaa-nhi*
      yea, yes,   there-TO.HERE=THEN 3PL   / meat.ant / go-PST
      Yeah, ngaa, then the meat ants went there.   JG

GR 'yes' is *yawu*[237] except for *ngaa* in Milson. As with *ngaa*, it is sometimes followed by an affirmative sentence, as in (986).

(986) *joṉ, giːð ŋaia bilaːḏ gawaːn ŋinunda*   SW p 41
       yawu, giirr ngaya bilaarr gaa-waa-nha   nginunda
       yes,   true 1SG   spear   bring-MOV-PRS 2SG.LOC
       Yes, I am bringing the spear to you.   SW

Ridley (p 36) has: "'yo' is used as a **verb** (my emphasis) of affirmation: thus '*ŋaia yo*' (I yes) (*ngaya yawu*) means I assert it to be so'. There is no other evidence to support this use, but neither is there a reason not to use this idiomatic structure.

15.1.1.2   Forms probably derived from *ngaa* 'yes'

There are a number of YR forms probably derived from *ngaa*, with *ngaayaybaay* the most common.[238] *Ngaayaybaay* has a number of uses. In conversation it can signal agreement to a request as in (987), (988) and various stories, where it is used to signal agreement to go swimming, to kill children or to cut off wings. In conversation it can also signal that a statement has been understood or accepted: (989) (990). It occurs narratives: (991) (992), where its use is more difficult to specify, but may have elements of earlier uses, as well as being a narrative device to indicate that, for instance, some consequences are now inevitable. In 2832B 2287 (about the stars coming out) and 2832B 2525 (the story of the getting of fire) it seems AD uses *ngaayaybaay* between YR and English sections of his narrative in passages where he is struggling with the language. He may be using it as a filler, or to signal the beginning of translation.

The variant *ngaayay* has been found twice, in 5056 75 and in Tindale (line 36) *ŋa jei!* (*ngaayay*) 'I see' - the only GR example. On the evidence available *ngaayay* has the same uses as *ngaayaybaay*.

(987) We'll give it [bad meat] to the dog after all.   JM/AD 2833B 253
       ngaa / ngaayaybaay / maadhaay-gu nhama ngiyani wuu-rri
       yes   / all.right   / dog-DAT   3.DEF 1PL.ERG give-FUT
       Yeah, all right, we'll give it to the dog.   JG

(988) Yes; you want to say you will do something, yes.   CW/AD 3994B 2010
       ngaayaybaay; ngaayaybaay means 'all right then'.   AD

(989) records part of an AD/FR conversation.

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[237] Ridley writes it *yo*, MathewsGR *yo*, Laves *yo*, *yu* and *ya*; and WurmGR *joṉ*.
[238] It is found over 30 times in the AD tapes and once in Wurm.

(989)   AD: Where are you going from here?   AD/FR/CW 5129A 2395

       FR *baarrangiil / baarrangiil ngaya yanaa-waa-nha* // AD **ngaayaybaay**

       FR location,   / location   1SG   go-MOV-PRS   // AD OK

       FR: Baarrangiil. I'm going to Baarrangiil. (note no Allative: JG) AD: OK.   JG

(990)   No, I won't tell you the secret.   JM/AD 3217A 135

       ngaayaybaay // *waal nginda nganunda guwaa-li*

       OK   // not 2SG   1SG.LOC tell-FUT

       All right then; you won't tell me.   AD

(991)   AD is telling the story of Wiidhaa 'Bowerbird'.   AD/JM 5056 233

       Maliyan (Wedgetail eagle): 'Who's singing out, a lot of people singing out.'

       Narrator: It was the bower bird himself, and,

       ngaayaybaay / *giirr nguu   guwinbarraa-nhi*

       OK   / true 3SG.ERG approach-PST

       He's getting closer to this bird.   AD

(992)   In the Gilaa-Wuulaa story Wuulaa is going to throw his boomerang,   AD/CW 3997A 91

       and AD has him saying to Gilaa 'my boomerang will hit you'.

       aa, wana-waa-ya＝badhaay,   wana-waa-ya,

       aa, leave?-MOV-IMP＝MIGHT, move??–-MOV-IMP＝MIGHT

       aa, ?leave please, leave?   JG

       Then AD continues: No good, he (Gilaa) wouldn't get out of the road; **ngaayaybaay**; anyhow

       this Wuulaa chucked his boomerang.   AD

Ngaawawu is common in YR[239] and could consist of *ngaa* and a reflex of *yawu*. Glosses include: Sim: 'all right'; FR1850A 57: 'that's right, something like that'; AD2833B 1662: 'yes'. There is nothing at this stage to distinguish its meaning from *ngaayaybaay*.

Rarely found forms include *ngaay*, *ngaygilaa*, and *ngii*, the first two likely related to *ngaa* and *ngaayaybaay*. At 5129A 1386 AD begins a statement with '*ngaa, ngaay*', The *ngaay* be an error of some sort, or another way of producing a relatively common particle. Sim (p 41) has *ngaygilaa* 'yes' and in the appendix has *ngii* 'yes, that's OK'. Neither of these have been found in other sources[240].

15.1.2   Truth/evidence particles

These particles indicate the degree to which the speaker asserts the accuracy of a statement, and may indicate the source of evidence for the statement.

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[239] It is also found in Wayilwan: David Brown (1986B 219) and Ted Murphy (2832A 1354) have it as 'all right'.

[240] A related form is found in Wangaaybuwan. Mathews' *ngarbu* 'yes', probably *ngaa＝bu* (*-bu* 'TOTal'), quite likely has a stronger, unrecorded, meaning than *ngaa* 'yes' so it is quite possible YG has a cognate, *ngaabuu* 'absolutely'. Perhaps *ngaawawu*, which may be formally related to *ngaabuu* has this meaning, but the sources do not suggest so.

15.1.2.1 *giirr* 'true' and derived forms

Giirr[241], glossed 'true', and the emphatic form *giirruu*[242] (which includes *-Buu* 'TOTal'), glossed 'true.very', have three uses. Most commonly they are clause initial particles, for which the current best description is 'the speaker has personal evidence[243] for this assertion'. They can also be used as nominals, translated 'truth'. Thirdly they form compounds and phrases such as *giirr = yaa* and *giirr maayu*, which need not be compositional in their meaning.

Giirr and *giirruu* are mostly used with past tense verbs, as Ridley (p 8) points out.

> '*gīr*. 'verily': an adverb of emphatic affirmation, [which] is frequently used with the past indicative".

Table 190 shows Ridley's (p 8) evidence for the effect of *giirr* - an assertion that the statement is true, often by use of 'did'. Table 191 contrast translations of *giirr* and *giirruu*.

Table 190   **Effects of *giirr* in Ridley**

Original	Analysis	gloss	Original	gloss
without *giirr*			with *giirr*	
goë	*guwaay*	spoke	*gīr goë*	did speak
wīnuŋi	*winangay*	heard	*gīr wīnuŋi*	yes, I understand
wīmi	*wiimay*	put	*wīmi* and *gīr wīmi*	did put

Table 191   **Some translations of *giirr* and *giirruu***

giirr	*giirruu*	Source
yes, indeed, verily, T'is true!	truth	Ridley: 14
	true or certain	MathewsGR
yes	in earnest; to be sure	Milson:8, 11
yes	really, real, really I will	FR: 1848A 1547; 1853B 978
really	really	AD: 3994A 2560

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[241] *Giirr* is very common in all sources except Mathews, for instance occurring over 2000 times in the tapes.

[242] Ridley also has *giraol* as an alternative to *gīr*. The form is uncertain, but possibly *giirruul*, perhaps a mishearing or variant of *giirruu*. Milson (p 5) has *geerole* 'yes', suggesting further similar variants.

[243] Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 275, 276) has two 'evidentials'. The suffix *-garra* indicates 'that the speaker has (unspecified) sensory evidence for what he has to say.' '*-DHan* indicates that the speaker has spoken, or by extension written, evidence for what he has to say.' *-garra* is similar, but not identical, in meaning to *giirr* and noYG equivalent of *-DHan* has been found.

The relatively uncommon use with future tense seems to assert the speaker's commitment to an action, or that the speaker is making a statement on the basis of experience.

With clausal use *giirr* is generally not translated, but *giirruu* often is. Both can be used as short statements of affirmation when the ellipsed sentence is known, e.g. Laves' 'really' in (993).

(993) I'm very hungry. I'm very hungry – really.   Laves YR MS2188-9-12p037
      *yuɔl ŋindi dyo ginji. yuɔl ŋindi dyo ginji **girɔ·***
      *yuulngindi=dju gi-nyi;   yuulngindi=dju gi-nyi // **giirruu***
      hungry=1SG   get-PST; hungry=1SG   get-PST // true.very
      I am hungry. I am hungry, too right.   JG

In (994) AD gives an analysis of *giirr*. It shows the most common occurrence, with past tense, the speaker involved and *ngaya* as the second word. (995) is an early example.

(994) I shook (stole) it yesterday.   CW/AD 3994B 1494
      giirr** ngaya, manuma-y // **giirr** means **yes, I done it.
      true 1SG   steal-PST   //
      I stole it.   JG

(995) Belonging to me.   Milson p 5
      Geer Gooyougnung
      ***giirr** guyungan*
      true own⁄self
      Definitely mine.   JG

The next two sentences are from different versions of the Emu and Bustard/Brolga story. In (996) the Brolga reports that she had killed most of her children. *Giirr* occurs twice, firstly following *ngaa* 'yes'. Tindale's punctuation indicates that the first *giirr* is an independent word, not part of the clause, but this may not reflect the actual use. The sentence final *giirr* is clearly a one word clause.

(996) *'ŋaː, 'kiː r, boma'labekeir* (Brolga speaking)   Tindale/Doolan l 21
      ah, yes I killed them   Doolan
      *ngaa, **giirr**, buma-l.aaba-y, **giirr***
      yes   true, kill-TOT-PST,   true
      "Oh yes, we killed them, too right."   Austin

In (997) the Bustard has hidden her wings, and told the Emu that cutting her wings off is a good idea. The *giirr* in the Emu's reply indicates her firm belief that the Bustard has wings.

(997)   But you have wings, said Dinewan [Emu].   Parker l 22

    *Dinewandoo gooway "**Gheerh** ninderh boonoong bayyi".*

    dhinawan-du guwaa-y: **Giirr** *nginda bungun-biyaay*

    emu-ERG   say-PST: true 2SG   wing-COM

    The emu said: 'you do have wings'.   JG

(998) and (999) are consecutive sentences in Wurm. *Giirr* is used with past tense in (998), but not with the future in (999). However in (1000) AD is sufficiently confident of the different effects of eating rotten meat that he uses *giirr* and *giirruu* with future tense verbs. The subjects there are third person, which is less common than first person with *giirr*.

(998)   The dog has run away.   SW p 38

    gi:ð *nama buŕuma banaganj*

    giirr *nhama buruma banaga-nhi*

    true 3.DEF dog   run-PST

(999)   The dog is just about to run away.   SW p 38

    buŕuma nama banag^wa:n

    buruma nhama banaga-waa-nha

    dog   3.DEF run-MOV-PRS

(1000) The stinking meat wouldn't make the dog sick.   JM/AD 2833B 287

(a)   *yaluu wana maadhaay-u dha-li,   waal nhama-nha, balu-dha-y /*

      again let   dog-ERG   eat-FUT, not   3.DEF=3, die-EAT-FUT /

      Let the dog eat it again. It won't die from (eating) it.   JG

(b)   **giirr** *nguuma bamba   ngaama / nhuwi / dhinggaa dha-li*

      true 3ERG.DEF with.energy that   / stinking / meat   eat-FUT

      He'll eat that stinking meat, it won't hurt him.   AD

      It will gobble down that stinking meat.   JG

      But the stinking meat would make the children sick.   JM

(c)   *nhuwi   nhama dhinggaa / gi-ngindaay*

      stinking 3.DEF meat   / be-SUB

      If the meat is rotten those kids will (really) get a gut ache.   JG

(d)   **giirruu**   *??ngaama / gagil birralii-gal gi-gi / mubal*

      true.very that   / bad   child-PL.DIM be-FUT / stomach

      those kids will (really) get a gut ache.   JG

Giirr is rarely not in first position. (1002) shows two very similar, sequential, sentences in Wurm. It is not clear if (b) is a correction of (a), with *giirr* in first position, or if it has a slightly different meaning. (a) may also include a left-dislocation, *mudhay nhama*, so that *giirr* is still effectively sentence initial. The form of the verb is uncertain.

(1001) *muḍei nama* **gi:ṛ** ˈ*gûɛ̀:nj* **gi:ṛ** *guɛ:nj nama muḍei*   SW p 24

(a)   *mudhay nhama* **giirr** *guway-nyi??*

        possum 3.DEF   true cook-PST

(b)   **giirr** *guwaynyi?? nhama mudhay*

        true cook-PST   that   possum

        This possum is already cooked.   SW

Giirr contrasts with *gamil*. Ridley (p 15) contrasts two answers to 'did you see me?': the first, with *giirr*, is glossed 'verily I saw you' and the second, with *gamil*, is glossed 'not I you saw'. *Giirr* is similarly contrasted with *gamil* many times in *Gurre Kamilaroi.*

15.1.2.2   *giirruu* 'true.very'

Giirruu is less common than *giirr*[244] and is generally used for stronger assertions, as in (1002). At other times the reasons for the choice of *giirruu* are less clear, as in (1003). (1002) shows nearly identical sentences, only one of which has *giirruu*. This indicates that these particles are not obligatory.

(1002) Are you frightened of the snake?   CW/AD 3994A 1717

        giirruu   *ngaya garigari nhama / ngandabaa-dhi*

        true.very 1SG   afraid   3.DEF / snake-ABL

        CW [that means:] 'I am frightened of the snake'. AD yeah;

AD   *garigari ngaya ngandabaa-dhi*

        afraid   1SG   snake-ABL

        I am frightened of the snake.   JG

(1003) I threw the piece of meat away.   CW/AD 3997A 1369

        giirruu   *ngaama ngaya, dhinggaa wana-nhi*

        true.very that   1SG,   meat   throw-PST

Nominal use of *giirr* and *giirruu* is rare. Ridley (p 14) has '*gīrū* 'truth' is evidently from *gīr* 'yes, indeed'', indicating it is a nominal. *Giirruu* may be used with that meaning in (1004) and (1005)[245].

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[244] Wurm has over 80 *giirr*, but only one *giirruu*, the tapes 2000+ *giirr* and around 350 *giirruu*. Again the most common pattern is sentence initial *giirruu ngaya*, found over 50 times.

[245] The case frame of *guwaa-li* is complex: see also footnote 201. It always has an explicit object. 'Talk' is phrasal, *gaay guwaali* 'word tell', and the addressee is in Locative case. The addressee in (1004) is Accusative, so it is unlikely *giirruu* is an Accusative nominal there. However *giirruu* is the only possible object in (1005), so is a nominal there. (199) 'he is telling you a lie.' has the same structure as (1005) with *wagi* 'lie' replacing *giirruu*.

(1004) Now you see my words are true.   Parker l 77

geeroo *nayr ninnunnerh gooway.*

giirruu   ngaya nginunha guwaa-y

true.very 1SG   2SG.ACC tell-PST

I told you the truth./I spoke truthfully to you.   JG

(1005) He's telling me the truth.   JM/FR 1850B 3073

giirruu,   giirruu *nguu   guwaa-lda-nha;* **giirruu**   *- true;*

true.very, truth   3SG.ERG tell-CTS-PRS;   true.very – true;

giirruu   *nhama nguu   guwaa-lda-nha; giirruu*

true.very 3.DEF 3SG.ERG tell-CTS-PRS;   true.very

He's telling the truth.   FR

Clitics on *giirr, giirruu*

There are many examples of cliticised *giirr* and *giirruu*. *Giirr* = *nga* 'true = now' is common and translations include 'now' in (1006) and 'already' ('It is already dark' SW p 102). *Giirr* = *NHa* 'true = 3', realised as *giirrna*, is also common.

(1006) **giirr=nga** *ngaya / yuuliyaay gi-nyi*

true = NOW 1SG   / food.COM be-PST

I'm full now.   FR/JM 1850B 49

(1007) is unusual in two ways. It has *giirr* beginning a question and the only example found of *giirr* = *nda,* which includes a very uncommon three consonant cluster.

(1007) They ask: Are you cooking the emu?   JM/FR 2435B 3254

giirr=nda *yilama-laa-nha dhinawan?*

true = 2SG cook-MOV-PRS emu

That's the word you want: Are you cooking the emu?   FR

15.1.2.3   Phrases and compounds with *giirr, giirruu*

There are a number of phrases attested which are complete statements and include *giirr* or *giirruu*. Milson's *ya_geer* (*yaa giirr*) 'did you get it' (p 5) and 'is it ready' (p 9) includes *yaa* 'QUEStion2' §6.1.1. *Ya_geer* seems to introduce a further meaning for *giirr*: something like 'ready'.

The compound *giirr* = *yaa* combines *giirr*, which asserts certainty, with = *yaa*, §15.2.1 which asserts uncertainty, so the meaning is not compositional. There are around 12 instances of *giirr* = *yaa* on the tapes. A common translation is 'might', as in (1008). See also (1012) ('where is your father? he might have some meat?'); 2436A 2291 ('there might be a possum in the tree') and 3995A 54 ('he might have died'). In JM/AD 8187 298 there no explicit translation of *giirr* = *yaa*, but 'must have' fits, and

this translation is found in 3220A 2826. There may be an degree of semantic bleaching of *giirr* here, with it serving partly as a base for the clitic *=yaa*.

(1008) **Giirr=yaa** *ngaya=laa gaba gi-gi*
     true=POT 1SG=DIR good be-FUT
     I might get better (tomorrow).   FR/JM 2438B 2648

Geermurroo (*giirr maaru: maaru*[246] 'well') is found in Milson (p 5) as 'well done' and (p 9) 'that is right'. FR uses the Yuwaalaraay cognate *giirr maayu* a number of times, often as a complete expression, including: 'that's real good'. (1987B 692); 'that's right' (2440A 1453, said by a husband pleased with the way his wife had done something.); untranslated (2440A 1697, on finding a nest with many emu eggs.); and 'good job' in (1009). The words are also found as part of sentence 'he made him well/cured him' (AD 8186 2684).

(1009) **giirr maayu** *ngaya guwaa-y*
     true well 1SG say-PST
     I said: 'good job'.   FR/JM 2440A 861

Another example of phrasal use is *giirr nhama* as 'it's really, it's there' AD2833B 2504. The compound form *giirr=nga* (*=nga* 'now') is also used as a one word statement, 'that will do' (Laves YR MS2188-9-12p075).

15.2 Other knowledge particles

The particles *-Waa* 'indefinite' and *-Waayaa* 'ignorative' are discussed at §6.5.

15.2.1 *=yaa* 'POTential'

The clitic *=yaa* 'POTential' is formally invariant, with rare exceptions when it may be realised as *=aa* after y[247]. It is presumably historically related to *yaa* 'question' in the previous section, being formally and semantically similar. It can be attached to any clause initial word, and second position words, especially pronouns[248]. Its basic function seems to be to express varying degrees of uncertainty about the truth of the clause. 0 is one of the rare occurrences of *=yaa* in early sources. It is very common in Wurm and in the tapes.

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[246] Wangaaybuwan has *mandanggul* 'good job' and *baambada* 'bad job' [cf. *giirr maayu*], so YG should consider a phrase for 'bad job'. Perhaps *giirr gagil* would suit.

[247] cf. *dhii-badhaay-aa* 'must be tea' 2833B 1930.

[248] *giirr ngawulay=aa=nda* 'true here=POT=2SG' (5131 2650) has the clitic on another second position word.

It is most commonly translated 'might' (1011), (1012) and 'must' (1012). Other translations include 'may' 0; 'ought', 'I think' (1013); I want' (Wurm p 90). *=yaa* is common with negatives: (1013) 'don't think that'; 'mightn't'.

The clitic is often not translated in the English: (1014). In such sentences there may still be some uncertainty about the truth of the statement. Similarly 3217A 3697 has a translation of 'they made a smoke signal **so them** other people can see it'. The second clause begins with *ngiyarrma = yaa* 'there = POT', perhaps because there is no guarantee that the people will see the smoke. However there are also instances of *=yaa* when there seems to be no uncertainty, such as (1015)[249] and 3217A 1221 'the kangaroos come for water; they're drinking water': the second clause begins with *nhama = yaa* '3.DEF = POT'.

=yaa is used to translate 'either .. or', and is cliticised to both[250] alternatives in (1016).

(1010) *Murru ngaia ya gingê*   MathewsGR p 263
      *marra ngaya = **yaa** gi-nyi*
      good   1SG = POT   be-PST
      Good I **may** become.   Mathews

(1011) You are giving a stone to someone; 'Take this stone.'   JM/AD 3218A 2723
      *nhalay = badhaay maayama gaa-nga / minyaarru.**waa** / nginda = **yaa** maayama-nginda*
      this = MIGHT   stone   take-IMP / somewhere   / you = POT   stone-WANT
      You take this stone, you **might** want it.   AD
      Take this stone somewhere. You might want the stone.   JG

(1012) Where is your father? He **must** have some meat.   JM/AD 3218A 1682
      *minyaaya-ma   nginu   / buwadjarr gi-nyi / giirr = **yaa** nguungu dhinggaa*
      where.LOC-DEF 2SG.DAT / father   get-PST / true = POT 3SG.DAT meat
      Where is your father? He **might** have some meat?   AD

(1013) My missus (wife) will never come back.   JM/FR 1853A 435
      *waal = **yaa** ngay   guliirr dharrawuluwi-y*
      not = POT   1SG.DAT partner return-FUT
      I don't think my missus will come home.   FR

(1014) *gigimaleja ŋinanna*   SW p 87
      *gigirrma-li = **yaa** nginunha*
      kick-FUT = POT   2SG.ACC
      It will kick thee.   SW

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[249] Although the speaker may be speculating about the cause of the crying.

[250] This pattern can presumably be used when there are more than two alternatives.

(1015) The boy fell over and hurt himself.   CW/AD 5056 2442

　　　giirruu　　nhama=nha / birralii-djuul　bundaa-nhi / nhama=nha=yaa / yu-gi.la-nha

　　　true.very　there=3　　/ child-DIM　　fall-PST　　/ there=3=POT　　/ cry-CTS-PRS

　　　He's crying there.   AD

　　　That one there, the child, fell over and she/he is crying there.   JG

　The clitic signals alternatives.

(1016) Either the kids[251] or the dogs must have taken it.   JM/AD 3220A 3034

　　　nhama=yaa birralii-gal　/ manuma-y / or maadhaay-u=yaa dha-y

　　　3.DEF=POT　child-PL.DIM / steal-PST　　/ or dog-ERG=POT　　eat-PST

15.3　　Other particles

15.3.1　　　*=bala*[252] 'CTR: contrast'

　The meaning of the clitic *=bala*[253] can be summarised as 'contrast'. It's form is unvarying *=bala*. It can indicate a change in topic and is commonly, but not always, used when this happens. The contrast may be with what was expected, what was asked, or with other situations. *=bala* is also used to make comparisons. The clitic almost always attaches to the first grammatical word of the sentence or clause. (1111) is a rare exception. It generally precedes other clitics, but there are exceptions. *=badhaay* always precedes *=bala* and *=laa* and *=nga* sometimes precede and at other times follow. *=bala* is not found in Ridley or Mathews, but is in Parker (Emu and Bustard), Milson, Laves, and all modern sources.

　=bala occurs on a range of word classes. Some of these, such as negatives, *giirr* 'true' and interrogatives are obligatorily first in the sentence or clause word. Of the over 900 occurrences of *=bala* in the tapes, over 100 are as *waal=bala* 'not=Contrast', (1017), (1108), (1117) and slightly fewer as *giirr=bala* 'true=Contrast'. (501), (350). There are many examples of *=bala* elsewhere in the thesis, so relatively few will be given here. (1017) shows *=bala* on a negative in the first clause, and on a Dative pronoun in focus position in the second clause.

(1017) I won't give you any, it's mine.   Sim p 47

　　　*waal=**bala** ngaya nginu　　wuu-rri,　　ngay=**bala**　　nhama*

　　　not=CTR　　1SG　2SG.DAT give-FUT, 1SG.DAT=CTR　3.DEF

Pronouns in focus position are often followed by =*bala*, with over 40 *ngaya*=*bala* on the tapes: (1027), (1057)(b).

Interrogatives are often followed by =*bala*, for instance *minya*=*bala* 'what?' (869); *minya-gu*=*bala* 'what for?' (480); *minyaaya*=*bala* 'where.LOC?' (467); *ngaandi*=*bala* 'who?' (982) and *gulaarr*=*bala* 'how?' (477). However =*bala* is never found on the polar interrogative particle *yaama*.

As with other discourse particles, the factors governing the use of =*bala* are not always obvious. Sim (1998: 39) has 'what's that?' as '*minya nama,* or *minya-bala nama-bala*'. (*minya* 'what', *nhama* 'that'), with presumably a marked double use of =*bala*. The sentence could presumably have a single =*bala*.

The clitic is often used in making comparisons. It can be added to both clauses, to word of the same class (1018), or of different word classes (1019). Or it can be used in just one clause (1020).

(1018) *Gaba-**bala** dhayin, gagil-**bala** yinarr.* Sim p 35
　　　 gaba=**bala** *dhayn, gagil*=**bala** *yinarr*
　　　 good=CTR man,　bad=CTR　woman
　　　 The man is better than the woman. Sim

(1019) Our (2 people) spears are long. JM/FR 2438B 3229
　　　 guyaarr=**bala** *ngay*　　*bilaarr, nginu*=**bala**　　*badjin-duul*
　　　 long=CTR　　1SG.DAT spear,　2SG.DAT=CTR small-ONE
　　　 My spear is long, yours is small. FR

(1020) I'm stronger than you· Sim p 43
　　　 ngaya gugirrii-biyaay, nginda=**bala** *gugirri-dhalibaa*
　　　 1SG　sinews-COM,　2SG=CTR　　sinews-PRIV

The clitic can also be used to encode the degree of a quality. In (853) *baliyaa*=*bala* 'cold=CTR' occurs in 'the water is very cold'.

15.3.2　　　=*badhaay* YR, =*wadhaay* GR 'might'

The occurrence of =*badhaay*[254] in sources is discussed, then its form, its meaning and finally its syntax. I then consider =*badhaay*=*[y]aa.*

The clitic =*badhaay* occurs in a wide range of sources, including MathewsGR and Wurm, relatively frequently in Parker's and Tindale's stories, several hundred times the tapes. It is absent from Ridley, Milson, Laves and Sim.

There is variation in the form of the clitic with =*wadhaay* the only form in GR but =*badhaay* the common form in YR, with =*wadhaay* also found, but rarely, in YR. At

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[254] I generally use only the YR form =*badhaay* for convenience, since it is the most common.

times the initial segment is unclear. Wurm's examples, all YR, are two *baðai* and one *waðai*[255].

A simple meaning or gloss of the clitic has not been found, as common with discourse particles. As with other discourse particles it has a degree of optionality, and the factors governing that choice are not clear[256]. Often the presence of *=badhaay* seems to make no difference to the English translation. At other times it co-occurs with 'want' or 'might' or similar words or phrases. It is commonly found where someone, often the speaker, wants something to happen – and the actuality depends on other factors, often other people. It is also used when something might happen. 'Might' is used as the gloss since it applies to both circumstances. There are other uses which do not seem to fit either of these situations.

The clitic often has a further *=Yaa* "POTential' clitic, with *=badhaay=[y]aa* often translated 'might'.

=badhaay occurs on the first word of the clause and is found commonly on *giirr* 'true' *waal* 'not', verbs, pronouns and nominals, occurring after case marking.

In (1021), with an imperative verb, it is clear that the speaker wants something to happen, but is dependent on the cooperation of the hearer. There is no sign of *=badhaay* in the translation.

(1021) Sit down! LO/AD 2833A 900

    wila-ya=badhaay nguwama

    sit-IMP=MIGHT   there

    You sit down there. AD

    Sit down there. JG

There are numerous other examples of the clitic with imperatives, including (191) and 2833B 165. (394) and (236) show the relatively common situation of an imperative being repeated, the first time with *=badhaay*, and then without. It seems *=badhaay* softens the imperative.

The clitic occurs relatively frequently in the traditional stories of Emu and Bustard/Brolga, including in (1022) where the Emu woman suggests to her husband that they cut off their wings: *=badhaay* here again shows this is a want – somewhere along the line from a command to a request - but dependent on the hearer's agreement.

(1022) *Boonoong butndi nullee gurray wahl Goomble-gubbon doorunmai giggee.* Parker 1 26

    bungun=badhaay ngali   garra-y,   waal Gumbulgaban dhuurrunmay gi-gi

    wing=MIGHT   1DU.ERG cut.M-FUT, not Bustard   chief   be-FUT

    We might/Let's cut our wings, the Gumbulgaban will not be chief. Parker

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[255] Such lenition is common. With this suffix YR is *b*-initial and GR *w*-initial, the reverse of the pattern seen with *-wan.gaan/-ban.gaan*.

[256] It may be that discourse particles are not common in elicited text.

In (893) *Yanaa-waa-y=badhaay ngali*. 'I will go with you' is translated as a definite event, but the *=badhaay* suggests it is more an invitation, and the speaker acknowledges the hearer's option to agree or not.

At times *=badhaay* (and in (1025) *=badhaay=bala*) seems to signal a clearly unfulfilled or unfulfillable want. (1023) shows a refused invitation and in (1103) FR describes finding 10 emu eggs, and wants to take them all, but can't and uses *=badhaay* in saying: 'I won't be able to carry them all'.

(1023) I might ask you: AD/CW 3994B 2429

      yaama nginda maniila-y.nginda
      ques 2SG   hunt-WANT
      You might say no. Oh well, I'll say: AD
      Do you want to go hunting?   JG

      *ngaya=**badhaay** / biyaduul / yanaa-waa-y*
      1SG=MIGHT   / alone   / go-MOV-FUT
      I'll go along myself then.   AD

(1024) shows *=badhaay* translated 'want' with a future tense verb. Without information about the context it is not clear what would frustrate the want. Similar uses of *=badhaay* are found elsewhere, for instance in (448).

(1024) *bumali **baðai** nama ŋaia*   SW p 103
      *buma-li=**badhaay** nhama ngaya*
      hit-FUT=MIGHT   3.DEF 1SG
      I want to kill it.   SW

In (1025) the speakers want fire, so the combination of *=badhaay* and *=bala* 'Contrast' can be interpreted: 'want something else' i.e. 'we want to eat cooked food, but have to eat it raw'.

      In the story of getting fire the two pelicans have fire; the others, who do not, say:
(1025) We all bring home raw goanna, kangaroo, crayfish, and emu.   JM/AD 8185 3739
      *ngiyani-luu=**badhaay**=**bala** dhurrin / dhurrin gaa-g.uwi-y.la-nha / wii-dhalibaa*
      1PL-ERG.EXCL=MIGHT=CTR raw   / raw   bring-BACK-CTS-PRS / fire-PRIV
      We bring back (the food, and it is) raw, raw, since we have no fire.   JG

There are uncommon examples of *=badhaay* not being on the first constituent, for instance (1026), which also illustrates the relatively uncommon use of *=badhaay* with past tense. (1026) is similar to (1025) in describing an unfulfilled want, but does not use *=bala*. The actual form of the clitic is not clear in this example.

(1026) I didn't catch a thing.   CW/AD 5131 1928
      *waal ngaya minya.gaa=**badhaay/wadhaay** bayama-y*
      not 1SG   something=MIGHT   catch-PST
      never caught anything   AD

In (1027) it is not clear if =*badhaay* indicates the speaker's want, but the result does depend on the hearer's action.

(1027) The thin man said, 'you are a nasty, cross old woman and I am going to leave you on your own.

<div align="right">JM/AD 8186 3140</div>

> *giirruu   yinarr gagil / gagil dhayn / nguwalay*=**badhaay** *nginda / wila-la-y*
> true.very woman bad / bad   person / here=MIGHT   2SG   / lie-CTS-FUT
> You are a bad woman, a bad person. You can stay here   JG

> *biyaduul / ngaya*=*bala gi.yaa.nha yanaa-y*
> alone   / 1SG=CTR   going.to go-FUT
> You can stop here on your own and I'm going to go, [and won't come back no more.]   AD
> alone and I will go.   JG

There are situations where I have no clear explanation for the use of =*badhaay*, such as (1028). However the situation is one that the speaker would want: a good night's sleep; and =*badhaay* may indicate that want.

(1028) Last night I didn't cough as much as the night before.   JM/AD 8184 2440

> *buluuy-u ngaya / waal*=*bala ngaya / gunhugunhu dhu-nhi   /*
> dark-?   1SG / not=CTR   1SG / cough   pierce-PST /

> *gaba*=**badhaay** *ngaya dhanduwi-nyi*
> good=MIGHT   1SG   sleep-PST
> I camp all-right last night.   AD
> Last night, I did not cough. I slept well.   JG

15.3.2.1   =*badhaay*=*yaa*

=*badhaay* is occasionally translated 'might' (e.g. once at 5131 400, where CW has a series of elicitations with 'might'), but 'might' is the common translation of =*badhaay*=*yaa* 'might=POTential'. (=*badhaay*=*yaa* occasionally has other translations, such as 'must' at 2833B 476). The difference between =*badhaay*=*yaa* and =*yaa* 'POTential' (§15.2.1) is not clear. (1029) shows the GR =*wadhaay*=*yaa* as 'perhaps', a near synonym of 'might'. This example also indicates that *yaa* is a separate word, or at least that the initial glide is pronounced. (1030) has two instances of =*badhaay*=*aa*.

(1029) Perhaps I will beat.   MathewsGR p 266

> *Ngaia* **wuddhai ya** *bumulli*
> *ngaya*=**wadhaay**=**yaa** *buma-li*
> 1SG=MIGHT=POT   hit-FUT

(1030) He hurt himself and he's crying.   JM/AD 3217B 3715

> *minya-gaayaa   ngaama / buru / buru*=**badhaay**=**aa** *nguu   gama-nhi,*
> something-IGNOR that   / leg.GR / leg=MIGHT=POT   3SG.ERG break.M-PST,

*buyu = **badhaay**=aa gama-nhi*

leg = MIGHT = POT   break.M-PST

His leg might have broke, something might have broke, (he's crying there).   AD

I don't know what, his leg, he might have broken his leg. His leg might be broken.   JG

(1031) *mani:lɛi ŋaja ðinna:wan waðaija:* (NIGHT sic) *ŋaja ður̃igu*   SW YR p 97

*maniila-y ngaya // dhinawan = **wadhaay**=aa ngaya dhu-rri.gu*

hunt-FUT 1SG   // emu = MIGHT = POT   1SG pierce-PURP

I want to go hunting to spear emus at night.[257]   SW

I will go hunting and I might spear an emu.   JG

15.3.2.2   *giirr = badhaay, giirr = badhaay = aa*

The effect of the combination of *giirr*, which indicates certainty, and = *badhaay* or = *badhaay = (y)aa*, which indicate non-certainty, is not certain, but the *giirr* seems to be largely semantically bleached, with = *badhaay* and *giirr = badhaay* having similar use, as do = *badhaay = (y)aa* and *giirr = badhaay = (y)aa.*

Giirr = badhaay is used with imperatives (3998A 677, 5052 2787) and in situations where cooperative action is suggested: 'we will paint one another' (3996A 1680). In these instances there is no translation of *giirr = badhaay*. Untranslated use is also seen in (374)(b). It is sometimes translated 'might' particularly at 5131 567ff, where CW asks for numerous translations of sentences with 'might'. *Giirr = badhaay = (y)aa,* on the other hand, is generally translated 'might' (1032) (=(734)), (909), 5131 567ff. At 5129A 2537 it is translated 'you must be'.

(1032) He might crawl back to the camp.   CW/AD 5129A 2040

    *giirr = **badhaay**=aa ngaama dhuu-rr.uwi-y*

    true = MIGHT = POT that   crawl-BACK-FUT

    He might crawl back.   JG

There is no obvious explanation of its use in (1033) A speculative suggestion is that the non-factual[258] nature of the sentence is a reason for using = *badhaay = yaa.* The conversation in (1033) was on 30 June, 1976, but the full moon was on June 12 and July 11.

(1033) There is a full moon tonight.   JM/AD 8184 767

    *giirr = **badhaay**=yaa ngaama / burrul-bidi / gilay / dhurra-li*

    true = MIGHT = POT   that   / big-AUG   / moon / come-FUT

    That big moon will come out tonight, full moon.   AD

---

[257] Wurm's transcription of (1031) has 'night' written above *waðaija* and also in the translation. This should be 'might'.

[258] This use might be similar to the *–DHan* suffix in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 276), which can indicate that the speaker is saying something, but is less than fully committed to the truth of the statement.

15.3.2.3 Old sources/word play

=badhaay is common in old sources, but sometimes it is not possible to positively identify it because the orthography is uncertain or because word play is common: for instance *=badhaay/wadhaay* and *=dhaay* 'to.here' occurring near each other. (1034) (1035) and (1036) are from Tindale/Doolan, the first and last probably having *=wadhaay*, the second *dhaay*. The interpretation of (1036) is particularly unclear. Similar examples are found in Parker.

(1034) *'maruwa'ðai 'jenejene je'le* (Said by Dhinawan/Emu)　　　　Tindale/Doolan 24
　　　　out here (like this) they walk　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Doolan
　　　　*marra??maaru=**wadhaay** yana.yana-y.la-y*
　　　　there??well=MIGHT　　walk.REDP-CTS-FUT
　　　　Out there (my kids) are (probably) just strolling around.　　　　　JG
　　　　(another of many possible interpretations): My kids are probably walking around well out there.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　JG

(1035) *'maraa 'ðai 'turali 'kaingal kul'gar* (Said by Burraalga/Brolga)　　Tindale/Doolan 25
　　　　out here all my youngsters come　　　　　　　　　　　　　Doolan
　　　　*marra-**dhaay**　dhurra-li　gaaynggal-galgaa*
　　　　there-TO.HERE　come-FUT　baby-PL
　　　　My many children will come here/come back.

(1036) (Emu says:) *jalei gol! marauwa'ðai ŋaija 'puru'la 'kaingal 'kar ke'reigul*　　Tindale/Doolan 26
　　　　*Yalaygu?? marra-u??=**wadhaay**?**dhaay** ngaya burrulaa gaaynggal gaa-gi-??*
　　　　this.way　　there-??=MIGHT?to.here　1SG　many　baby　take-FUT-??
　　　　"this way" out here my whole lot of children I am leading　　　　Doolan
　　　　"I will bring my children over this way."　　　　　　　　　　　JG

15.3.3 *-Buu* 'TOTal2'; *-dhu?* 'TOTal3'

The suffix particle *-Buu* is found in YR and GR: *-aaba-li* §9.1.2 is glossed TOT). It prototypically adds a meaning something like 'all possible' 'as much as possible' to the word it is attached to. At times the translation is 'very', increasing the force of the word, but not making it 'total'. It's form is commonly *-buu*, but *-uu* after word final *l* and *rr*, and it also has other forms, such as *-yuu* and *-wu* on some pronouns and perhaps elsewhere. It is a productive suffix, but there also clear and possible examples of fossilised use. The suffix may have time use: §15.5.6. There is a WN cognate *-bu* is discussed in Appendix A.

The most common occurrence of the suffix is in fossilised forms such as *giirruu*: §15.1.2. Clear instances of *-Buu* are given in Table 192 and some likely occurrences in Table 193. Some pairs, e.g. *guwiin/guwiinbuu*, have the one translation, understandable given the paucity of information.

See §4.7 for a fuller treatment of pronominal examples. With dual pronouns *-Buu* adds 'both' and with plural pronouns it adds 'all'. It is common in *bulaarr-uu*, 'two-TOT', 'both of them'. (1037) and (1038) show the relatively common use of the suffix on *ganunga* '3PL'. The suffix is quite phonologically modified there.

(1037) All the meat was eaten.   JM/FR 2438A 839

     ganunga-wu = *nga* / *ganugu   dha-y   dhinggaa*

     3PL-TOT2 = THEN   / 3PL.ERG eat-PST meat

     They ate all the meat.   FR

(1038) got to shift from one camp to another with the smoke   FR/JM 2438B 1382

     yalagiirrma = *laa, wamba-li* / *nhama dhuubaarr*

     like.that = DIR,   carry-FUT / 3.DEF   smoke

     Like that they will carry that smoke   JG

     ganunga-wu / **ganunga-wu-gu** / *gaarrimay-gu* -

     3PL-TOT2   / 3PL-TOT2-ALL   / camp-ALL

     going to take it all around to all the camps   FR

     All, to all the camps.   JG

Table 192   *-Buu:* 'TOTal': clear examples

Base	Gloss	Suffixed form	Gloss	Source/note
giirr	true	*giirr-uu*	really true	
yilaa(l)	short time	*yilaal-uu*	long time away, long ago long ago	
		yilaam-buu		Ridley, Mathews
baayan	soon	*baayan-buu*	immediately	see *baayandhu* Table 195
dhugay	always	*dhuga-buu*	always; too much	FR; Laves
biyarr	one	*biyarr-uu-ga*	in the same place	One e.g.; *-ga* LOC
bulaarr	two	*bulaarr-uu*	both	
maayrr	none	*maayrr-buu*	not at all	Parker
burrulaa	many, all	*burrulaa-buu*	all of them	
ngali	we two	*ngali-yuu*	both of us; du	
ngiyani	we PL	*ngiyani-yuu*	all of us; pl	
ngindaay	you, PL	*ngindaay-uu*	all of you; pl	
ganunga	they, pl	*ganunga-wu*	all of them	
guyungan	own, by self	*guyungan-buu*	(went) of his own accord	(1040)
dhirra	flash 'proud'?	*dhirra-buu*	very flash	
ngaarri	over there	*ngaarri-buu*	far away, long ago?	
balal	dry	*balal-buu*	dry?	Laves
guwiin	close	*kuinbu [guwiin-buu]*	near	Ridley
yalagiirr	like	*yalagiirr-uu*	always like that	AD 3220B 206

(1039) shows that the suffix is not necessarily realised translations and that the informants were not always fluent in its use.

(1039) I always sleep.   JM/FR 1989A 365

    *dhugay / dhugay-**buu** / dhugay-**guu** / dhuga-**buu**   nginda gagil gi-la-nha*

always / always-TOT2 / always-TOT2 / always-TOT2 2SG   bad   get-CTS-PRS

You always getting bad/ sick.   FR

Always, absolutely always [x3] you are sick.   JG

There are rare and potential instances[259] of *-Buu.* (1040) has the sole occurrence of *guyungan-buu.* Arthur Dodd gives no translation. I assume *guyungan-buu* is a correction of *guyungan-du.*

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[259] There are potentially other occurrences of the suffix, but they await more detailed analysis. In (1041) one might expect that *ngaamu burrulbidiyu* are Ergative, agreeing with *birraliigalu.* However the usual Ergative forms would be *nguuma burrulbididju* and there is nothing else in the response that could reflect the 'all' in the elicitation, so it is likely *ngaamu burrulbidiyu* incorporates allomorphs of *-Buu.*

538

(1040) I didn't tell him to go (swimming), he went.   JM/AD 3220A 2574

*guyungan-**duxx** / guyungan-**buu**=Na=nga / yanaa-nhi / ngiyarrma / wunga-y.gu*

self-DU.Error   / self-TOT2=3=THEN   / go-PST   / there   / swim-PURP

He went of his own accord, there, to swim.   JG

(1041) All the big children were singing.   CW/AD 5131 2305

*giirr ngaamu / burrul-bidi-**yu** / birralii-gal-u   bawi-lda-nhi*

true there?   / big-AUG-TOT2? / child-PL.DIM-ERG sing-CTS-PST

There are other possibly examples of *-Buu*, some seen in Table 193.

Table 193   *-Buu*. 'TOTal': possible examples

Original	Gloss	analysis	note
yeälo	also	*yiyal-uu;* now *yaluu*	Ridley
ngellibu, yellibu	also	*yiyal-i-buu??*	Ridley
yeälokwai	like	*yiyal-uu-guwaay*	Ridley
mulanbuu	five	?whole hand	Ridley
mooroo buamboo	big nose	*muru* 'nose' *bawambuu??*	Milson p 10
birralii-gal-uu	?all the kids	child-PL.DIM-TOT	3220A 2978
naabuu	here, beside me	*nha-buu??* (see *nhalay*)	Ridley
minnaminnabūl	all things whatever	*minyaminyabuu-l* *minya* 'what'	Ridley
giibaabuu	early in the morning'		

Some of the examples in Table 193 are quite tentative, with the word ending having a formal similarity to the suffix, but the meaning of the rest of the word not known. It is likely that the suffix is, historically at least, part of *yeälo* (*yaluu*) 'also' 'again', *yellibu* (??*yalibuu*) 'also' and possibly of *yeälokwai* (*yiyalaguwaay*) 'like'. The last two are not known from modern records and so the forms are tentative. There is room for more investigation of words in Table 193.

Words like *ngaarribuu* 'far.away-TOT' primarily have distance meaning, but this is very easily transferred to time. (English words like 'long' and 'near' are similarly used for space and time reference.) so that they also mean 'long ago', 'long time away'.

-Buu has a WN cognate *-bu* (Donaldson, 1980: 76), which is:

glossed 'universal quantifier' which 'makes the reference of the form to which it is attached universal, with respect to the universe of reference established by the context in which the form is used'.

The phrase is then a Nominative left dislocation 'All the big ones.' and the rest of the sentence 'children were singing'.

Table 194 is a selection of WN derivations which include *-bu* (p 78). They are from different word classes, and some parallel YG occurrences of the suffix. Others indicate where YG may use the suffix even though it has not been found on the corresponding word in YG. For instance *magambu* would correspond to YR *ngayaga-buu*, based on *ngayagay* 'other'. (The WN words in the second column are my understanding of what the form would be. Donaldson gives no indication that the form of the suffix is variable.)

Table 194   Examples of Wangaaybuwan *-bu*

Base	Gloss	Suffixed form	Gloss
biyal	to a certain extent, sometimes	*biyalbu*	altogether, always
dhalan	close in time	*dhalanbu*	as close as possible, just now
bulagarr	two	*bulagarrbu*	all, of two; both
magaN-	other	*magambu*	all other; the rest, everybody else
ngani	there	*nganibu*	absolutely there; right there
garraa	don't	*garraabu*	Don't (act) at all!; Hold on! Wait on!
wangaay	not	*wangaaybu*	not at all; not ever (in some contexts)

Donaldson (1980: 77) points out that some WN words which include *-bu* are 'adverbs which provide modification [which] is intrinsically absolute, and cannot appear without *-bu*. They are *ngarrbu* 'enough' and *munjbu* 'suddenly'.

The suffix *-bu* with glosses such as 'just, right, only, still, very' is also found in languages on the north coast of NSW: Dhanggati (Lissarrague, 2007), Gathang (Lissarrague, 2010) and Hunter River & Lake Macquarie Language (Lissarrague, 2006).

15.3.3.1   *-dhu* 'TOTal3'

The suffix *-dhu* can also be analysed as meaning 'totally'[260]. Its effect is to change 'short time' to 'immediately', as seen in the only two examples found: Table 195. While *yilaal-uu/yilaam-buu* 'long ago' have a different meaning from *yilaa-dhu*, both *baayan-buu* and *baayan-dhu* are 'immediately'.

Table 195   *-dhu* 'TOTal': examples

Base	Gloss	suffixed form	Gloss
yilaa	short time	*yilaadhu*	right now, immediately
baayan	soon	*baayandhu*	immediately

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[260] In Wangaaybuwan it seems *-bu* fulfils the roles of both *-Buu* and *-dhu*: see *dhalanbu* in Table 194.

15.3.4   *-wan.gaan*[261] YR / *-ban.gaan* GR 'VERY'

Williams (p 45) calls *-wan.gaan* an 'intensifier'. It modifies the word it follows. GR *-ban.gaan* has been found only twice (MathewsGR: 262). In YR there is one instance in Parker, one in Wurm, one in FR and around 40 in AD, many of these in an elicitation session where CW was focussing on the suffix (Tape 5131) and many in Tape 3220B.

It is most commonly found on adjectives (1042) (1043), forming a superlative in (1046); on quantity words (1044); adverbs (1045); nouns (1046), including case marked nouns (1047) (1048) and other suffixed nouns (1049). There are other examples in Table 196.

(1042) The knife was very blunt.   CW/AD 5131 302

       … **mugu-wan.gaan** *ngaama ngaayba*

       … blunt-VERY   that   knife

(1043) This is the best of all.   Mathews GR p 262

       Numma murruba **bungan** *gigilla*

       nhama **maarubaa-ban.gaan** *gi-gi.la[-nha*

       3.DEF   good-VERY   be-CTS-PRS

       That one is very good.   JG

(1044) All the animals have run away.   JM/AD 3217B 2237

       … **maayrr-wan.gaan** */ nguwama / yiyal yuulngindi 'naa-y.la-nha*

       … none-VERY   / there   / just   hungry   go-CTS-PRS

       All those kids walking about, nothing to eat, no meat, all the kangaroos gone.   AD

       There's nothing at all there. They'll just be hungry.   JG

(1045) The kangaroo hopped away very fast. (xx = tape stopped)   CW/AD 5131 517

       giirruu   *nham bandaarr / barraay ngaam baa-nhi* xx **barraay-wan.gaan** *ngaam baa-nhi*

       true.very 3.DEF kangaroo / fast   that   hop-PST xx fast-VERY   that   hop-PST

(1046) She's the best cook in the camp.   JM/AD 3220B 625.

       giirruu   *nhama gandjarra-***wan.gaan** */ walaa-dha / yilama-lda-y.gu*

       true.very 3.DEF champion-VERY   / camp-LOC / cook-CTS-PURP

(1047) There's a man coming there to kill the goanna.   JM/FR 2439A 3429

       muyaan nguu   */ gama-laa-nha / gayawi-y nguu*   */ giirr dhaygal-i-***wan.gaan**

       stick   3SG.ERG / break-MOV-PRS / pelt-PST   3SG.ERG / true   head-ABL-VERY

       He broke a stick and he pelted the goanna and he hit him first go on the head.   FR

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[261] The suffix is found in Wayilwan but has not been much studied. Wiradjuri has an exclamation *ban(.)gaan* glossed 'truly, it is so, indeed'. Its absence from the Donaldson (1980) is surprising, given its occurrence in all other CNSW languages.

Wilkins (1989: 105) describes a similar Arrernte suffix *-nhurre* 'Intensifier'. With adjectives it is interpreted as 'very' and with noun it is interpreted 'real, true'.

(1048) This track is a good one.   JM/AD 3219B 1336

    nhalay = badhaay = bala yuruun, nhalay / gaba

    this = MIGHT = CTR   road,   this   / good

    *ngaarrma, gaawaa-gu-**wan.gaan***, *ngiyani-laa gaa-gi*

    over.there, river-ALL-VERY,   1PL.ERG-FUT take-FUT

    You'll go straight to that, take this road, it is a good one.   AD

    This road is good; there; we will take it straight to the river.   JG

    There is an incompletely recorded elicitation which indicates that *–wan.gaan* was used after *–giirr* 'like'.

(1049) That wiringin was very clever.   CW/AD 5131 371

    The wiringin is like a doctor.   AD

    *(wiringin)?-giirr-**wan.gaan** nhama*

    ?-LIKE-VERY   3.DEF

    He's just like a doctor.??   JG

Table 196   *-wan.gaan/-ban.gaan* 'VERY': examples

Original (+ current orthography)	Analysis (without – *wan.gaan*)	Original gloss	Source
murruba bungan (*maarubaa-ban.gaan*)	good	best of all	RHM-GR 262
dirrah dungah-nah (*dhirra-wan.gaan-nha*)	flash- -that	(Note form: dungah)	Parker 1 6
wallanba: wanga:n (*walanbaa-wan.gaan*)	strong	even stronger	Wurm p 100
dhaygal-i-wan.gaan	head-ABLative-	[hit him] first go on the head	FR
maayrr-wan.gaan	none-	no meat	AD 3217B 2262; 3219B 1195
ngaarrma-wan.gaan burrul	that- big	That fellow is bigger..	3217B 3078

Original (+ current orthography)	Analysis (without –*wan.gaan*)	Original gloss	Source
garigari-wan.gaan	afraid	really frightened	
yiiliyaan-baa-wan.gaan	savage-	really savage [also translated: *yiiliyaan-bidi*]	5131 213
burrul-bidi-wan.gaan	big-AUG-	really big	5131 237
gunadha-wan.gaan	boggy-	very boggy	5131 328
wamba-wan.gaan	mad	very mad	5131 512
barraay-wan.gaan	fast	very fast	5131 529
gaba-wan.gaan	good	very good	5130 3226
burrul-wan.gaan=*bala*	big- =CTR	older	
wuulman-wan.gaan	old-person-	'I am an old woman now.'	2833A 449
gandjarraa-wan.gaan	champion-	best hunter	3220B 544
miimii-dja-wan.gaan	bank-LOC	pulled the fish 'right up to the bank' JG	3219B 1560
gaawaa-gu-wan.gaan	river-ALL-	'straight to the river' AD/JG	3219B 1355

15.3.5 *yiyal* 'JUST'

The particle *yiyal*[262] is most commonly translated 'just' or 'only'. Ridley (p 8) has:

> "Yeäl" (merely) is commonly used with the [past indicative] tense, when the intention is to give assurance that the speaker having told the truth, will add nothing more as a reason or excuse for the fact. In answer to the question, Why did you come? a blackfellow may say, "yeäl yanani," *I just came; that's all.*

It is mainly used to modify propositions, and less commonly used to modify NPs: 'she has just two children' (but earlier she had more); and adjectives: 'she was just sad' (and no other feeling). It may have a time use, for instance: 'he's going back (just) now with a sore foot' (3219A 877).

Yiyal can be free or a clitic. When qualifying verbs *yiyal* is a separate word, preceding the verb and generally clause initial. *Yiyal* follows nominals it qualifies, and is unstressed, so likely a suffix. These nominals are generally, but not exclusively, clause-initial. There is considerable variation in the form of the particle. It seems that a number of words have been derived from *yiyal*, but some of these etymologies are speculative.

It occurs in both Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay, from the earliest to latest sources. It is common in traditional stories. (1050) is the sentence Williams (p 110) uses as an example of *yiyal*. It occurs a number of times in versions of the Bowerbird story and

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[262] There is a similar particle, *-galay* (a clitic) in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson 1980: 251)

at 3218A 3195. The transcription also shows that the realisation in more recent sources approximates a monosyllable, *yal*. In (1051) the particle qualifies whole clause.

(1050) Old Wiidhaa (Bowerbird) seen him (Wedgetail), he's singing out: AD/CW 5056 249
    ngaandu, ngaandu nginunha guwaa-y: dhaay nginda yanaa-waa-y.gu?
    who.ERG, who.erg 2SG.ACC tell-PST: to.here 2SG   go-MOV-PURP
    [Wiidhaa] Who told you to come here?   JG

    *oo, yal?yiyal ngay' yanaa-waa-nhi / **ngadhan.gaa=Nu,** burrulaa dhayn*
    oo, just   1SG go-MOV-PST   / think=3ERG?,   many   people
    [Wedgetail] I just walked along and I thought there was a lot of people here.   AD

(1051) JM: What do they do to set up a new camp.   JM/FR 2438B 1574
    FR: That's a silly question. It's only a *maaymaay*; build it any way they can. There's nothing to
     it - just a few sticks.   FR
    yiyal nhama=laa / warrayma-li dhaadharr
    just 3.DEF=DIR / build-FUT   bark
    You just put up the bark.   JG

   Yiyal is often found in the second of two contrasting clauses, as in (1052), one of over 10 occurrences of *yiyal* in *Gurre Kamilaroi*. Often the order of the English clauses is the opposite of the YG order.

(1052) Immanuel said "Cease weeping. Not the girl is dead; only she is asleep."   Ridley p 41
    *Immanuel goe "kurria yunga. Kamil miedul baluni; **yeal** babillona."*
    *Immanuel guwaa-y garriya yu-nga. gamil miyay-djuul balu-nhi, **yiyal** baabi-la-nha.*
    Immanuel say-PST don't cry-IMP. not   girl-DIM   die-PST just sleep-CTS-PRS

   Use of *yiyal* with nominals is most common in the stories of Emu and Bustard or Brolga, often in 'just two': (Kill your children, and keep just two). 'just two' is *bulaarr-yiyal* many times in Parker and in AD3218B 494, found mostly, but not always, clause initially, as in (1053)[263].

(1053) Then she [Emu] hid her children, and took only two down   Parker l 41
    Baiyan noo doorimbai birrahleegul boollarhyel nuddahnooway.
    *baayan nguu   dhurrinba-y birralii-gal, **bulaarr-yiyal** ngadaa nguu   wa-y*
    soon2 3SG.ERG hide-PST   child-PL.DIM, two-just   down 3SG.ERG put.in-PST

   (1054) shows *yiyal* phonologically separated from the nominal, again in a clause initial phrase.

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[263] Other records I assume are *bulaarr-yiyal* include: Laves (10:27) *bularia* and *bularial* referring to the two children, and Wurm who has only one instance of *yiyal*: *bulla:i iəl ðɛi:nj* (*bulaarr-yiyal dhayn*) 'just two men (sitting down)'.

(1054) *waal=nga ngaaluurr yii-laa-nha   / yilawa-nhi ngali / gaawaa-ga /*
not=NOW fish   bite-MOV-PRS / sit-PST   1DU / river-LOC /
The fish are not biting now. We sat at the river. (note: no ergative on 'fish')   JG

*milan-duul / **yal?yiyal?** ngali   bayama-y / dhagaay*
one-DIM / just   1DU.ERG catch-PST / yellowbelly[fish]
We sat for a long time, fishing, and we only caught one little yellowbelly. FR/JM 2436A 1757
We only caught one little yellowbelly.   JG

Other examples in the thesis include (1111) (237) (377) and (905) ('only two').

There are a number of variant forms. *Yal* is seen in (1054). It is found in Milson[264] but is more common in later sources, including AD. Word initial *yi* is realised as *i* in later sources, and this pattern is also followed in word initial *yiy* becoming *y*. The variant form *biyal* is found in a number of sources. Jack Sand's elicitation is often unsure and halting, and his sentence structure is often unclear. He uses *bulaarr-biyal* 'two-just' many times in his translation of Emu and Brolga where others have *bulaarr-yiyal*. He has *biyal* in many parts of the story where others do not use any suffix, e.g. *gagil-biyal* in (1055).

(1055) The brolga was sad.   JM/JS 3216B 1300
*ganaay, gana-**bil??**   nhama / ganam-**bil??** nhama /*
open??, liver-W.LOT 3.DEF / liver-W.LOT that   /

*gagil-**biyal** nhama gaali.nha gi-nhi*
bad-just   3.DEF 3DU   be-PST
Sad, really sad, those two were just in a bad way. [Tentative]   JG

The alternation of *bil* and *biyal* in (1055) could suggest that there is confusion based on *–bil*, a well evidenced suffix, but the use of *–biyal* by AD and Laves suggests that *–biyal* is a genuine allomorph. AD has *gumbugan-biyal* 'sandhill-ONLY' at 3220B 3181 and *dhimba-biyal* in (1056).

(1056) (We used to eat kangaroos but) now we eat sheep. (follows (588))   CW/AD 3996A 533
*dhimba-**biyal**=bala ngiyani.luu   dha-lda-nha*
sheep-just=CTR   1PL.ERG.EXCL eat-CTS-PRS
We just eat sheep.   JG

Another variant is *wiyal*. AD has *dhuu-wiyal* '(the fire is) just smoke' in 3220B 388 and *bawa-wiyal* 'back-only' in (1057). Parker also has the form *weel* (*wiyal*) with similar use in line 56 of Bustard and Emu.

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[264] Sim (p 32) also has *milandjal* 'just one, only one' [*milan* 'one'] and *bulaadjal* [*bulaarr* 'two'] 'just two, only two.' where *djal* is possibly another variant of the suffix, which I do not discuss further.

(1057) [The fire] just warmed my back.   JM/AD 8184 2699

(a)   *bawa-**wiil?wiyal** ngay=bala   ngaama // guulaabi-y.la-nhi /*

        back-just   1SG.NOM?dat=CTR   that   // warm.M-CTS-PST /

(b)   *ngaya=bala=nga?, ngaam / baliyaa wila-y.la-nhi **yiyal/yal***

        1SG=CTR=NOW,   there? / cold   sit-CTS-PST   just

        Only my back was getting warm, but I was just sitting there cold.   JG

Ridley[265] (p 14) lists a number of words he analysis as built on *yiyal*.

> From the particle "*yeal*" (merely or just so) come "*yealo*" (also) (*(yi)yaluu*) "*yealokwai*"
> (like) (*yiyaluuguwaay*) "*yealokwaima*" (likewise) (*(yi)yaluuguwaayma*).

Yiyal occurs in a number of compounds[266]. But the principles for developing or interpreting such compounds are not clear. Laves (MS2188-10-1p28) has *ma·yel* (possibly a rendering or mishearing of *maayrr*, less likely *maayrr-yiyal* 'none-only') referring to the emu's now non-existent wings, again from the Emu and Brolga story.

MathewsGR has the particle on pronouns, interpreting it as an exclusive marker: *ngiyani-yiyal-a-ngu* 'we-exclusive-DATive'; see Table 172. *Yiyal-aylay-gaali* 'both the same' occurs in (423) but is not analysed. Milson (p 5) has 'never mind' *Yalwana*, presumably *yiyal/yal wana* 'just let it be'.

15.3.6   *ngadhan.gaa* 'HYPothesis' ((I) thought)

Ngadhan.gaa[267] can also be considered a knowledge particle. It occurs in YG and WN, and is discussed in Williams (p 110):

> *ngadhan.gaa* can be glossed 'hypothesis' (HYP). It indicates that the following sentence
> cannot be assumed to be true, but is only a hypothesis. The usual translation of sentences
> containing this form is 'I thought that … '.

Donaldson's (1980: 240) Wangaaybuwan gloss is 'believed true'[268]. In both languages *ngadhan.gaa* is used sentence initially to indicate the speaker's attitude to the rest of the sentence, as in (1058). In Wangaaybuwan it can be used as a single word statement: 'I think so'.

(1058) I thought she caught a fish.   CW/AD 5131 2538

       ngadhan.gaa nguu   ngaama, guduu bayama-y

       I.think   3SG.ERG   that,   cod   catch-PST

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[265] These and other Ridley forms are given in Table 91.

[266] The compound *mubalyal* 'pregnant' (*mubal* 'stomach') is found in Milson (p 9; *moobolyol*) and modern sources, but 'stomach-just' would not seem to indicate 'pregnant'.

[267] For use of *winanga-y* to translate 'think' see §8.2.3.2; see also (553) where the simple future is translated 'think'.

[268] She also discusses the possibility that the word includes the evidential particle *DHan* and *-gaa* 'ignorative'.

There is no real evidence of *ngadhan.gaa* being used with reference to other than the speaker's thoughts: e.g. to translate: 'she thought'. *Ngadhan.gaa=Nu* in (1050) might include an allomorph of *=nguu*, third person singular, but this is the only indication found of such use.

The following particles are not about the speaker's knowledge of the statement, but their attitude to it, or to part of it.

15.4 Topic-relating particles

The following particles relate one topic to another: *=bula* and *ngayagay* indicate additional topics, *gayadha* that something is to happen 'in turn' and *waanda* that something is to happen before another event.

15.4.1 *(=)bula* 'ALSO'

Simple coordination is generally by adposition, but an 'additional topic" (participant or action) is indicated by *(=)bula* or in some circumstances by *ngayagay* (next section). In these situations English would use words like 'and' 'also', 'too' or 'as well'. *(=)bula* can occur as a free word or clitic, both after the word it refers to. It generally follows the first word of the clause, but there are relatively common exceptions: (1065) (1069). It may occur once in early sources: MathewsGR (p 264) has *gunubula* 'a few', which may contain of *ganu* 'all' but the *-bula* may not be the form under discussion. The next example is Laves (1059). The stress he shows on the first syllable indicates he interprets *bula* as a free word, as does (1062), but Wurm (1060) shows is as a clitic. *(=)bula*[269] is transparently derived from *bulaarr* 'two'.

(1059) Give me some meat! imperative   Laves YR MS2188-9-12p020

       ŋai ꞌbula di wu·na

       ngay(=)bula   *dhii wuu-na*

       1SG.DAT(=)also meat give-IMP

       ŋai "also" meat give   Laves

       Give some meat to me too.   JG

(1060) *ŋajibula ðiŋga u·ðɛja*   SW p 83

       ngay=bula   *dhinggaa wuu-dha-ya*

       1SG.DAT=also meat   give-CTS?EAT-IMP

       Give me some meat!   SW

       Give some meat to me too.   JG

A common use is to link clauses which refer to similar actions, when it is often suffixed on the Subject nominal, as in (1061) the one example in Tindale. Often most of the second clause is ellipsed. Similar use is seen in (1062)

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[269] In WN *-bula* is used as a dual suffix.

(1061) [Emu says:] *'ŋinda 'bula 'kuli:r kola tealumai 'boma'la:bilika* Tindale/Doolan l 13

      nginda(=)bula guliirr guwaa-la, dhaya-la-??, buma-l.aaba-li.gu

      2SG(=)also   spouse tell-IMP, ask-IMP-??, hit-TOT-PURP

      "You ask your husband whether you can kill yours also."   Tindale/Doolan

Sim (1998: 39) describes it as a sentence final word, and in (1062) it is both sentence final and a clause initial clitic. (1062) and (1067) have inclusory constructions (§10.4.4) as alternatives to the use of *-bula*.

(1062) I saw the snake and so did the woman.   Sim p 39

      *Ngaya dhuuyuu ngarray, yinayuu ngaliyuu. or yinayu **bula**.*   Sim

      ngaya dhuyu ngarra-y, yina-yu   ngali.yuu   or yina-yu   bula

      1SG   snake see-PST, woman-ERG 1DU.ERG.TOT2 or woman-ERG also

In (1063) *-bula* also links events. (1063) has one of the two instances in Wurm. He gives two translations, and may be confusing 'too' and 'two'

(1063) *ŋìn.də : jin.də }ba:bilə **bula***   SW GR p 19

      *nginda / nginda baabi-lda-y = **bula**   [form uncertain]*

      2SG, / 2SG   sleep-CTS-FUT = also

      You are sleeping. / you two are sleeping.   SW

      ?You too will be sleeping.   JG

In (1064), the one clear use by AD, the subject of the clause remains constant, but the action varies. The suffix is on a verb, as it is in (1065).

(1064) They all danced and sang.   JM/AD 8186 1506

      *giirr ganunga yulu-nhi   / and bawi-lda-nhi = **bula***

      true 3PL   dance-PST / and sing-CTS-PST = ALSO

      They danced, and were singing too;   JG

(1065) *yinarr gi.yaa.nha yuurrma-y = **bula** // dhayn-du gayadha / bawi-li*

      woman going.to   dance-FUT = ALSO // man-ERG in.turn   / sing-FUT

      The men finished corroboreeing now, the women are going to corroboree and the men are going

       to sing.   FR/JM 2436A 770

      The women are going to dance too, and the men will take their turn to sing.   JG

-bula is found suffixed to nominals in a range of cases, following the case suffix: Nominative (1066), Accusative (1067), Ergative (1068), Locative: (2438A 2547) and Dative (2438A 3415). The most common use of *-bula* by FR is to link nominals.

(1066) I slipped and fell on the ground.   FR/JM 2436A 2392

      *ngulu-gu ngaya bundaa-nhi, dhaymaarr-bil ngay   ngaay gi-nyi, mil = **bula***

      face-ALL 1SG   fall-PST,   dirt-W.LOT   1SG.DAT mouth get-PST, eye = also

      I fell on my face and got my mouth full of dirt and my eyes too.   FR

(1067) The man brought his boomerang and also his spear.   Sim p 39

   *Dhayinduu dhiyamay barran ngungu bilaarr gaalanha or barran bilaarr-**bula**.*

   dhayn.du dhiyama-y barran   nguungu bilaarr gaalanha **or** *barran   bilaarr =**bula**

   man-ERG pick.up-PST boomerang 3SG.DAT spear   3DU   **or** boomerang spear = ALSO

(1068) (Two of the men snored.)… A lot of the women snored.   JM/FR 2436A 878.

   *yina-yu =**bula** = nga   / nhama ngurruu-waa-nha*

   woman-ERG = also = NOW / 3.DEF   snore-MOV-PRS

   The women are even snoring now too. (FR treats the verb root *ngurruu-* as Y class.)   FR

(1069) I can see the, other mob over there pulling the emu out, out of the fire.   FR/JM 2440A 1372

   *ngaya gi.yaa.nha = nga =**bula** / bigibila dha-li   ,*

   1SG   going.to = NOW = also   / echidna eat-FUT

   *nginda-**bula** guliirr-dhuul, bigibila dha-la*

   2SG = also   spouse-ONE,   echidna eat-IMP

   I'm going to have a feed now, you too missus have some with me.   FR

(1068) is unusual in that both clauses have the suffix.

Laves (MS2188-10-1p10) has *'Kuliba·-bula* 'six', (*gulibaa* 'three') and Sim (Appendix 3) has similar use of *-bula*.

15.4.2   *ngayagay* 'Other[270]' and related forms

This section considers the nominals[271] *ngayagay*[272] YR *ngaragay* GR 'other', the derived forms *ngayaga[y]-DHuul* YR *ngaragadhuul* GR 'another', then the related adverbs *ngayaga* YR **ngaraga* GR 'behind'. There are examples of most of these forms in a wide range of sources. There is some evidence that *ngayagay* can also be used as an uninflecting particle, similar in function to *(=)bula*.

While AD predominantly uses *ngayagay* and occasionally *(=)bula* FR only uses *(=)bula*. Most sources use *ngayagay* only with nominals. Its meaning is 'another', referring to 'another of the same kind', e.g. another child/weapon/camp.

The rhotic in GR *ngaRagay* is assumed to be *r* on the basis of the common *r > y* change between GR and YR. There is variation at the morpheme boundary in *ngayagay-DHuul*, with the *y* sometimes deleted, and the *-DH* realised as a lamino-

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[270] Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 247) has 2 'additional topic' suffixes: *-yanbi* 'and, what is more' and *–mindii* 'and'. They can be suffixed to various classes of words, and *–yanbi* can also be sentence final, referring to the whole sentence.

[271] These adnominals are discussed in the chapter on particles since their functions are similar to those of the particle *-bula*.

[272] As elsewhere, for convenience I use only the YR form for discussion which applies to both languages.

dental or lamino-palatal. In YR *ngayaga-djuul* is the most common realisation, but others are found.

Ngayagay and *ngayagaydjuul* are discussed together since they are similar in use. These are clearly adnominals, agreeing in case with the qualified nominal, and *ngayagay* also takes number suffixes. *Ngayagaydjuul* is also used with time reference. The qualified nominal is often ellipsed, since it is easily recoverable from the previous phrase or clause.

Ridley has *ngaragay* 'other' in a paradigm but has no text examples of it. He has text examples of *ngaragaydhuul* 'another' (1070): *ngaragedul nguru* 'another night' and *ngaragedul nguruko* 'next morning' (*ngurru* 'night', *ngurrugu* 'morning'). MathewsGR (p 264) has *Ngurregedyul* 'another' (*ngaragaydjuul*).

(1070) murruba immanuel; kamil **ngaragedul** murruba yealokwai ngerma   Ridley Gurre

       marrabaa immanuel; gamil **ngaragay.dhuul** marraba yiyalaguwaay ngiyarrma

       good   Immanuel; not   another   good   like   that

       Good is Immanuel; not another is good like him.   Ridley

(1071) **ngarageduli** miedul wibil ginyi; ngumba boiyoi wune   Ridley Gurre

       ngaragay.dhuul-i miyay-djuul wiibil gi-nyi ; ngambaa buuybuuy wuu-nhi

       another-ABL   girl-DIM   sick   get-PST , mother   herb   give-PST

       At another time a little girl sick became; the mother pennyroyal gave.   Ridley

In (1071) Ablative case *ngaragaydhuuli* is 'at another time'. With this use there is no modified noun. AD3220B 3313 has similar use: *ngayagadjuul-a* (Locative[273]) translates the second 'some days' in 'some days we go hunting, **some days** we stay at home' Milson (p 3) has *Naragathule* 'the Day after' (*ngaragadhuul-?*). She (p 5) also has 'another fellow' *nurruggi* (*ngaragay*) and (p 3) *naraguthule* '2nd Finger'. This last use is not found elsewhere.

There are numerous YR examples of *ngayagay* 'other 'and *ngayaga(y)-DHuul* 'another'. In (1072) *ngayagaydjuul* is case marked. *Ngayagay* is marked for number in (1072) and case in (1073)[274] (1074) translates *ngayagay* as 'different'.

(1072) The woman and baby are going to another camp.   JM/AD 3217A 2278

       ngaama yinarr   'naa-waa-nha / **ngayagay.djuul-gu** walaay-gu /

       that   woman go-MOV-PRS / another-ALL   camp-ALL /

       ngaarrma **ngayagay-galgaa** dhayn / ngarra-li.gu

       there   other-PL   people / see-PURP

       She's going to another camp, to see all the other people.   AD

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[273] I have no explanation of the difference in meaning between the Ablative and Locative case forms.

[274] It is not clear what 'other' the children are being compared to.

(1073) Why didn't you save any for the children?   CW/AD 3998B 1109

   waa=nda, nhama **ngayagay-gu** *birralii-djuul-gu / wuu-dha-nhi?*

   not=2SG 3.DEF other-DAT child-DIM-DAT / give-EAT-PST

   You didn't give any to those other kids?   JG

(1074) I wish you wouldn't keep singing that song, sing a different one for a change.

                  JM/AD 3220A 2881

   garriya nhama / bawi-lda-ya / yugal / gagil=bala nhama yugal /

   don't 3.DEF / sing-CTS-IMP / song / bad=CTR that song /

   yaluu ngaama **ngayagay** *yugal bawi-la*

   again that other song sing-IMP

   Don't keep singing that song. It's a bad song. Sing a different song next time.   JG

  (1075) shows *ngayagay* is used in comparisons.

(1075) Willy wagtails are the smallest birds there are.   JM/AD 3220B 694

   dhirridhirri nhama bubaay / bubaay-wan.gaan=bala nhama dhirridhirri / ngarr=bala /

   Willy.wagtail 3.DEF small / small-VERY=CTR that Willy.wagtail / that?=CTR /

   The Willy wagtail is small, really small, and other   JG

   ngayagay */ dhigaraa / burrul=bala nguu / nham=bala dhirridhirri bubaay-djuul*

   other / bird / big=CTR 3SG.ERG? / that=CTR Willy.Wagtail small-DIM

   Willy wagtail is smallest.   AD

   and other birds are bigger; the Willy Wagtail is small.   JG

There is some evidence that *ngayagay* can be used as an uninflecting particle.. In (1076), a halting elicitation, *ngayagay* does not agree in case with *yinayu*, so is presumably uninflecting, with a meaning 'also'. Similar use is found in the two instances of *ngayagay* in (100).

(1076) You see something and you don't know what it is.   CW/AD 5054A 1776

   giirr ngay' ngarra-y, minya.gaayaa

   true 1SG see-PST, don't.know.what

   I saw something, I don't know what.   JG

   giirr ngaya nhama ngaandabaa ngarra-y /

   true 1SG that snake see-PST /

   I saw a snake,   JG

   nguuma ngayagay yina-yu // // ngandabaa ngarra-y

   that other/as.well woman-ERG // // snake see-PST

   and the woman as well, saw the snake.   JG

In (1077) also *ngayagay* does not mean 'other', since it is used to link different objects, and here also it may be an uninflecting particle.

(1077) The two men got some boomerangs and spears.   JM/AD 8186 2259

     giirr ngaamuu / bilaarr dhuwima-laa-nha, barran   **ngayagay** */ buriin* **ngayagay**

     true that.??   / spear   pull.out-MOV-PRS, boomerang as.well   / shield as.well

     They got their spears, and boomerangs, and shields.   JG

In (1078) *ngayaga* is presumably an elided form of *ngayagay*, but I would expect it after *dhinggaa* 'meat' since it signals a different type of participant. A possible explanation is that *nhama dhinggaa* forms a phrase, something like: 'and that other thing, the meat', but this remains speculative.

(1078) (The man is carrying a bag,) and some meat in his arms.   JM/AD 3219A 932

     nhama **ngayaga**   *nguu*   *dhinggaa gaa-waa-nha*

     3.DEF   other/as.well 3SG.ERG meat   take-MOV-PRS

     He is taking some meat as well.   JG

ngayaga 'behind'[275]

It seems possible that *ngayagay* is derivationally related to *ngayaga* 'behind', and it is clear that *ngayaga/ngaraga* are the Locative of the rarely used *ngaya* YR *ngara* GR 'behind'. Table 197 gives the evidence for *ngaya/ngara*.

Table 197   *ngaya/ngara* 'behind': examples

Original	Analysis	Gloss	Source
Nurra	*ngara*	after	Ridley: 37
ngurra	*ngara*	last	MathewsGR: 268
ngaya		behind	FR 1853B 1644.
ngayaga		behind	FR, AD

However the relatively common *ngaya/ngara* is only found in Locative case: *ngayaga/ngaraga* in apposition to a Locative nominal which is explicit (1079) or ellipsed (1080). In 5055 772 CW asks 'I saw the boy come from behind the rock', presumably in an attempt to elicit an Ablative suffix on *ngaya*, but none is forthcoming. It is likely that, for AD and FR at least, *ngayaga* was not synchronically suffixed, but monomorphic.

(1079) My dog is walking along with me.   JM/AD 3219A 2312

     nhama ngay,   *maadhaay 'naa-waa-nha / banaga-waa-nha /* **ngayaga nganunda**

     3.DEF   1SG.DAT, dog   go-MOV-PRS / run-MOV-PRS   / behind   1SG.LOC

     He's running along behind me.   AD

(1080) **ngayaga** *ngay' yanaa-waa-nha*

     behind   1SG   walk-MOV-PRS

     I am walking behind.   FR/JM 1853B 1649

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[275] In contrast to the object part/body part 'back', 'behind' refers to an area area distant from the object of reference.

There are a number of questions about *ngaya* forms. MathewsGR has *Nhungurragai* 'this other' (*nha-ngaragay*) and *Murrangurragai* 'that other' (*marra-ngaragay*) (see §5.2 for *nha* and *marra*), but no other instances of prefixed *ngaragay* have been found. At 3217B 1852 AD uses the currently unanalysed *ngayalu* in translating 'the wind changed direction and blew the fire **another** way'.

There are a number of Mathews words which could include *ngara*, but it is often uncertain if the form represents *ngara* 'behind' or *ngarraa* 'in.front' §5.3.10 (which can also be mean 'other'). *Ngurraberedha*, 'that (in front)' likely includes *biri* 'chest' and both it and *Ngurragudhai*, 'that (farther this way)' may include *ngara* or *ngarraa*. as could *ngaRagu/ngaRaagu dhaay*, as may *garaguguddhera* 'beyond that' (MathewsGR: 268).

Other questions remain about the use of recognised forms. Wurm has a number of examples which include *ŋajagaðou̯* (*ngayaga-dha-wu?*). The *ngayaga* may be 'behind' or the form *ngayagay* takes with *-dha* Locative. *ŋajagaðou̯ ja:ða* (*yaadha* 'day' or 'sun-LOC') (1081) is 'yesterday' and *ŋajagaðou̯ bullului* (*bullului* 'evening')'last night/yesterday evening'.

(1081) *bula:r̃ ŋaja baur̃a ŋar̯ɛi **ŋajagaðou̯** ja:ða*   SW p 82

    bulaarr ngaya bawurra   ngarra-y ngayaga-dha.wu   yaadha

    two   1SG   red.kangaroo see-PST   other/behind-LOC.DIST day[?sun-LOC?]

    I saw 2 kangaroos yesterday.   SW

Wurm also has two words which may be related to *ngaya(gay)*, (p 91) *ŋæːjar̃ɛi*[276] 'other' and (p 99) *ŋaja:nda* 'someone else'. Both the forms and relationship to *ngayagay* are uncertain.

At times the motivation for use of the form is not clear. There is nothing in the actual sentence of (1082) or in the tape context that suggests a reason for use of *ngayagay* but AD may be contrasting it to another tree or nest previously discussed.

(1082) There is a nest in the fork of that tree.   JM/AD 3220B 2972

    *nhamalay **ngayagay** / ngaarrma / maalaa-bidi-dja wa-y.la-nha-??ma /*

    there   other?   / there   / tree-AUG-LOC be.in.M-CTS-PRS-?? /

    Over there another, over there, it is up in the big tree   JG

    walaay-??gayaa / dhigarraa-gu

    nest-DIM?   / bird-DAT

    nest there, in that fork of that tree belong to that bird   AD

    a bird's small? nest.

---

[276] Perhaps a mishearing of a fricated *g* as *r*.

15.4.3 *gayadha* YR, **garadha* GR 'in.TURN'

The particle *gayadha* 'in.TURN' generally indicates different agents taking turns at the same action. The evidence below is all from YR. No GR cognate has been found[277].

The use of *gayadha* is well illustrated in (1083): In the Emu-Bustard story the female emu has cut off her husband's wings. (1083) continues the story.

(1083) *Baiyan noo gaiathah noonoo boonoong gurray.* Parker l 28

　　　 baayan nguu **gaya.dha** *nguungu bungun garra-y*
　　　 soon2 3SG.ERG in.turn 3SG.DAT arm/wing cut-PST
　　　 Then he, in his turn, cut her wings. Parker

(1084) shows a further possible variation in the form.

(1084) (Mum has taken burrs from the girl's back, then she said to the boy): 'I'll take the burrs from
　　　 your back too'. JM/AD 3219A 3478

　　　 ngaya, nginundi ngayagay / ngaya / bawa-dhi dhuwima-li / bindiyaa,
　　　 1SG, 2SG.ABL as.well / 1SG / back-ABL take.out-FUT / prickle,

　　　 nginda **gayadha-nay??** *ngadaa / dhuli-ya*
　　　 2SG in.turn-?? down / stoop-IMP
　　　 So he stooped down. AD
　　　 I'll take the prickles out of your back too. It's your turn to bend over. JG

Another example comes from the boomerang throwing contest between *Gilaa* and *Wuulaa* (3994A 426). *Gilaa* says: 'you *gaya.dha=nga* ('in.turn=now') throw'.

As with many other particles *gaya.dha* is predominantly in clause-second position, at times displaced by a pronoun.

If the analysis of (1085) (=(784)) is correct *gaya-* is unique in YG in compounding verbs, found only the one time, here, on *dhu-rri* 'pierce'[278]. Many of Laves examples are difficult to interpret, but this one looks reasonably clear.

(1085) *ŋaia ŋinana ˈbumali // bumala ŋana : ŋaia ŋinana **ˈgaidyuri** / yalagīru??*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 YR Laves MS2188-9-12p092

　　　 ngaya nginunha buma-li // buma-la nganha :
　　　 1SG 2SG.ACC hit-FUT // hit-IMP 1SG.ACC ;
　　　 I will hit you. // Hit me,

---

[277] The GR is suggested by pairs of cognate verbs (YR then GR). *Gaya-li, garali* 'answer' *gayawali garawali* 'pelt, throw at'. No GR cognate of YR *gaya-y* 'turn over, twist' has been found, but it would presumably be *gara-y*. The Locative suffix *–dha* is found on y-final words, suggesting that *gaya.dha* be analysed as *gayay*-LOC, in turn suggesting that *gayay* is a noun formed by zero derivation from the future form of *gaya-y* 'turn'. There are no other instances of this pattern.

[278] There are verbal prefixes in Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: Chap 7), which supports the use of similar prefixes in YG.

*ngaya nginunha **gaya-dju-rri*** / *yalagiirruu*

1SG 2SG.ACC in.turn-pierce-FUT / just.like

I you hit will //   I you hit you back   Laves

and I will spear you in turn the very same way.   JG

15.4.4   *waanda* 'first'

waanda 'first' is a rarely occurring particle which indicates that one thing is to happen before something else. In the fewer than 10 instances found it occurs on different word classes and in a variety of positions in the sentence. On the tapes *waanda* has stress on the first syllable, while the Sim example (1088) has it as a clitic. It may vary in its use. All clear examples are from YR, mostly AD, which may indicate it has been borrowed from Wangaaybuwan.[279]

In (1086) the stress indicates *waanda* is a free word, not a suffix.

(1086) Wuulaa (Lizard) and Gilaa are having a boomerang throwing contest.   AD/JM 3218B 106.

Gilaa: ngaa, nginda = badhaay wana-nga,

[Galah] yes, 2SG = MIGHT   throw-IMP

[Galah] telling frill lizard to throw his,   AD

[Galah] Yeah, you throw it.   JG

*frill lizard: no, nginda **waanda** / nginda **waanda** wana-nga*

frill lizard: no, 2SG   first   / 1SG   first   throw-IMP

telling him to go and throw it, the gilaa;   AD

[Lizard] No, you first, you throw first.   JG

At 5054A 1220 AD says: ' We'll cook him first' *yilama-li **waanda*** (cook-FUT first), with *waanda* following a verb. In (1087) AD has *waanda* sentence-final.

(1087) (Stay there,) I want to find my spear.   JM/AD 3218B 916.

*garriyawu = badhaay / gayarra-gi   / ngaya gi.yaa.nha / bilaarr ngay   **waanda***

hold.on = MIGHT   / look.for-FUT / 1SG   going.to   / spear 1SG.DAT first

(I don't know where my spear is,) I'll have a look for it first.   AD

In (1088) *waanda* is on a sentence-initial verb, and so may be cliticised.

(1088) I'll eat before I drink.   Sim p 44

*dha-li = **waanda** ngaya, gungan = nga ngaya ngawu-gi*

eat-FUT = first   1SG,   water = THEN 1SG   drink-FUT

I'll eat first, and then I will drink some water.   JG

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[279] Donaldson (1980: 246) has: '–*waanda* 'Prior topic marker' 'which can be consistently translated 'first''. All the Ngiyambaa examples have –*waanda* cliticised on a sentence-initial pronoun. Donaldson also has the contrasting particle *wanduga* 'later' in one of the example sentences, and YG could consider borrowing this to fill a gap in its lexicon. However in the sentence after (1089) Wurm has *yilaala = nga* 'later on'. = *nga* and *yilaa* can both be translated 'later'.

(1089), from Wurm, shows what may be a variant, *baanla*. w:b correspondence is relatively common, but the *-la* may be a mistake, since nl is not a permissible consonant cluster.

(1089) *ðuwař* **ba:nla** *ðalli*   SW p 88
      dhuwarr baanla dha-li
      bread   first?   eat-FUT
      First I'll eat bread   SW

Donaldson (1980: 244) lists particles which are 'enclitic on topics': *-waanda* 'prior topic', *-buwala* 'contrastive' and *-yanbi, -mindii* additional topic are similar to YG *waanda,* =*bala* and *ngayagay* respectively. Donaldson also has *-bani* 'topic isolator' and *-yaama* 'alternative topic'. YG may have had similar particles.

The suffix *-waa* adds emphasis to an imperative. It is found in Ridley, (p 9ff). He has: *goälla* 'speak', *goāllawā* 'speak; you must and shall!': (*guwaa-la* (tell-IMP) and *guwaa-la-waa*), and the same pattern in his other verb paradigms. No other evidence has been found for this suffix.

15.5   Time particles

Time particles[280] include the free forms *yilaa* and *baayan*, forms derived from them, and the clitics =*laa* and =*nga*.

15.5.1   *yilaa* 'short time'; 'SOON' 'PROXimate'

The particle *yilaa* is common in YG. Its basic meaning is 'a short time', before or after the reference point which is most commonly the present, and in narratives is the time being referred to. It is glossed 'soon' when it has future meaning and 'PROXimate time' when it has past meaning: 'a little while ago'.

It is mostly found with future[281] tense verbs, less frequently with past tense, but not with present tense. When the reference point is 'now' *yilaa* has translations such as

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[280] Information about time is common in discourse and is conveyed in many ways. In YG some information is in the verb complex. AD and FR are adamant the YG has no words for 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow', using verb suffixes instead. See §7.5.3.1.

At the most basic tense suffixes indicate future or past and aspectual suffixes indicate duration or recurrence. Time of Day and Distance in Time suffixes (§7.5) can add further detail, and there may have been other suffixes which also had time information, such as 'before'.

Time information can also be conveyed by other nominals such as numbers, sometimes case marked. sometimes not. Dixon (2002: 143) points out that case marked nominals can have a time function, sometimes with Locative used for 'time-at', Ablative for 'time since' and Allative for 'time until.' Time information is often conveyed by a combination of features, such as tense and particles. This section considers non inflecting time particles. Other particles with time information include: *waanda* 'first' and *gayadha* 'in turn'. The particle *yalagiiyuu* 'now' and the demonstrative *yalagiirrmawu* 'at that time' are considered in §5.4.

'soon', 'now', 'just now', 'directly', 'today'. FR says it means 'now' (1989A 238) and 'just now' (1853B 2276) and AD, using it with a past tense verb, says it means 'just a while ago' (3995B 1054). When it is used to link sentences in a narrative, and so with a past deictic reference point, it is glossed 'then' and 'at once'. *Yilaa* often has no explicit English translation. There is slight evidence of *yilaa* meaning 'for a short time', indicating a length of time rather than a distance in time between events.

Yilaa occurs most commonly at the beginning of a clause. It can be demoted from first position, e.g. by *giirr* 'true' and *waal/gamil* 'no'. When not the first word it is often third, following a particle and pronoun, for instance *Giirr ngaya yilaa ...* 'true I then': 5055 262.

It often co-occurs with the time clitics *=laa* and *=nga*. *Yilaa* also occurs in idiomatic fixed phrases, often with other time words.

The form is most commonly *yilaa*, but *yilaal* is found, with no discernable change in meaning. At (3995B 1048) *yilaal* and *yilaa* are interchanged, indicating the speaker recognised them as variants. *Yilaal* most commonly occurs before *nh/ng* initial words and suffixes: e.g. *=NHa, ngaya*. Wurm records a wide range of realisations including four *ila:* and one each of *ʲila: i:la* and *ŋila:ɾ̃*. Table 198 summarises the information on *yilaa* and derivatives.

Table 198   ***yilaa* forms: summary**

English	Gamilaraay	Yuwaalaraay	Note
soon, then	*yilaa[l], =laa*	*yilaa[l], =laa*	
long ago	*yilaambu*	*yilaalu*	*yilaaluu-wan.gaan* RHM
always	*yilaaluu*	*yilaaluu* cf. *yilaalu*	'always' is also *dhugay* YR, *yaliwunga* GR
now	*yilaadhu*	*=nga*	
beginning	*yilambiyal*		

Variation between *l* and a rhotic as the onset of the second syllable is found, more commonly with derived forms. *yirraa,* a variant of *yilaa*, is found at 5052 1182, 8187 1255. Variants of the *yilaala* and *yilaaluu* include Ridley's *yerala* Wurm's *jiɾalu* and *yirraala* on the tapes (e.g. 8186 1805). There is also variation in the length of the final vowel in *yilaalaa* and *yilaaluu.*

15.5.1.1   Examples of *yilaa*

Yilaa with future tense verbs, is seen in (1090), (1091).

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[281] So far *yilaa* has not been found occuring with a compound verb (*gi.yaa.nha* + main verb).

(1090) *yilaa ngali yanaa-y, dha-ndaay ngali*
　　　soon 1DU go-FUT, eat-SUB 2DU
　　　We'll go after we eat. 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　FR/JM 1851B 906

　　　AD describes a situation in English, then translates the last section into Yuwaalaraay:

(1091) AD: (There's a lot of kangaroos coming there, they jumping along there and they come for
　　　　water, they're drinking water), **yilaa**, directly they'll be going back. 　　AD/JM 3217A 1248
　　　yilaa ganunga baa-w.uwi-y
　　　soon 3PL hop-BACK-FUT

　.. then they will go back. 　　JG

With a past tense verb and the present as the deictic centre *yilaa* indicates 'a little while ago': (1092) (1093) (=(382)), (562). (1093) shows that the term 'short time' is context dependant. Here it could refer to a time length varying from hours to years, or even decades.

(1092) **A little while ago** he tripped over a stick and broke his leg. 　　JM/AD 8184 2180
　　　yilaa / yilaa=bala ngaama=nha yanaa-waa-nhi / nhama / giniy-u buyu-dhi buma-nhi
　　　prox / prox=CTR that=3 　　walk-MOV-PST / 3.DEF / stick-ERG leg-ABL hit.M-PST
　　　He was walking along there **a little while ago** and hit his leg on a stick. 　　JG

(1093) There were a lot of fish **a little while ago**. 　　JM/AD 3218B 1888
　　　burrulaa nguwama yilaa / yilaa nguwama / burrulaa / guduu / wunga-y.la-nhi
　　　many 　here 　　prox / prox here 　　/ many 　/ fish(cod) / swim-CTS-PST
　　　Lots here a while ago, a while ago, here, there were lots of fish. 　　JG

Yilaa is commonly used to link clauses in narratives, with English translations such as 'and' (1094), 'but/again', 'directly' (1091) and 'after'.

(1094) He put the possum in his bag and walked a little way. 　　JM/AD 3220A 1783
　　　giirr ngaama nguu man.ga-ya wa-y / mudhay / and / yilaa=nha ngaama yanaa-nhi
　　　true that 　3SG.ERG bag-LOC put.in-PST / possum / and / soon=3 　there 　go-PST

In (1095) AD uses *yilaa* as 'soon'. (1096) has quite a different use: *yilaa* 'while', indicates a length of time within which something happened, rather than the distance in time between two events..

　　　AD called JM 'Miimii' and JM asks AD to translate: 'Miimii, I was expecting you to come
　　　earlier'. The context indicates (not with certainty) that 'earlier' means 'earlier today'. AD
　　　thinks for a while, then gives the following English and Yuwaalaraay:

(1095) I was just thinking you'll come along **anytime**, (that's all I can say). 　　AD/JM 3220A 2810
　　　giirr ngay' nginunha winanga-y.la-nhi / yilaa nginda dhaay dhurra-li.gu nganunda,
　　　true 1SG 2SG.ACC think-CTS-PST 　　/ soon 2SG to.here come-PURP 1SG.LOC,
　　　I was thinking of you, that you would be coming here soon, to me. 　　JG

(1096) **While** the dog was mad he bit the kid. 　　JM/AD 3220B 3662
　　　maadhaay nhama wamba / yilaa / yilaa nguuma birralii-djuul nhama /
　　　dog 　　3.DEF mad 　/ soon / soon 3ERG.DEF child-DIM 　　that 　/

bamba yii-y   / buyu-dhi
hard   bite-PST / leg-ABL

He bit that little boy on the leg, that mad dog.   AD

That dog is mad, and then he really bit the little kid on the leg.   JG

Yilaa is found in combination other time morphemes in the one clause. The combinatorics await further analysis. The first section of Table 199 shows *yilaa* used with particles and nominals. The second section shows it used with the verb suffix -*mayaa-y*, glossed 'ONE.DAY', but also used for longer times. Having *yilaa* plus -*mayaa-y* seems to add nothing to the meaning, except perhaps to exclude a more distant interpretation such as 'a few days ago'.

Table 199 **Combinations of *yilaa* and other time morphemes**

Original	Gloss	Without yilaa	Gloss	Source
ila: bulu:lui	later in the evening	*bululuwi*	evening	Wurm
yilaa buluuy-a	tonight	*buluuy-a*	dark-LOC	FR1987A 267; Sim
ila: bajandu	later on	*baayandu*	soon	Wurm
with -*mayaa-y* 'ONE.DAY'				
yila·gimɛñə	here yesterday	*gi-mayaa-nhi*	be-one.day-pst	Laves
yila gimyên	yesterday			MathewsGR

Similarly the suffix -*ngayi-y* means 'in the morning' but is generally translated 'tomorrow morning' so the only addition *yilaa* can make to (1097) seems to be to definitely restrict the meaning to the closest morning: 'tomorrow'.

(1097) ***yila·ŋaia ŋinu?? diŋgga* wur'ŋai****   Laves MS2188-9-12p020

yilaa ngaya nginu   dhinggaa wuu-rr.**ngayi-y**

soon 1SG   2SG.DAT meat   give-MORN-FUT

tomorrow morning I you meat will give   Laves

I will give you meat tomorrow morning.   JG

(1098) has *yilaa* occurs with a past tense verb and not clause-initial. It has a present tense translation because the verb is used with perfect aspect.

(1098) *bamba bu:lɛini ila:*   SW p 88

bamba   buulayi-nhi **yilaa**

with.energy be.hot-PST   soon

It is very hot today.   SW

15.5.2   =*laa* 'DIRectly'

The clitic =*laa* is likely derived from *yilaa*, but with a change in meaning. It seems to have two semantic components. Firstly it indicates that the speaker regards what they are saying as clearly true. With future tense verbs =*laa* indicates the speaker's conviction that the event will happen. With this use =*laa* is rarely translated. It

contrasts with *giirr* which is generally used with past tense verbs. The second meaning is 'short time', the meaning of *yilaa*. With this use it is often translated 'directly' or not translated. The first use of =*laa* is seen clearly when it is used with negatives. The meaning changes from a simple negative 'not' to an absolute. *waal* is 'not' and *waal* .. =*laa* is translated 'no-more', 'never': (1102).

=*laa* is mostly found at the end of the Initial Intonation Phrase: (1103), (1104) or on the first word of a clause (1105). The most common occurrence is as *ngaya*=*laa* (*ngaya* 'I'), less commonly cliticised to other first person pronouns: *ngali* '1DU' *ngiyani* '1PL'.

Wurm (p 73) has *biṟaligalla* (*birralii-gal*=*laa* 'children-PL.DIM=*laa*) and *muːβal laː* (*mubal*=*laa* 'stomach=DIR), with =*laa* both as both a clitic and a free word. These examples indicate that the *l* of =*laa* is retained, even when cliticised on an *l*-final word.

Yilaa and =*laa*, often occur in the one clause. The force of having both is not clear, but may be to indicate both short time and certainty, or this may be a semantically light discourse phrase. =*laa* is rarely found on verbs; (1099) is an exception. =*laa* is never found after the auxiliary verb *gi.yaa.nha* and has not been found in the same clause as *gi.yaa.nha.* In contrast *gi.yaa.nha*=*nga* (=*nga* 'then') is relatively common. Nor is =*laa* found after interrogatives except for once in Sim who has *gulawu*=*laa* 'when=*laa*' in a translation of 'when will he return'

The suffix is found with non-simple future verbs, e.g. *gingê* 'will be to-morrow' (*gi-ngayi-y.*) and with the future reflexive verbs, but not in conditional clauses or with future reciprocal verbs. In the last two cases the speaker is less likely to be certain the event will occur.

(1099) *buma-li*=**laa** *ngaama ngaya dhayn dhaygal-i, muyaan-du*
     hit-FUT=DIR that   1SG   man   head-ABL, stick-ERG
     I'm going to hit that man on the head with a stick.   FR/JM 2437A 3668

The suffix is found frequently in most YR sources. For GR it is not found in Ridley but is very common in Mathews. He has it on future tense paradigms with *ngaya* 'I': e.g. *Murru ngaiala (ngaya*=*laa) gigi.* 'good I will be presently' (p 263). He (p 265) comments: 'It will be observed that the pronoun *ngaia* becomes *ngaiala* in the future tense'.

(1100) - (1101) have the 'certainty' rather than 'short time' as the meaning of =*laa.* In (1102) (1103) the combination of a negative and =*laa* indicates a permanent state. (1101) has a similar meaning. In (1100), (1103), as commonly occurs, =*laa* is affixed to the 3rd word subject pronoun.

(1100) You will drop that kangaroo if you are not careful. CW/AD 5058 1429

*giirruu   nhama nginda=**laa**   / nhaanma-li , bandaarr*
true.very 3.DEF   2SG.ERG=DIR / drop-FUT   , kangaroo
You will drop that kangaroo. JG

(1101) (And now **forevermore**), as long as a Dinewan has no wings, (so shall a Goomblegubbon lay
   only two eggs and have only two young ones.) Parker line 82
Tuggil nayr lahnylay nayr boonoong.
*dhagil   ngaya=**laa** 'naa-y.la-y **maayrr**? bungun*
??suppose 1SG=DIR   go-CTS-FUT none   wings
And so I will live without my wings, JG

(1102) I won't walk in the bush again, I will stay behind at the camp. JM/AD 3219B 3687
waal *ngaya=**laa**   yurrul-gu   'naa-y   / nguwama*
not   1SG=DIR   bush-ALL   go-FUT   / here

ngaya gi.yaa.nha walaa-dha dhanduwi-y.la-y
1SG   going.to   camp-LOC sleep-CTS-FUT
I'll stop in the camp and I won't go out in the bush **no more**. AD

(1103) Fred Reece describes finding a nest with 10 emu eggs, and then says: FR/JM 2440A 1721
waala=*badhaay nhama ngaya=**laa** wamba-li*
can't=MIGHT   3.DEF   1SG=DIR   carry-FUT
I won't be able to carry them all. FR

(1104) (1105) show =*laa* meaning 'short time', clearly seen in the contrasting translation of the two clauses of (1104). (1105) is one of the rare instances of =*laa* referring to a short time past, but again with a first person subject.

(1104) *mawu-ngiili-y   ngaya=**laa** / mawu-ngiili-y   ngaya*
scratch-REFL-FUT 1SG=DIR   / scratch-REFL-FUT 1SG
I am going to scratch myself directly. I am going to scratch myself. FR/JM 1850B 3801

(1105) *Ngaiala bume or bumedyoo-la* Mathews MS 8006/3/9 book 3 p 64
*ngaya=**laa** buma-y or buma-y=dju=**laa***
1SG=DIR   hit-PST or hit-PST=1SG=DIR
I did beat just now. Mathews

(1106) and (1107) are very similar sentences. (1106) shows =*laa* referring to a short time, while in (1107) there is no indication of a time period, so =*laa* may indicate certainty.

(1106) It will rain again later today. JM/AD 3218B 1274
*yaluu=**laa** dhama-y / nguwalay*
again=DIR rain-FUT / here

(1107) *gali nama la: ba:ri*   [GR] SW p 35

     *gali   nhama＝**laa** baarri-y*

     water 3.DEF＝DIR ??go.down-FUT

     The rain will come.   SW

    Yilaa 'short time' is often found in the same clause as ＝*laa* 'DIRectly', very frequently with *ngaya* 'I' as the subject. The combination of *yilaa* and ＝*laa* may indicate both short time and certainty about the event. (1108) contrasts the combination *yilaa .. ＝laa* with *yalagiiyu.* (1109) is one of the uncommon instances of *yilaa ＝laa* with a past tense verb. The clause however has as its temporal deictic centre the event of the previous clause, so the meaning of *yilaa ＝laa* is still 'shortly after' and 'certainty'. (1110) refers to an event which will definitely happen, but which does not involve the speaker. (1111)(a) shows the speaker's certainty by using *gi-yaa-nha* and (1111)(b) shows it by using ＝*laa*. (1111)(b) contains *yilaa, ＝laa* and ＝*nga* 'then'. The combinatorics of multiple time particles in one clause is unclear.

(1108) I'll cook it **later**.   JM/AD 3220B 1973

     yilaa *ngaya＝**laa** / yilama-li, waal＝bala yalagiiyuu*

     soon 1SG＝DIR   / cook-FUT, not＝CTR   now

     I'll cook it **soon**, not now.   JG

(1109) I dropped it but I picked it back up again.   CW/AD 5057 1035

     *giirr ngaya nhaanma-y / **yilaa**＝bala ngaya＝**laa** ngaam / dhiyama-y*

     true 1SG   drop-PST / soon＝CTR 1SG＝DIR   that   / pick.up-PST

(1110) The sun will be low in the sky soon.   JM/AD 3218A 2202

     *giirr nhama yayaay wuu-waa-nha / **yilaa** / **yilaa** nhama＝**laa** / buluuy gi-gi*

     true 3.DEF sun   go.in-MOV-PRS / soon / soon that＝DIR   / dark   get-FUT

     The sun is going down now, going a little bit dark directly.   AD

     The sun is going down, soon, soon it will get dark.   JG

(1111) We two want to stay in your camp for a little while.   JM/AD 3219B 857

(a)   *yiyal ngali.nya gi.yaa.nha nguwalay wila-y ,*

     just 2DU.EXCL going.to   here   sit-FUT

     We are only staying here a while.   JG

(b)   **yilaa** *ngali.nya＝**laa**＝bala＝**nga**   dharrawuli-yaa-y*

     soon 2DU.EXCL＝DIR＝CTR＝**THEN**? return-MOV-FUT

     We going to stop here for a while, and by-and-by we going to go home.   AD

    On the tapes there are three instance of ＝*bala＝laa* and two of ＝*laa＝bala,* including (1112) and (1113) which show alternate order of suffixes. In (1112) ＝*bala* has scope over 'the women' since they are being contrasted with the men, who had danced earlier. In (1113) the contrast is between now and later, so ＝*bala* follows ＝*laa*, which has time reference.

(1112) *yinarr = **bala = laa**,*   *yuurrma-y, guyungan, guyungan-da*
woman = CTR = DIR, dance-FUT, self,   self-LOC
The women are going to corroboree on their own.   JM/FR 2438A 2632

(1113) When he [the baby kangaroo] is a little bigger, he will hop out of his mother's pouch for a little
 while.   AD/JM 3217A 2037
*nguwama = **laa = bala** / man.ga-yi baa-y   / buunhu dha-lda-y.gu*
there = DIR = CTR   / bag-ABL   hop-FUT / grass   eat-CTS-PURP
He'll hop out of his mother's pouch for a feed of grass.   AD
He will jump out of the pouch, to eat the grass.   JG

Questions remain, such as the effects of combinations such as *yilaalu* and *= laa* in
(1114) and of *= yaa* and *= laa* in (1115). The language in (1115) may be euphemistic,
with *giirr* and *= laa* indicating the certainty of death and *= laa* possibly indicating that
it will be relatively soon, and *= yaa* softening the statement.

(1114) *jilalu namala(:) ŋinu naiβa manumali*   SW p 66
yilaalu   *nhama = **laa** nginu   nhaayba manuma-li*
long.time 3.DEF = DIR 2SG.DAT knife   steal-FUT
Soon he will steal you knife.   SW

(1115) I suppose the old dog will die soon.   CW/AD 5131 2657.
*giirr nhama = yaa = **laa** maadhaay / balu-gi / wayamaa = na*
true 3.DEF = POT = DIR dog   / die-FUT / old.fellow = 3
That dog might die; he's an old fellow.   JG

Another question is whether there are two clitics, *= laa* and *= la*. In Wangaaybuwan
(Donaldson, 1980: 137) *= laa* is 'established reference', and not a time clitic. There
are examples such as (1116) with *-la* and *= laa* in the one clause.

(1116) *baliyaa = **laa** / gi-gi   / gaba-**la** ngaya = **laa** dhuu / wiima-li   ,*
cold = DIR   / get-FUT / good-? 1SG = DIR   fire   / put.down-FUT
I'm going to make a good fire (so as I will have a good sleep.) It is going to be a cold night.
                                                                FR/JM 2438A 3605
It will be cold. I'll make a good fire.   JG

15.5.3   Derivations from *yilaa[l]*

There are a number of relatively common derivations from *yilaa*, summarised in
Table 200. There can be variation in the meanings assigned to a word, but one
meaning tends to be more common. There is often variation in the length of the final
vowel. *Yilaalu[u][282],* which is common, and the much rarer *yilaambu[u],* most
commonly indicate a long time away. *Yilaadhu* is found only in GR and is

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[282] The length recorded for the final vowels varies. *yilaaluu* is particularly in Jack Sands' elicitation. I
will use the short vowel, since that is most common, even if probably less historical. *Yilaambuu* has an
homorganic nasal preceding the suffix, typical of Ngiyambaa but very rare in YG.

'immediately, now'. Yilaala[a seems to indicate an intermediate time. *Yilaaluu-wan.gaan* (MathewsYR: -*wan.gaan* 'very') shows that further intensification of these forms is possible.

Table 200   **More common forms derived from *yilaa[l]***

Form	Gloss: GR sources	Gloss: YR sources	Source
yilaambu[u]	long ago		Mathews, Ridley
	before long, not long ago		Ridley
yilaalu[u]		always	Mathews, Laves
	by and by, soon, Ø		Wurm
		shortly	Wurm
		long ago	Sim, Wurm, tapes
yilaadhu	immediately, now		Ridley, RHM
yilaala[a]	soon, by and by, later on, an earlier day; sometime today, discourse use		Most sources

Table 201 gives evidence about *yilaa* forms from a range of sources.

Table 201   ***yilaa* and derived forms: evidence**

Gloss	Standard form	Ridley	Mathews GR	Mathews YR	SW +	Sim	Laves	Tapes
then, soon little.before	*yilaa*	*ila, yila yela*	*ila, yila*	*ila*	*ila: jila: giṙal*	*yilaa*	*yila*	*yilaa yilaal*
long ago	*yilaalu[YR yilaambu[GR*	*ilambo ilambu*	*yilambu*	*ilalu-wangan*	*jiṙalu + a.while.ago +*	*yilaalu*	*yilaalu*	*yilaalu*
not.long.ago before long	*yilaambu: GR*	*yelambo*						
always	*yilaaluu??*	*ilalu*		*ilalu*				
by and by	*yilaala(a)*	*yerála yerala*	*yirala*	*ilala*	*jíla꞉lú*			
later (on)					*ila:la*			*yilaala(a)*
today		*ilanu*				*yilaala*		
now	*yilaadhu*	*yeladu*	*yilladhu*		*Milson yallithoo*			
beginning		*ilambial*						
after			*ilanu? p267*					

15.5.3.1   *yilaalu, yilaambuu* 'long.time'

Yilaalu[u YR and *yilaambu[u* GR both incorporate *-Buu* 'TOTal2'; §5.2.4.6. They have quite a range of meanings. The most common is 'long ago', marking a point in time. This is the meaning when they are used to begin traditional stories and bible stories, including the one textual example of *yilaambuu.* (1121). They are both also used for a length of time; 'always', 'for a long time'. In Wurm they mainly indicate a 'short time', and this meaning is found occasionally in Ridley. In Wurm *yilaalu* frequently co-occurs with =*laa* 'DIRectly', and *-ngayi-y* 'morning' when the translation indicates a short time, such as: 'soon, afterwards, just now'. His GR *yilaalu* (recorded as *jiṙalu, ila:lu, jilalu, biṙalu, hila:lu, jiralu, jiṙalu, jiřalu, yiṛa:lu, ̦jíla:́lú,* and *jila:lu*) is very common, often not translated, for instance in 'the man will sleep' and often translated 'soon' or 'later'.

   Yilaalu is most commonly the first word in a clause (1117) (1120) as is *yilaambuu* (1121), but there are numerous exception: (1118). Unlike *yilaa* it does not link clauses or sentences.

   Common YR usage of *yilaalu* is seen in (1117) which also contrasts *yilaa* and *yilaalu.* (1118) shows adjunct use, and (1119) shows a 'length of time use' which likely also depends on the use of a continuous verb. (1120), from Wurm's GR, has rare use of the particle with a future tense verb.

(1117) It is a long time since I have eaten emu.   JM/AD 8184 1608
   (AD tries a number of different approaches, then says:)

(a)   *waal*=*bala   ngaya   dha-y   yilaa   /*
       not=CTR   1SG   eat-PST   soon   /
       I haven't eaten it recently,   JG

(b)   ***yilaalu***=*bala   ngay' dha-lda-nhi, dhinawan / burrulaa*
       long.time=CTR 1SG   eat-CTS-PST, emu   / many
       I used to eat them a long time ago, not now.   AD
       but I used to eat emu long ago, lots of it.   JG

(1118) He gave it to me a long time ago.   CW/AD 5057 1546
       giirr ngay   wuu-nhi, yilaalu
       true 1SG.DAT give-PST, long.time

(1119) *wa:l ŋaia **jilalu** ŋadlawɛlaɲji*   SW p 64
       *waal ngaya **yilaalu**   ngarra-l-awayi-y.la-nyi*
       not   1SG   long.time see-LONGER.T-PST
       I have not seen him for a long time.   SW

(1120) *jílaːlú* ˈbúrumà ˈbùmálì   SW GR p 10

   yilaalu buruma buma-li

   long.time dog   hit-FUT

   By and by I shall hit the dog.

(1121) *Ilambo* Immanuel *taongo taiyanani; giwír ginyi.*   Ridley Fraser p 130

   yilaambu *Immanuel dhawun.gu dhaay yana-nhi, giwiirr gi-nyi*

   long.ago Immanuel earth-ALL to.here go-PST, man be-PST

   Long ago Immanuel to earth came; man he became.   Ridley

15.5.3.2 *yilaala[a]* 'int(ermediate).time'

 Yilaala is found in a wide range of sources in both languages but its analysis remains uncertain. *Yilaala* glosses include: 'later', 'by and by', 'today', 'later on', 'then' and 'on an early day': Ridley (p 39) has *yerala* in 'I shall be there on an early day'. It may indicate a time between *yilaa* (soon) and *yilaalu/yilaambuu* (long time). Alternatively it may consist of *yilaa + =laa*, and so indicate a relatively soon and relatively certain event. If this is the derivation the difference between *yilaalaa* and the having the particles separated, e.g. (1108) (1110) is not clear. *Yilaala* may involve the locative suffix, *-a*, but this does not explain the long final vowel sometimes found.

 As well as variation in the length of the final vowel there is often *l-R* alternation: *yilaala[a/yiRaala[a*.

 Like the other *yilaa* forms *yilaala* is commonly first in the clause and links clauses, as in (1122)(a), but often does so in combination with other discourse linkers, especially *=nga* 'now', as in (1122)(b) and (1123). (1123) is from the story of *Guniibuu* 'Robin Redbreast'. In the first clause *yilaala=nga* is used as the link, in the second clause *ngiyama=nga*. *=nga* also occurs as part of the link, *nguwama .. =nga*, in (1122)(b). The combination *yilaala=nga*, with is relatively common on the tapes.

(1122) (When I fell in the mud I left my yamstick on the ground) …

   I picked up my yamstick and stood it against a tree   JM/AD 3220A 41

(a) **yilaalaa** *ngaya ngaama dhiyama-y, ganay,*

   int.time 1SG   that   pick.up-PST, yamstick,

(b) **nguwama** *ngaya=**nga** nganbima-y maalaa-bidi-dja*

   there 1SG=THEN lean-PST tree-AUG-LOC

(1123) (and they got this *bandaarr* [kangaroo] and they pulled it out, and they got him on the edge

   there, and they make a fire, and)   AD/JM 3218A 3630

   yirraala/yilaala=nga *ngiyama / gurru mawu-nhi / **ngiyama=nga** gurru-ga wa-y*

   then=THEN   there / hole dig-PST / there=THEN hole-LOC put.in-PST

   they dug a hole, and put (the kangaroo) in it   JG

Some other uses of *yilaalaa* include in 'In a few days the mothers are coming home' (FR2438A 1453); 'that woman going to come back to me later on' (2439A 200; Fred Reece referring to Janet Mathews returning, perhaps the following year) and 'It is going to rain' (5054A 1515).

15.5.3.3 *yilaadhu* 'IMMEDiately'

Yilaadhu is found only in the early GR written sources. It is glossed 'now' and 'immediately'. It includes *-DHu* 'TOTal3': §15.3.3.1. There are no sentence examples of *yilaadhu. Baayandhu,* Table 203, has the same meaning and the same suffix.

15.5.3.4 *yilaa* : other derivations

Table 202a number of other derivations and phrases involving *yilaa* which are rarely found, many only once. Some, such as *ilaluwangan*, are analysable and understandable. Some others, e.g. *ilambial,* can be analysed into their components, but some not, e.g. *ilanu.*

Table 202   **Rare forms possibly including *yilaa* 'PROX'**

Original	Gloss	Analysis	Comment	Source
ilambial	beginning	*yilaa-biyal*	*biyal* 'just'	Ridley
ilanu	to-day	*??*		Ridley
yiralea wuddhai	sometime	*yilaala = yaa? = wadhaay*	int.time = POT = MIGHT	MathewsGR
ilaluwangan	long ago	*yilaalu-wan.gaan*	long.time-VERY	MathewsYR
Illaialu bumullui	to beat again	*yilaalu buma-l.uwi-y*	hit-BACK-FUT' ?mistranslation	MathewsYR
Ilia bumuldhe	to beat frequently	*yilaa?? buma-l.dha-y*	?? hit-EAT-FUT ?mistranslation	MathewsYR
iralabaDai	later, by and by	*yilaala = badhaay*	int.time = MIGHT	Tindale

Some additional examples of derivations are given in Table 201.

15.5.4 *baayan* 'PROX2'

Baayan seems to be to be a synonym of *yilaa* and so is glossed 'prox2' (proximate time). It is mostly translated 'then': (209), (497), (1053), (1083), and (663); and mainly functions as a clause connector.

There are no definite occurrences in the tapes, but a few in other more recent sources. It is common in earlier sources, most commonly in Parker, found over 20 times in the Emu - Bustard story. Table 203 shows occurrences of *baayan* and forms derived from it. Derivational suffixes recognised here include *-Buu* 'TOTal2'; §5.2.4.6, *-DHu* 'TOTal3'; §15.3.3 and *-DHuul* 'DIM' §3.1.2.5.

Table 203   ***Baayan* and derived forms**

Form	Glosses (in order of frequency)	Source
baayan	then, now, Ø, so then, but, and again, and, when	Parker
	?soon	Laves
	soon after	Sim
	soon	Ted Fields
baayanbuu	instantly	Ridley
baayandhu[283]	soon	Laves YR
	baayandu 'in a little time'; *baayanduu* 'soon as possible'	Sim
	later on	Ted Fields
yilaa baayandhu	later on	Wurm, Laves
baayanduul	a little while ago	Sim
baayandhaal	long time ago	Ted Fields
baayandaa	long time ago; yesterday; tomorrow; one day away	Ted Fields

Derived forms are rare, some found only in wordlists. In contrast to *yilaambuu*[284] 'long.time', *baayanbuu* (1124) is translated 'instantly', with *-buu* apparently having different impacts on the two stems. The effect of *-dhu* in *baayandhu* is mixed: at times no noticeable impact, but at least once to form 'soon as possible' from 'soon'.

I gloss *baayanbuu* and *baayandhu* 'immediately'. (1124) is the only sentence example of *baayanbuu*. The original in Mark's gospel uses 'immediately' or 'straightaway'. There are three text examples of *baayandhu*, all also including *yilaa*: The particles are adjacent in (1125) (1126), separated in the example in Wurm p 86.

(1124) **baianbu** ŋarma murru ŋummillego   Gurre line 68
      baayanbuu ngaarrma maaru ngami-li.gu
      instantly   there   well   see-PURP
      Instantly they are able to see.   Ridley

(1125) *ya manda/***yila baijandu*** *durali*   Laves MS2188-9-12p130
      yaama=nda **yilaa baayandhu**   *dhurra-li*
      ques=2SG   soon immediately come-FUT
      come back <u>soon</u>;; will you please ..   Laves
      Will you come soon?   JG

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[283] The suffis used is *-dhu*, since that is what Ted Fields used, and since the lamino-dental occurs in *yilaadhu*. The suffix may be *-du*, and Sim seems to suggest two suffixes, *-du* and *-duu*, with differences in meaning.

[284] In Wangaaybuwan *-bu* has a shortening effect on *dhalan* 'close in time', forming *dhalan-bu* 'just now'.

(1126) *ila: bajandu ðuṟawalui*   SW p 87

    yilaa baayandhu   *dharrawu-l.uwi-y*

    soon immediately return-BACK-FUT

    Later on he will come back.   SW

Questions remain. Sim[285] has *bayanduul* 'a little while ago', indicating that *baayan*, like *yilaa*, could mean 'short time in either direction'. However *-DHuul* is not found elsewhere on time particles. Sim, Table 203, has *baayandu* 'in a little time'; *baayanduu* 'soon as possible', with variation in the length of the final vowel. This again raises the possibility that what have been identified as variants, e.g. *baayanduu/baayandu*, *yilaala/yilaalaa*, *yilaalu/yilaaluu*, are actually different morphemes. The Ted Fields forms are likely to be recent innovations.

15.5.5   *=nga* 'THEN, NOW'

The clitic *=nga* is extremely common in later YG. It mainly indicates that an event is contemporaneous with a time established in the discourse, and so is translated 'now' when the present is the frame of reference ('I'm good **now**') and 'then' with other frames of reference ('I was/will be good then'). In many instances it is not translated. As with English 'now' *=nga* is also used when one event immediately follows another. It is also used to indicate a logical connection between events. While *yilaa* and its derivatives focus on the length of time, *=nga* focuses on coincidence of events. It is common in narratives.

As with many other discourse clitics use of *=nga* is often optional. Ian Sim discussed the dialects of Yuwaalaraay with his informants, and comments (p.c.) that Greg Fields suggested that *=nga*, *=na* '3' and *-ga* (function unknown) were perhaps used to provide 'fluency', and were much more common in southern versions of Yuwaalaraay. *=nga* was common in some Yuwaalaraay still spoken in Walgett around 2000, with *=nga=na* commonly used by one speaker who likely recognised this combination as a characteristic of the traditional language.

The form is largely unchanging but at times the nasal is assimilated to the preceding sound. This can result in *=na* after an apical, so that *giirr=nga* and *giirr=na* are both heard, the second less commonly. It is typically not changed after a front vowel (1131); but *=nya* is occasionally heard: *gi.yaa.nhi=nya* (609). Since both *=nga* and *=NHa* '3' can be phonologically adapted, and they are both optional and they occupy the same position, at times it is not possible to determine which is being used.

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[285] Sim also has *bayangurr* (?*bayan.gurr*) 'the young of a bird or animal', which could be related to *baayan*.

=nga is almost always towards the end of the IIP, its position relative to other clitics varying.

=nga is translated 'now' with present tense verbs (1127); with past tense verbs having perfect use (1128); and with imperatives (1129). (1127) contrasts *=nga* and *yilaal*. (1129) shows Fred Reece's frequent use of the clitic and also that *=nga* is often not translated into English.

(I am looking for that man, I'm going to hit him.)

(1127) *dhaay=Na   yanaa-waa-nha=nga   /   yilaal   ngaya muyaan-du   buma-li*
to.here=3   go-MOV-PRS=NOW   /   then   I   stick-ERG   hit-FUT
He's coming now, I am going to hit him with this stick.   FR/JM 2437B 1147

(1128) I'm full now. (The previous elicitation was 'hungry')   FR/JM 1850B 64

giirr=nga   ngaya   /   yuuliyaay   gi-nyi
true=NOW   1SG   /   full   get-PST

(1129) (It is a long way home to the camp and we won't be able to cook, we will be home in the dark
and we won't be able to cook any fish.)

(1130) *warra-ya=nga,   giirr=nga   yaay   dhurra-laa-nha   /   ngaaluurr=nga   yilama-la*
stand-IMP=NOW, true=NOW   sun   come-MOV-PRS   /   fish=THEN   cook-IMP
Get up now, the sun is rising, and cook the fish.   FR/JM 2436A 1940

In (1131) and (1132), both from narratives *=nga* links a number of immediately sequential events which also have a causal link.

(1131) In the boomerang throwing contest between Wuulaa (lizard) and Gilaa (Galah), Wuulaa's
boomerang has hit Gilaa on the head. AD continues:

(a) *ngaa,   nguwama=nga?ngaa / aa yu-gi.la-nhi=nga   nguwama ,*
yes,   there=THEN?yes??   / aa cry-CTS-PST=THEN there
He's crying there **then**;   AD/CW 3997A 154

(Wuulaa says)

(b) *ngaa, ngaya=bala=nga   gi.yaa.nha   banaga-y,   dhuwinba-y.gu   //   dhuwinba-nhi=nga*
yes,   1SG=CTR=NOW   going.to   run-FUT,   hide-PURP   //   hide-PST=THEN
I am going to go **now** and plant ['plant' = 'hide']   AD
I am going to run away, to hide. And he hid **then**.   JG

(1132) AD is describing the smoking of a child who has been bad   JM/AD 3219A 1575

yaluu ngarra-y gagil wuyu gi-yaa-ndaay, yanaa.y.nbi-y=nga
again see-PST   bad   throat get-MOV-SUB, let.go-PST=THEN
(They see his throat is bad/he is choking and (JG)) they let him go then.   AD

(1133) and (1134) have identical clauses with and without *=nga*, showing it is often optional.

(1133) *maniila-y gi.yaa.nha ngaya, maniila-y gi.yaa.nha=nga ngaya*
hunt-FUT going.to   1SG,   hunt-FUT going.to=THEN 1SG
I am going to go hunting   FR/JM 1849A 2138

(1134) I camped at the creek while I was on my way here.   JM/AD 3220A 3537

(a)   *ngiyarrma ngaya dhanduwi-nyi, dhaay ngaya yanaa-waa-ndaay ,*
      there   1SG   sleep-PST,   to.here 1SG   come-MOV-SUB

(b)   *ngiyama ngaya=**nga** dhaduwi-nyi*
      there   1SG=THEN sleep-PST

=*nga* often occurs with other time particles, e.g. *yilaala* in (1135). The meanings of such multi-particle combinations remain to be analysed.

(1135) *ila:la ŋa ŋaja wi:gu nai*   SW p 88

      *yilaala=**nga**   ngaya wii-gu   'naa-y*
      int.time=THEN 1SG   firewood-PURP go-FUT
      Later I'll go for firewood.   SW

(1136) (1137) include both =*nga* and =*laa*, but in different orders. The meaning of the combination is not clear.

(1136) If you find any tell me,   CW/AD 5058 1070

      *ngay'=bala=**laa**=**nga** / ngaama mawu-gi / nginda=bala=Na wagirrbuma-li*
      1SG=CTR=DIR=THEN / that   dig-FUT   / 2SG=CTR=3   wash-FUT
      I'll dig it then and you wash it.   AD

(1137) There were flames everywhere.   JM/AD 8186 1762

      *ngaa, ngam=bala=**nga**=**laa** waaruu / barraay ngadaa banaga-nhi, biyuurra-??ngiili-y*
      yes,   3.DEF=CTR=THEN=DIR crow   / quickly down   run-PST,   roll-REFL-FUT
      He rolled in that to put the fire out.   AD
      Yeh, then that crow flew down quickly to roll (on the fire).   JG

=*nga* occurs frequently with non-time clitics, for instance =*nha* '3' and =*bala* 'CONTRAST'. The order of the varies. (1138) shows variation in the order of =*nha* and =*nga*. Similarly with =*bala* and =*nga*, the order is =*bala*=*nga* in (383) (371) 2438A 1438, and =*nga*=*bala* in Tindale line 27 (150). In the tapes there are 60 =*bala*=*nga* and 17 =*nga*=*bala*. Both orders are found in (1139), part of a narrative which includes (1131). In (1139)b the order is =*bala*=*nga*, since the contrast is between the characters *Gilaa* and *Wuulaa.* In (1139)(c) where the focus is on the current appearance of *Gilaa*, the order is =*nga*=*bala*.

(1138) *yu-waa-nha=**nha**=**nga**   // yu-waa-nha=**nga**=**nha***
       cry-MOV-PRS=3=NOW   // cry-MOV-PRS=NOW=3
       She's crying now.   FR/JM 2437B 2845

       Gilaa has rolled *Wuulaa* in the *bindayaa*, prickles.

(1139) (a) *bindiyaa-biyaay 'naa-y.la-nha / ngaarrma wuulaa /*
           prickles-COM   go-CTS-PRS / that   Wuulaa /
       That Wuulaa now is covered in prickles,   JG

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(b) *nhalay = **bala** = **nga** gilaa   / guway-biyaay = **bala** / yiyal 'naa-y.la-nha /*
    this = CTR = THEN   Galah / blood-com = CTR   / just go-CTS-PRS /
and the Galah is covered in blood,   JG

(c) *guwaymbarra = **nga** = **bala** / nguungu bii*
    red = THEN = CTR   / 3SG.DAT chest
his chest is all red now from blood   AD/JM 3218B 342

There are also idiomatic uses of *=nga*, with *giirr = nga* 'that will do' and 'that's enough' (JM/FR 1853B 1001, Laves).

Other languages

There are suffixes in other languages which are formally and semantically similar to *=nga* and *=laa.* In Wangaaybuwan (1980: 161) *-la* (or *-langa*) 'then' 'is added after a tense suffix to emphasise that the event is subsequent to a previous event mentioned in the narrative of conversation'. In Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004:200) 'It is common in texts for a sentence to begin with, and to be linked to what has gone before by, *-nga~ngala* 'then' or *ngapala* 'well' (although it is not certain that the latter really has a coordinate function)'. *=nga* might be etymologically the same as the demonstrative stem of Ngiyambaa *ngan* 'that'.

15.5.6   *-Cu[u*: time suffix

There is a derivational suffix, generally realised as *-u* or *-uu*, sometimes with modification of the root-final element, which adds a time meaning. Examples are seen in Table 204. The vowel length is variably recorded. Historically the suffix may be related to *-Buu* 'total' or possibly *-Gu* Ergative (perhaps with instrumental function).The table includes a similar Wangaaybuwan derivation.

Table 204   *-Cu[u* 'time': \examples

Root	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss	Notes
waal	no, not	*waal-uu*	not yet, hold on	See §11.4.2
garriya	don't	*garriya-wu*	wait a while, not yet	*-wu*, ?lenited form of suffix.
gamil	no, not	*gamil-uu*	not yet, hold on	
yalagiirr	like	*yalagiiy-u(u)*	now	YR (*rr > y*)
yalagiirrma	like that	*yalagiirrmawu*	then, at that time	YR
yiyal	just, only	*yaluu; yiyaluu*	again, also, furthermore	YR, GR
ngayagay	other	*ngayagadha-wu*	other (day), other (night)	many in Wurm; *-dha* ?Loc: uncertain analysis
galaarr	how?	*galawu*	when?	possibly *galaawu*
Wangaaybuwan				
witjupaarr	what like?	*witjupaarru*	when?	

15.6   *dhaay* 'TO.HERE'

The directional particle *dhaay* 'TO.HERE' occurs as a free word. It is also found suffixed, generally on locational demonstratives or other locationals. Common translations include 'to here', 'to me' 'this way'. It is most commonly used with movement verbs, predominantly *yanaa-y/yana-y* 'go' (see Table 108) and *dhurra-li* 'come'. Some of the other verbs it occurs with are: *gaa-gi* 'bring', *wuu-rri* 'give', *ngarra-li* look' and *wana-gi* 'throw'. The verb often has the *-uwi-y* 'back' suffix. There seem to be idiomatic uses of *dhaay* and some currently unexplained uses.

The common sentence-initial use of *dhaay* is seen in (1140)(=(164)), (237) and (306). In (343) *dhaay* follows a sentence initial particle, *garriya* 'don't'. It generally precedes the verb it is associated with, but there are rare exceptions such as (212). See also 3217B 1652.

(1140)   *dhaay   yanaa-ya, dhayn-duul*
       to.here go-IMP,   man-DIM
       Come here little dark fellow.   FR/JM 1988B 3731

dhaay often occurs with a nominal in Locative or Ablative case indicating the origin of motion. I assume that demonstratives which are not specifically Allative or Ablative have locative function. Combinations of *dhaay* and demonstratives are common, particularly *nhama-dhaay* (473) 'there-to.here'. Others include *ngaarrima-dhaay* (336) 'over.there-to.here' and *ngaama-dhaay* (985)(c) 'there-to.here'. *Dhaay* is sometimes a free word in such combinations, as in (238), which has *nguwama* 'there' and *dhaay*. *Dhaay* is also found with Ablative demonstratives, as in in (392), which has *nyiirri-baa-ma-dhaay* 'from-up-DEF-TO.HERE'.

'Where from' is often translated with *minyaaya dhaay* 'where from' (where.LOC to.here YR): (468) and Sim (p 47); less commonly with *minyaayi dhaay* 'where.ABL to.hereYR' (472) and similarly in GR where Mathews (MS 8006/3/9 p 15) has *thullai dhai* 'whence' (*dhalaayi dhaay:* 'where.ABL-to.here). (459) has *minya-dhi dhaay* 'from what' (what-ABL to.here). (1141) includes an incomplete response to CW's elicitation, but shows both Locative and Ablative marking of the source of movement.

(1141)   He was from a different camp.   CW/AD 3999A 1436
       minyaayaa=*bala* **nhama-dhaay**   / *walaay-dji* --
       where.LOC=CTR there-TO.HERE / camp-ABL --
       Where is he from, from (which) camp?   JG

(538) has *biyuu-ga dhaay* 'from a long way away' (long.way-LOC to.here), with the origin of motion shown by a Locative noun, but at 2438A 2502 'out of the scrub' is indicated by an Ablative noun *dhaay yurrul-i* 'to.here bush-ABL'. I have no explanation for the variation in the choice of case.

Allative case is used for nominals in apposition with *dhaay* which indicate the end-point of the motion. Allative pronouns are common in this situation: *dhaay .. nganunda* '1SG.ALL' in (1095) and Sim (Appendix, p 4); *ngiyaningunda* '1PL.ALL' (3217B 1652). Other Allatives so used are: *dhawun.gu* 'earth-ALL' (1121), *mudhu-gu* 'inside-ALL' Sim (p 47).

The free word status of *dhaay* is clear from its sentence-initial use. Bound use is indicated by examples such as *yaluu-dhaay=nga* 'again-to.here=now' in (411), where *dhaay* is followed by a clitic which generally occurs on the first word of the clause. (985) has similar use.

There are idiomatic uses involving *dhaay.* The form *nhama-dhaay* can be used as a warning 'watch out ('something is coming') (293). At 5052 583 AD uses *dhaay galiya-y* 'to.here climb' of '(thunder clouds) coming'. Sim (Appendix, p 8) has:

> *gandhaarr-dhaay* - (lit 'from the other side of the river to us' - from South across the
> Darling) - man who is a stranger, someone who has come across.

AD3217A 3168 has *ngiyarri-djaay* 'from the north' (there-to.here) but there is little evidence that YG had words for cardinal directions.

In (1142) (=(392)) *dhaay* seems to refer to the location of the event, rather than that of the speaker. A similar use is likely at 3218A 3347, another narrative.

(1142) Wedgetail was flying around above, and   CW/AD 3220B 2452

> *nyiirri-baa-ma-**dhaay**=bala=nha wuuli-nyi   bamba   /*
> from?-UP-DEF-TO.HERE=CTR=3 ?swoop-PST with.energy /
> He come straight down (when he seen the meat, on the ground,) he flewed straight down (and
> picked it up and flew straight up in the air again and got away with the meat.)   AD

At 8185 2619 *nhama-dhaay dhurra-laa-nha* 'there-to.here come-MOV-CTS' is used to refer to seeds coming out of their pods. At 3219B 3222 *dhaay* is used in translating 'what you fellows standing there for? Neither of these refer to the location of the speaker.

Appendix B: Background material

This appendix contains supplementary and background material relevant to the main body of the thesis.

This consists of:

1. material relevant to a specific section of the thesis. This includes detailed discussion and information on an issue. For instance §2.2.1 has *Paradigms of YG case forms for standard nominals*. The body of the thesis has the paradigm, this appendix has the range of forms found in the sources and discussion about them. When such background material is extensive, it is placed in the appendix.

   At times there is material which is relevant to language rebuilding, including information from other languages, or examples which cannot currently be analysed. When this material is brief it is included in the body of the thesis, when it is longer it is placed here.

2. Lists to do with various aspects of the languages, for instance the NG and RR verb classes are small, and all the verbs are given here.

Additional material for Chapter 2: Nominal morphology:

The appendix contains some of the evidence used in determining the case forms.

§2.2.1 Paradigms of YG case forms for standard nominals

The different case forms for *y-final* YG words have their origins in the two earlier forms they are derived from. These earlier, proto-Central New South Wales forms are either *y-final* or *n y-final* (Austin, 1997). The *y-final* words have retained that form in all languages. Proto-CNSW *ny*-final words have retained that form in WI, but are *y*-final in WN and YG: blood is *guwany* in CNSW and WI, *guwayN* in WN and *guway* in YG. The N represents what Donaldson (1980: 31) calls 'a morpheme-final nasal archiphoneme' which is realised before suffixes.

Words which are *y-final* in Proto-CNSW drop the *y* in both WN and WI in many case forms, for instance WI *migay* 'girl', *miga-dhu* 'girl-ERG' (cf. *miyay* 'girl' YG) and WN *burraay* 'child' *burraa-dhu* 'child-ERG'.

Words which are *ny*-final in Proto-CNSW have a nasal-stop-vowel suffix pattern in both WI and WN: in WI by retention of the final consonant: *guwany-dju* 'blood-ERG',

and in WN by the use of a homorganic nasal: so WN *guway* 'blood-NOM' and *guwa-nh.dhu* 'blood-ERG'.

In YG there is no nasal before the stop, but variation, with both *guway-dhu* and *guwa-dhu* 'blood-Ergative' found once in the tapes. The common Ergative on *y-final* YR words is seen in *maadhaay-u* 'dog-ERG'.

§2.2.3 Yuwaalaraay evidence for Erg/Loc case forms

Yuwaalaraay examples in early sources are relatively limited, but quite regular in form. Table 205 gives examples with agentive/instrumental functions from early sources. Mathews (1902: 138) called the agentive function 'causative' and gave one example: *Urēu*. Mathews also recognised an instrumental function which had the same suffix as the 'causative' and gives the example *burrndu*. Wurm's *bila:dju* may be an error. There is no obvious reason for a palatal here. Similarly the *ld* in *biṟaligaldu* is unexpected. The expected form is *birralii-gal-u.*

Table 205   **YR Ergative - early sources and Wurm**

Original	Gloss	Standard	Analysis	Source
Early sources				
Urēu		*yuurray-u*	man-erg	MathewsYR 138
burrndu	with a boomerang	*barran-du*	boomerang-ERG	MathewsYR 138
Dinewandoo	Emu	*dhinawan-du*	emu-ERG	Parker
Wurm – some irregular forms and non-canonical forms				
jaja:ðu		*yayaay-dhu*	sun-ERG	WurmYR
bila:dju	with a spear	*bilaarr-dju*	spear-ERG	WurmYR; error?
Mary-dju		*Mary-dju*	Mary-ERG	WurmYR
biṟaligaldu		*birralii-gal-du*[286]	child-PL-ERG	WurmYR; error?

For both Ergative and Locative suffixes, the Yuwaalaraay tapes and most other sources have many examples which follow the pattern set out in Table 5 and Table 6, as do the example sentences in the thesis. Most of the relatively rare exceptions relate to *rr* and *y-final* words, including non-canonical *buwadjarr-u* (father-ERG; FR2437B 783); *yaay-dhu* (sun-ERG; FR1850A 671) and *guway-dhu* (blood-instrumental; AD3217A 507) (The expected YR forms are *buwadja-yu, yaa-dhu* and *guway-u*). Locative forms are relatively regular, with rare exceptions such as *walaay-ga* (camp-LOC; AD5131 2523; expected is *walaay-a*) but here AD is actually repeating a form suggested by CW.

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[286] The usual Ergative suffix after *l* is *u*. However both *l* and *d* are apical, and the cluster *ld* is common, so this may be a rare variant.

While Wurm has many canonical Ergative/Locative forms, there are exceptions. Table 205 has *jaja:ðu*, an irregular, but canonical form. Mary*-dju* is regular, if treated as [i] final. His other examples are non-canonical, indicating there was some variety in the realisation of these suffixes.

The number of irregularities involving *y-final* words suggests that this part of the languages was in change and that variation was common.

Gamilaraay evidence for Erg/Loc case forms

Table 206 lists many of the GR examples of the Ergative, and Table 207 gives examples of the Locative. Early GR sources recognised the existence of the Ergative case: Ridley in his analysis (p 5) called it the 'second Nominative' and gave one form, *-dū*, for the suffix. There are no further examples in the text he provides. MathewsGR (p 261) lists a Nominative-agent case, with examples *Murridu* and *Inaru*, and an instrumental case 'a similar suffix to the Nominative-agent' with example *burrandu*. On p 262 he lists the forms of the Nominative agent suffix as *-du* and *–u,* an incomplete list of allomorphs, with example *buralu*.

Table 206   **GR Ergative in sources**

Final	Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes	Source
a,u	*dhulu-gu*		*dhulu-gu*	stick-ERG	WurmGR 13
i	*Murridu*	man	*mari-dhu*	man-erg	MathewsGR 261
	maṟi-ḏu; mari-dhu		*mari-dhu*	man-ERG	WurmGR 55
	wii-dhu		*wii-dhu*	fire-ERG	WurmGR 17
	ga:yliḏu		*gaayli-dhu*	child-ERG	WurmGR 54
y	*galamuðu;* *galama:y-ḏu*		*?galuma-dhu* *galumay-dhu*	brother-ERG	WurmGR 25, 55
rr	*Inaru*		*yinarr-u*	woman-ERG	MathewsGR 261
	biérdu/do??		*biyarr-u*	one-ERG	LavesGR 1386
l	*buralu*		*burrul-u*	big-ERG	MathewsGR 262
n	*burrandu*	with a boomerang	*barran-du*	boomerang-ERG	MathewsGR 261

Laves has little information on the Ergative or Locative suffix. His one Ergative example is *biérdu/do* (unclear in source), which is not the usual *biyarr-u* (one-ERG), and his only example of a Locative case marked noun is *ngunmala* (*ngunmal-a* 'corral-LOC').

Neither Ridley nor Mathews used the term 'Locative case' but Ridley's paradigm does have an example: *mulliondā* 'in an eagle' and his text contains examples, given in Table 207, as are the MathewsGR examples. Ridley also has (p 5):

mullionkūnda 'with an eagle at rest', which I interpret as a Personal Declension Locative form, *maliyan-ngunda.*

Table 207 **GR Locative in sources**

Final	Original	Gloss	Standard	Notes	Source
a	*littraga*	at Lystra	*Lidrra-ga*	Lystra-LOC	Ridley: p 42
	ðinnaga	??	*dhina-ga*	foot-LOC	Wurm GR
	gajaj ba:ga	through sandy place	*gayaaybaa-ga*	sandy.place-LOC	Wurm GR
u	*dhuluo dhulua*	in (top of) tree	*dhulu-ga?*	tree-LOC	MathewsGR: 267
	mudhuga	inside	*mudhu-ga*	middle-LOC	MathewsGR: 267
i	*murridha*	to the man (DAT	*mari-dha*	man-LOC	MathewsGR: 261
	gundiða	in the house	*gundhi-dha*	house-LOC	Wurm GR
rr	*bulara*	twice	*bulaarr-a*	two-LOC	MathewsGR: 268
l	*yarula*	over the stones	*yarral-a*	rock-LOC	Ridley: 39
	burala	to the big (man)	*burrul-a*	big-LOC	MathewsGR: 262
	mala	once	*maal-a*	one-LOC	MathewsGR: 268
	ngunmala	corral	*ngunmal-a*	corral-LOC	Laves GR
	yurul-a	in the scrub	*yurrul-a*	scrub-LOC	Wurm GR
	gunɛ:la:	plain	*?guniyal-a*	plain-LOC	Wurm GR
n	*taonda*	in ground	*dhawun-da*	earth-LOC	Ridley: 42
y	*wullaidha*	to the camp	*walaay-dha*	camp-LOC	MathewsGR: 261
	wullaidha	at the camp	*walaay-dha*	camp-LOC	MathewsGR: 267
y2	*baga:y-ḍa*	in / on the river	*bagaay-dha*	river-LOC	Wurm GR

The Ergative and Locative examples found generally fit the regular Gamilaraay pattern given in Table 5. The main exception is *y-final* nominals. There are a few examples of regular forms, i.e. *-dhu* or *-dha,* such as Wurm's *galama:y-ḍu* (brother-ERG), but also exceptions such as *galamuðu* (brother-ERG), with *y* deleted, which are considered later.

There are relatively few examples of Gamilaraay Ergative or Locative suffixes on *rr* final words. The Mathews examples above, *yinarr-u* 'woman-ERG' and *bulaarr-a* 'two-LOC' have the same allomorph after *rr* as Wangaaybuwan. There is some other slight evidence to support this pattern, with the suffix consisting of the vowel only. The suffix is likely found in the place name 'Bundaarra' - probably *bandaarr-a* 'kangaroo-LOC'. As well the existence of *rr-u/a* forms in the YR tapes (next section) from informants who knew some GR is also an indication that these are the GR forms.

There are other forms which can be analysed as non-canonical, or as irregular (and so canonical). GR has *dhulu* 'tree', and Table 207 has Locative *dhuluo,* (*dhulu-wa*)

with suffix -*wa* instead of the expected -*ga*. This is a further example of lenition, cf. *dhalaa-wu* below, and likely an accepted realisation of the suffix in this context, with [g] lenited to [w].

§2.2.4

YG *ay*-final Ergative/Locative

The YG and GR sources show clear lexically determined variation in the Locative/Ergative suffix for *a y-final* stems. There are two irregular forms in YR and one in GR. The irregular forms occur on y2 words (Table 7).

In YR the regular suffixes, after y, consist of just the vowel, and these are the only forms found with some words: There are over 100 instances of *maadhaay-u* (ERG) and *maadhaay-a* (LOC) (*maadhaay* 'dog'). No other forms are found, and similarly for *buluuy* 'black' and *giniy* 'stick' (*buluuyu, buluuya, giniyu, giniya*). These regular forms are found on the tapes, in Wurm and in other sources. The irregular forms in YR are the more common *y̶-dhV* and the rarer *y-dhV*.

The regular GR pattern is –*dhV* after the full root; e.g. *walaay-dha* (Table 207). The y2 pattern is *y̶-dhV*, but some y2 words have both patterns.

The question is about the status of these forms. Are some errors or do they show variation in the traditional language? There is no way of being certain, but it seems likely the variation was traditional since the variation is found in most sources and shows some consistent patterns. Table 208 lists many of the non-regular forms found.

There are other rare variations which I will treat as non-canonical. Factors which may encourage the use of these forms on *ay*-final words include: Cross language influence of the Wangaaybuwan pattern (*y̶-dhV*), YR use of the regular GR pattern (*y-dhV*), and the intra-language influence of the pattern found with other *DH* initial suffixes, for instance -*DHuul* 'one/small' (§3.1.2.5). This range of patterns from similar environments easily leads to variable realisation of ERG/LOC suffixes following *ay*.

This analysis of suffixes on *y-final* words has implications for other parts of the language. Previous analysis (Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary) of *baga-dha* 'on the river (bank)' has posited *baga* 'river bank' in contrast to *bagay* 'river'. Recognising the alternative suffix form suggests there is one word, *bagay* 'river'. Another change involves the form *gaya-dha* 'in turn' (AD) which suggest that there is a noun *gayay* 'turn', since -*dha* is never used on *a*-final words. While the unsuffixed noun *gayay* has not been found, there is the verb *gaya-y* 'turn'. However no other examples have been found of this nominalisation pattern of Y class verbs. This raises the further question of the productivity of such a nominalisation process.

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Table 208   **YG Irregular Ergative/Locative after** *ay*

V (vowel) indicates that both Locative and Ergative suffixes have been found

Gloss	Base	Suffixed form	Frequency	Source/Notes
Yuwaalaraay				
sun	*yaay*	*yaa-dhV*	many	Tapes et al.
		yaay-dhu	one	FR 1850A 671
sun	*yayaay*	*yayaa-dhV*	few	AD, tapes
camp	*walaay*	*walaa-dhV*	many	All AD
		walaay-dja	few	AD inc 3998B 1629
net	*gulay*	*gula-dhV*	very few	AD
		gulay-a	few	regular
how many	*minyangay*	*minyanga-dha*	one	Sim
blood	*guway*	*guwa-dhu*	one	AD 3217A 507
		guway-dhu	one	AD 3217A 565
river	*bagay*	*baga-dha*	common	tapes (cf. GR)
		bagay-dha	few	tapes (cf. GR)
other (time)	*ngayagay* 'other'	*ŋaja gaðoṇ* (ngayaga-dha-?)	~7	Wurm
Gamilaraay				
Gloss	Original	Analysis		Source/Notes
at the camp	*Wolla ya*	*walaay-a*		Ridley: 39
to the camp	*walaay-ga*	*walaay-gu?*		MathewsGR: 267; uncertain
other side of the river	*(mulandha) bagada*	*bagay̶-dha*		MathewsGR: 267
river	*bagada*	*bagay̶-dha*		MathewsGR
in the river	*ba̱gaiðạ*	*bagay-dha*		WurmGR: 17

There are other patterns in the use of the Ergative and Locative suffix. Some common nominals are never or rarely found with Ergative or Locative suffixes. For instance, apart from one instance of *birray-dja* (itself irregular, FR5053 837) the common words *birray* 'boy' and *miyay* 'girl' are not found with these suffixes unless previously suffixed with -*DHuul* 'small/one' e.g. *miyay-djuul-u*. *Ngayagay* 'other' is common and also is suffixed with –*DHuul* on the tapes before any ERG/LOC suffix. It is unlikely that all restrictions of this type have been recognised.

The analysis given above is largely synchronic. There are some hints of diachronic change. It is clear from the traditional story (Parker: *Gumbulgaban*) that the word *wiidhaa* 'Bowerbird' is a word-play on fire-LOC, currently *wii-dja* in YR. It is possible that –*dha[a]* is an older form of the suffix, which has been retained on some

common words. The use of invariant *-gu* for Dative is more common in later sources, and may be due in part or whole to Wangaaybuwan influence.

Yuwaalaraay *rr*-final Erg/Loc

There is some variation in the YR Erg/Loc suffixes on *rr*-final words. On the tapes an irregular form is often followed by the informant correcting himself and using the regular form. The most common variation uses the GR/WN form, so is likely borrowing. There are numerous regular YR examples on the tapes and elsewhere, with the *rr* deleted and the suffix *-yu* Erg or *-ya* Loc. Non-regular examples include: FR2437B 783 *buwadjarr-u* 'father-ERG'; FR2439A 1127 *bulaarr-u* 'two-ERG'; AD3999A 466 *bilaarr-u* 'spear-ERG' (immediately corrected to *bilaa-yu*). Rarely the irregular form is given second: FR1853A 2447 has *ngaaluu-ya* then *ngaaluurr-a* 'fish-LOC'.

Other non-regular forms in sources

There are non-regular forms found in the sources on words that are not *rr* and *y-final*. Jack Sands (JS) is a tape informant who is not as proficient in the language as AD and FR. He alone uses *-dha* and *-da* after word final *a* or *l* indicating that he has overgeneralised use of this allomorph. Examples are given in Table 209.

Table 209   **Jack Sands' irregular forms**

Jack Sands	Analysis	Regular form
bindiyaa-dha	prickle-LOC	*bindiyaa-ga*
yurrul-da	bush-LOC	*yurrul-a*
bii-dha	chest-LOC	*bii-dja*
buya-dha	bone-LOC	*buya-ga*

Other non-regular Ergatives include: (AD3217A 2308) *burrul-bidi-yu* (big-big-ERG) (The tapes have many regular *burrul-bidi–dju*) and (AD3218B 2051) *miyaymiyaay-lu* 'little girl' (girl-REDUP-ERG). This *-lu* is the same form as the suffix found in exclusive Ergative pronouns (see §10.4.5): *–u* or *–dhu* are the expected forms[287]. This is the only Ergative example of this noun. Sim has *Bilgin-dju* 'splinter-ERG', with *-dju*, not the expected *–du*. I analyse all these examples as errors.

§2.2.5

YR Ablative evidence

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[287] One reviewer asked whether irregular allomorphs are found on words denoting humans. This is not the case: e.g. *birralii-gal-u* in (424).

There are many YR tokens of the Ablative suffix, with examples of fully predictable forms in Table 210. Some of the non-regular forms on *y-final* words are presented in Table 211. Table 212 has irregular forms on *rr* final words.

Table 210   **YR Ablative suffix - not *y* or *rr* final**

Gloss	Form	Standard	Source
Vowel-final			
from the river'	*ga:wa:ði*	*gaawaa-dhi*	Wurm p 80
this is why	*jalla girɛi maðði*	*yalagiirrma-dhi*	Wurm p 96
(fear) of what		*minya-dhi*	tapes
(bit) on the leg		*buyu-dhi*	tapes
from the fire	*wi:dji*	*wii-dji*	Wurm p 75
from the bush	*waḍidji / waridji*	*wadhi-dji*	Wurm p 96
l-final			
from the large man	*uredyi buruli*	*yuurray-dji burrul-i*	MathewsYR 139
(hit on) ankle	*baȓaŋgali*	*baranggal-i*	Wurm p 100
out of the eye		*mil-i*	tapes
n-final			
from the emu		*dhinawan-di*	tapes
y-final			
from the large man	*uredyi buruli*	*yuurray-dji burrul-i*	MathewsYR 139

Table 211   **YR Ablative suffix on *y-final* words**

Gloss	Form	Standard	Source/note
regular forms (-*dji*)			
possum-ABL	*mudhay-dji*		tapes
skin-ABL	*yulay-dji*		tapes
camp-ABL	*gaarrimay-dji*		tapes
camp-ABL	*walaay-dji*		tapes; common
from the dog	*maadhaay-dji*		tapes; many
non-regular forms			
from the camp	*garemi*	*gaarrimay-i*	MathewsYR p 138 cf. above
from (my) camp	*wala:ði*	*walaay-dhi*	Wurm p76 cf. above
from the camp	*waladji, wala:dji*	*walaay-dji*	Wurm p 77 cf. above
from (this) camp	*wala(i):dji*	*walaa(y)-dji*	Wurm p 90: cf. above

Table continued on next page.

Gloss	Form	Standard	Source/note
from the river bank	*baga-dhi*	*bagay-dhi*	1; AD5128 2576
from the river	*baga-dji*	*bagay-dji*	1; AD5129A 2840
(put skin) in the sun	*yaa-dhi*	*yaay-dhi*	1; FR2439A 3082
(afraid) of the dog	*maadhaa-dhi*	*maadhaay-dhi*	FR5053 377 cf. above; error
maadhaay-i corrected to *maadhaay-dji*		dog-ABL	FR 1851B 2870
Unclear examples			
?	*dhiinbaay-dhi*	*dhiinbaay* 'yamstick'	FR2437B 3419 The elicitation is unclear. (GR pattern)
	buluuy-dhi		AD8186 3270 (GR pattern)
from the ground	*dhaymaay-dhi*	*dhaymaarr* 'ground'	FR2436A 2653

Evidence for variation with word final *y* comes from MathewsYR (slight), Wurm, FR and AD. Sim's paradigm and rare sentence instances of the suffix are regular. The variation is mostly found with words which have irregular forms with other cases – for instance *walaa-dhi*, *yaa-dhi* (once), but there are many examples of the regular *walaay-dji* on the tapes. There are a variety of patterns and few examples. For instance, while FR has a number of forms of the suffix with *maadhaay*, I assess the canonical form as *maadhaay-dji*, based on his own hesitation, and the fact that *maadhaay* takes the main form of other suffixes. *walaay* 'camp' is y2, but most Ablative instances retain the *y: walaay-dji*. In contrast *bagay* 'river' is also y2, but the only examples are *baga-dhi* and *baga-dji*. I suggest the Ablative suffix is *-dji* for all *y-final* words, with a variant *y-dji/dhi* for y2 words (Table 7). The actual form used is lexically determined. Two examples in Table 211 (*dhiinbaay* and *buluuy*) show the GR pattern, and *dhaymaay-dhi* probably is an error, since the uninflected noun is *dhaymaarr*.

rr-final YR Ablative

The Williams paradigm (p 38) has *-i* as the only suffix allomorph for *rr* final words. However variation is found, as seen in Table 212[288]. The YR Ablative suffix has three forms on *rr*-final words. One is *-i*, which is the same as the GR suffix in this context. The second is *rr-yi*, which reflects the YR Ergative *rr-yu* and Locative *rr-ya*. The third

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[288] Change of *ri* to *yi* (less commonly *ri* to *yi*) is common in Australian languages, but the YR change is *rr* > *y* with any vowel following.

is ~~rr~~-*dhi*, which may result from the transfer of the ~~rr~~-*du* pattern seen with –*DHuul* on *rr* final words.

Table 212 shows the frequent uncertainty of the informants with *rr* final words. This variation could be due to interference from other patterns or be part of traditional Yuwaalaraay. The frequency of -*yi* suggests that the –*yi* is a genuine alternative Ablative form in Yuwaalaraay for *rr* final words. The final vowel is often not heard, so the -*y(i)* in the table.

Table 212   **YR Ablative on *rr* final words: tape evidence**

Suffixed form	Base		Source/Notes
dhaymaay-dhi	*dhaymaarr* '	ground	FR 2436A 2653: error
dhaymaa-yi, corrected to *dhaymaarr-i*			FR 2437B 2571
dhaymaa-yi	*dhaymaarr*	ground	AD 3997B 1986
baburr-i, babu-dhi	*baburr*	foot	FR changes his mind; 1986B 2515
bandaarr-i	*bandaarr*	kangaroo	AD 3999A 425
gulii-yi, corrected to *guliirr-i*	*guliirr*	spouse	AD 3220B 826
man.garr-i	*man.garr*	bag, pouch	AD 5130 3375
man.ga-yi			AD 3217A 2079
yina-yi	*yinarr;*	woman'	AD many in 5128
yina-dhi	*(yinarr-i not found)*		AD 5128 2558; 1 token
minyaarr-i 'where from'	*minyaarr*	which	Tapes
minyaa-yi 'where from'	*minyaarr*		Tapes (less common); Wurm: 90

Table 213 shows the similarities of YR Ablative to both YR and GR Ergative/Locative suffixes.

Table 213   **YR Ablative on rr-final words: summary**

Word ends	YR	GR		YR	GR		YR	GR
	Ergative			Locative			Ablative	
rr,	~~rr~~-*yu*			~~rr~~-*ya*			~~rr~~-*yi*	
		rr-u			*rr-a*		*rr-i*	*rr-i*

GR Ablative Evidence

There are few examples of the Ablative suffix in the Gamilaraay sources, most of which are given in Table 214. The form of the GR suffix is uncertain after final *y* and *u*. As in YR, GR *bagay*-ABL drops the y; the only other *y-final* example is *walaaydhi*. As for YR I suggest the y2 suffix has variants, -*dhi* and ~~y~~-*dhi*, except for *bagay*, where the only form found is *baga-dhi*. More problematic are the *u*-final words. All instances have *u-wi* as the Ablative form. If accurate this would be the only situation where *u*-

final and *a*-final words have different allomorphs of a suffix. All of the numerous YR *u*-final examples have *u-dhi*, suggesting this may also have been the GR form. On the other hand the only GR examples have *u-i*, which would be rendered *u-wi* in the current orthography.

Table 214 **GR Ablative examples**

Suffixed form	Gloss	Standard	Source
mulliondi	from an eagle	*maliyan-di*	Ridley p 6
wullaidhi	from the camp	*walaay-dhi*	MathewsGR: 261
Murridhi	from the man	*mari-dhi*	MathewsGR
Bundari	from the kangaroo	*bandaarr-i*	MathewsGR: 262
Murridhi burali	from the big man;	*mari-dhi burrul-i*	MathewsGR: 267
dhului bulari biddhundi;	between two trees	*dhulu-wi bulaarr-i bidjun-di*	MathewsGR
bugga-dhi	from the other side of the river;	*baga-dhi; bagay 'river'*	MathewsGR
yudile	through the bush	*presumably yurrul-i*	MathewsGR
dhuyul-i	(climb) up/down the hill	*dhuyul-i*	MathewsGR
dhulu-i	up the tree	*dhulu-wi*	MathewsGR
mu'rui	near nose	*muru-wi*	Laves 10-38
ðiði	from the meat	*dhii-dhi*	Wurm: 41

§2.3.1

Other languages also have uses of the Ergative which are outside the basic pattern. Breen (2004: 77) lists non-prototypical uses of instrumental in Yandruwantha, some of them given in Table 215.

Table 215 **Yandruwantha 'peripheral' uses of Operative/Ergative**

Sentence/phrase	Instrumental nominal	Notes
I hit my foot on a rock.	rock- ERG(inst)	
I made it out of wood	wood- ERG(inst)	
comes in the dark	dark- ERG(inst)	
wear a hair belt	belt- ERG(inst)	
caught it by the tail	tail- ERG(inst)	but other Yandruwantha speakers use Nominative

There are idiomatic uses of Ergative, for instance in Arrernte (Wilkins, 1989: 172) 'I'm suffering from the cold' is translated with 'cold-ERG' and 'me(ACC)'.

§2.3.6 Ablative case, YG 'grammar of space'

The adequacy of description: - translating 'through'

An ideal grammatical description specifies which construction to use in a particular situation. The function of cases is to 'indicate the role of NPs[289] within a simple clause' (§2.1.1). Clear and well defined terminology is required to describe various roles in a clause, and so specify the case of the NP. However as Wierzbicka points out in §1.5.1 the terminology used in describing case functions is often quite unclear - but achieving clear terminology is a major task.

The size of this task is clear in the incomplete descriptions above of functions and the cases that are used for them. Often there is no choice but to give a description which is less than ideal. There is no clear description of how to translate 'through' in YG, but this difficulty has been experienced elsewhere. In some languages 'perlative' case can be used to translate 'through'.

Yankunytjatjara has a Perlative case (C. Goddard, 1983: 45) with marker -*wanu* (common nouns) and -*lawanu* (name-status nouns). The case 'usually indicates that an action was performed through or across something or that a state exists around something'. Goddard gives examples which include the phrases: 'through open country', 'close around here', 'by way of Unkalypalangu', 'around Yalata', and 'high-PERL' is used in '(calling out) loudly'.

Similarly Dixon (2002: 151) defines 'perlative' case/function as 'through', or 'along by the side of' something and (p 166) says it is also called 'pergressive'. Neither the descriptions and names of the functions nor the examples give a clear description of the conditions governing use of the case.

YG has no separate Perlative case, so it might be expected that there is a perlative function which is signalled by one case. This is not so. Even the common, primary, description of perlative function: equivalent to the English preposition 'through', is translated using all three local cases in YG, as seen in Table 216. A preliminary conclusion is that when the motion is towards the speaker, irrespective of the verb, (-)*DHaay* 'to.here' is used, and the location is in Ablative case. *Dhaay* is not found in the first example, from Mathews, but that sentence may well be incomplete.

In other situations Locative and Allative are used to translate 'through'. I have no indication of what governs the choice between them, and in fact both cases are used in one example (3220A 1288). In the final example (3219A 1412) 'through the smoke' is likely an English idiom. The verb used is *bayama-li* 'hold' and the use of the Locative is consistent with the stationary relationship between the one held and the smoke. The conditions governing the choice of translations of 'through' are incompletely understood.

Table 216 **English 'through' translated with different cases**

English gloss	Form	Analysis	Source
(I came) through the scrub.	*yudile (yurrul-i)*	bush-ABL	MathewsGR p 267
creeping through the scrub	*yurrul-i-djaay*	bush-ABL-to.here	3220A 3381
coming through the bush	*dhaay .. yurrul-i*	to.here bush-ABL	3219B 2056
snake is sliding through the grass	*dhaay, buunhu-dhi*	to.here .. grass-ABL	3220A 3739
she ran through the grass	*buunhu-ga*	grass-LOC	3217B 243
he walked through the long grass	*buunhubuunhu-gu* *buunhu-ga*	grassredup-ALL grass-LOC	3220A 1288
walking through the bush	*yurrul-da*	bush-?LOC	JS3216A 1916

Table continued on next page.

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[289] In YG all members of what might be called a noun phrase (see §10) have the same case.

English gloss	Form	Analysis	Source
going for his life there through the scrub	*yurrul-gu*	bush-ALL	3219A 184
hopping through the scrub	*wadhi-gu*	bush-ALL	2833B 914
walks through the scrub	*yurrul-a*	bush-LOC	3217A 2307
father put him through the smoke	*dhuu-ga*	smoke-LOC	3219A 1412

A very preliminary YG grammar of space

Levinson and Wilkins' *Grammars of Space* 'is about the way languages structure the spatial domain' (2006: 1). The titles of the chapters on grammars of space in Australian languages: (McGregor (2006) '**Prolegomenon** to a Warrwa grammar of space', Schultze-Berndt (2006) '**Sketch** of a Jaminjung grammar of space' and Wilkins (2006) '**Towards** an Arrernte grammar of space' (emphases mine)) indicate that even for well-resourced languages developing a full grammar of space is a major task, so it is understandable that this will be an incomplete study of YG description of space. Some relevant material is found in other sections: Local cases §2.3.3 and on demonstratives §5. It would also 'fill the gaps' in this section of grammar. In YG location can be broadly described with local case marked nominals, and can be more specifically described using locational nominals. Here locational nominals and suffixes are considered.

Locational nominals and suffixes

Locational forms are a semantically defined group of nominals and suffixes, which specify a location with reference to another entity, for instance 'the side', 'the front' or 'near'. A number of words have both a locational meaning and a non-locational one, e.g. *bawa* 'back' and 'behind', *wagi* 'plain' and 'outside'. Some locational morphemes are free, others e.g. *milan* 'close' are at times suffixes and at other times free and others, e.g. *-gili*, are bound.

Some locationals indicate an area separate from the reference location (e.g. '**near** the fire', **around** the fire'). Others can indicate both a location separate from the reference point, or a part of the reference point: e.g. *bawa* 'back' can indicate separateness: 'behind the fire' or part: 'the back of the fire'. Some can only refer to areas separate from the reference location, e.g. *ngaya* 'behind'. *Mudhu* 'inside' is one of the rare forms that can refer only to a part of the reference location, and many e.g. *bawa* 'back/behind' can refer to both part of the reference location, and to an area separate from it. The details of such distinctions in YG have not been fully described (e.g. how to distinguish 'at the back of the fire' from 'behind the fire')

Table 217 lists the main YG locational nominals found with examples of their use. Table 218 lists locational suffixes.

Table 217 **YG locational nominals**

Form	Gloss	Translation	Source/Notes
bawa	**back**		mostly a body part term
bawa-ga nganunda	back-loc 1SG.LOC	behind me	3217A 1158
bawa-ga	back-LOC	(carries child) on her back	1852B 1041
maadhaay-a, bawa-ga	dog-LOC / back.LOC	(jumping) on dog's back	3998A 196
bawabiil	behind		only in Sim
ngaya	**behind**		cf. *ngayagay* 'other, as well'; not found in apposition
ngaya-ga	behind-LOC	(I am walking) behind.	1853B 1649
bani	**front**		
bani-dja	front-LOC	(I am walking) in front.	1853B 1664
biri	**front (chest)**		*bii in YR*
ngarra-biri-dha	??-chest-LOC	that in front	MathewsGR: 264
nhirrin	**side**		mostly a body part term
nhirrin-da	side-LOC	beside	Wurm
nhirrin-da	side-LOC	(sleeping) on their sides	3217A 1593
mirrun	**beside**		MathewsYR: 142
mirrun-da	beside-LOC		MathewsYR
gaburran	**top**		cf. *gabu* 'head' WN
gaburran-da	top-LOC	at the top (of the tree)	3218A 2948
gaburran-di	top-ABL	(climbed up) the top (of the tree)	3217B 3577
gaburran-di	top-ABL	(fell) out of the tree	3217B 3672
gaburran-biyaay	top-COM	big tall (fellow)	3218B 2529
ngaarribaa / gaburran-da	up / top-ABL	way up (in the sky)	3220B 2572.
mudhu	**the inside**		
mudhu-ga	inside-LOC		many sources
mudhu-ga walaay-dha	inside-LOC camp-LOC	inside the camp	Wurm
mudhu-gu wuu-nhi	inside-ALL go.in-PST	went inside	5055 840
bidjun	**middle**		
dhulu-wi bulaarr-i bidjun-di	tree-ABL two-ABL middle-ABL	between two trees	MathewsGR p 267

Table continued on next page.

Form	Gloss	Translation	Source/Notes
bidjun-da	middle-LOC	in the middle	5055 912
wagi	**outside, plain**		YR only?; also *wagibaa*
wagi-dja	outside-LOC	outside	MathewsYR
wagi-dja	outside-LOC	(leave it) outside	3218B 3440
wagibaa-gu	outside-ALL	(went) outside	8184 3146
wagibaa-ga	outside-LOC	(walked) to an open space	8186 2333
guniyal	**outside, plane,**		GR only
guniyal-a	outside-LOC	outside	MathewsGR
guwiinbaa	**near**		rarely **guwiin**
guwiinbaa-ga / gungan-da	near-LOC water-LOC	near the water	8185 161
biyuuYR/biruuGR	**far**		
biyuu-ga ngaarr	far-LOC ??	far away (yet)	Wurm
biyuu-gu	far-ALL	(go) far, long way	Wurm; 1851A 811
biyuu-dhi	far-ABL	(fell/came) a long way	6215 1775; 1850B 624
miimii	**edge**		often of river
miimii-dja	edge-LOC	(stand) on the edge	3217B 1690
miimii-dja	edge-LOC	(swim) at the edge	3219A 3186
miimii-gu	edge-ALL	(run) to the edge	3219B 1593
miimii-dji	edge-ABL	from the edge	3219B 1633
gandaarr	**far side of river**		Tapes, Sim
gandaarr-u	far.side-ALL	(swam) to the far side	5053 155
gandaa-ya	far.side-LOC	on the other side of the river	5055 1052
burrumbi	**corner**		
burrumbi-dja	corner-LOC	in a corner	Only in Wurm: 89
ganhagay	**below**		Sim only

Derivational locational suffixes

A number of YG locational suffixes are given in Table 218. Their function is the same as that of locational nominals, specifying a location in relation to a reference point.

The suffix *-gili* is translated 'side'. It is rare in early sources. MathewsYR: 142 has *nuggili* 'this side' (*nha-gili*). Almost all instances are suffixed to demonstrative roots, e.g. *ngaarri-gili-dja* 'far-side-LOC'. As with other locationals, the most common

occurrence is with the Locative suffix as at (46) (352) (384) (385). (56) has an Allative case example. Notably all examples are from YR sources, but none from FR.

Table 218   **YG locational suffixes**

Form	Gloss	Translation	Ref/Notes
-gili	side		
nha-gili	this-SIDE	this side	1853B 3817
ngawu-gili-dja, gaawaa-ga	this-SIDE-LOC / river-LOC	(sit) on this side of the river	3217A 995
nguwa-gili-dja nganunda	this-SIDE-LOC 1SG.LOC	(sit) alongside of me	3217A 1152
ngaarri-gili-dja gungan-da	far-SIDE-LOC water-LOC	on the far side of the river	3220B 1790
ngadaa-gili / ngaarribaa-gili	down-SIDE / up-SIDE	(The big stone is) **underneath** (and the grinding stone) **above**.	3219A 1303
minyaarr-gili-dja	which-SIDE-LOC	(standing) at which side	Wurm
ngiyarr[i]-gili	here-SIDE	other side?	meaning uncertain;
-milan	close/near		cf. *milan* 'one'
wii-milan-da	fire-NEAR-LOC	near the fire	5056 2282 +
gaawaa-milan-da	river-NEAR-LOC	near the river	3219B 2112
dhiil-milan-da	tail-NEAR-LOC	near the tail	8184 3375
-barraan	around	cf. *barran* 'boomerang'; found only? on *wii* 'fire' and once on *guwiin* 'near'	
wii-n-barraan-di	fire-AROUND-ABL	(go) away from the fire	2833A 961
wii-n/m-barraan-da	fire-AROUND-LOC	(sat) around the fire	3219A 2945
guwiin?-barraan-da	close?-AROUND-LOC	beside (the fire)	3219A 3632
biil	side		rare
bawa-biil-a	back-SIDE-LOC	afterwards	Wurm p 89

The locational suffix *-milan* can apparently be attached to any appropriate nominal, in contrast to *-gili*. It has been found only in AD material, suffixed most commonly to *wii* 'fire' See (1144) (1143) and also (957).

(1143) The crow flew towards the fire.   CW/AD 3998A 1681

    *giirruu   nhama / waan / bara-waa-nha / **wii-milan-da***

    true.very 3.DEF / crow, / fly-MOV-PRS / fire-CLOSE-LOC

    near the fire   AD

    That crow was flying near the fire.   JG

(1144) I saw a big man beside the river.   JM/AD 3219B 2095

    giirr ngaya ngaama ngarra-y / burrul-bidi warra-y.la-ndaay / **gaawaa-milan-da**

    true 1SG   that   see-PST / big-AUG   stand-CTS-SUB   / river-CLOSE-LOC

    I saw the big one standing near the river.   JG

The suffix *-barraan* is found on *wii* 'fire' on the tapes as *wiinbarraan* and *wiimbarraan*, translated 'alongside the fire' when in Locative case, and 'away from the fire' when in Ablative case, and as *guwiinbarraan-da* 'alongside the fire'.

The suffix *-biil* is rare, found suffixed to *waya* 'left hand' forming *wayabiil* 'left side' and in *buwabiil-a* 'afterwards' (all from Wurm p 89). Sim has *bawabiil* 'behind', from *bawa* 'back'. Compare WN *-biil* 'towards'; Donaldson (1980: 144, not 114 as listed in her index) gives examples including 'there-*biil*' 'to the side', 'right-*biil*' '(turn) right' and 'me-*biil*' 'towards me'.

The main sources for the this section are the tapes, Sim[290], (p 42; given as Table 219, in the original orthography) and Wurm (p 89). Wurm's data on 'left' and 'right' are given in Table 220.

Table 219   **YR Locationals in Sim**

	Allative	Locative	Ablative		Root	Gloss (of Root)/Note
in front	*baniguu*	*banidja*	*banidji*		*bani*	times and place: this means the front of and before
behind	*bawaguu*	*bawaga*	*bawadi (sic)*		*bawa*	the back
	bawabiiluu	*bawabiila*	*bawabiili*		*bawa*	the back
inside	*mudhuugu*	*mudhuuga*	*mudhuudhi*		*mudhuu*	the inside
beside	*nirrin.gu*	*nirrinda*	*nirrindi*		*nirrin*	the side
outside	*wagigu*	*wagidja*	*wagidji*		*wagi*	the outside
between	*bidjun.gu*	*bidjunda*	*bidjundi*		*bidjun*	the middle
other side	*ngaarrigiligu*	*ngaarrigilidja*	*ngaarrigilidji*		*ngaarrigili*	other side
this side	*ngagiligu*	*ngagilidja*	*ngagilidji*		*ngagili*	this side.
on top of (a tree)	*gaburran.gu*	*gaburranda*	*gaburrandi*		*gaburran*	(the top of a tree only)
below	*ganhagay*	*ganhagadha*	*ganhagadhi*			
(other side of) river	*gandaarruu*	*gandaaya*	*gandaadhi*		*gandaarr*	

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[290] Table 219 is taken directly from Sim, with minor alterations.

Table 220   **Wurm data on 'left' and 'right'**

Wurm	Standard	Gloss	Wurm	Standard	Gloss
wɛːja	*waya*	left hand	*wɛːjabiːl*	*waya-biil*	on left side
			wɛːjabiːla	*waya-biil-a*	on the left side
ðuːjaːl	*dhuuyaal*	right hand	*ðuːjaːl*	*dhuuyaal*	on right side
			ðuːjuːla	*dhuuyaal-a*	on the right side

Some uses of local cases are not clear. At 3220A 1269 AD translates 'behind the trees' with *ngaarri-gili-dja* 'far-side-LOC' in Locative case, and *maalaabidi* 'trees-NOM', rather than the expected Locative. I suspect this is a performance error.

Additional material for Chapter 3: Nominal derivation

§3.2 Tentative and potential nominal suffixes

Table 221 (adapted from Table 4.1 in Giacon (2001)) lists a number of possible nominal suffixes. Some have been discussed above, others not. More such forms may be recognised with further work. It is likely that traditional YG had more derivational suffixes than have been recorded or recognised since better recorded languages such as WN and Gumbaynggirr have many such suffixes than have been found in YG. The status of these forms may change with further investigation.

Table 221   **Possible YG derivational suffixes**

Possible suffix	Possible base	Base Gloss	Occurrence, notes	Gloss
-gal	various; see above;			
-laa?	*dhiidja-li*	lick	*dhiidjalaa*	licker
-laa	*gindama-li?*	make laugh	*gindamalaa*	cause of laughing
-aala	*guyaarr*	long	*guyaarr-aala*	very long
-aan	*gayaay*	sand	*gayaayaan*	sandhill FR1987B 3064
-aay	*dhulirral*	drop of water	*dhulirral-aay*	affected by water dripping
-baal	*giniy*	stick, tree	*giniybaal*	corner post YR
-baarr	*dhuu*	smoke, fire	*dhuu-baarr*	misty rain, like smoke
-barraan	*wii*	fire	*wii-n-barraan*	alongside of the fire; cf. barran 'boomerang'
-bi, -bin	*bagan*	stripe	*bagan-bi, Poss. baganbin*	stripy lizard
-djil	*baan*	mistletoe	*baan-djil*	mistletoe bird
-djal	*milan*	one	*milan-djal*	only one, just one

Table continued on next page.

Possible suffix	Possible base	Base Gloss	Occurrence, notes	Gloss
	bulaarr	two	*bulaa-djal*	only two, just two
-duurr	*walan*	hard	*walan-duurr*	hard hearted, someone who won't yield, won't soften
-gaal	*waya*	left (hand)	*waya-gaal*	left hander
-yul	*gaba*	good	*gaba-yul*	pleased
-djuul	*bad*	gagil	*gagil-djuul*	unhappy, despondent
-dhaal	*girran*	ashes	*girrandhaal*	rake
-dhaa	feminine			see above: §3.2.9
-may	*gali*	water	*gali-n-may*	water bag
-may	*?nyii*	anus	*nyiin-may*	penis head GR
-maya	*?ma-y*	be up	*nyiin-maya GR*	foreskin
-rr	*gaya-y*	turn	*gayarr*	back of knee
-rra-gaa?	*gindama-y*	laugh	*gindarragaa*	funny
-waa	*mandi*	step, level	*mandi-waa*	climbing notch (in tree)

Borrowing suffixes and derivational processes

The next section briefly considers a topic which is relevant to language rebuilding, but not to traditional grammatical description.

As YG develops it will inevitable expand its lexicon. This typically happens when people look for a word, either when a translation is requested (What is the word for 'Deputy principal', or 'Religious education coordinator's office'?) or when language workers prepare lexicon for a topic: what are the YG words we need to talk about telephones: 'telephone', 'call', 'hold', 'answering machine', 'dial', etc.)

One approach is to look at other Australian languages and consider what lexicon and processes YG might borrow. Here I consider some nominal derivation processes of that YG might copy from Wangaaybuwan and Arrernte.

Wangaaybuwan nominal derivational suffixes

WN singular and plural suffixes given below (Donaldson p 99;) are clearly related to many of the YG suffixes discussed above.

Donaldson Table 4.2.1 Singular and plural diminutive and augmentative suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Diminutive	*-DHul*	*-galgaaN-*
Immature	*-gaa*	*-galgaaN-*
Augmentative	*-bidi/-girran*	*-galaan*

The forms *-galgaa* and *-bidi* are common to both languages, WN *-DHul* is a cognate of YG *–DHuul*. WN is different in having a separate 'immature' suffix (used for things like a 'young kangaroo'), which can in fact be used with *–DHul*. (WN: *mirri-gaa-dhul*, 'little puppy'; *mirri* 'dog'), and in having an augmentative plural. The YR *-galaa* form could well be a cognate of *–galaan*, with a singular rather than plural meaning. The table, to some extent, overstates the semantic division. Donaldson states (p 101) '*-galgaaN-* is the plural form chosen … when size is irrelevant'.

Given the clear similarity of number suffixes in YG and WN, and the limited YG data, it is quite likely some of the other WN suffixes also had cognates in YG. WN suffixes that would be useful for YG, and which have not been found in the YG data are now listed, with the relevant Donaldson reference.

-buy (p 103) 'in a group of more than two'; used on proper names.

-galaydjaaN- 'reciprocal plural': (p 104) creates a reference to a pair: e.g. *ngubaan-galaydjaan* 'married couple' (*ngubaan* 'spouse'). Such lexemes are commonly referred to as 'dyadic'.

-girrbaN- 'party': (p 105) e.g. *mayi-ng-girrba* 'group of men' (*mayi* 'man')

-bilaarr 'owner' (p 116): e.g. *mirri-bilaarr* 'dog owner'.

Some WN suffixes are not suitable for borrowing into YG. For instance:

-gaa 'immature' (p 100): The suffix form is already in YG as 'senior'.

-girr 'nasty with'. (p 112): e.g. *mil mula-girr* 'very mattery eye' (*mil* 'eye' *mula* 'pus'). This form is not suitable for YG since it is so similar to *-giirr* 'LIKE', but the concept can be borrowed, and a different suffix form adopted.

Arrernte

Some of the productive Arrernte suffixes below (Wilkins, 1989: 140ff) have clear semantic parallels in the YG and WN. Listing these Arrernte forms is largely to suggest a direction for future work on expanding the YG lexicon. Many of the Arrernte suffixes have limited productivity.

Suffix	Gloss, Note	Comment
-artweye	custodian	cf. WN *-bilaarr* 'owner'
-anternenhe	huge, giant, huge amount of	
-angketyarre	place abundant in	
-atye	grub: on plant names;	
-ampe	honey; on source of honey	
-althe	bad character: on words like 'lie' 'shy' 'steal'	
-nye	temporal nominal'; *lyete-nye* 'brand new'	*lyete* 'today, now'
-me	unified quantity' *therre-me* 'both' (two-*me*)	cf. YG *-Buu*, WN *-bu*

Compounding is potentially a major source of new lexicon for YG. Much of this development could be calques of compounds found in other languages. One such process is pointed out by Wilkins (1989: 145). Arrernte has compounds which refer to body parts; the first element of which is a body part, often including the part the compound refers to, for instance; in Arrernte: 'eye-egg' is 'eyeball' and 'hand-stomach' refers to 'palm of hand'. YG does not have words for 'eyeball' or 'palm of the hand' but could easily borrow the Arrernte patterns.

Additional material for Chapter 7: Main verb inflections

Time suffixes in Karnic Languages

Yandruwantha

The Karnic languages Yandruwantha (Breen, 2004: 28 ff) and Wangkumara (Robertson, 1985?) are some distance from YG, but do share a number of features with them. They have very full systems of time specification. The 'distance in time' (DIT) is shown by a series of verb-final tense markers, while the 'time of day' (TOD) can be shown by non-final suffixes. Other time information and many other types of information can be incorporated in the verb, often with parallels in YG.

Yandruwantha has five 'punctiliar past tenses', i.e. DIT suffixes (Breen, 2004: 126). There are four TOD suffixes, which are not verb final, and so form another category. There are also three suffixes which give information about relative timing - simultaneous or consequent, and another which indicates repeated action. This is a very extensive system. Yandruwantha also has a further series of over 20 'formatives' (Breen, 2004: 149) with glosses like 'up, down, around, eat, enter' and 'spend the night' - the last also carrying time information. Yandruwantha DIT and TOD suffixes are shown in Table 222 and other time suffixes are shown in Table 223.

Table 222   **Some Yandruwantha time suffixes**

Distance in time suffixes (verb-final)		
Suffix	**Gloss**	
-na	immediate past	
-nhama	near past (a day or so)	
-nhukada(ni)	recent past (a few days)	
-n.ga	far past (weeks or months)	
-lapurra	remote past (years)	
Future tense suffixes		
Suffix	**Gloss**	
-nga	Future	
-nga nganarla	Immed. Future	
Time of day suffixes (non-final)		
Suffix	**Gloss**	**Meaning as free morpheme**
-thalka-	in early morning (probably)	up
-warrka- (uncertain)	in morning	to throw
-nhina-	during the day	to sit, stay
-yukarra-	at night	to lie; (rare) spend the night

Table 223   **Other Yandruwantha time suffixes: non-final**

Suffix	Gloss	note
-rnanga	Contemporaneous	
-kaldri	Repeated action	
-ndji	Immed sequence	
-rlayi	Simultaneous	
-nhina	continued action	(also 'in daytime')

The Yandruwantha TOD and DIT suffixes can co-occur: (1145).

(1145) *maka yundrutji wanga-thalka-na*

fire   you   make-MORNing-IMMED.PAST.

You made the fire this morning   Yandruwantha Breen 2004 p134

Wangkumara

The Wangkumara information is from Robertson (Robertson, 1985?:201 et al.). There are obvious similarities between Wangkumara and Yandruwantha but Wangkumara seems to have less data.

Table 224   **Wangkumara time suffixes with parallels in YG**

Suffix	Gloss	Note	Ref
-garla	present tense -		
'distance in time' final suffixes			
-nga	past tense; immediate	(that day)	
-garli	past tense; recent	(few days)	
-gada	simple past contin.		
-marni	past tense; distant, contin.	(long time)	
-thanyi	past tense; continuous	(longer time) 'used to'	
-dhi	past tense; continuous	(shorter time)'used to'	
Time of day suffixes (non-final)			
-pa	up, in the morning		p179
-waga	at night	(*waga* 'to sleep')	p183

Wangkumara also has many other verb formatives, many of which have parallels in YG. For instance: *-dhika* 'back' corresponds to YG *-uwi-y.*

Punthamara

Punthamara is also a Karnic language and minor use of one TOD suffix has been recorded. Holmer (1988: 145) points out that 'the directional *-p.a-* … marks either upward direction … or 'action in the morning''.

Other Languages

Time suffixes are found in a number of other languages from central Australia to South Australia and western NSW.

Mathew (1899: 203) points out that Arrernte[291] has a number of verb forms which incorporate what is now known as Associated Motion, but also indicates that associated motion suffixes could indicate Time of Day.

From *ilkuma* 'eat' are formed:

ilku-yilkalama 'I eat downwards'; or figurative use: 'to eat **in the evening**'

ilku-yilkalama 'I eat upwards'; or figurative use: 'to eat **in the morning**'

Carl Strehlow (*The South Australian Register*, 7-12-1921, quoted in (Strehlow, 2011: 181)) seems to suggest that Arrernte also had a DIT system:

> 'Aranda … has not merely the usual tenses (present, imperfect, perfect and future) but also three aorist forms (aoristus remotus, remotior and remotissimus);'

Malyangapa is the only one of the three languages in the Yarli subgroup that has special time-marking suffixes on verbs, with two TOD suffixes 'in the morning' and 'in the evening' (Hercus & Austin, 2004: 217). The first suffix is formed from the word for 'morning' while the origin of the 'evening' suffix is unclear.

Diyari is a South Australian Karnic language not far south of the Yarli group (Austin, 1981a: 89). It specifies time not with suffixes but with a set of optional auxiliary verbs: Table 225. These have tense and modal functions, which include specifying 'distance in time'. Each auxiliary also has independent use as a complete verb[292]. The auxiliaries create a 4-way division of past time and a single future, relatively similar to the YG system. As well the use of *ŋana*[293] 'be' to indicate future tense is similar to the YG use of *giyaanha* discussed in 7.4.3.3.

Table 225   **Diyari auxiliary verbs with time/tense use**

Auxiliary	Homophonous root	Function
waṉṯi-	to search	distant past
wapa-	to go	habitual intermediate past
pada-	to lie	recent past
widi-	to enter	yesterday past
wara-	to throw	immediate past
ngana-	to be	future

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[291] He refers to the 'Language at the Macdonnell Ranges'. Koch, (p.c.), points out that this is Arrernte.

[292] Austin points out, 'there seems to be no semantic connection between the meanings of these roots and the functions of the auxiliaries.'

[293] *ngana* is glossed 'to do' in Breen.

Tiwi[294] has TOD suffixes on verbs, and these can combine with location and direction suffixes (Osborne, 1974: 45). Verbs may be marked for time of day by *atə-* 'morning' or *kə-* 'evening'. Distant location can be expressed by *nə-,* which also has time use: (1146)[295].

Examples:

(1146) *ŋu-atu-apa*   I eat (morning)
      I-morn-eat

      ŋə-nu-atu-apa   I eat (distant morning)
      I-LOC-morn-eat

The expression of time of day is optional in Tiwi; and it is most commonly used to refer to current time ('now, this evening').

The languages just considered will help in interpreting the incomplete and often unclear YG information. Of particular significance is the division between TOD and DIT suffixes. When time specification is found in well recorded nearby languages there are relatively complete paradigms, and when both occur (in the Karnic languages) the two systems are quite distinct.

Additional material for Chapter 8: Intransitivisers:

Unanalysed verbs

(this follows the section on middle verbs: §8.2.3)

There are a number of examples which seem to have a further suffix on a middle verb, or other intransitive or intransitivised verb.

Like (690) and (691), (1147) appears to have a suffix following the future middle form.

(1147) They singe him, first to get all the hair off him,   AD/CW 3999A 1598
      dhurrun nhama / gudhuwa-y-li   bandaa-ya
      fur   3.DEF / burn.M-FUT?-?li kangaroo-LOC
      (They) will burn that fur, on the kangaroo.   JG

Table 226 has other verb forms which are currently unanalysable. They all have final *y-nhi*. *-nhi* is the past tense suffix for Y class verbs, the common class for derived verbs. *-y* is the future tense suffix on a middle verb, but this cannot be its function here, since there can only be one tense inflection. There seems to be a derivational process which is not understood. The first example comes from a story and refers heat causing the Bower Bird's head to burst and the brains to come out, after it was thrown on a fire. This seems to include *dhurraaba-y*, the middle form of

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[294] Off the coast of northern Australia

[295] The details of the semantics and phonological processes are not considered.

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dhurraaba-li 'make come out', but the final suffix, *-nhi*, is unexplained. A number of other similar verbs are listed in the table. See also examples in Table 137, which formally seem to be a middle verb followed by the reflexive suffix.

Table 226 **Unanalysed 'intransitive' verbs**

Verb form found	Analysis	gloss	Transitive verb	Gloss	Source
dhurraaba-y-nhi	make.come.out-*y*-PST	burst: intr	*dhurraaba-li*	make come out	5128 1884
dhadhawa-y.la -y-nhi	taste-CTS-*y*-PST	tasted intr	*dhadhawa-li*	taste	8185 1665
buma-y.la-y-nhi	hit-CTS-*y*-PST	clapped (hands)	*buma-li*	hit	3219A 642
warra.yma-y-nhi	stand.tr-*y*-PST	stood up	*warrayma-li*	stand	3219B 3154
			Intransitive verb		
bundaa-y-nhi	fall-*y*-PST	?fell	*bundaa-gi*	fall	3220A 1549
banaga-la-y-nhi	run-CTS-*y*-PST	running about	*banaga-y*	run	3220A 1549

Lists: verbs, suffixes

Verbs

The NG and RR verb classes are relatively small and those verbs are given below, as well as intransitive L class verbs (the class is mainly transitive) and transitive Y class verbs (the class is mainly intransitive). The contents of the lists can vary depending on the criteria used. There are about 230 L class verbs and around 100 Y class verbs.

Table 227   **NG class verbs**

Verb	Gloss	Transitivity	Languages
balu-gi	die	intransitive	YR
bundaa-gi	fall	intransitive	YR, GR
dhaala-gi	feel sick, be sick	intransitive	YR
gaa-gi	bring, take	transitive	YR, GR
gayarra-gi	search for, look for	transitive	YR, GR
gi-gi	be, become	intransitive	YR, GR
giiri-gi	itch	intransitive	GR
gii-gi			YR
guna-gi	defecate, shit	intransitive	YR, GR
mawu-gi	dig, scratch	transitive	YR, GR
ngamu-gi	suck, suckle	transitive	YR, GR
ngaru-gi	drink	transitive	GR
ngawu-gi			YR
ngayu-gi	tread on, trample	transitive	YR
nhuyu-gi	chastise	transitive	YR
wana-gi	throw, leave	transitive	YR
wiya-gi	cook	transitive	GR
wuru-gi	go into,	intransitive	GR
wuu-gi	go down		YR
yii-gi	shiver	intransitive	YR
yuurra-gi	move	intransitive	YR
yu-gi	cry, weep	intransitive	YR, GR
yulu-gi	dance, gamble, play	intransitive	YR, GR

Table 228   **RR class verbs**

Verb	Gloss	Transitivity	Languages
baarray-rri	split, burst, crack	transitive	YR, GR
buudhi-rri	brush (with leaves)	transitive	YR
buudhu-rri	put fire out	transitive	YR
dhaa-rri	have sex	transitive	GR
dhilay-rri	throw out, push away	transitive	YR
dhu-rri	poke carve, write	transitive	YR, GR
dhuu-rri	crawl	intransitive	YR, GR
gilgulba-rri	come out, emerge	intransitive	YR
wuu-rri	give	transitive	YR, GR

Table 229   **L class intransitive verbs**

Verb	Gloss	Languages
baabi-li	camp, sleep	YR, GR
burra-li	begin	YR
dhirra-li	wake up, awake	YR
guuya-li	shine	YR, GR
milabi-li	wink	GR
walindja-li	be lonely	YR
wiibi-li	be sick	GR
wula-li	blaze	YR, GR
wuumi-li	peep (peek)	YR
yuga-li	celebrate	GR

Table 230   **Y class transitive verbs**

Verb	Gloss	Languages
dhama-y	rain	YR
badha-y	give a hiding	YR
dhama-y	rain	YR
dhiirra-y	know, remember	YR, GR
dhuwi-y	stick into	YR
miinba-y	ask for	YR
ngaawa-y	find, search for, look for	YR
ngarrala-y	court (see-RECP)	YR
ngurruula-y	snore	YR
wiila-y	whistle	YR, GR

Suffixes, in alphabetical order

These are included in the list of glosses in the introductory material, but in alphabetical order of glosses. Here they are in YG alphabetical order.

Table 231   **Suffixes, in YG alphabetical order**

Suffix	Gloss	Comment	See
-aaba-li	TOT	total, all	§9.1.2
-awayi-y	LONGER.T	longer time	§7.5.3.3
-ayi-y	LONG.T	long time	§7.5.3.2
-badhaay YR	MIGHT	might	§14.3.6
-bala	CTR	contrast	§14.3.5
-ban.gaan	VERY	very	§14.3.4
-Baraay	COM	comitative	§2.4.1.1
-bidi	AUG	augment; big	§3.1.2.6
-bil	W.LOT	with a lot	§2.4.1.3
-bi-li	LET	let; also particle *wana*	§8.4.3
-Biyaay	COM	comitative	§2.4.1.1
-bula	ALSO	also	§14.4.1
-Buu	TOT2	total, all	§14.3.3
-Caa	INDEF	indefinite	§6.5.1
-Caayaa	IGNOR	ignorative	§6.5.1
-Cuu	TIME		§14.5.6
-dhaay	SUB	SUBordinating	§11.3
-dhaay	NML	Nominalising	§9.3.2
(-)dhaay	TO.HERE	to here	§15.6
-DHalibaa	PRIV	privative	§2.4.1.2
-DHa-y	EAT	eat, associated mouthing	§9.1.3
-dhu	TOT3	total, all	§14.3.3
-DHuul	DIM	diminutive; see ONE	§3.1.2.5
-DHuul	ONE	diminutive; see DIM	§3.1.2.5
-gaali	DU	dual; dual pronouns and the suffix *-gaali*	§3.1.2.4
-gal	PL.DIM	diminutive plural	§3.1.2.3
-galgaa	PL	plural	§3.1.2.2
gi.yaa.nha	going.to	'going.to'; auxiliary verb	§7.4.3.3
-giirr	LIKE	like	§2.4.1.6
-guwaay	LIKE	like	§2.4.1.6

-laa	DIR	directly	§14.5.2
-lay	OST	ostensive	§5.2.4.2
-la-y	RECP	reciprocal	§8.1.2
-ldaay	SUB	SUBordinating	§11.3
-luu	TOT2	total, all	§14.3.3
-ma	DEF	definite	§5.2.4.1
-ma-li	CAUS	causative	§8.4.1
-mayaa-y	ONE.DAY	one day, several days	§7.5.3.1
-milan	CLOSE	close	§2.3.7.1.1
-ndaay	SUB	SUBordinating	§11.3
-nga	NOW	now, then	§14.5.5
-nga	THEN	then, now	§14.5.5
-nga-y	DAY	day, afternoon	§7.5.2.2
-ngayi-y	MORN	morning	§7.5.2.1
-ngiili-y; -ngii-li	REFL	reflexive	§8.1.1
-nginda	WANT	Also called Caritative case	§2.4.1.4
-ngindaay	SUB	SUBordinating	§11.3
-NHa	-3	third person clitic	§4.4.2.1
-Waa	INDEF	indefinite	§6.5.1
-waayaa	IGNOR	ignorative	§6.5.1
-wadhaay GR	MIGHT	might	§14.3.6
-wan.gaan	VERY	very	§14.3.4
-yaa	POT	potential	§14.2.1
yaama	QUES	question	§6.1

Appendix C: Source materials

This appendix contains information about the main YG source materials and the people who produced them. It also gives information about materials available on the resource disc. These include materials that I have derived from the original sources and compilations I have produced.

Resource disc

The resource disc has a folder, *SourceMaterials,* which contains materials associated with the historic sources. These are all or some of:

- copies of the original documents, often as pdf or tiff files.

- typed up versions of the original documents, sometimes incomplete

- interpretations of the original materials in light of the current orthography and knowledge of YG

- comments by me about particular features.

The derived materials vary in completeness and accuracy. I plan to make updated versions of the transcriptions of major sources available through AIATSIS.

An important document in *SourceMaterials* is *YRAlltapes2014*, which has transcriptions of all the YR tapes in one file. Other materials include copies of Ridley and Mathews articles and partial transcriptions of them, transcriptions of Wurm and Laves and interlinear versions of texts from Parker and Tindale. *SourceMaterials* has a contents list: *Contents.docx*.

There is a second folder, *Compilations.* This folder contains documents where material on a particular topic was gathered, for instance *Reflexives* has many examples of reflexive suffixes. These documents are not edited for publication but may be useful background in studying an area. Sometimes the material in the compilations is out of date, since the original source may have been revised, and they will have repetitions. Caveat emptor.

Written sources

This section gives some brief information on the main YG written sources and the people who produced them. The main GR sources are also considered in Austin (2008).

Milson (c.1840) is a MS held in the Mitchell Library Sydney. There are some 15 handwritten pages, the majority wordlists but also some phrases, a number of songs and material on social sections. It has little information about its origin, other than that it is 'by Mrs Milson, grandmother of the donor'.

> [296]It seems likely Milson is the daughter of E.H.Dunlop. The Australian Dictionary of Biography (http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A010321b.htm), says that 'she (Dunlop) also did valuable work in preserving Aboriginal vocabularies and was assisted by other members of her family, notably her daughter Rachael (1829-1908) who in 1853 married David, son of James Milson'. Unless she was a teenager when she was helping her mother, the date 1840+ (cover page of MS) is perhaps a bit early - more likely 1850+, I would think, for the date of creation. R. H. Goddard (1934: 244) says that Dunlop 'was my great grandmother on the distaff side of the shield', so was probably the grandson of Milson (although possibly of Dunlop's other daughter, Georgina Law). Since Milson was 'the grandmother of the donor' of the MS, it seems plausible that the donor was Goddard. And since the date of Goddard's article is 1934, he quite likely donated the MS some time in the same decade.

William Ridley (1819-1878). Austin (2008) gives substantial background on Ridley, a Presbyterian missionary who went to the GR area in 1852. He wrote the first recorded grammar of GR. There are a number of versions of this grammar. The most complete, and the one referred to in this work, is Ridley (1875). It consists of 43 pages, approximately 15 of grammar, 22 of wordlists, one of phrases and 4 of GR biblical text, *Gurre Kamilaroi*, a longer version of which is Ridley (1856). Much of Ridley's material is also found in Greenway, often with some changes. *Gurre Kamilaroi* is simplified GR; for instance there are no ergative suffixes and few pronoun forms. It contrasts sharply with the complexity found in Parker's *Emu and Bustard* story.

Charles Greenway was also a clergyman in the GR area. (Greenway, 1878) has 12 pages of wordlists, placenames, suffixes, phrases and sentences, ethnographic material and songs. (Greenway, 1910-1912) has around 12 pages, spread over many issues of *Science of Man*. (Greenway, 1911) is similar to Ridley's *Gurre Kamilaroi*, but also has significant differences.

The relation between Greenway and Ridley is unclear. Ridley (1866) has:

> (The author) 'was especially indebted to Mr. Charles Greenaway, of Collemungool (a Kamilaroi name, meaning Broadwater) on the Barwan, for instruction in the Kamilaroi'.

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[296] Thanks to James Wafer for the following about Mrs Milson.

and (1875: 17), speaking of the name *Baayami*, says:

> 'It is evidently derived, as Rev. C. C. Greenway has pointed out, from "baia," to make or
> build. In the ancient and still preserved creed of Murri - "He who built as things is Baia-
> me."'

Greenway (Jan 1910: 178) states that:

> A part of the information I am now giving you was supplied by me to the Rev. W. Ridley
> and appears in his book, "Kamilari (sic) and other Australian Languages.

Austin (2008) on the other hand states that:

> Ridley's materials were republished in Science of Man without acknowledgement by Rev.
> C. Greenway in 1910. (a copy of Ridley 1875 with minor changes), and 1911 (bible
> translations similar to Ridley 1856).

R H Mathews (1841–1918) is an important source for both YR and GR. For more
information about him see Thomas (2007, 2011). He published on Gamilaraay and
Yuwaalaraay language and also extensively on the culture of the groups, much of it
from personal investigation. His work is considerably later than Ridley and it is quite
possible that he had read Ridley. Mathews' material shows the complexity of YG
much more than earlier writers. For instance he (1903: 267) gives a list of verb
inflections not found previously, including the 'associated eating' suffix, and points
out the complexity of the deictic system, while by no means fully analysing it. The
two main works used here are his articles on Yuwaalaraay (1902) (referred to as
MathewsYR) and on Gamilaraay (1903) (referred to as MathewsGR). MathewsYR has
eight pages of grammatical description, including pronoun and verb paradigms and
other information. It also has information on Kawambarai, a Gamilaraay dialect, and
on the 'Mystic language' and 12 pages of YR and Yota Yota words. MathewsGR has
11 pages of grammatical description, a few paragraphs on the 'Mystic language' a few
pages on GR dialects and 5 pages of Kamilaroi and Thurrawal wordlists. His MS (MS
8006) in the NLA may still yield more information.

Most of the material collected after Mathews is Yuwaalaraay. Tindale is a short text
in GR. Both Laves and Wurm have relatively short amounts of GR but much more
YR.

Katherine [Catherine/Katie] **Langloh Parker** (1856-1940), later Katherine Stow,
lived in Yuwaalaraay territory at Bangate station, on the Narran river, between
Lightning Ridge and Goodooga, for some twenty years. She published a number of
books and articles. The two works most relevant to this study are mainly stories
(Parker, 1896) and anthropology (Parker, 1905) but also contain significant linguistic
material. (Parker, 1905) is significant in that it has a text of the *Emu and Bustard* story
in YR - over four hundred words of Yuwaalaraay, transcribed from fluent speakers. It
is by far the most extensive fluent text in either of the languages and contains complex
linguistic features as well as word play. Her English version of the story is some 1,300

words, so not a translation of the Yuwaalaraay. An interlinearised version of the text is in the resource disc. Strehlow (2011: 585-590) gives background information on Parker and the use made of her materials in anthropological discussions at the time.

Norman Tindale researched aspects of Aboriginal culture across much of Australia. In 1938 he recorded a short (40 lines) Emu and Brolga text, mainly from Harry Doolan. This was published, with Austin's analysis in Austin & Tindale (1985) and see also Austin (2008). Tindale recorded the story over two days, and points out (1985: 10):

> The men were at first at difficulties with their own language because it had not been used
> by them for some years, except occasionally in conversation. After yesterday they thought
> out the details carefully and gave me a very useful text in the Kamilaroi of the Namoi
> River.

The GR used in the text has some Wayilwan/Ngiyambaa features. A current transcription of the text is found in the resource disc.

Gerhardt Laves (1906-1993). Austin (2008) writes:

> In the 1930's the American anthropologist Gerhardt Laves (see David Nash's website at
> http://www.anu.edu.au/linguistics/nash/aust/laves/) worked with George Murray (Laves
> papers, p1399) recording kinship terms in Gamilaraay and Ada Murray at Angledool
> recording Yuwaalayaay vocabulary and kinship terms (p 1392). Laves materials are
> phonetically accurate but unfortunately very brief for the languages of this region.

Laves recorded language material from many Australian languages. His materials (Laves, 1929) were not well cared for and some at least of his record cards are decaying. Scans were made of the YG materials. These have been transcribed, using Laves' notation and some of them have also been transcribed in current orthography. The material, some 80 pages, is notes in various formats, often interlinear glosses. It also contains some Wayilwan. Informants are listed on many pages. The main YR ones are Helen and Bulliga. Others include Mrs Dixon and Rosie Dixon, perhaps the same person.

Stephen Adolphe Wurm (1922 – 2001) was a Hungarian-born Australian linguist, the first professional linguist to work on YG. See Pawley (2002) and http://www.assa.edu.au/fellowship/fellow/deceased/356. Austin (2008:48) has

> Wurm apparently used as the model for his work Capell 1945 (also published as a
> separate book). He was trained as a Turkologist and his phonetic transcription is
> very detailed and accurate. In lexical elicitation he recorded primary and
> secondary stress along with narrow transcription of vowel height and colour, and
> labialisation and palatalisation of consonants. He did not record interdental nasals
> and transcribed interdental stops with the labio-dental fricative symbol ð.

In 1955 Wurm recorded YR and GR in notes and on tape, about 70% of it YR (approx. 30 min of tape, AIATSIS tape 2895A). GR informants include Peter Lang

and Burt Draper. YR informants include Harry Murray, Arthur Dodd and/or his brother Charlie.

Wurm's tape material is quite different from the later tapes. Only the informants' language is recorded, and at least on some occasions it had been practised with Wurm beforehand. Wurm is occasionally heard saying '[say it] now', or saying the Yuwaalaraay or Gamilaraay to be recorded. Wurm did not tape his elicitation sentences, but wrote them, it seems in Hungarian shorthand.

Wurm also recorded other YG phonetically, again with the translation in shorthand. The great majority consists of short sentences, with at times some continuity between sentences. The original written material is held in the ANU archives: (Wurm, 1955).

Peter Austin and Corinne Williams, working with Wurm, transferred the shorthand to English in August 1975 and rewrote the YG, resulting in around 100 pages of MS. Copies of these have been deposited at AIATSIS: (MS 2335, PMS 3658, PMS 4381, PMS 4380). I made a photocopy of Austin's material in 1999 or so, and have transcribed it into current orthography. This material is around 120 pages. pdfs of the Austin material and my further transcription are in the resource disc.

Ian Sim (1931 - present) had considerable knowledge of NSW north coast Aboriginal culture when he went to the Yuwaalaraay area in the early 1950's. He worked as a surveyor around Goodooga including on Bangate Station where Parker had lived. Sim recorded a considerable amount of language material, including Yuwaalayaay, Muruwari and Guwamu. He worked with linguist Arthur Capell. His main informants were Mrs Ginny Rose, Greg Fields and Mrs West. In 1998 Sim and I produced an edited and expanded version of the substantial YR material he collected: (Sim & Giacon, 1998). It is around 110 pages and 25,000 words. A copy is in the resource disc.

Corinne Williams. Williams studied Yuwaalaraay as part of her honours year at ANU, in the 1970's. Her thesis was published as Williams (1980). This is by far the most extensive and accurate analysis of YG to that point and has been the starting point for any subsequent description of YG. Major advances include a phonemic inventory, a pronoun paradigm, clear description of the nominal case morphology and of the four verb classes and their main inflections. It also includes a substantial wordlist. Much of the work of this thesis has been to add to, and in a few cases modify, the analysis given in Williams. Her tapes are discussed below.

Ted Fields. (1930?-2006) Ted was a Yuwaalaraay man. He was born on Angledool mission, and in 1936 was moved, with other residents, to Brewarrina mission. He escaped a number of times, travelling to the Goodooga area where his father worked as a stockman. The situation of his childhood meant he was not able to learn his

language, but later in life he became passionate about the language and stories of the area and worked hard to learn both. I worked with Uncle Ted from 1994 to 2005. During that time I collected 1000 words from Ted, not all of them of certain form or meaning. Many were remembered by Ted spontaneously. Others were remembered on working through previous wordlists.

Other written sources

The **Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary** in both its published form and the database, available at AIATSIS (Call number AILEC 0794; search http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/collections/muraread.html) has been a major reference in producing the thesis and will be useful to anyone reading the thesis. A pdf and text version is available at https://moodle.arm.catholic.edu.au/login/index.php. and in the resource disc.

There are a number of minor sources which are not included here, and more are occasionally found. For instance *The Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts* (Barcaldine, Qld: 1892 - 1922), Saturday 13 November 1915, page 9, (http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/printArticleJpg/79753840/4?print=y) has a Gamilaraay version of 'A long way to Tipperary'. It, and further such materials may add slightly to knowledge of YG.

Other languages

I have used material from other languages extensively in this study. Some of these are unpublished. I have transcribed a handwritten Wangaaybuwan dictionary that Tamsin Donaldson had prepared, and have added to it other Wangaaybuwan lexicon, for instance some words in Donaldson (1980). Limited use has been made of the Wiradjuri sentences of Horatio Hale (1968) and Günther (1892). I also have transcribed a number of Wayilwan tapes, and very minor use has been made of these.

Tape sources

The tapes[297], particularly the YR tapes, are a very important source of information. Stephen Wurm recorded around 20 minutes of Yuwaalaraay and 12 min of Gamilaraay in 1955. Around 58 hours of Yuwaalaraay was recorded in the 1970s. There is also around 5 hours of Gamilaraay recorded at various times, but is of little value to this work since the material recorded is almost totally wordlists, and a few songs which may or may not be Gamilaraay.

The YG tapes have AD and FR as the main informants. The tape transcripts are some 800 pages, 280,000 words. Perhaps 20 -25% is YR. There is word and sentence

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[297] The tapes are generally referred to by their AIATSIS number. References to sections of the tape include a time code: so 3218A 284 means 284 seconds into tape 3218A.

elicitation, stories – sometimes with the English given by Janet Mathews, at other times given by the informant, discussion of language and other issues. The transcripts are available in the thesis resources.

Wurm: The Wurm tape consists almost totally of YG. He wrote the elicitation sentences, presumably because tape was expensive and the batteries had a short life.

Arthur Dodd. (AD) (1890-~1980)

Arthur Dodd was born on Dungalear Station in 1890 and died in Walgett in the 1980s. This area, between Walgett and Lightning Ridge, is Yuwaalaraay country, and he grew up with many Yuwaalaraay people and learnt the language. His mother was Wayilwan (Brad Steadman, (p.c.)) and his father a white man who died in the Boer war (3218A). He worked on stations in the Walgett area for most of his life. He was recorded at Gingie Mission in Walgett, by Janet Mathews (1973-4, 1976-7: about 19 hours of tape) and by Corinne Williams (1976: 9 hours of tape). Mathews also recorded many tapes of him speaking Wayilwan, and there is occasionally Wayilwan recorded as Yuwaalaraay and vice versa, though he generally corrects these mistakes. It is likely that AD is also on the Stephen Wurm tape from 1955.

Fred Reece. (FR) (1890-~1980)

Fred Reece was also born in 1890 on Bangate Station, between Goodooga and Lightning Ridge, and his birth was recorded by Parker. His mother was Muruwari, and it seems his father was non-Aboriginal. Reece's pronunciation is generally better than Dodd's, but his grammatical knowledge less. He made 30 tapes with JM from 1970-72, and they show his language knowledge improving over the years, perhaps as he thought about it more, or perhaps as he used it with others between JM's annual visits. Reece was a blacksmith, preparing materials for the opal miners at Lightning Ridge. Luise Hercus, who worked with JM, points out that JM at times worked the bellows of the forge while recording Reece, since he did not want to waste time. He was quite deaf by the time CW recorded him in 1976, and he made only one tape with her.

Janet Mathews, 1914-1992, (http://www.nla.gov.au/martin-thomas/a-very-human-survey-the-cross-cultural-inquiries-of-r-h-mathews) was the wife of R H Mathews' grandson, Frank. She recorded many hours of Aboriginal languages around NSW. She visited the YG area between 1970 (Tape 1948A) to 1976 (Tape 8187) and recorded both AD and FR. She did not understand the language to any extent and her recordings are often elicitations of texts or paradigms she had bought with her. One approach was to ask for translations of stories she had, and informants sometimes proceeded to give their own versions. She is well known as editor of *The Two Worlds of Jimmie Barker*, a product of her collaboration with Barker to record Muruwari.

Corinne Williams (nee Casey) made around 16 tapes as part of her linguistics honours year study in 1976 and had access to Janet Mathews' tapes. She had a very good understanding of the language and at times the informants commented that she could speak better than they (FR5053 770, AD 5129A 2864). By this stage FR was quite deaf and so the Williams tapes, apart from one, are of Dodd. Much more frequently than Janet Mathews she targets grammatical questions. She often follows up irregularities or grammatical features which arise in the informant's speech.

Jack Sands (JS) is also recorded on a relatively brief section of tape. He was less fluent than AD or FR.

Lynette Oates (LO) was a linguist who published a grammar of Muruwari, FR's mother's language. She and JM cooperated on recording two tapes.

Texts from tapes

A number of interlinearised story texts have been developed, based on sections of the tapes. They involve 'tidying up' the often repetitive material on tape. The aim is to produce material that is grammatical, according to the current understanding of YR. The texts are available in the resource disc.

Current YG resources:

Information about current YG resources can be found at yuwaalaraay.org, particularly by following the link to the Moodle site.