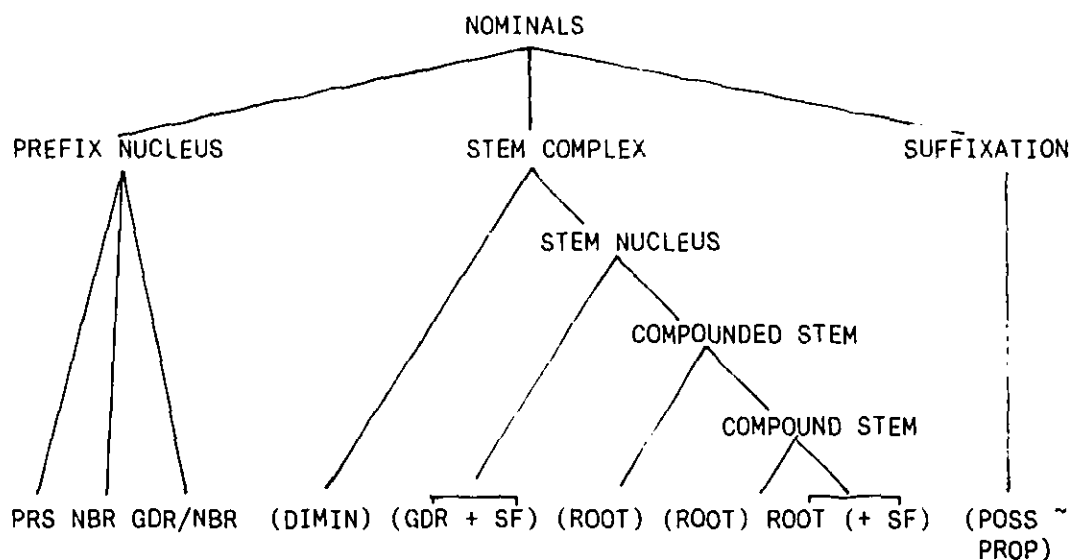


Nouns and adjectives are grouped together under the term 'nominals' to indicate the similarity in their morphological structure. The structure of nominals has been divided primarily into a prefix nucleus, stem complex and suffixation. The prefix nucleus is identical for both nouns and adjectives but the stem complex consists of grammatical features or morphemes which are not identical in the two word classes.

Table 5 diagrams the composite structure of the nominals. The only obligatory categories are the Prefix Nucleus and a single root. The Nominal Prefix Nucleus classifies for first, second and third persons, four distinctions in number, and two in gender. The composition of the roots in the Stem Complex is: (a) a root which can be single or reduplicated; (b) a compound stem consisting of two different roots (one of which can be reduplicated) or of a root plus stem formative; and (c) a compounded stem consisting of three

TABLE 5: STRUCTURE OF NOMINALS



different roots, the last two of which form a compound stem elsewhere in the data. The Diminisher is associated with the lexical root, not the prefixation; the Gender morphemes and the stem formatives for deriving nouns and adjectives function as a unit; and inflectional suffix is either Possessive or Proprietary.

There are, however, differences significant enough to posit two word classes. In Dixon (1980:490), similar differences are reported for the Diyari language:

'Perhaps the strongest set of grammatical criteria for distinguishing nouns from adjectives apply in Diyari: (i) only adjectives can take the inchoative verbalising suffix; (ii) nouns and adjectives take different intensifiers; (iii) nouns are subcategorised for gender; (v) adjectives follow nouns.'

Anindilyakwa nouns and adjectives differ because of the following criteria (placed in the same order as those above and not necessarily related to their importance):

- (i) The inchoative and causative verbalising stem formatives are almost always suffixed to an adjective. There are, however, one or two exceptions in which a noun has been similarly marked.
- (ii) Nouns and adjectives take the same intensifiers but the intensifying clitic occurs more often on adjectives. The adjective root can be diminished whereas this is not possible for a noun root.
- (iii) Some nouns are marked by the Nominaliser (ng)kwj- in contrast with some adjectives which are marked by the Adjectiviser

(ng)ki-. These stem formatives, together with a Possession morpheme in the same position, almost always require a preceding Gender morpheme for human feminine versus non-human.feminine. (Note: One or two exceptions with Gender categorisation are tentatively placed under Adjectives because of their lexical meaning.)

- (iv) Word order in the noun phrase is flexible but, when an Adjective modifies an overt noun, it takes the peripheral case markers. (Note: This statement is dependent on an analysis permitting two noun phrases in apposition.)
- (v) Adjectives take the full set of nominal classifiers for first, second and third persons. Proper nouns take only one third person classifier for each lexical item; Common nouns take only a limited number of third person nominal classifiers.

The noun and adjective distinction can also be applied to the roots. Shape Adjective roots have a final ki, the same form as the Adjectiviser; some noun roots have a final syllable kwi, the same form as the Nominaliser. Both these sets of roots can occur in all three positions in the compounded stem (sometimes with modification). Two other sets of adjective and noun roots are not overtly marked and can only occur in the final position of a compound stem.

Anindilyakwa nouns are divided into two groups on the basis of their internal morphological structure, viz., Basic, Derived and Adverbial. Anindilyakwa adjectives are divided into Basic, Derived and Interrogative.

### 3.1 Nominal roots

Noun and Adjective roots can be distinguished in Anindilyakwa.

The noun roots are body parts and the adjective roots divide into two sets, viz., shape and general.

### 3.1.1 Adjective roots

Adjective roots fall into two sets which can be identified by their position in the stem complex and by their morphological structure. Both roots can occur individually but first order roots are marked by a stem formative when occurring in word-final position. Reduplication of the root or a combination of two different adjective roots are quite common.

#### 3.1.1.1 Shape adjective roots

The first order adjective root can be identified by its final syllable ki- which has the same shape as the Adjectiviser. Twenty-eight roots have been isolated and meanings established for all but five of these. The semantic concepts involve shape and visibility.

Some of the identified shapes have been found to be related to body parts. For example, the shape adjective root, ngangk 'chest-shaped' or 'concave' is related to the Bodypart noun root, ngarngka 'shoulder' and is used for some shells; ampwirrki 'eye-shaped' or 'oval three-dimensional' is related to mwirmpwi 'eye' and is used of fruit and knobs.

The adjective roots for visibility refer to the visible and invisible, such as times of day, speech and emotions. These also can be related to body parts, e.g., warrki ~ walhki 'emotions' is also used as a crossreference for 'chest'; yarrki 'vocal' is associated with yalhki 'throat'. (Note: Phonemic variation between /rr/ and /lh/ is known to occur preceding the velar stop.) The following examples illustrate the use of shape adjective roots in the first

position in a compound stem.

ampwirrkitharrpwa 'short, eggshaped [knob]'  
/a + amp{w}irrki + tharrpwi/  
3:4 oval (egg-shaped) short

mwingarniyantha 'False Trumpet Shell'  
/mwa + ngarni{ngki} + yantha/  
3:5 pointed ???

ayarrkiwiyita 'straight talking'  
/a + yarrki + wiyita/  
3:4 vocal straight

amwakakilyiwa 'Black Pomfret fish'  
/a + mw{' + akaki + lyiwa/  
3:4 INALP tongue-shaped smooth

The Shape Adjective roots can occur as the only root in a word but the stem formative wi is usually added. The final adjectivising syllable ki may elide or the root-final vowel may be deleted to form a rounded peripheral consonant. The following pairs of examples show the contrast in roots in the first and second positions.

angangpwilya 'armpit'  
/a + ngang{ki} + pwilyi/  
3:4 concave (chest-shaped) ???

angangkiwa 'thorax front'  
/a + ngangki + wi/  
3:4 concave SF

ampwirrkitharrpwa 'short and rounded'  
/{a} + amp{w}irrki + tharrpwi/  
3:4 oval (eye-shaped) short

mwampwirrkwa 'Cooktown Ironwood'  
/mw{a} + amp{w}irrki{i} + wi/  
3:5 oval SF

ayalhkirampwalhpwa 'flat paperbark'  
/a + yalhki + rampwalhpwi/  
3:4 tubular (=neck-shaped) flat

mwiyalhkwa 'starfish (gen.)'  
/mwa + yalhk{i} + wi/  
3:5 tubular SF

arrkpwilya	'burial place'
/[a] + arrk{i} + pwilyi/	
3:4    forked    ???	
 mwarrwa	 'wave'
/mw[a] + arr{ki} + wi/	
3:5        forked        SF	
 mwingarniyantha	 'False Trumpet Shell'
/mwa + ngarni{ngki} + yantha/	
3:5        pointed                ?head	
 aningkwa	 'spear'
/a + {ngar}ningk{i} + wi/	
3:4        pointed                SF	

In the following data, the Shape Adjectives occur as the only root in common nouns. The final syllable *ki* (which conditions preceding fronted vowels, Section 2.3.2.1) is deleted but there is an absence of the stem formative. The root sometimes has a secondary meaning.

athirra	'hole, mouth'
/a + thirr{ki}/	
3:4    mouth-shaped	
 yayarra	 'vein'
/yi => ya + yarr{ki}	
3:3(ii)        forked	
 mwarra	 'blood'
/mw[a] + arr{ki}/	
3:5        forked	
 apwinga	 'anthill'
/[a] + ap{w}ing{ki}/	
3:4    humpbacked	
 aki	 'firewood'
/[a] + a{ka}ki/	
3:4        tongue-shaped	

Some of the Shape Adjective roots have variant forms in which the deletion is occasionally similar to phonologically-conditioned reductions, viz., loss of retroflexion (Section 2.11.1), initial-segment dropping (Section 2.10).

mwiningkiningkiwilyarra /mwa + ningki + ningki + wilyarra/ 3:5 REDUP pointed middle	'centre point of a sand dune'
yayarra /yi ==> ya + yarr{k}i/ 3:3(ii) forked	'vein'
mwarrpwira /mw{a} + arr{ki} + pwira/ 3:5 forked hollow	'scorpion'
yarrarra /y{i} + arr{ki} + arr{k}i/ 3:3(ii) REDUP forked	'forked stick'
arampwarrpwirra /a + ramp{w}arr{ki} + p{w}irri/ 3:4 flat (back-shaped) wide	'blackboard'
amwampwarrkwa /a + m{wi} + amp{w}arrk{i} + wi/ 3:4 INALP flat SF	'ten'
ampwirrkamwamwiwa /{a} + amp{w}irrk{i} + amwamwi + wi/ 3:4 round (scrotum-shaped) round SF	'football'
mwampwirrmwirtha /mw{a} + amp{w}irr{ki} + mwirtha/ 3:5 round (scrotum-shaped) brown	'dirty plate'

The Shape Adjective roots do not reduplicate when in the first position in a compound stem. There is, however, one example of a reduplicated root in second position.

mwarntaningkwiningkwa /mw{a} + arnta{ka} + ningkwi + ningkwi/ 3:5 elbow REDUP pointed	'Smilax Vine'
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### 3.1.1.2 General adjective roots

The adjective roots which occur in the second position in a compound stem are a separate set with semantic concepts such as size, mass, tactility, colour, number, and other physical states. A second

order root is one that cannot be placed in the first position of a compound stem. The first four examples illustrate the occurrence of these roots in the second position in a compound stem.

alharrngkwalha	'sharp things'
/a + lharrngkw{i} + alha/	
3:4 things sharp	
alhingatjirra	'long, tall'
/a + lhinga{ka} + tjirri/	
3:4 torso long	
thimwarngkithatha	'spotted dragon sp.'
/tha + mwarngka + thatha/	
3:2(ii) eye spotted	

Some of the General Adjective roots are used as the only root in proper or common nouns. In such data, only one Nominal Classifier is used with the root and the meaning is extended. No stem formative occurs because there is no change to their normal word-final position.

thikwitja	'Black-faced Cuckoo-shrike'
/tha + kwitji/	
3:2(ii) small	
yiwapa	'red ant sp.'
/yi + wapi/	
3:3(ii) red	
wirriwarta	'dog'
/wirra + warti/	
3:1 long-haired	
mwalharra	'gravel, small stones'
/mw{a} + alharra/	
3:5 few & small	
alha	'coral'
/a + alha/	
3:4 sharp	
alya	'slime, moss'
/a + alya/	
3:4 wet	
amwarta	'grass'
/a + mwarti/	
3:4 green	



amwalya 'body fat'  
 /a + mwalya/  
 3:4 soft

angwinya 'pus'  
 /a + ngwinyi/  
 3:4 soft

The reduplication of the second order adjective root is very common (except for colour). It indicates an intensifying of the characteristic. Only one root can reduplicate in each word. Some of the General Adjective roots are obligatorily reduplicated when they do not co-occur with a different root in the stem. The following examples compare the use of the reduplicated root in the adjectives and the single root in the nouns.

amwintjirr(kwi)mwilhimwilha 'coarse-skinned'  
 /a + mwintjirr(kwi) + mwilha + mwilha/  
 3:4 skin REDUP coarse

angarrmwilhimwilha 'metal rasp'  
 /a + ngarr{ka} + mwilha + mwilha/  
 3:4 ear REDUP coarse

mwamwilha 'nostril hair'  
 /mwa + mwilha/  
 3:5 coarse

awalyiwa 'ripe'  
 /a + wa{lya} + walya ==> lyiwa/  
 3:4 REDUP soft

yinimwawalyiwa 'White Gum flower'  
 /yi + {a}ni + mwi ==> mwa + walyiwa/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP REDUP:soft

awarrwalya 'shadow, shade'  
 /a + warr{ka} + walya/  
 3:4 teeth soft

ayikwitjiya 'small'  
 /a + kwitji ==> yi{kwi} + kwitji + ya/  
 3:4 REDUP small ??

yirikwitjilhangwa 'Brindled Bandicoot'  
 /yi + ri{kwi} + kwitji + lhangwi/  
 3:3(ii) body small POSS

angkipwarrngwarrngwa	'heavy'
/a + ngki + pwarrng{a} + warrng{a} + wi/	
3:4 ASR REDUP heavy SF	
yingakpwarrnga	'Cut-leaved Palm'
/yi + ngak{a} + pwarrnga/	
3:3(ii) thigh heavy	
anganthinga	'sharp'
/a + ngantha + ngantha ==> {ntha}nga/	
3:4 REDUP sharp	
mwilyarrngantha	'burning hot sand'
/mwa + lyarr{ki} + ngantha/	
3:5 invisible sharp	

Reduplication of a single root does not occur if the root already consists of reduplicated syllables. There is usually a sense of plurality (non-singularity) or intensification in such roots.

alyingarrathatha	'Scallop Shell'
/a + lyingarr{ka} + athatha/	
3:4 heart spotted	
yinyinya	'bristleworm'
/yi + nyinyi/	
3:3(ii) ringed/scalloped	
wirratjitja	'bird (gen.)'
/wirr{a} + atjitji/	
3:1 winged	
akwirara	'sweet'
/a + kwi + rara/	
3:4 NSR sweet	

### 3.1.2 Noun roots

Noun roots are the names of body parts. There are two other types of roots which morphologically fit under noun roots but semantically are more like adjectives, viz., the numerality morphemes and the diminisher.

### 3.1.2.1 Bodypart noun roots

The Bodypart noun roots which occur in the first position in a compound stem have a final syllable kwi similar to that for the Nominaliser. About eighty of these roots have been isolated and most of their meanings ascertained through their use within the compound stems in verbs. The roots (with a few exceptions) are usually human body parts but are occasionally the body parts of a non-human animate.

A Bodypart noun root is used to describe a prominent physical feature in many of the names for flora and fauna. For example, lhingaka 'human torso, human body' is used for a large tree trunk or the body of a large fish; alhpwilhka 'shoulder blade or wing' can refer to long sleeves or long grass. Many of the concepts expressed in the compound stems are not easily understood by those unfamiliar with Aboriginal culture.

The following examples illustrate the Bodypart noun root as the first root. The second root can be a single or reduplicated root.

thimwirrkwpwalya /tha + mwirrkw{i} + pwalya/ 3:2(ii) breast soft	'silky dress'
yingarrampwilya /yi + ngarr{ka} + ampwilya/ 3:3(ii) ear paired	'centipede'
alhingkwamwarta /a + lhingkw{i} + amwarta/ 3:4 hair (=foliage) green	'Billabong Tree'
yilyangmwilhimwilha /yi + lyang{ka} + mwilha + mwilha/ 3:3(ii) head rough rough	'Estuarine Stonefish'
yimwintjirrkimwilhimwilha /a + mwintjirrka + mwilha + mwilha/ 3:3(ii) skin REDUP rough	'very rough-skinned'

The Bodypart noun roots sometimes have an extended meaning. In other instances, they refer primarily to the body part of a reptile or

bird. Some of the more interesting connotations, together with exceptions, are listed below.

lharrngkwi 'unspecified body parts' is glossed as 'things'. It is used when a specific description is not required or desired.

alharngkwingmwa 'smelly things'  
/a + lharrngkwi + ng{ki} + mwi/  
3:4 things ASR to smell

alharngkwilharngkwitharpwa 'many short things'  
/a + lharrngkwi + lharrngkwi + tharrpwi/  
3:4 REDUP things short

alhka is used for the human 'shoulder-blade' or 'wing of a bird'. It frequently denotes feathers in its reference to grass or other items which are composed of strips or strands.

alhtjirrirra / mwalhtjirrirra 'long grass / rope'  
/{a} / mw{a} + alh{ka} + tjirri + rra/  
3:4 / 3:5 wing long SF

alhpwarrirra 'sliced bread'  
/{a} + alh{ka} + pwarra + rra/  
3:4 wing split SF

mwalhkirarikatja 'rain-forest'  
/mw{a} + alhka + rarikatja/  
3:5 wing fasten

mwarntaka refers primarily to the flipper of a turtle and is different from the root for the human hand. It is related to the root, arntaka 'elbow'.

yimwarntakiwapwa 'Blue-tongued Lizard'  
/yi + mwarntaka + wapwa/  
3:3(ii) flipper ???

yimwarntakirampwalhpwa '[wallaby] pouch'  
/yi + mwarntaka + rampwalhpwi/  
3:3(ii) flipper flat

mwarntakirriyarra 'Long Yam'  
/mw{a} + arntaka + rriyarri/  
3:5 elbow forked

a(k)pwirraka 'buttocks, tail' often also refers to the tail of a reptile, a road or a vehicle.

apwirrakiwiyita 'straight [table-top]'  
/{a} + apwirraka + wiyita/  
3:4 tail straight

mwapwirrawilya 'Mauve Convolvulus'  
/mw{a} + apwirra{ka} + wilya/  
3:5 tail one  
(with one long-aproot)

mwapwirrkwi 'short legs' describes short-legged human beings, birds and reptiles. In some instances, the word is better glossed as 'legless'.

thimwapwirrkwaratja 'rock-monitor sp.'  
/tha + mwapwirrk{wi} + aratja/  
3:2(ii) short leg goanna

wirrimwapwirrkwatja 'praying mantis'  
/wirra + mwapwirrk{wi} + watja/  
3:1 short leg brush away

ngathaka 'long nose' has only been recorded with reference to fish, shells, trees and grass.

thingathiyalhiwa 'Long-nosed Trevally'  
/tha + ngatha{ka} + yalhi + wi/  
3:2(ii) long-nosed shy SF

thingathiringwana 'grass sp.'  
/tha + ngatha{ka} + ringwani/  
3:2(ii) long-nosed ???

kwiwakwi ~ kwikwi refers to mwikwikwiwarnantha which is a large bag in the abdomen which contains the faeces. It could be the rectum but, as it is referred to as "the second stomach", is more likely to be the large colon. The word has also been used of sea animals with large stomachs, viz., a shark, dophin or dugong; a smelly mattress or blanket; a waterhole or the sea; and a stone.

akwiwakwitharrpwa	'small swamp'
/a + kwiwakwi + tharrpwi/	
3:4 colon short	
akwiwakwitjira	'small stick'
/a + kwiwakwi + tjira/	
3:4 colon young	
akwiwapwirra	'flat and wide'
/a + kwiwa{kwi} + p{w}irri/	
3:4 colon wide	

The Bodypart noun roots usually occur in the first position in a compound stem but, like the Shape Adjective roots, can occur in stem-final. The roots are optionally adjoined by the stem formative *rra* or *wi*. The stem formative *wi* may be the same as in the pronouns where it is added to the prefix to form a free form pronoun (Section 4.2.1) but could also be a variant form of the Propriative suffix *mwɪ* ~ *pwɪ* which occurs in the same position on nouns (Section 3.4.1.2). The vowel *and*, where applicable, the semi-vowel /w/ preceding the stem formative *wi* is deleted, probably because its presence would overlap with the noun plus Locative case marker. The examples are divided into three sets to illustrate each stem formative and to compare the stem formative *wi* with the Propriative suffix.

yipwirngkipwirngkwirra	'Tripod-fish'
/yi + pwirngkwi + pwirngkwi + rra/	
3:3(ii) REDUP spine SF	
thimwingkwirra	'Blue-winged Kingfisher'
/tha + mwing{kwirr}kwi + rra/	
3:2(ii) cheek SF	
alyikwirra	'paperbark'
/a + lyi{pwirr}kwi + rra/	
3:4 lips/tongue SF	
yipwarngkwa	'mullet'
/yi + pw{i} + ai k{a} + wi/	
3:3(ii) EM eye SF	

thingarrkwa /tha + ngarrk{a} + wi/ 3:2(ii) ear SF	'sea urchin'
mwilharrngkwa /mwa + lharrngk{wi} + wi/ 3:5 things SF	'White Berry Rush'
Compare:	
mwangkwirrkwa /mw{a} + angkwirrk{wi} + wi/ 3:5 scrotum SF	'Pandanus fruit'
mwangkarrkpwa /mw{a} + angkarrk{a} + pwi/ 3:5 hip PROP	'Wild Plum'

The Bodypart noun root can occur as the only root in a noun. The final syllable *ka* or *kwi* is deleted but the stem formative is not added. In some instances, the remaining portion of the single root is identical with that in the compound stem but in others there are minor differences. Both forms have the same meaning in the following list. (Note: Consideration was given to analysing the root-final syllable *kwi* as prosodic rounding conditioned by the preceding rounded syllable but this will not account for its presence in other roots, e.g., *lyingkwi* 'head hair'.)

BOUND FORM	FREE FORM	MEANING
a(k)pwalhka-	akpwalha	'abdomen'
angkarrka-	arrngka	'hip'
arntaka-	arnta	'elbow'
lhakpwaka-	alhakpwa	'leg'
lyangarngka-	aringka	'head'
lhirraka-	alhika	'foot'
lyikpwirrkwi-	alyalyikpwa	'lips'
mwingkwirrkwi-	amwingkwirra	'cheek'
mwinharrka ~ mwilharrka	amwinha	'urine'

mwirngka-	mwirnga	'spine'
lhangarngka-	aringka	'head'
ngirntarrka-	angirnta	'chin'
ngwirntirrka-	angwirnta	'ankle'
ngwinaka-	yina	'knee joint'
ripwirrkwi-	mwirirrpwa	'body, back'
rraka-	arra	'forehead'
yamwirrkwi-	ayarmwirra	'upper arm'

There are some examples where the free form and the incorporated root differ slightly in form and/or meaning.

BOUND FORM		FREE FORM	
lyarrka-	bone	ayarrka	'hand'
yalhki-	throat	ayakwa	'speech'
yarrki-	forked	yayarra	'vein'
		yarrarra	'forked stick'
kaki-	tongue-shaped (= fire)	aka	'firewood'
apwingki-	humpbacked	apwinga	'anthill'

Bodypart noun roots consisting of three syllables have shortened forms. Such deletions usually omit or reduce the medial syllables. Some are irregular to prevent ambiguity with another root.

FULL FORM		SHORT FORM	
ripwirrkwi-		rikwi-	'body, back'
lyikpwirrkwi-		lyikwi-	'lips, tongue'
mwingkwirrkwi-		mwingkwi-	'cheek'
lhangarngka-		lhangkwi-	'head'
angkarrrka-		arrka-	'hip'



mwilyirrkwi-	mwirrkwi-	'breast'
alhpwilhka-	alhka-	'shoulder blade'

The long and short forms of the above roots freely vary in the verbs but, in the nominals, the shorter forms are obligatory in specific words.

nirikwitharrpwa /ni + ri{pwirr}kwi + tharrpwi/ 3:3(i) body short	'short-backed'
amwirrkwpwalya /a + mwi{lyi}rrkw{i} + pwalya/ 3:4 breast soft	'soft-breasted'
nilyangpwirna /ni + lya{ngar}ng{ka} + pwirna/ 3:3(i) head many	'ignorant'
yarrkimwarnta /y{i} + a{nga}rrka + mwarnta/ 3:3(ii) hip to point	'Venus Shell'

Reduplication of the Bodypart noun root indicates plurality and usually occurs when the noun root precedes an adjective root. In most instances, more than one such body part occurs in humans, e.g., paired body parts such as ears and eyes, complex body parts such as hair or spine, or culturally-specific ones such as the two stomachs (the second one is called the 'little stomach' and is part of the intestines).

alhingkwilhingkwilwiyarra /a + lhingkwil + lhingkwil + wiyarra/ 3:4 REDUP hair (=foliage) middle	'middle of dense foliage'
alharrngkwilharrngkwiwarra /a + lharrngkwil + lharrngkwi + warra/ 3:4 REDUP things torn	'remnant'
apwipwirngkwilyimwitha /a + pwi{rngkwil} + pwirngkwil + lyimwitha/ 3:4 REDUP spine (=bone) be complete	'[whole] skeleton'

wirrantjantjinyirra 'Azure Kingfisher'  
 /wirr{a} + antj{alhka} + antja{lhka} + nyirra/  
 3:1 REDUP stomach soft

mwarpwarpwirra 'Strangler Fig'  
 /mw{a} + armpwi + arn{taka} + pwirra  
 3:5 REDUP elbow PROP

angwirrkwpwingwirrkwpwirra 'Devil Ray'  
 /a + ngwirrkwpwi + ngwirrkw{i} + p{w}irri/  
 3:4 REDUP mouth wide

The only pair of examples, to date, where the reduplicated root contrasts with the same single root, are as follows:

alhingpwirra 'Flat Grass'  
 /a + lhing{kwi} + p{w}irri/  
 3:4 hair wide

alhingwilhingpwirra 'Silk Grass'  
 /a + lhingp{w}i + lhing{kwi} + p{w}irri/  
 3:4 REDUP hair wide

#### 3.1.2.2 Numerality

Most of the numerals occur as General Adjective roots but the plural allomorphs, wirraka ~ mwirntaka, functions as a noun root. This root fills the same positions in the compound stem as Bodypart noun roots. It functions elsewhere as a Number prefix (see Section 3.3.1.3).

The plural allomorphs can precede another numeral General Adjective root, as in the following examples.

thiwirrwilya  
 /tha + wirr{aka} + wilya/  
 3:2(ii) PL one  
 'rainbow' (Lit: one multi-faceted item)

yimwirntangirringirra  
 /yi + mwirnta{ka} + ngirra + ngirra/  
 3:3(ii) PL REDUP dangerous  
 'Blady Grass' (Lit: having many very dangerous parts)

ngarrimwirntakawira ~ ngarriwirrakawira 'we, the one set'  
 /ngarra + (mwirntaka ~ wirraka) + wira/  
 1ExcP1 PL alone  
  
 amwirntakitjika 'collection of small  
 /a + mwirntaka + kwitji ==> tjik{w}i/ items'  
 3:4 PL small  
  
 amwirntamwilhka ~ awirramwilhka  
 /a + (mwirnta{ka} ~ wirra{ka}) + mwilhka/  
 3:4 PL looked after  
 'intact items' (Lit: many looked-after)  
  
 nimwirntakpwilhirra  
 /ni + mwirntak{a} + pwi + lhirra/  
 3:3(ii) PL EM slippery  
 'careless' (Lit: many slippery [fingers])

The plural morpheme, mwirntaka and its hardened counterpart pwirna, can also function as the only single or reduplicated root. As in Bodypart noun roots, the final syllable is deleted and the optional stem formative rra adjoined. The extended meaning of the morpheme is 'many'.

apwapwirna 'many'  
 /[a] + apwi ==> apwa + pwirna/  
 3:4 REDUP PL  
  
 yimwirnta 'head lice'  
 /yi + mwirnta/  
 3:3(ii) PL  
  
 wirramwirnta 'dog ticks'  
 /wirra + mwirnta/  
 3:1 PL  
  
 yiningarnimpwirna 'Venus Tusk-fish'  
 /yi + {a}ni + {ngwi} + ngarning{ki} + pwirna/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP pointed many

There is one other numeral which is a noun root. The numeral root, ampwaka 'hands and feet', appears to have the meaning of 'paired body parts' in the verbs. In the nominals, its shortened form means 'a pair' or 'two'.

ampwilyimwa 'pair, two'  
 /[a] + ampwa{ka} + wilyi + mwi/  
 3:4 paired one PROP

ampwampwimwa				'two by two'
/[a] + ampw{aka} + ampwa{va} + mw1/				
3:4	REDUP	pair	PROP	

ampwawira				'few'
/[a] + ampwa{ka} + wira/				
3:4	paired	one		

### 3.1.2.3 Diminisher

The comparison between a pair of similar items is frequently indicated by the use of the Diminisher warrngka which precedes the stem nucleus. Its allomorphs are warrngka, wanka and the less frequent warnka. The final syllable identifies this morpheme as a noun root. (See Section 8.2.2.1 for the particle which also acts as a diminisher.)

The Diminisher decreases the lexical meaning of adjective (but not noun) roots in the compound stem. In effect, it decreases largeness and increases smallness.

niwarrngkingpwitha				'strongish'
/ni + warrngka + ng{ki} + pwitha/				
3:3(i)	DIMIN	ASR	swell (=strong)	

awarrngkirampwarrpwirra				'almost flat and wide'
/a + warrngka + ramp{w}arrp{w}irri/				(e.g. bark sheet)
3:4	DIMIN	flat:wide		

awarrng(ki)kwilyathatha				'rather pretty'
/a + warrng(ka) + kwilyathatha/				
3:4	DIMIN	skin:spotted		

awarrngkilyarrngantha				'warm, tepid'
/a + warrngka + lyarrngantha/				
3:4	DIMIN	invisible:sharp		

niwarrngkaningapwa				'not really good'
/ni + warrngk{a} + aningapwa/				
3:3(i)	DIMIN	good		

awarrngkilyikarrkpwitha				'slightly unpleasant'
/a + warrngka + lyikarrkpwitha/				[taste]
3:4	DIMIN	liver:strong		

awarrngkapwiyiya				'blurry'
/a + warrngk{a} + apwiyiyi/				
3:4	DIMIN	not visible		

thawarnkanyarra ~ thawankanyarra 'teasing'  
 /tha + warrngka ==> wa(r)nk{a} + anyarri/  
 3:2(i) DIMIN hard

niwanpwitjingwa 'a bit tired'  
 /ni + wanka + pwi + tjingwa/  
 3:3(i) DIMIN EM tired

thiwankartarra 'feverish'  
 /tha + wank{a} + artarra/  
 3:2(i) DIMIN hot

mwiwankwinyirra  
 /mwa + wank{w}i + nyirri/  
 3:4 DIMIN soft  
 'whimpers' (e.g., a truck that stops and starts)

Size is not compared in three degrees as in English (big, bigger, biggest) but in paired relationships. Each unit in a pair of antonyms is diminished, i.e., big versus slightly big, and small versus slightly small. Note that when largeness is diminished it becomes smaller but when smallness is diminished it increases in size.

arimwa /{a} + arimwi/ 'big'  
 3:4 big

awarrngkarimwa /a + warrngk{a} + arimwi/ 'biggish'  
 3:4 DIMIN big

ayikwitjiya /a + yikwitjiya/ 'small'  
 3:4 small

awarrngkiyikwitjiya /a + warrngka + yikwitjiya/ 'smallish'  
 3:4 DIMIN small

amwiyarra /a + m{w}i + yarri/ 'for a while'  
 3:4 INALP forked

awarrngkamwayarra 'for a fair while'  
 /a + warrngk{a} + am{w}iyarra/  
 3:4 DIMIN temporary

Reduplication of the Diminisher is very rare. It increases the intensity of the reduction.

mwiwarrngkiwarrngkithirrpwira  
 /mwa + warrngka + warrngka + thirrpwira/  
 3:5 DIMIN DIMIN straight  
 'not quite straight' (e.g., leaves of the Whistling Casuarina Tree)

The Diminisher is often optional in the adjectives but is obligatory in some of the (idiomatic) nouns.

thiwanthira	/tha + wan{ka} + thira/ 3:2(ii) DIMIN ???	'Restless Fly-catcher'
thiwankirrariya	/tha + wanka + wirrariya/ 3:2(ii) DIMIN bad	'Osprey'
yiwarrngkwitja	/yi + warrng{ka} + kwitji/ 3:3(ii) DIMIN small	'joey'

### 3.2 NOMINAL STEM COMPLEX

The Nominal Stem Complex consists of a compound stem with two or three different roots, preceded by an optional Gender morpheme and the stem formatives for Nominalisation, Adjectivisation and Possession. The various combinations of grammatical categories within the stem nucleus and the nature of the elements within the compound stem leads to the positing of different types of nouns and adjectives. These are discussed within this sub-section.

#### 3.2.1 Basic nouns

The Basic Noun consists of an obligatory Nominal Prefix Nucleus and a single or reduplicated noun root. These are few in number and are often the names of body parts. Two different Bodypart noun roots (except the Numerative plural) cannot co-occur.

arnta	/a + arnta/ 3:4 elbow	'elbow'
angwirnta	/a + ngwirnti/ 3:4 ankle	'ankle'
mwirirrpwa	/mwa + rirr{ki} + pwi/ 3:5 human back PROP	'human back'

yilyakwa	/yi + lyakwa/ 3:3(ii) speech	'native bee'
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Some bird names consist of the Nominal Prefix Nucleus followed by a single or reduplicated root which is onomatopaeic.

NAME	BIRD CALL	
yitjarra	tjarr (=atchoo)	'Silver Gull'
yikwirrkwa	kwirrkwi kwirrkwi	'Tawny Frogmouth'
thipwithakpwitha	pwithak pwithak	'Pied Oystercatcher'
thikwirirrkwa	kwirirrk	'Brolga'
thirrkpwa	thirrk	'Masked Plover'
mwamwinyi	mwinyi	'Swamp Hen'
yiwikpwa	pwi pwi pwi pwi pwi	'Coucal Pheasant'

The Basic noun can consist of a plural noun root and a Bodypart noun root.

amwirntathikwirra		'Catfish Eel' (Lit: many-tongued)'
/a + mwirnta{ka} + thikwi + rra/		
3:4 PL	tongue SF	

### 3.2.2 Basic adjectives

A Basic adjective consists of an obligatory nominal prefix nucleus and a compound stem. The compound stem may be realised by a single or reduplicated root, or a noun root followed by an adjective root or two different adjective roots.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of a single or a reduplicated root. Note that some of the reduplicated roots are reduced by metathesis and haplology.

arimwa	/[a] + arimwi/ 3:4 big	'big'
--------	---------------------------	-------

natjara	/n{i} + atjara/ 3:3(i) young	'mean, unsharing'
mwingka	/m{w}a + ngki/ 3:5 other	'another'
niyarrrmiyarrrma		'thin'
/ni + yarrrmi + yarrrmi/ 3:3(i) REDUP thin		
wirrarimwirimwa		'big [people]'
/wirr{a} + arimwi + arimwi/ 3:1 REDUP big		
awalyiwa		'ripe'
/a + lyiwa ==> wa{lyi} + lyiwa/ 3:4 REDUP smooth		
thinganthinga		'sharp'
/tha + nga{nthi} + nganthe ==> nthinga/ 3:2(ii) REDUP sharp		

An adjective stem, consisting of two different adjective roots, often permits a description of two significant physical features.

ampirrkitharrpwa		'short and round' (e.g., little finger)
/a + amp{w}irrk + tharrpwi/ 3:4 scrotum-shaped short		
yirrakpwirra		'long and wide [branch]'
/yi + rrak{i} + p{w}irri/ 3:3(ii) elongated wide		
arrpwirra		'any' (e.g., anywhere)
/a + arr{k} + p{w}irri/ 3:4 forked wide		
alharrkiwilyapwa		'distant [country]'
/a + lharrki + wilyapwa/ 3:4 invisible one		
niwarrikawarriya		'sad'
/ni + warrk{i} + awarriya/ 3:3(i) chest untidy (=bad)		

Compound stems with a Bodypart noun root and an adjective root are considered to be basic adjectives because they take the full set of nominal classifiers and can be modifiers in the noun phrase.



nilyangpwirna /ni + lyang{ka} + pwirna/ 3:3(i) head many	'ignorant' (Lit: many-headed)
nimwarngkampwilyimwa /ni + mwarngk{a} + ampwilyimwa/ 3:3(i) spirit two	'two-faced'
niyarrrkpwilhirra /ni + yarrk{i} + pwi + lhirra/ 3:3(i) vocal EM blunt	'lispings'
alharrmpwirna /a + lharrng{kwi} + pwirna/ 3:4 things many	'neat'
thimwirrkwpwalya /tha + mwirrkw{i} + pwalya/ 3:2(i) breast soft	'soft-fleshed'
angwirrkwirampwalhpwa /a + ngwirrkwi + rampwalhpwa/ 3:4 mouth flat	'flat-bottomed'
thilharrkpwilhalha /tha + lharrk{a} + pwi + lhalha/ 3:2(i) bone EM shallow	'emaciated, thin'

Either the Bodypart noun root in the first position or the General Adjective root in the second position can be reduplicated, but not both in the same word.

amwintjirrkinwilhimwilha /a + mwintjirrka + mwilha + mwilha/ 3:4 skin REDUP rough	'very rough-barked'
alyikarrpwaripwara /a + lyikarr{ka} + pwara + pwara/ 3:4 liver/heart REDUP light	'light, not heavy'
mwitjitjirrkiwilyarra /mwa + tji{rrka} + tjirrka + wilyarra/ 3:5 REDUP ?heart middle	'very middle [of the sea]'
arngkirngkithirrpwira /{a} + arngkirngka + thirrpwira/ 3:4 eye (=house) straight	'straight-sided [house]'

### 3.2.3 Derived nouns

Nouns are derived by the Nominaliser or the two Possession

morphemes which precede the compound stem. These morphemes are usually preceded by a Gender morpheme. To facilitate the understanding of the analysis for derived nouns the Gender morphemes are described first.

### 3.2.3.1 Gender

The Gender prefix consists of two separate morphemes, atha- (human.feminine) and ani- (non-human.feminine), which follow the Nominal Prefix Nucleus in some nouns and adjectives. The shapes of these morphemes are similar to their counterparts in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus, i.e., the feminine Nominal Classifier 3:2 tha- and the human masculine Nominal Classifier ni- drop the morpheme-initial /a/ in word-initial position.

Both morphemes occur in the first and second person. The morpheme, atha- (human.feminine gender), only co-occurs with the third person Nominal Class 3:2; the morpheme ani- co-occurs with all other third person Nominal Classes.

ninganipa /ning{a} + ani + {kwi} + pi/ 1ExcSg n-hfem NSR drink	'I, the living male'
kwirranipwiwakwitha /kwirr{a} + ani + pwi + wakwitha/ 2Pl n-hfem NSR be silly	'you silly males'
wirrathipwiwakwitha /wirr{a} + atha + pwi + wakwitha/ 3:1Pl hfem NSR be silly	'silly females'
naningkwilyikpwa /n{i} + ani + ngkwi + lyikpwi/ 3:3(i) n-hfem NSR lips	'male descendant'
thathingkwilyikpwa /th{a} + atha + ngkwi + lyikpwi/ 3:2(i) hfem NSR lips	'female descendant'

In non-human feminine Nominal Class 3:2(ii), the two Gender

morphemes can occur. The choice of morphemes usually distinguishes human feminine from inanimates or animates that are classified as feminine but are not human. The older Anindilyakwa speakers consider the use of the non-human.feminine morpheme to be "correct" for the latter categories but free variation does occur between the two allomorphs. Compare the following pairs of examples:

thathingkwirakpwa		'well-known [woman]'
/th{a} + atha + ngkwi + rakpwi/		
3:2(i) hfem NSR comp.act		
thaningkwirakpwa ~ thathingkwirakpwa		'old [clothing]'
/th{a} + ani ~ atha + ngkwi + rakpwi/		
3:2(ii) n-hfem hfem NSR comp.act		
thathipa		'living female [person]'
/th{a} + atha + {kwi} + pi/		
3:2(i) hfem NSR drink		
thanipa ~ thathipa		'living [bird]'
/th{a} + ani + {kwi} + pi/		
3:2(ii) n-hfem NSR drink		
thanikwiyalhiya ~ thathikwiyalhiya		'shy [lizard]'
/th{a} + ani ~ atha + k{w}i + yalhiya/		
3:2(ii) n-hfem hfem NSR shy		
thanipwiwakwithikwiya ~ thathipwiwakwithikwiya		
/th{a} + ani ~ atha + pwi + wakwitha + kwiya/		
3:2(ii) n-hfem hfem NSR be silly DU		
'two silly [animals classified as feminine]'		

The non-human.feminine Gender morpheme *ani-* is used as the citation form for a group consisting of both men and women.

warnimwamwalya  
 /wi{rra} + ani + mwi ==> mwa + mwalya/  
 3Pl n-hfem INALP body fat  
 'Aboriginal race, all mankind'

warninthilyakwa  
 /wirr{a} + ani + ngkwi ==> nthi + lyakwa/  
 3Pl n-hfem NSR speak  
 'Anindilyakwa speakers'

Redundancy in the marking of gender occurs when a Gender morpheme co-occurs with its corresponding Nominal Classifier 3:2(i) feminine or 3:3(i) masculine or its corresponding dual Gender/Number morpheme.

thathipwiwakwitha	'silly female'
/th{a} + atha + pwi + wakwitha/	
3:2(i) hfem NSR be silly	
nanipwiwakwithikwiya	'two silly males'
/n{i} + ani + pwi + wakwitha + k{w}iyi/	
3:3(i) n-h.fem NSR be silly DU	
yirringathimwalhikakwiya	'feet of us two silly females'
/yirring{a} + atha + mw{i} + alhika + k{w}iyi/	
1ExcFemDu hfem INALP foot DU	
yinanimwalhikakwiya	'feet of us two silly males'
/yi{rra}n{i} + ani + mw{i} + alhika + k{w}iyi/	
1ExcMascDu n-hfem INALP foot DU	

There are some phonologically-conditioned allomorphs of the Gender morphemes. Cerebralisation and Regressive Assimilation operate under the phonological rules in Sections 2.5.2.3 and 2.7.1, respectively. Vowel and syllable deletion are specific to the interaction of a Gender morpheme with another contiguous morpheme.

(i) cerebralisation

The full and reduced forms can occur in free variation but the reduced form is by far the most frequent.

kwirraningkwarpwa ~ karningkwarpwa	'you adult men'
/kwirr{a} + ani + ngkw{i} + arpwi/	
2Pl n-hfem NSR wound	
wirraningmwa ~ warningmwa	'knowledgable men'
/wirr{a} + ani + ng{kwi} + mwi/	
3Pl n-hfem NSR pick up	
ngarnikiyalhiya	'we shy people'
/ngarr{a} + ani + ki + yalhiya/	
1IncPl n-hfem ASR shy	

(ii) progressive assimilation

The Gender morpheme ani- assimilates to amwi- following the Nominal Classifier 3:5 mwa-. The two forms may be in free variation or the assimilated morpheme may be deleted by the Haplology Rule (see Section 2.5.2.1). Only the assimilated occurs between two rounded labial nasal consonants.

mwanikwapwalhmwingkwa ~ mwamwikwapwalhmwingkwa  
/mw{a} + ani ==> amwi + kw{i} + apwalhmwingkwi/  
3:5 n-hfem NSR wear on the abdomen  
'belt'

mwanipwiwakitha ~ mwamwipwiwakwitha  
/mw{a} + ani ==> amwi + pwi + wakwitha/  
3:5 n-hfem NSR become silly  
'silly [shark]'

mwa(mwa)mwamwiwa  
/mw{a} + ani ==> amwi ==> amwa + mw{a} + amwiwa/  
3:5 n-hfem INALP round  
'Round yam'

mwamwikirra  
/mw{a} + ani ==> a{mwi} + mwi + k{w}irri/  
3:5 n-hfem INALP name  
'its name'

(iii) vowel deletion

Vowel Deletion is irregular in that the morpheme-initial vowel is deleted in the second morpheme and not the morpheme-final vowel in the first morpheme (Cf. Section 2.5.1). This irregularity occurs at the morpheme boundary between the Nominal Classifier 3:3(ii) yi- and the Gender morpheme ani-. It prevents ambiguity with a similar combination for the first person inclusive singular, yani-. Compare the following pairs of examples:

yanimwawarrwalyikwiya  
/y{a} + ani + mw{i} + awarrwalya + k{w}iyi/  
1IncSg n-hfem INALP shadow DU  
'the shadows of you and me'

yinimwawarrwalyikwiya  
 /y{a} + {a}ni + mw{i} + awarrwalya + k{w}iyi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP shadow DU  
 'the shadows of two non-human male [kangaroos]'

yanikathiwa  
 /y{a} + ani + k{wi} + athiwi/  
 1IncSg n-hfem NSR new  
 'you and me, the newcomers'

yinikathiwa  
 /yi + {a}ni + k{wi} + athiwi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR new  
 'crescent moon'

(iv) syllable deletion

The surface representation of the Gender morphemes is quite often realised by its initial vowel /a/ when the final syllable is deleted preceding a Nominaliser, Adjectiviser or Possession morpheme. This contrasts with the morpheme-final neutralised high vowel in the prefixation preceding the Gender morpheme. Such syllable deletion is similar to that discussed under Haplology (Section 2.5.2.1) but extends the scope of what will elide. The full and the shortened forms vary in a few words. The short forms occur most frequently in the Personified Noun Class 3:2 THA (66% of data) and in the Non-personified Noun Class 3:5 MWA (75% of data). No shortened forms have been recorded for the Noun Class 3:1 WIRRA and only one or two for Noun Class 3:3 NI and YI. The presence or absence of the Gender morphemes with Noun Class 3:4 A can only be identified within the full prefix paradigm. The following examples show the variation between the full and shortened forms.

tha(thi)kwiwarrkiwarrka 'spider (gen.)'  
 /th{a} + atha + kwi + warrka + warrka/  
 3:2 hfem NSR REDUP weave

na(ni)kwiripwiripwika 'Macassan male'  
 /n{i} + ani + kwi + rip{w}i + rip{w}iki/  
 3:3(i) h-hfem NSR REDUP eat raw fish

a(ni)kwilying kwa 'body painting'  
 /{a} + ani + kwi + lyingkw i/  
 3:4 n-hfem NSR paint the body'

In the following examples, only the shortened form occurs.

thakwilyingatjanga 'star'  
 /th{a} + a{tha} + kwi + lyingatjanga/  
 3:2 hfem NSR pop out

thakwiyawiyawitha 'Great Bower-bird'  
 /th{a} + a{tha} + kwi + yawa + yawitha/  
 3:2(n) NSR REDUP collect

mwakwi... 'broom'  
 /mw{a} + ani => a{mwi} + kwi + lyangpwaraka/  
 3:5 n-hfem NSR sweep

mwakwapwaramwa 'Shark Ray'  
 /mw{a} + ani => a{mwi} + kwi + apwaramwa/  
 3:5 n-hfem NSR feel for the unseen

thakpwitha 'right-handed  
 [fema e]'  
 /th{a} + a{tha} + k{i} + pwitha/  
 3:2(i) hfem ASR swell (=strong)

nakawarriya 'left-handed [male]'  
 /m{wa} + a{ni} + k{i} + awarriya/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem ASR untidy

thamwapwimwirra 'Olive Python'  
 /th{a} + a{tha} + {mwi} + mwapwi + mwirra/  
 3:2(i) hfem INALP legless PROP

thamwarikwa 'beetle sp.'  
 /th{a} + a{tha} + mw{i} + arikwa/  
 3:2(i) hfem INALP raw

The Gender morphemes are reduplicated to indicate plurality.  
 In the last three examples, the Gender morpheme is reduplicated  
 together with the following morpheme (see Section 2:8 for  
 Reduplication Rules).

wirraniniyarringkawiya ~ warniniyarringkawiya 'old men'  
 /wirr{a} + anini + yarringka + awiyi/  
 3:1(i) REDUP:n-hfem aged PL

yirrithitharringkawiya 'we old women'  
 /yirra + {a}thitha + {y}arrngka + awiyi/  
 1ExcPl REDUP:hfem aged PL

aninginingapwa 'good [things]'  
 /{a} + aninga + {a}ni + {ngwi} + ngapwa/  
 3:4 REDUP n-hfem ALP good

anipwinipwingwaya 'Wild Gardenia'  
 /{a} + anipwi + {a}ni + pwi + ngwaya/  
 3:4 REDUP n-hfem NSR ???

yiningkwiningkwarpwawiya  
 /yi + ningkwi + {a}ni + ngkw{i} + arpwi ==> arpwa + wiyi/  
 3:3(ii) REDUP n-hfem NSR wound PL  
 'adult male goannas'

The occurrence of two Gender morphemes does not always indicate reduplication. The nominal classifier and gender marker have been added to the stem nucleus of another adjective. Such constructions are not frequent.

thathinipwiwakwitha ~ thanipwiwakwitha 'silly [animal]'  
 /th{a} + atha + {a}nipwiwakwitha/  
 3:2(ii) hfem silly

ningathiningkwirakpwa 'I, the old one'  
 /ning{a} + atha + {a}ningkwirakpwa/  
 1ExcSg n-hfem old

kwirraniningkwira 'you, Nunggubuyu'  
 /kwirr{a} + ani + {yi}ningkwira/  
 2Pl n-hfem NW wind

Morphologically, a Gender morpheme precedes the Nominaliser, Adjectiviser, Inalienable and Alienable Possession morphemes (see the following section).

warningkwilyikpwa  
 /wirr{a} + ani + ngkwi + lyikpwi/  
 3:1Pl n-hfem NSR lips  
 'descendants'

wirringathikwiyakatja  
 /wirring{a} + atha + kwi + yakatja/  
 3:1FemDu hfem NSR stay together  
 'friendly women or girls'



yathimwathirrakwiya  
 /y{a} + atha + mw{i} + athirra + kwiyi/  
 1IncDu hfem INALP mouth du/tri  
 'the mouths of us two females'

ningkwaningwathinipwawiya  
 /ningk{wi} + ani + ngw{i} + athinipwawiva/  
 2Sg n-hfem ALP soon  
 'you, the oldest male offspring'

ningkwathingwathinipwawiya  
 /ningk{wi} + atha + ngw{i} + athinipwawiya/  
 2Sg hfem ALP soon  
 'you, the oldest female offspring'

Semantically, the Gender morphemes seem to be related primarily to humans and the words can be grouped into the following semantic categories, viz., human attributes, age (maturity) levels, kinship terms. There is, however, less frequent but often idiomatic usage of the same morphological structures with inanimate items.

(i) human attributes

The human attributes are usually realised as adjectives. It is in this group that the primarily human attribute is extended to the non-human animate or inanimate. Compare the following sets:

naningapwa 'good [male]'  
 /n{i} + ani + {ngkwi} + ngapwi/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem NSR good

aningapwa 'good [thing]'  
 /[a] + ani + {ngkwi} + ngapwi/  
 3:4 n-hfem NSR good

ngarningkwirakpwa  
 /ngar{ra} + {a}ni + ngkwi + rakpwi/  
 1IncPl n-hfem NSR comp.act  
 'we long-term residents, we who have stood for a long time'

yiningkwirakpwa 'full moon'  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngkwi + rakpwi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR comp.act

thaningkwirakpwa 'old [clothing]'  
 /th{a} + ani + ngkwi + rakpwi/  
 3:2(ii) n-hfem NSR comp.act

yathikathiwa  
 /y{a} + atha + k{i} + athiwi/  
 1IncSg hfem ASR be new  
 'you and I, the two female newcomers'

yinikathiwa 'crescent moon'  
 /yi + {a}ni + k{i} + athiwi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem ASR be new

mwanikathiwa 'new [truck]'  
 /mw{a} + ani + k{i} + athiwi/  
 3:4 n-hfem ASR be new

There appears to be a lack of consistency in the marking of human attributes for gender. For example, only one word in a pair of antonyms may be marked.

aningapwa 'good'

awirrariya 'bad'

nimwakpa 'generous'

nimwarngpirra 'mean, greedy'

#### (ii) age levels

The Aborigines do not count the years but do distinguish various maturity levels, mostly in relation to physical development/appearance and ability. Two examples for each of the male and female maturity levels are:

kwirripwikwantjarrngalyilya  
 /kwirripwikwi + an{i} + tjarr{ngkwi} + ngalyilyi/  
 2Tri n-hfem ?things tread on  
 'you three boys'

naningkwarpwa 'adult male, man'  
 /n{i} + ani + ngkw{i} + arpwi/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem NSR wound

thitharrngka		'adult female, woman'
/tha + {a}tha + arrngka/		
3:3(i) hfem	hip	
ningkwathiyara		'you, the girl'
/ningk{wi} + atha + yari/		
2Sg	hfem	young

Gender morphemes are not used in angariya 'baby or toddler' whose sex is only indicated by the Nominal Prefix Nucleus. No gender classification appears to be incorporated until there are taboos connected with males and females (e.g., when a brother and sister must sit on opposite sides of the fire and not be left alone in the camp).

Ordinal number is also marked by the Gender morphemes and primarily appears to refer to time or order of one's birth. It is, however, also used for position in a linear sequence.

naningwathinipwawiya			
/n{i} + ani	+ ngw{i}	+ athinipwawiya/	
3:3(i)	n-hfem	ALP	soon
'first-born son'			

aningwathinipwawiya			
/a + ani	+ ngw{i}	+ athinipwawiya/	
3:4	n-hfem	ALP	soon
'the beginning of a story'			

mwaningwathinipwawiya			
/mw{a} + ani	+ ngw{i}	+ athinipwawiya/	
3:5	n-hfem	ALP	soon
'the first [canoe to be made]'			

thathikwapwiyarpwiwatha			
/th{a} + atha	+ kw{i}	+ apwiyarpwiwatha/	
3:2(i)	hfem	NSR	become four
'fourth female'			

(iii) kinship terms

The occurrence of the Gender morphemes with kinship and relationship terms is not systematic.

wirringathikwarrangpwitja  
 /wirring{a} + atha + kw{i} + arrangpwitji/  
 3:1FemDu hfem NSR propagate  
 'mother's brothers' daughters'

nanikwangkwarrka  
 /n{i} + ani + kw{i} + angkw{i} + arrka/  
 3:2(1) n-hfem NSR dau's son KPOSS  
 'my daughter's son'

ningkwanipwingakpa  
 /ningk{wi} + ani + pwi + ngakpi/  
 2Sg n-hfem NSR make  
 'you, the oldest living progenitor'

kwirranikwarpwirra  
 /kwirr{a} + ani + kw{i} + arpwi + rra/  
 2Pl n-hfem NSR wound SF  
 'you men of the opposite moiety'

### 3.2.3.2 Nominalisation

Nominalised nouns in Anindilyakwa are derived mainly from verb roots or stems (over 100 examples) but can be derived from roots or stems in other word classes. The Nominaliser, *ngkw*i ~ *kw*i, immediately precedes the stem. The maximal structure for these derived nouns is: Nominal Prefix Nucleus, a Gender morpheme, and the simple root or compound stem. The Gender morphemes appear to have a grammatical, not a semantic, function. It usually occurs with human or non-human animate nouns and very rarely with inanimate nouns.

The Nominaliser, *ngkw*i- ~ *kw*i- is identical with the final syllable on some Bodypart noun roots and may be the last syllable of the noun root, *lharrngkw*i 'unidentified body-parts, things'. The allomorph *ngkw*i- is the less frequent allomorph, occurring in about twenty words. The use of each allomorph remains constant within the particular word. There is a rare phonologically-conditioned allomorph *pwi*- which can replace or occur in free variation with *kw*i- preceding the initial continuant of a compound stem (usually a peripheral nasal).

thathikwiyangpiyangpa /th{a} + atha + kwi + yangpi + yangpi/ 3:2(i) hfem NSR REDUP speak	'loquacious woman'
naningkwarpwa /n{i} + ani + ngkw{i} + arpwi/ 3:3(i) n-hfem NSR wound	'adult man'
winanipwiyakatja ~ winanikwiyakatja /wini + ani + pwi ~ kwi + yakatja/ 3:1MascDu n-hfem NSR stay together	'married couple'

### 3.2.3.2A Of verb stems

The verb stem is usually uninflected in the derived nouns. The uninflected single or reduplicated roots are illustrated in the following examples.

nanikwirripwirringka /n{i} + ani + kwi + rripwirringka/ 3:2(i) n-hfem NSR REDUP: look	'male doctor'
thathikwawiyapa /th{a} + atha + k(w){i} + awiyapi/ 3:2(ii) hfem NSR enter	'clothes'
aningkwalyipwa /{a} + ani + ngkw{i} + alyipwi/ 3:4 n-hfem NSR eat	'harpoon'
thathipwingakpa /th{a} + atha + pwi + ngakpi/ 3:2(i) hfem NSR make	'female progenitor'

Compare the following sets:

wirrathikwilyingkwa /wirr{a} + atha + kwi + lyingkwi/ 3:1(i) hfem NSR paint the body	'female dancers'
mwamwikwilyingkwa /mw{a} + ani => amwi + kwi + lyingkwi/ 3:5 n-hfem NSR paint the body	'liniment'
anikwilyingkwa /{a} + ani + kwi + lyingkwi/ 3:4 n-hfem NSR paint the body	'bark painting'
mwamwikwitjingwa /mw{a} + ani => amwi + k(w){i} + tjingwi/ 3:5 n-hfem NSR die	'fighting stick'

warnikwitjitjingwa 'Barn Owl (Lit: those  
 /wirr{a} + ani + kwi + tji{ngwi} + tjingwi/ causing death)  
 3:1(ii) n-hfem NSR REDUP die

akwirrirra 'thorn'  
 /a + kwi + rrirra/  
 3:4 NSR leave a mark

Nouns can be derived from inflected verbs. The inflection is usually a tense or aspect suffix but can be reflexive or causative.

yinikwarrpiyamwa  
 /yi + {a}ni + k{wi} + arrpiy{a} + amwa/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR extract NPIP  
 'caterpillar' (Lit: that which is extracting leaves)

yinikwampwarrngarna  
 /yi + {a}ni + kw{i} + ampwarrng{a} + arni/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR sit TNS  
 'Tusk-fish' (Lit: that which sits)

akw<sup>3</sup> + kwi + lyangk<sup>3</sup> + lyangma + ka/  
 3:4 NSR REDUP lead CAUS  
 'Blue-ringed Octopus' (Note: The root is lyangka 'head')

thakwiripiripika  
 /th{a} + a{tha} + kw + ripiripika/  
 3:2(i) hfem NS REDUP: cause to eat raw fish  
 'Macassan woman' (Lit: the one caused to eat raw fish)

m<sup>3</sup>akwirakirakatj<sup>3</sup> + raka + tjingwi/  
 /m<sup>3</sup>wa NCL NS + REDUP to lie on the back REFL  
 'mattress' (Lit: that which keeps laying itself on the back)

akwithithikatjingwa  
 /a + kwi + thitha + ka + tjingwi/  
 3:4 NSR shut CAUS REFL  
 'gate' (Lit: that which causes itself to shut)

The only other inflectional suffix which has been found in derived nouns is the Ablative clitic, hangwi- ~ thangwi-.

akwingwantjinamwilhangwa  
 /a + kwi + ngwantja + n{i} + amwi + hangwi/  
 3:4 NSR stop TNS NPIP ABL  
 'traffic lights' (Lit: the one at which we are stopping from)

mwamwikwingampilhangwa

/mw{a} + ani ==> amwi + kwi + ngampi + lhangwi/

3:5 n-hfem NSR bathe ABL

'boat, swimming apparel' (Lit: that from which we bathe, that which is associated with bathing)

aningkwamwilyathangwa

/a + ani + ngkw{i} + mwilyi ==> mwilya + thangwi/

3:4 n-hfem NSR hum ABL

'Turban shell' (Note: The verb root is used for the noise made by a spinning top. The shell may have been a children's toy.)

There are some irregular derived nouns in which the Nominaliser does not occur. The first consonant of the verb root or stem is usually a bilabial peripheral consonant (see Section 2.5.2.2 for Morpheme-final CV Syllable Deletion Rule).

apwirtha

'sea mammal'

/a + apwirtha/

3:4 cook on coals

arwapa

'song'

/a + m{w}api/

3:4 sing

mwapwina

'wattle (5 sps.)'

/mwa + m{w}api + ni/

3:5 sing

mwanpwa

'eye'

/m{wa} + wirmpwi/

3:5 cover partially

mwingarikwa

'fishing line'

/mwa + ngarikwi/

3:5 fish with a line

alhikira

'walled house'

/a + lhikira/

3:4 build

yalyilya

'Little Red Flying-fox'

/y{i} + alyilyi/

3:3(ii) hang down

thiyiwa

'Hairy Caterpillar'

/tha + yiwa/

3:2(ii) follow

wirriwartiwarta

'Beach Spinifex'

/wirra + warti + warti/

3:1 REDUP hairy

Derived nouns also incorporate compound verb stems, i.e., those which consist of a noun or adjective root plus a verb root. In all but one or two such words, the Nominaliser and Gender morphemes do not occur, seemingly replaced by the noun root.

yakwimwintjithathitjingwa  
 /y{i} + a{ni} + kwi + mwintjathatha + tjingwi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR spot the skin REFL  
 'spotted goanna' (Lit: that which spots its own skin)

ayangkwilyimwitha 'mainland'  
 /a + yangkwi + lyimwitha/  
 3:4 head be complete

arntiwarra 'walking stick'  
 /[a] + arnta{ka} + warra/  
 3:4 elbow shake

thingwintjapwana 'dolphin'  
 /tha + ng{w}in{ingkw} + tjap{w}{i} + ani/  
 3:2(ii) nose separate TNS

angakartjiyinga 'sandhill'  
 /a + ngak{a} + artjiyi + nga/  
 3:4 thigh stand TNS

alhpwilhpwarra 'sliced bread'  
 /[a] + alhpwilh{ka} + pwarra/  
 3:4 wing split

### 3.2.3.2B Of nominal stems

The Nominaliser can precede a compound adjective stem consisting of a Bodypart noun root and an adjective root. This derives a noun from an adjective.

akwikwiwakwitharrpwa 'waterhole'  
 /a + kwi + kwiwakwi + tharrpwi/  
 3:4 NSR colon short

yikwilyangpwarrarra 'forked stick'  
 /yi + kwi + lyang{ka} + pw{i} + arrarri/  
 3:3(ii) NSR head EM forked

A free form noun or adjective can form the root of another noun. These nouns can be marked by the Nominaliser. Compare the



following pairs of examples in which some of the incorporated nominals are in reduced forms:

aningapwa /{a} + ani + {ngwi} + ngapwi/ 3:4 n-hfem ALP ?quiet	'good'
ningkwaningapwa /ni + ngkw{i} + aningapwi/ 3:3(i) NSR good	'show-off'
alyalyikpwa /{a} + alyalyikpwi/ 3:4 REDUP:lips	'lips'
warningkwilyikpwa /wirr{a} + ani + ngkw{i} + lyikpwi/ 3:1(i) n-hfem NSR lips	'descendants'
yiningkwira /yi + {a}ni + ngk{wi} + wira/ 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR curved	'NW monsoonal winds'
akwilyarrkaningkwira ~ akwaningkwira /a + k{wi} + lyarrk{i} + aningkwira/ 3:4 NSR invisible NW wind	'monsoon season'
akwapwikwapwa /a + kwapwi + kwapwi/ 3:4 REDUP sacred	'sacred'
thingkwapwikwapwa /tha + ng{kwi} + kwapwikwapwi/ 3:2(i) NSR sacred	'taboo-ed female'
wirrawilya /wirr{a} + awilyi/ 3:1 one	(clan name)
thathikwawilya /th{a} + atha + kw{i} + awilyi/ 3:2(ii) hfem NSR (clan name)	'Cone Shell (owned by Wurrawilya)'

Suffixes can be affixed to nouns derived from nouns, viz., the Comitative and Locative case clitics, and the possessive suffix. (Note: The latter may be the Ablative case-marker but possessive is more logical semantically and morphologically in this context.)

yiningkwarrimwirra 'Elegant Sea-snake'  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngkw{i} + arri + mwirra/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR yellow COM

aningkwarrimwantja (place name)  
 /{a} + ani + ngkw{i} + arri + mwantja/  
 3:4 n-hfem NSK yellow LOC

yiningkwirathangwa 'Lace Monitor'  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngk{wi} + wira + thangwi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR alone POSS

angkwilyingarrkalyithangwa 'Little Blue Shark'  
 /a + ngkwi + lyingarrk{a} + alya + thangwi/  
 3:4 NSR liver wet POSS

The following pairs of nouns derived from another free form noun or adjective do not include the Nominaliser. These are common, rather than proper, nouns and have been given for flora and fauna which otherwise would be nameless. The semantic concept is that the second in each pair resembles the first in the physical feature named in the additional noun or adjective root.

yampwimpwa 'Pincushion Plant'  
 /y{i} + ampwa + ampwa  
 NCL REDUP pair

alhingkwempwimpwa 'Cobbler's Peg'  
 /a + lhingkw{i} + ampwimpwa/  
 NCL hair (=foliage) Pincushion Plant

mwangkarrkpwa 'Wild Plum'  
 /mw{a} + angkarrk{a} + pwi/  
 3:5 hip prop

amwingkwimwangkarrkwpwa 'nectarine'  
 /a + mwingkwi + mwangkarrkwpwa/  
 3:4 tears (=juice) Wild Plum

yinimwapwikwalha 'Scallop Shell'  
 /yi + {a}ni + {mwi} + mwapwi{rrkwi} + kwalha/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP short-legged ???

angankimwapwikwalha 'Mangrove Oyster'  
 /a + ngangki + mwapwikwalha/  
 NCL concave Scallop Shell  
 angarrathatha 'red (pock-marked) cliff'

/a + ngarr{ka} + athatha/  
 3:4 ear spotted

thimwilyingarrathatha 'holey red dress'  
 /tha + mwilyi{rrkw} + ngarrathatha/  
 3:2(ii) breast red cliff

akwirraka 'hard'  
 /a + kwi + rraka/  
 3:4 NSR ???

alhingakikwirraka 'hardwood'  
 /a + lhingaka + kwirraka/  
 3:4 torso hard

aningkwarpwa 'adult man'  
 /n{i} + ani + ngkw{i} + arpwi/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem NSR to wound

yiningkwarpwithangwa 'Rainbow Bee-eater'  
 /yi + {a}ningkwarpwi + thangwi/  
 3:3(ii) adult male POSS

mwaningkwarpwa 'white (male) flesh of  
 the Cycad nut'  
 /mw{a} + aningkwarpwi/  
 3:5 adult male

### 3.2.3.2C Of adverb stems

An adverb can occur as the root of a derived noun but these are very rare and tend to be common rather than proper nouns. The Nominaliser is only known to occur in the one example; in other data, the same reductions (as above) occur with single roots and compound stems.

aningkwirakpwa  
 /[a] + ani + ngkw{i} + arakpwa/  
 3:4 n-hfem NSR comp.act  
 'old [thing]'

thathingkwirakpwa  
 /th{a} + atha + ngkw{i} + rakpwi/  
 3:2(i) hfem NSR comp.act  
 'long-term female resident, well-known female'

mwiyarrawa  
 /mwa + yarrawa/  
 3:5 inside  
 'Red Kurrajong Shrub' (Note: Flowers blossom on bare stalks.)

alharrngkwarrakpa  
 /a + lharrngkw{i} + arrakpi/  
 3:4 things outside  
 'exposed things'

mwilharrngkwarrakpa  
 /mwa + lharrngkw{i} + arrakpi/  
 3:5 things outside  
 'outer deck of a ship or house boat'

thimwangpwantjirra  
 /tha + mwang{kwi} + pwa{rna}ntja + rra/  
 NCL hand quickly SF  
 'quick female worker'

alhikwantja  
 /a + lhik{a} + wa{rna}ntja/  
 3:4 foot quickly  
 'a dance' (Lit: that which is quick-footed)

wirrilhikwilhikwantja  
 /wirra + lhikwi + lhikwantja/  
 3:1 REDUP dance  
 'white ants' (Lit: those which dance)

### 3.2.3 Possession

There are two types of possession which are indicated by markers which precede the compound stem, i.e., in the same position as the Nominaliser above. Inalienable Possession is marked by *mwj-* and Alienable Possession by *ngwi-*. It precedes a single or reduplicated noun, adjective or adverb root, a compound adjective or noun stem, or a free form noun, adjective or adverb. The Gender morphemes are optional but usually occurs with human or non-human animates.

#### 3.2.3.3A Inalienable possession

The Inalienable Possession marker *mwj-* is similar in shape to the Propriative suffix *-mwirra* in which *rra* is a word-final stem formative. Inalienable Possession is very common in Anindilyakwa, both for possessed body parts and for the species names of flora and fauna.

There are two ways to express possession in Anindilyakwa: (a)

by the internal Possession markers or (b) by the derivational suffix -lhangwi in the Possessive noun phrase (see Section 3.4.1.1). The preferred construction for possession of a body part is, however, expressed by the Inalienable Possession marker. Compare the following pairs:

ningkwanimwalhika		'your tracks'
/ningkw{i} + ani + mw{i} + alhika/		
2Sg	n-hfem INALP	foot

ningkwilhangwa	alhika	'your foot'
2Sg-POSS	foot	

ngarnimwawarrwalya		'our shadows'
/ngar{ra} + {a}ni + mw{i} + awarrwalya/		
1IncPl	n-hfem INALP	shadow

ngakwirrilhangwa	awarrwalya	'our shadows'
1IncPl-POSS	shadow	

In the following examples, the Inalienable Possession morpheme occurs with a single Bodypart noun root. This is the most frequent type of such possession, as seen in the following paradigms. (Note: The phonological rules for Vowel Lowering, Haplology and Regressive Assimilation (Sections 2.3.2.4, 2.5.2.1 and 2.7.1) have been applied in the ensuing data.)

nanimwathangkwa		'his flesh'
/n{i} + ani + mw{i} + athangkwa/		
3:3(i)	n-hfem INALP	flesh

yinimwathangkwa		'its flesh'
/yi + {a}ni + mw{i} + athangkwa/		
3:3(ii)	n-hfem INALP	flesh

mwamwathangkwa		'its flesh'
/mw{a} + ani => a{mw{i}} + mw{i} + athangkwa/		
3:5	n-hfem INALP	flesh

amwathangkwa		'its flesh, meat'
/[a] + mw{i} + athangkwa/		
3:4	INALP	flesh

warnimwiyatja 'their wings'  
 /wir{ra} + ani + {mwi} + mwiyatja/  
 3:1(ii) n-hfem INALP shoulder-blade

ninganimwiyatja 'my shoulder-blade'  
 /ning{a} + ani + {mwi} + mwiyatja/  
 1ExcSg n-hfem INALP shoulder-blade

amwamwiyatja 'its wing'  
 /{a} + ani ==> a{mw} + mwi ==> mwa + mwiyatja/  
 3:4 n-hfem INALP shoulder-blade

nani(mwa)mwalya 'Aboriginal man'  
 /n{i} + ani + mw{i} + amwalya/  
 3:3 n-hfem INALP body fat

yinimwamwalya 'its body fat'  
 /yi + {a}ni + mw{i} + amwalya/  
 3:3 n-hfem INALP body fat

amwamwalya 'true word'  
 /a + mw{i} + amwalya/  
 3:4 INALP body fat (=true)

The Inalienable Possession nouns can also be used for specific items and have been lexicalised. Most are idiomatic and have only one form for each meaning.

thathimwaringka 'dress bodice'  
 /th{a} + atha + mw{i} + aringka/  
 3:2 hfem INALP head

thathimwayarrka 'female gift-giver'  
 /th{a} + atha + mw{i} + ayarrka/  
 3:2 hfem INALP hand

amwamwiyarrka 'fin'  
 /{a} + ani ==> amwi ==> amwa + mwi + yarrka/  
 3:4 n-hfem INALP hand

In the following examples, the Inalienable Possession marker occurs with a single adjective root.

yinimwamwiwa  
 /yi + {a}ni + mw{i} + amwiwa/  
 3:3 n-hfem INALP round  
 'egg' (Lit: the one possessing round-ness)

yinimwingangiwa  
 /yi + {a}ni + mwi + ngangki + wi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP concave SF  
 'the front of the chest' (Lit: the chest's concave part)

thathimwikwa  
 /th{a} + atha + {mwi} + mwikwi/  
 3:2(ii) hfem INALP salty  
 (waterhole name) (Lit: the one possessing saltiness)

yinimwanhinga  
 /yi + {a}ni + mw{i} + anhinga/  
 3:3 n-hfem INALP edible  
 'Red Wild Apple'

thathimwalyirra  
 /th{a} + atha + mw{i} + alyirra/  
 3:2 hfem INALP oily  
 'dye from a red dress'

The compound stem in an Inalienable Possession noun can consist of a noun root in the first position and an adjective root in the second. Only the following examples have been noted. Reduplication indicating plurality or intensity has been found only in two of the compound stems listed below.

yimwalyarrkpwirra 'Trough Shell'  
 /yi + mwa + lyarrk{a} + p{w}irri/  
 3:3(ii) INALP bone (=spine) wide

mwamwalharrkpwirra 'spear'  
 /mwa + mwa + lharrk{a} + p{w}irri/  
 3:5 INALP bone (=spine) wide

amwantjantjingirra 'joint fluid'  
 /a + mw{i} + antjantja{lhka} + ngirra/  
 3:4 INALP REDUP: stomach dangerous

thimwamwintjarrmwintjarrma 'grasshopper'  
 /tha + mwi => mwa + mwintjarr{mi} + mwin{tjirrka} + tjarrmi/  
 3:2(ii) INALP REDUP skin thin

Some nouns consist of an adjective root or a compound adjective stem. There is no overt stem formative preceding the root or stem. Until further information is obtained from the Groote Eylandt Aborigines, these words are considered to be possessed nouns because

the morphological structure is more consistent with that for possession than nominalisation.

thikwitja /tha + kwitji/ 3:2(ii) small	'Black-faced Cuckoo shrike'
amwalya /a + mwalya/ 3:4 soft	'body fat, flesh'
mwamwilha /mwa + mwilha/ 3:5 rough	'nostril hair'
nilharrwiriwira /ni + lharr{ki} + wira + wira/ 3:3(i) invisible REDUP alone	'hermit'
mwiyarriya /mwa + ya{rri} + yarri ==> rriya/ 3:5 REDUP forked	'bird's nest'
arngkitjikwirra /{a} + arngka + tjikwi + rra/ 3:4 eye small SF	'Green Plum'
yilyangmwilhimwilha /yi + lyang{ka} + mwilha + mwilha/ 3:3 head REDUP rough	'Estuarine Stonefish'
wirrawimwinyi /wirr{a} + awi + mwinyi/ 3:1 EM (bird call)	'duck (gen.)'
arngkayiwaya /{a} + arngk{a} + ayiwaya/ 3:4 eye REDUP:weak	'Tamarind fruit'
wirrilyangpwilyangpwirna /wirra + lyangpwi + lyang{ka} + pwirna/ 3:1 REDUP head many	'ant sp.'
yimwarntjimwarntjirra /yi + mwarntji + mwarn{taka} + tjirri/ 3:3(ii) REDUP hand long	'Rainbow Bee-eater'

The only inflectional clitic found to date is the optional Proprietary suffix, *-mwirra* 'having'.

nanimwamwalyimwirra ~ nanimwalyimwirra /n{i} + ani + mw{i} + amwalya + mwirra/ 3:3(i) n-hfem INALP body fat PROP	'adult man'
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### 3.2.3.3B Alienable possession

Alienable Possession indicates that something is possessed but not as the integral part of a whole. With one or two exceptions, the item possessed has separate identity or is only temporarily possessed. The term possession seems to be too strong in some cases and the concept associated with more applicable in general. The Alienable Possession marker can occur with a single noun root or compound stem, a single adjective root or compound stem, or a free form noun, adjective or adverb.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of *ngwi-* with a single Bodypart noun root or an adjective root. Reduplication (multi-morphemic) has only been found in the one example listed below.

yiningwalya	'Saccostrea Oyster'
/yi + {a}ni + ngw{i} + alya/	
3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP wet	
yiningwinya	'pus, boil'
/yi + {a}ni + {ngwi} + ngwini/	
3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP soft	
mwaningwalhitha	'daytime'
/mw{a} + ani + ngw{i} + alhithi/	
3:5 n-hfem ALP shiny	
yiningwirnta	'scar' (lit: ankle-shaped lump)
/yi + {a}ni + {ngwi} + ngwirnti/	
3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP ankle	
aningwimwantha	'turtle harpoon'
/[a] + ani + ngwi + m{w}anthi/	
3:4 n-hfem ALP flipper (=turtle)	
yingmwimgmwarnta	'Snake-necked Tortoise'
/yi + ngwmwa + ngw{i} + mwarnta/	
3:3(ii) REDUP ALP flipper	

A compound stem has only been found in the two examples listed. The first is a noun stem and the second an adjective stem.

warninganimpalhikpwa 'dingo'  
 /wirr{a} + ani + ng{wi} + nganimp{i} + alhikpwi/  
 3:1 n-hfem ALP pointed lips  
 yiningwaningpwirna  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngw{i} + {ng}aning{ki} + pwirna/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP pointed many  
 'Chequered Rainbow-fish'

The Alienable Possession marker quite often precedes a free form noun or an adjective. The Nominal Classifiers, *mw-* and *yi-*, have been dropped in the last two examples, respectively.

mwaningwakwalya mwikayiwa 'fish net'  
 /mw{a} + ani + ngw{i} + akwalya/  
 3:5 n-hfem ALP fish

warningamwiyarra 'ancestors'  
 /wirr{a} + ani + ng{wi} + am{w}iyarri/  
 3:1 n-hfem ALP bush shelter

yiningwimwapwalhpwa  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngwi + mwapwalhpwa/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP peanut tree  
 'bat (gen.)' (Note: It resembles the tree's black pods)

mwaningwangwinyampa  
 /mw{a} + ani + ng{wi} + angwinyampi/  
 3:5 n-hfem ALP angry  
 'war vehicle' (Note: Any vehicle loaded with fighting men.)

yining(w)akwarta 'White-breasted Sea Eagle'  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngwi + akarta/  
 3:3 n-hfem ALP sea

thathiningkwira 'Olive Shell'  
 /th{a} + atha + {ngwi} + ningkwira/  
 3:2(ii) hfem ALP NW wind

The following words illustrate the Alienable Possession morpheme preceding an adverb or its stem. The meanings of these Alienable Possession nouns are harder to comprehend than some of the above.

mwarningwarrawa  
 /mw{a} + ani + ngw{i} + arrawa/  
 3:5 n-hfem ALP inside  
 'bottom teeth'

yiningwampwaka  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngw{i} + ampwaka/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP later  
 'Burrowing Clam' (Lit: the one possessing slowness)

naningwathinipwawiya  
 /n{i} + ani + ngw{i} + athinipwawiya/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem ALP soon  
 'first' by in a line' (Lit: the one possessing early-ness)

ngarningwaritjilhangwa  
 /ngarr{a} + ani + ngw{i} + aritjilhangwi/  
 1IncPl n-hfem ALP after  
 'we, the last ones'

The Privative suffix, -m̥ ~ -pi 'not having', co-occurs with the Alienable Possession morpheme. The semantic connotation can be expressed by the English suffix "-less", meaning 'without'. There is thus an absence of the item identified by the noun or adjective which is alienably possessed.

aning(w)akwingwima  
 /{a} + ani + ngw{i} + akwingwi + mi/  
 3:4 n-hfem ALP water PRIV  
 'waterless [e.g., place]'

warningarntima  
 /wirr{a} + ani + {ngwi} + ngarnta + mi/  
 3:1(i) n-hfem ALP mother PRIV  
 'motherless [e.g., children]'

naningwiyakirrarrima  
 /n{i} + ani + ng{w}i + yakirrarrri + mi/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem ALP happy PRIV  
 'unhappy man'

yiningwithimpwalhima  
 /yi + {a}ni + ngwi + thimpwala + mi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP clothing PRIV  
 'unspotted [e.g., goanna]'

thathiningkwarpwima  
 /th{a} + atha + {ngwi} + ningkwarpi + mi/  
 3:2(ii) hfem ALP adult man PRIV  
 'widow'

The only inflectional suffixation that has been found with the Alienable Possession marker is the Locative case clitic which

indicates the stationary position of the possessor (identified in the prefixation) in relation to the place referred to in the root or stem. In the first two examples the suffix is obligatory but in the last two it is optional.

thathingwimwamwawirimwantja	'Brown Tree Snake'
/th{a} + atha + ngwi + mwamwawira + mwantja/	
3:2      hfem    ALP      sun                      LOC	
naningwakarrngimwantja	'male dentist'
/n{i} + ani      + ngwi + akarrnga + mwantja/	
3:3      n-hfem    ALP      teeth              LOC	
aningwimwakartimwantja	'saltwater fish'
/[a] + ani      + ngw{i} + mwakarta + mwantja/	
3:4      n-hfem    INALP      sea                      LOC	
aningwakwingimwantja	'freshwater fish'
/[a]      + ani      + ngw{i} + akwingwi      + mwantja/	
3:4      n-hfem    ALP              freshwater      LOC	
aningwimwikwimwikwimwantja	'Blue-ringed Octopus'
/[a]      + ani      + ngwi + mwikwimwikwi + mwantja/	
3:4      n-hfem    ALP      deep sea              LOC	

#### 3.2.4 Derived adjectives

An adjective can only be derived from a verb. The Adjectiviser, *ngki-* ~ *ki-*, precedes the verb root or stem. The maximal structure for these derived adjectives parallels that for the derived (nominalised) nouns, i.e., an obligatory Nominal Prefix Nucleus, an optional Gender morpheme, and a simple root or compound stem. The Gender morphemes only occur in six adjectives which are primarily human attributes. (Note: The fronted vowel [i] precedes the Adjectiviser, created by Vowel Fronting Rule 2 (see Section 2.3.2.1). This contrast is maintained even if either of these two morphemes are deleted.)

The Adjectiviser is identical with the last syllable of Shape Adjective roots which occur first in a compound stem. It is also identical with the adjective root, *ngki* 'another (unspecified)',

which occurs in the second position of a compound stem. The two allomorphs do not usually vary freely in the same word (see the last example for the only known exception).

angmwa		'putrid'
/a + ng{ki} + mwa{tja}/		
3:4 ASR	smell	
akalya		'untrue, fictional'
/a + {ki} + kalya/		
3:4 ASR	tell a lie	
akiwarra		'torn-off [part]'
/a + ki + warra		
3:4 ASR	wriggle	
mwikpwiringka ~ mwingpwiringka		'dry'
/mwa + k{i} ~ ng{ki} + pwi + ringka/		
3:5 ASR	EM breathe on heavily	

In derived adjectives, it is usually the Adjectiviser that is reduplicated, indicating intensification. Reduplication can, however, be multi-morphemic, beginning with the Adjectiviser.

angkingkalya		'very wet'
/a + ngk{i} + ngk{i} + alyi{pwi}/		
3:4 REDUP ASR	eat	
nikikamwarra		'very ignorant'
/ni + ki + k{i} + amwarra/		
3:3(i) REDUP ASR	wander around	
thikpwiringka		'very dry'
/tha + kp{w}i + ki + pwi + ringka/		
3:2(ii) REDUP ASR EM	breathe on heavily	

The Gender morphemes are only found in what appears to be five adjectives which primarily refer to attributes of human animates, e.g., 'knowledgable', 'unknowledgable', 'good', 'unknown (new)', and 'alive'. Two similar words with a Gender morpheme, 'known (old)' and 'shy', are marked by the Nominaliser and are therefore nouns; the antonym 'bad' does not have a Gender morpheme. The final vowel in the

Gender morpheme, atha- [at ], indicates that the following syllable does not generate a front vowel (as per Vowel Fronting Rule 2); the final fronted allophone in the Gender morpheme, ani- [eni~ en ], can be considered to be another instance in which the morpheme-final fronted vowel does occur following alveolar /n/ (see Section 2.6.1). This evidence leads to the tentative conclusion that the Nominaliser is found in the following data and that the formal distinction between noun and adjective does not correlate with the semantic.

naningmwa		'knowledgable [man]'
/n{i} + ani + ng{kwi} + mwi/		
3:3(i) n-hfem NSR	pick up	
thathingpwalha		'ignorant [female]'
/th{a} + atha + ng{kwi} + pwalha/		
3:2(i) hfem NSR	play	
yiningapwa		'good [animal]'
/yi + {a}ni + {ngkwi} + ngapwa/		
3:3(ii) n-hfem NSR	be quiet	
nanikathiwa		'unknown [male]'
/n{i} + ani + k{wi} + athiwi/		
3:3(i) n-hfem NSR	???	
nanipa		'alive, living'
/n{i} + ani + {kwi} + pi /		
3:3(i) n-hfem NSR	drink	

The Adjectiviser has a third variant aki- [ ki] which is found in the words for 'left-handed' and 'right-handed'. Unless these words are considered to be random exceptions, the only possible explanation for the presence of an initial /a/ is that it is a shortened form of the Gender morphemes. Such an analysis parallels similar deletion in derived nouns but, in opposition to the analysis in the previous paragraph, would establish Gender morphemes preceding the Adjectiviser. The glosses give derivations which include the Gender morpheme preceding the Adjectiviser for comparison with those preceding the Nominaliser (see Section 3.2.3.2).

thakalyarra	'left-handed [female]'
/th{a} + ak{a} + alyarra/	
3:2(i) ASR left	
thakawarriya	'left-handed [female]'
/th{a} + ak{a} + awarriya/	
3:2(i) ASR untidy	
mwakpwitha	'right-handed [road]'
/mw{a} + ak{i} + pwitha/	
3:5 ASR swell (=strong)	

Unlike nouns derived from verbs, there are many derived adjectives in which the Adjectiviser does not occur preceding a single verb root. In some cases, the deletion of the Adjectiviser preceding a root-initial nasal is consistent with the Morpheme-final CV Syllable Deletion Rule (see Section 2.5.2.2).

amwirtha	'brown, black'
/a + mwirtha/	
3:4 cook on coals	
amwirntatha	'cold'
/a + mwirntatha/	
3:4 be cold	
thimwingkwirtha	'clean'
/tha + mwingkwirtha/	
3:2 scavenge	
angwirntitja	'broken'
/a + ngwirntitja/	
3:4 crumple	
wirranyarrngwa	'tame'
/wirra + nyarrngwi/	
3:1(ii) sit quietly	
thirikwa	'raw'
/tha + ri{pi}k{i} + wi/	
3:2(ii) eat raw SF	
mwilyirrkwa	'calm'
/mwa + lyirrkwi/	
3:5 erase	

The presence of the Adjectiviser preceding a compound stem is optional but not frequent. The Adjectiviser has been recorded only in

compound stems consisting of a bodypart noun root plus descriptive adjective root. Compare the first two examples with those following.

akpwilhkwiwirrariya /a + k{i} + pwilhkwi + wirrariyi/ 3:4 ASR head hair bad	'treeless [plains]'
akpwalhkalya /a + k{i} + pwalhk{a} + alya/ 3:4 ASR abdomen wet	'wet [ground]'
alhingatjirrirra /a + lHINGA{ka} + tjirri + rra/ 3:4 torso long SF	'long, tall'
yimwirrtjingwa /yi + mwirr{kwi} + tjingwi/ 3:3(ii) breast die	'drab'
thithirrngakpwirna /tha + thirr{aki} + ngakpwirna/ 3:2(ii) mouth make	'roomy [dress]'
ayangmwintjawiya /a + {l}yang{ka} + mwintjawiya/ 3:4 head pinch	'muted, quiet'
ninyakpwitha /ni + nyak{a} + pwitha/ 3:3(i) chest swell (=strong)	'brave'

Most single and reduplicated verb roots are uninflected in the derived adjectives. There are, however, a few examples with compound stems in which the verb inflection does occur, as shown in the examples below.

nanikapwiyakarpwiyatha /n{i} + ani + k{i} + apwiyakarpwiya + tha/ 3:3(i) n-hfem ASR three INCH	'third'
nilyangmwanthikwina /ni + lyang{ka} + mwanthikwi + ni/ 3:3(i) head make honest TNS	'honest'
mwikpwilhkwirakayina /mwa + ki + pwilhkwi + rakayi + ni/ 3:5 ASR breast lie facing upwards TNS	'smooth [sandhill]'



In some adjectives, the recurring partial pwi- follows the Adjectiviser but precedes a verb or adjective root and a compound stem. The only possible solution is that this syllable is an empty morph because the new stem consisting of the empty morph plus adjective root can be preceded by another root. The Adjectiviser has not been recorded in some words and this could be due to the operation of the Morpheme-final CV Deletion Rule (Section 2.5.2.2).

akpwilyirra	'smooth'
/a + k{i} + pwi + lyirra/	
3:4 ASR EM erase	
apwilhalha	'shallow [water]'
/a + {ki} + pwi + lhalha/	
3:4 ASR EM shallow	
nilharrkpwilhalha	'thin [male]'
/ni + lharrk{a} + pwi + lhalha/	
3:3(i) bone (=ribs) EM shallow	
akilyangpwarrarra	'forked stick'
/a + ki + lyang{ka} + pw{i} + arrarri/	
3:4 ASR head EM forked	
awarrngkipwirampwalhpwa	'almost flat [country]'
/a + warrngka + pwi + ram{pwarrki} + pwalh{ka} + pwi/	
3:4 DIMIN EM flat abdomen PROP	

### 3.2.5 Kinship nouns

Kinship nouns are distinguished from other nouns by a separate set of roots and possessive suffixes. Their prefixation marks the person, number and gender of the referent and the suffix indicates the person number and gender of the propositus or possessor. The morphological structure of Kinship Nouns is not regular and may have originated on the mainland, perhaps from the Nunggubuyu language.

The following examples illustrate Kinship nouns which consist of the Nominal Prefix Nucleus (see Section 3.3.1), a kinship noun root, and the Kinship Possession suffix (see Section 3.4.1.3). Kinship nouns do not differ from other nouns in their prefixation.

napanyingwa /n{i} + ap{i} + anyingwi/ 3:3(i) MB 1Nsg	'he, our mother's brother'
kwirraparrka /kwirr{a} + ap{i} + arrka/ 2Pl MB 1Sg	'you, my mother's brothers'
ningkwiypwathikpwa /ningkwi + yapw{i} + athikpwi/ 2Sg older Sx 3FemSg	'you, her older sister'
wirriyapwanikpwa /wirra + yapw{i} + anikpwi/ 3:3(i) older Sx 3MascSg	'they, his older sisters'
kwirripwikwingwarringpwa /kwirripwikwi + ngw{i} + arringpwi/ 2Tri father 3Nsg	'you three, their fathers'
yirripwikwangwanikpwa /yirripwikwi => yirripwikwa + ngw{i} + anikpwi/ 1ExcTri father 3MascSg	'we three, his fathers'

There are fourteen pairs of Kinship nouns in which the root is the same but there is a change of gender indicated by the Nominal Prefix Nucleus. These include all "in-law" and most siblings in a cross relationship.

narngkwiyanikpwa /n{i} + arngk{w}iy{a} + anikpwi/ 3:3(i) parent-in-law 3MascSg	'he, his father-in-law'
tharngkwiayathikpwa /th{a} + arngk{w}iy{a} + athikpwi/ 3:2(i) parent-in-law 3FemSg	'she, her mother-in-law'
napwirrarringpwa /n{i} + apwirr{a} + arringpwi/ 3:3(i) offspring 3Nsg	'he, their son'
thapwirrarringpwa /th{a} + apwirr{a} + arringpwi/ 3:2(i) offspring 3Nsg	'she, their daughter'
thingkwarrka /tha + ngkw{i} + arrka/ 3:2(i) MM(B) 1Sg	'she, my mother's mother'
ningkwarrka /ni + ngkw{i} + arrka/ 3:3(i) MMB 1Sg	'he, my mother's mother's brother'

thiyarrngwanyingwa		'she, our brother's
/tha + yarrngw{i} + anyingwi/		daughter's daughter'
3:2(i) niece's offspring	1Nsg	
niyarrngwanyingwa		'he, our brother's
/ni + yarrngw{i} + anyingwi/		daughter's son'
3:3(i) niece's offspring	1Nsg	

There are two related Kinship Nouns which are structured in the same way as the Alienable Possession nouns but which have a kinship root not found elsewhere.

naningwiarrka		'my husband'
/n{i} + ani + ng{w}i + y{a} + arrka/		
3:3(i) n-hfem ALP	spouse	1Sg
thathingwiarrka		'my wife'
/th{a} + atha + ng{w}i + y{a} + arrka/		
3:2(i) hfem ALP	spouse	1Sg

There are also four pairs of Kinship Nouns which are prefixed in the same way as derived nouns, i.e., the Nominal Prefix Nucleus is followed by a Gender morpheme. These, however, are followed by a further distinction for gender which is specified only in these words, viz., kwi (masculine gender) and ya (feminine gender). The words all, refer to siblings.

nanikwimwarntjarrka		
/n{i} + ani + kwi + mwarntj{a} + arrka/		
3:2(i) n-hfem masc	ygr sibling	1Sg
'he, my younger brother'		
thathiyamwantjarrka		
/th{a} + atha + ya + mwarntj{a} + arrka/		
3:2(i) hfem fem	ygr sibling	1Sg
'she, my younger sister'		

nanikwiwana		
/n{i} + ani + kwi + w{a} + ani/		
3:3(i) n-hfem masc	brother's child	2Sg
'he, your brother's son'		

thathiyawana  
 /th{a} + atha + ya + w{a} + ani/  
 3:2(i) hfem fem brother 2Sg  
 'she, your brother's daughter'

nanikwangkwanikpwa  
 /n{i} + ani + kw{i} + angkw{i} + anikpwi/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem masc dau's child 3MascSg  
 'he, his daughter's son'

thathiyangkwanikpwa  
 /th{a} + atha + y{a} + angkw{i} + anikpwi/  
 3:2(i) hfem fem dau's child 3MascSg  
 'she, his daughter's daughter'

ninganikwimwarntjana  
 /ning{a} + ani + kwi + mwarntj{a} + ani/  
 1IncSg n-hfem masc ygr bro 2MascSg  
 'I, your younger brother'

warnikwimwarntjarrka  
 /wirr{a} + ani + kwi + mwarntj{a} + arrka/  
 3:1(i) n-hfem masc ygr bro 1sg  
 'they, my younger brothers'

There are only six terms in Anindilyakwa which are not set into masculine:feminine pairs with the same root, viz., thirntirrka 'my mother'; ningwarrka 'my father'; thingwiyarrka 'my father's sister'; naparrka 'my mother's brother'; nawiwarrka 'my older brother'; thiyapwarrka 'my older sister'. All of these are important teaching relationships within the culture.

The Kinship Nouns usually refer to human animates but are also used for non-human animates. The usage is mainly in traditional stories but also relates in a more limited way to domesticated animals, including the wallaby. The kinship term is sometimes classificatory, e.g., a wallaby's older brother can be an older male in the group whose fur is no longer shiny.<sup>2</sup>

yawarringpwa	
/y{a} + aw{a} + arringpwi/	'it (wallaby), their
3:3(ii) older bro 3Nsg	older brother'

mwirntathikpwa 'it [shark], her mother'  
 /mw{a} + {a}rnt{a} + athikpwi/  
 3:5 mother 3FemSg  
 mother'

wirrapwirranikpwa 'it [dog], his son'  
 /wirr{a} + apwirr{a} + anikpwi/  
 3:1(ii) son 3MascSg

There are some examples of reduplication in the Kinship Nouns which indicate plurality. If a Gender morpheme occurs, it reduplicates; if a Gender morpheme does not occur the root reduplicates.

warningwiyarrka 'they, my husbands'  
 /wirr{a} + a ni ni + ng{w}i + y{a} + arrka/  
 3:1(i) REDUP:n-hfem ALP spouse 1Sg

wirrathithingwiyana 'they, your wives'  
 /wirra + a thi thi + ng{w}i + y{a} + ani/  
 3:1(i) REDUP: hfem ALP spouse 2Sg

Compare the following:

wirrarntathikpwa 'they, her mothers'  
 /wirr{a} + arnt{a} + athikpwi/  
 3:1(i) mother 3FemSg

wirrirntirntarrngpwa 'they, their mothers'  
 /wirra + {a} rnti rnt{i} + arringpwi/  
 3:1 REDUP: mother 3Nsg

wirriyapwiyapwana 'they, your older sisters'  
 /wirra + yapwi + yapw{i} + ani/  
 3:1(i) REDUP sister 2Sg

The Locative case clitic -mantja can replace the Possessive suffix. The semantic connotation is not known.

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Footnote 2: It is difficult to know whether there was an extensive system of kinship for domesticated animals because only a few hunting dogs were kept from 1974 to 1981. The dogs were removed by agreement with the Aborigines for health reasons and all bitches killed at birth. The situation had radically changed in 1987 with large numbers of dogs and cats in the community. No attempts were made to name my relationship to the dogs (as happened with the Guurindji at Wave Hill) but conversations included many references to the blood relationships between the dogs.

wirringarrngwilhimwantja  
/wirring(a) + arrngwilha + mwantja/  
3:1FemDu      dau-in-law      LOC

'they two, her daughters-  
in-law'

winathangmwantja  
/wi{rri}ni + athang(a) + mwantja/  
3:1MascDu      marriageable      LOC

'they two, MMB's  
children'

Almost all the Kinship Nouns retain the prefix in their Vocative forms but the following words delete the prefix. Many of the forms, however, are cognates with Nunggubuyu or Gupapwingu.

ngarnta	~ ngarntawi	~ ngarntayi	'mother'
ngangwa	~ ngangwawi	~ ngangwayi	'father'
ngamwa	~ ngamwawi	~ ngamwayi	'father's mother'
thangkwa	~ ngangkwa	~ ngangkwayi	'mother's mother'

The Vocative suffix, -ayi ~ -awi (with high pitch and length on the first vowel), is commonly used with the Kinship Nouns. In most nouns, only the suffix is deleted but some also have a change in the form of the root. The changes are not systematic. Compare the following pairs.

nangantjamwintjarrka	'he, my mother's father'
nangantjamwintjayi ~ nangantjamwayi	'hey, MF!'
thathingwiarrka	'she, my wife'
thathingwayi	'hey, wife!'
nanikwapwitjarrka	'he, my son's son'
nanikwampwinyayi	'hey, son's son!'
thingwiarrka	'she, my father's sister'
thingwawayi	'hey, father's sister!'

naparrka	'he, my mother's brother'
napipayi	'hey, mother's brother!'

### 3.2.6 Adverbial nouns

Time and locative words are considered to be adverbial nouns, a sub-type of nouns, because there are some similarities to nouns in their internal morphological structure. Their syntactic function, however, is that of an adverb. Heath (1984:154) offers a similar formal analysis for Nunggubuyu.

The nominal prefixation on adverbial nouns is restricted to Nouns Classes 3:4 and 3:5 but this is a semantic rather than a morphological restriction. The grammatical features related to nominals, such as reduplication, diminishing and case inflection, are incorporated into Adverbial Nouns but there are syntactic differences in that (a) they cannot act be modified by a demonstrative; (b) adjectival modifiers are restricted mainly to numerals (not descriptive adjectives); and (c) there is an absence of the derivational suffixation for nominals.

mwarngkirngkiwilyarra	'midnight, midday'
/mw[a] + arngkirngka + wilyarra/	
3:5 eye middle	

kilhikatja	lharrwirimwirra
1ExcSg will go	afternoon-COM
'I will go this afternoon [or any one in the future].'	

ngarningka	yirrampirrarina	awarrngkamwiyarra
again	1ExcPl waited	/a + warrngka + amwiyarri/
		3:4 DIMIN long time

yanthilhangwa	nimwarithinimwa	mwakarta
until	3:4 was increasing	3:5 sea
'We waited for a little while longer until the tide rose.'		

#### 3.2.6.1 Time

The morphological structure for two sets of Adverbial Nouns involve compound stems similar to those found in nouns and adjectives.

In the first set, the adjective root, lyarrki ~ lyarrki, is used in words referring to dusk or evening when people and things can still be seen quite clearly, night when it is very dark, and the seasons. The root, therefore, may alternatively refer to visibility or intangibility. In the first position in the second set, the noun root is probably arngka 'eye' with an extended meaning of 'times'.

alyarrthatha	'sunset, dusk'
/a + lyarr{ki} + thatha/	
3:4 visible spotted	
alyarmwirtha	'night time (not pitch dark)'
/a + lyarr{ki} + mwirtha/	
3:4 visible brown	
alyarrngwalyilya	'evening, moonlit night'
/a + lyarr{ki} + ngwalyilya/	
3:4 visible tread on	
arngkawira	'once, one day, forever for always'
/[a] + arngk{a} + awira/	
3:4 times alone	
arngkiwilyapwa	'for a long time'
/[a] + arngka + wilyapwa/	
3:4 times one	
arngkitharrpwa	'for a short time'
/[a] + arngka + tharrpwa/	
3:4 times short	
arngkapwapwirna	'often, every day, continuously'
/[a] + arngk{a} + apwapwirna/	
3:4 times many	

In the following words, the first root may be a variant form of the root, arngka 'eye', but there is an alternative analysis as a derived (nominalised) noun. The Time Progressive case clitic, -wiyi, is obligatory in the second example.

arningkwaya	'tomorrow'
/[a] + arni + ngk{wi} + waya/	
3:4 n-hfem NSR little while	



arningkiwiya 'day before yesterday'  
 /[a] + arni + {ngkwi} + ngki + wiya/  
 3:4 n-hfem NSR other TPRG

The adverbial noun, amwiyarra(pwa) 'for a long time', consists of the Noun Class-marker a-, the Inalienable Possession marker mwi-, and probably the adverb root yarrapwi 'this way'. (Note: The actual semantics is not known.)

naraka amwiyarrapa kiwapwirangka wirrakina  
 not 3:4 for a long time 3:1 would search 3:1 those

thakiniwa  
 3:2(i)-ALL  
 'They did not look for her for very long.'

Reduplication of the first root indicates plurality or intensification, as shown in the following examples. (Note the loss of retroflexion.)

a(r)ngki(r)ngkawira  
 /[a] + arangka + {a}rngkawira/  
 3:4 REDUP once  
 'sometimes, once in a while' (Lit: once repeated)

arningkwarningkwaya  
 /[a] + arningkw[a] + arningkwaya/  
 3:4 REDUP tomorrow  
 'two days ahead'

angkingkiwiya  
 /[a] + angka + ngkiwiya/  
 3:4 REDUP two days ago  
 'about two weeks ago'

The following sentences illustrate the usage of the above Adverbial Nouns within Anindilyakwa syntax (see Section 3.4.3 for the analysis of case clitics.)

pwiya alyarrathatha yirringinilharrmwanga  
 then 3:4 dusk 1ExcFemDu+3:3 chased  
 'And then we two women got clams at dusk.'

pwiya	kampwa	<u>alyarrngwalyilyimwantja</u>	nalharrmwirthemwantja
then	therefore	3:4 evening-LOC	3:4 darkened-LOC

ningilhirakina	angwira	ngayiwa
1ExcSg+3:4 build	3:4 fire	1ExcSg

'And then last evening when it was dark I built a fire.'

<u>arngkawira</u>	yingwa	yakina	niwanpwitjingwa
3:4 one day	3:3(ii) crow	3:3(ii) that	3:3 got a bit tired

arakpwa	nakpwirangkimwilhangwa	anhingawa
comp.act	3:3 was hunting-ABL	3:4 food-ALL

'One day Crow grew a little bit tired from hunting for food.'

<u>arngkapapwirnilhangwa</u>	wirringalhakina
3:4 often-ABL	3:1FemDu those

narringilhikanimwa	narringwirrkwinimwa	yimwirntarrma
3:1FemDu were going	3:1FemDu were hunting	3:3(ii) snail

'Often Brolga and Emu went collecting snails.'

<u>arningkwayiwiya</u>	kilhikatjamwa	ningana
3:4 tomorrow-TPRG	1ExcSg will be going	1ExcSg this

'I will be going tomorrow.'

There are three adverbial nouns which do not appear to have the anticipated nominal prefixation. The second root in the word, lharrwira 'afternoon', is the same as in mwamwawira 'sun' and yimwawira 'moon', both of which are nouns. The anticipated Anindilyakwa prefix would be the Noun Class 3:4 prefix a- which does occur in the Nunggubuyu cognate, atharrwara. The first root is probably lharr{ki} 'visible' and the second is wira 'alone' (possibly 'curved').

<u>arngkapwapwirnilhangwa</u>	<u>lharrwira</u>	ningampanimwirra
3:4 often-ABL	3:4 afternoon	3:3 was swimming

akiniwa	akwingwa
3:4 that-ALL	3:4 freshwater

'And so he was swimming in the freshwater [creek] all afternoon.'

<u>lharrwiriwiya</u>	ngalhatja	nimwangkarrinimwa	angarripa
3:4 afternoon-TPRG	3:5-CofR	3:5 was running	this way

'During the afternoon it [canoe] was coming this way.'

The word, wirtarriya 'morning', refers to the post-dawn period from sun-up (about 6 a.m.) to when the sun is in the 2 o'clock position'. The derivation has not been resolved but the root appears to be rtarriya, a variant of rarriya 'bad', and may refer to the fact that this time of day is not good for hunting.

arakpwa	yirriwirratjawithiyina	yirrakina
comp.act	1ExcPl rode	1ExcPl those

<u>wirtarriya</u>	<u>arakpwa</u>	<u>mwakina</u>	<u>tiraka</u>
morning	comp.act	3:5 that	3:5 truck

'Next morning we all rode in that truck.'

<u>wirtarriyawiya</u>	<u>nilhawirrathina</u>
morning-TPRG	3:3 returned

'He returned early this morning.'

The other two Adverbial Nouns are yarringkwa 'yesterday' and pwiwawiya 'pre-dawn (light but before sunrise)'. The derivations are not known but the prefix in the first word is the same as for 'moon'. (Note: 'yesterday' ends at dawn). The whole noun reduplicates in this adverb. No examples are available from texts for the second word.

<u>yarringkwa</u>	<u>ngayiwa</u>	<u>ningitjingwinimwa</u>	<u>angpwilyiwa</u>
3:3(ii) yesterday	1ExcSg	1ExcSg was sickening	3:4 sickness

<u>akana</u>	<u>ninganingapwathinamwa</u>
however	1ExcSg am becoming well

'Yesterday I was sick; however I am getting better.'

<u>yarringkwiyarngkwiwiya</u>	<u>nakina</u>	<u>nilhikana</u>	<u>amwathirrawa</u>
3:3(ii) yesterday-PL-TPRG	3:3(i) that	3:3 went	3:4 waterhole-ALL

'Two days ago he went to the waterhole.'

The co-occurrence of two adverbial nouns is restricted semantically to two point-time or specific temporal words (Dixon 1980:283), the use of which pinpoints the time more exactly.

<u>kimwingkwathinamwa</u>	<u>aka</u>	<u>amwikayarra</u>	<u>arningkwayimwantja</u>
1ExcSg will be digging	3:4 tree	3:4 roots	3:4 tomorrow-LOC

<u>lharrwira</u>
3:4 afternoon

'I will dig the tree roots out tomorrow afternoon.'

<u>pwiy</u>	<u>arngkawira</u>	<u>lharrwirimwantja</u>	<u>mwarliwiya</u>	<u>ngalhilhangwa</u>
then	3:4 one day	afternoon-LOC	emu	3:2(ii)-POSS

<u>waritjira</u>	<u>nalhawirrathina</u>	<u>wirrakina</u>
3:1 offspring	3:1 returned	3:1 those

'Then one day, in the afternoon, Emu and her children returned.'

Adverbial nouns which are the names of periods during the day or night can be the head of a noun phrase and modified by an adjective or demonstrative. The most common modifiers are numerals or the adjectives, angki 'another' and am(w)iningki 'different'. Some such noun phrases may have arisen from contact with the English language and its culture. Thus there is no distinction in the noun phrase to indicate whether the timing is in the present, past or future.

<u>naraka</u>	<u>kingiwarrina</u>	<u>mwampwilyimwamwantja</u>	<u>mwamwawira</u>
not-INTENS	3:2 would move	3:5 two-LOC	3:5 sun

'She did not move for two days.'

<u>mwiwilyapwimwantja</u>	<u>mwamwawira</u>	<u>ngarningka</u>
3:5 one-LOC	3:5 sun	again

<u>ayikwitjiyawa</u>	<u>angwarnta</u>
3:4 small-LOC	3:4 stone

'Again one day Bat was looking for small pieces of stone.'

<u>kingilhatjamwirra</u>	<u>yiwilyapwamwantja</u>	<u>yimwawira</u>
3:2 will be going	3:3(ii) one-LOC	3:3(ii) moon

'She will be going for a month.'

<u>ningilhikana</u>	<u>mwinkingiyathiwia</u>	<u>mwarrnga</u>
1ExcSg went	3:5 another-PURP-DU	3:5 night

'I went for two nights.'

<u>a(mwini)ngkimwantja</u>	<u>pwiratayimwantja</u>	<u>kingitjarrikwa</u>
3:4 different-LOC	Friday-LOC	3:2+3:4 will finish

'She will finish it next Friday week.'

<u>amwiningkiyatha</u>	<u>tjanta</u>	<u>nanimwamwirikatjiwamwa</u>
3:4 different-PURP	3:4 week	3:3+3:3 was helping

<u>nipwina</u>	<u>naningkwarpwa</u>	<u>mwangwiyiwangilhangwa</u>
3:3(i) that unseen	3:3(i) man	3:5 shark-ABL

'Last week that man saved him [Roy] from the shark.'

<u>kilhatjamwa</u>	<u>ampwikwampwiwa</u>	<u>angkimwantja</u>	<u>pwiratayi</u>
1ExcSg will be going	Umbakumba-ALL	3:4 another-LOC	Friday

'I will be going to Umbakumba on Friday week.'

The adjective, akwalha 'some', can also mean 'sometimes', as shown in the following example.

<u>akwalhimwantja</u>	angwirrirtha	nanikwiyangkilhapanamwa
3:4 some-LOC	3:4 magpie	3:3+3:3 is asking
mwakiniyatha	mwakawarrmatjinga	yingwawa
3:5 that-PURP	3:5 raft	3:3(11) crow-ALL

'Sometimes Magpie is asking Crow for [a lend of] the raft.'

In Modern Anindilyakwa, English time words are used nowadays whenever there is a need to be very specific about a period of time. These loanwords are often given the English pronunciation but there is also a continuum through to total adaptation into the Anindilyakwa phonological system. The Anindilyakwa spelling is used for such words in MA upon the choice of the Aborigines themselves and those who use the English pronunciation have no trouble in spelling the words correctly (see Leeding 1984b).

Some English loanwords vary with "engineered" traditional Anindilyakwa words to cover the same English semantic concept. The terms involve an superficial addition to the Anindilyakwa concept of time but some traditional semantic concepts are still basic to the meaning or usage of the words, e.g., the English loanword 'week (seven days)' may be used but it refers to seven nights or seven sleeps; time adverbs are used to indicate the time it takes to travel (as against English measurements); and any day begins at dawn not midnight. The following list shows that the introduced items generally refer to days of the week, month and year.

(awilyapwa) tjanta ~ wiyika	one week
(awilyapwa) kwiritjimwitja	one year, Christmas
tinilhangwa ~ mwarngkirngkiwilyarra	midday, dinnertime

tjimwakawi		mid-morning, smoko, tea break
tjantiyi ~ tjantayi		Sunday
mwantiyi ~ mwantayi		Monday
tjiwitiyi ~ tjiwitayi		Tuesday
wantiyi ~ wantayi		Wednesday
titayi ~ ayikwitjiiyimwantja		Thursday
pwiratiyi ~ pwiratayi		Friday
tjarritiyi ~ awirrariyimwantja		Saturday

The derivation of ayikwitjiiyimwantja 'Thursday' is ayikwitjiya 'small' and -mwantja (Locative case); the derivation of awirrariyimwantja 'Saturday' is awirrariya 'bad' and -mwantja (Locative case). (Note: No explanation by the Aborigines as to the origin of these terms has yet been obtained.)

pwiya	pwiratayi	arningkwaya	ngarna	arakpwa
then	Friday	tomorrow	1IncPl these	comp.act

akilhikatjamwa	ampwikwampwiwa
1IncPl will be going	Umbakumba-ALL

'And then on Friday afternoon we will be going to Umbakumba.'

tjiwitayimwantja	yirrilhikanimwa	ngarningka	yilhirriwa
Tuesday-LOC	1ExcPl were going	again	(name)-ALL

'Last Tuesday we were going again to Yilhirra.'

nilhawirrathina	arakpwa	ayikwitjiiyimwantjiiyimwantja
he 3:3 returned	comp.act	Thursday-LOC

pwiratayi	wirtarriyawiya	yirrilhawirrathina	arakpwitha
Friday	morning	1ExcPl returned	comp.act-TRM

'He returned on Thursday and during Friday morning we returned.'

### 3.2.6.2 Location

There are a small number of Adverbial Nouns which indicate location. These consist of a nominal classifier and a compound stem similar in morphological structure to those for nominals. The nominal

classifiers are restricted to the only two Noun Classes (3:4 and 3:5) which can refer to the topography. The first root is a Bodypart noun and the second is the adverb root, angalhipwa 'on that side', or the adjective root, warra 'portion'. When the words are not suffixed the meaning is the same as expressed by the Locative case clitic -mwantja (stationary in space). The Allative and Ablative case clitics can occur.

arngkangalhipwa /{a} + arngk{a} + angalhipwa/ 3:4 eye that side	'on the other side of a house'
ayangangalhipwa /a + yang{ka} + angalhipwa/ 3:4 head that side	'on the other side of freshwater'
amwirakiwarra /a + mwiraka + warra/ 3:4 nape curve portion/	'on the other side of land'
ayakiwarriwa /a + yaka + warra + wa/ 3:4 chest portion ALL	'to the other side of freshwater'
mwilhikarrkiwarrilhangwa /mwa + lhikarrka + warra + lhangwi/ 3:5 heart portion ABL	'from the other side of a road'

Some adjectives can be used idiomatically to indicate location. The adjective, angki- 'another (unspecified)', is used for the expression 'a long way away' or, in its suffixed forms, 'to or from a distant [area]'. Its only nominal classification in this context is in agreement with the noun, angalya 'place', but this noun does not appear in the surface structure. (Note: It contrasts with the noun phrase, angka angalya 'another place'.) This adverbial noun does not show any referential agreement through its prefixation and functions as an adverb. It is obligatorily suffixed by a peripheral casemarker and can be reduplicated.

nangkarrina	yakina	ngawa	angkiwa
3:3 ran	3:3(ii) that	cont.act	far away-ALL

mwanipwapwa	yakina	akwithangwa	angwirimwantja
CSI	3:3(ii) that	near	3:4 fire-LOC

'He ran to a long way away because he [was] too near to the fire.'

niwangkirrayina	angkiwiya
3:1 ran	far away-TPRG

'They ran for some time to a far distant [place].'

yingilhikana	yingilhirrkpwirriwarna	ngarningka	arripwatja
3:2 went	3:2 crawled	again	that way

angkiwiyangkiwa	awirikwa
REDUP:far away-ALL	3:4 swamp

'Again she crawled that way, a long way away to the swamp.'

The adverbial noun, arripirra 'anywhere and everywhere, in all directions', consists of two roots, viz., arri{ki} 'forked' and p{w}irri 'wide'. Only the nominal classifier for Noun Class 3:4 occurs in its locative role. (Note: As for angki-, this compound stem takes the full set of nominal classifiers when functioning as a derived noun.)

niwampirrpwitjanga	akwingwa	nayapwarrinimwa
3:4 jumped	3:4 water	3:4 was crossing

mamwithangkwiilhangwiya	akwa	arripwirra
3:5 sandhill-LPRG	and	everywhere

'The water poured out and was running over the sandhill and everywhere.'

Adverbs for the compass points and directions are noticeably absent in Anindilyakwa, together with the typically Aboriginal system of identification by such terms, e.g., 'take the northern biscuit' or 'I want to sit under the eastern tree'. The focus in Anindilyakwa is on the prevailing winds which are important totemically and ceremonially, e.g., yiningkwira ~ pwarra 'NW monsoonal wind'; angwirntirra ~ mamwarika 'SE trade winds'. Such names (and one other) can be used to refer to people living in those directions.



warningkwira  
 /warni + {ngwi} + ningkwira/  
 3:1 ALP NW wind  
 'Nunggubuyu tribe' (who live to the northwest)

wirrakina warnimwamwalya niwampwilyamwirra alyangma  
 3:1 those 3:1 people 3:1 are living in the east  
 'Those people are living in the east.' (Lit: on top)

### 3.2.7 Interrogative adjectives

There are two interrogative adjectives in Anindilyakwa. These are classified as adjectives, and not nouns, because they accept the full set of nominal classifiers and often modify a noun within the noun phrase. The interrogative is cross-referenced in agreement with its noun referent and takes the same suffixation as other adjectives, viz., number, possession and peripheral case-marking.

#### 3.2.7.1 Interrogative adjective: amwiyampwana

The interrogative adjective, amwiya(m)pwanɪ [æ.miyepena ~ am<sup>wi</sup>yapena] 'what?, which?', consists of three morphemes. The root yampwanɪ may be the verb 'to ask'. If so, the preceding syllable mwi is the short form of one of the noun or adjective roots (not the Inalienable Possession morpheme). (Note: The Noun Class 3:4 prefixation is used if the appropriate classifier is not known.)

amwiyampwanithangwa ana  
 3:4 what?-POSS 3:4 this  
 'What is it?' / 'Which sort is this one?'

nimwiyapana ningkwilhangwa napwirrana nanimwikirra  
 3:3(i) what? 2Sg-POSS 3:3(i)-KPOSS 3:3(i) his name  
 'What is your son's name?'

amwiyampwana akina warka niwarthanamwa  
 3:4 what? 3:4 that 3:4 work 3:3+3:4 is working  
 'What work is he doing?'

{mwa}mwiyanikwiya ningkwimwangayinthimwa  
 3:5 what?-DU 2Sg+3:5 were wanting  
 'Which two [trucks] were you wanting?'

yimwiyampwanimwirriwiya	yarnarna	yarimwirimwiwiya
3:3(ii) what?-ETC	3:3(ii) these	3:3(ii) REDUP:big-PL

'What sort of reptiles are these big ones?'

{mwa}mwiampwanilhangwiya	ningkwilhikanimwa
3:5 what?-LPRG	2Sg were going

'Along which [road] were you going?'

### 3.2.7.2 Interrogative: a(r)mpwarrngarna

The interrogative adjective, a(r)mpwarrngarni 'how many?', 'how much?', questions the quantity or counting the number of people, places or things. It is prefixed by the full set of nominal classifiers. The optional retroflexion is rarely heard but has been written by one of the older Aborigines. The retroflexion assists in the identification of the first root as arngka 'eye' (adverbial meaning 'times') in which the nasal assimilates to the following root-initial consonant after deletion of /ka/ (Section 2.5.2.2). This root may be incorporated in the interrogative because of a cultural concept which links 'eye-shaped' and 'egg-shaped'--turtle eggs were one of the few things traditionally counted. The second root, pwarrngarni, is similar to that for 'heavy'.

wirrampwarrngarna	wirrawana
3:1 how many?	3:1 brothers-KPOSS

'How many brothers have you?'

ampwarrngarna	akwingwa	awirikwimwantja
3:4 how many?	3:4 freshwater	4 swamp-LOC

'How much water is in the freshwater swamp?'

ampwarrngarnimwantja	argaiya	niwampwilyamwirra
3:4 how many?-ABL	3:4 place	3:1 are staying

'How many places are they staying at?'

mwampwarrngarnilhangwiya	mwithalyimwa	ningkwilhikanimwa
3:5 how many?-LPRG	3:5 river	2Sg were going?

'How many rivers were you going through?'

yampwarrngarniwiya	yakina	ningkwiamwantja
3:3(ii) how many?-PL	3:3(ii) that	2Sg-LOC

'How many have you got?'

The first root can be reduplicated. The resultant

interrogative questions how many times an action has been or is to be repeated. This use of arangka 'eye' to question the 'number of times' correlates with its use in the time Adverbial Nouns (see Section 3.2.6.1). There is no agreement with any other word in the clause and the verb is usually suffixed for imperfective aspect. This interrogative is only prefixed by the noun classifier for Noun Class 3:4 and, therefore, may be an interrogative noun.

arngkampwarrngarna	ningkwana	ningkilhikanimwa
3:4 how many times?	2Sg this	2Sg were going
'How many times were you going?'		

arngkamowarrngarnimwirriwiya	nakaka	kinapwirangkamwa
3:4 how many times?-ETC	3:3(i) this	3:3(i) will be hunting

yiningwingwangpwiwa  
3:3(ii) two-handed animals-ALL  
'How many times will you be going hunting for four-legged animals, etcetera?'

arngkampwarrngarnilhangwa	nimwiwarrinimwa
3:4 how many times?-ABL	3:5 was starting
'How many times was it [truck] starting?'	

arngkampwarrngarnimwirripwina	ningkwana	ningkingwathinimwa
3:4 how many times?-COM-QM	2Sg this	2Sg were crying
'How many times have you been crying?'		

### 3.3 NOMINAL PREFIXATION

The nominal prefixation consists of Nominal Prefix Nucleus and an optional Gender morpheme. The former is a complex unit which further sub-divides into person, number and gender. The Number morphemes are sometimes redundant but also acts as a pluraliser for some nominal classes; the Gender morphemes are sometimes semantically redundant. One of the more unusual features of Anindilyakwa is the prefixing of nominals for first and second persons as well as<sup>3</sup> third person.

All nominals in Traditional Anindilyakwa were obligatorily prefixed but there are some loanwords in Modern Anindilyakwa which are

not marked by any prefixation.

### 3.3.1 Nominal prefix nucleus

The Nominal Prefix Nucleus is a set of eighteen prefixes which classify nominals and pronominals according to person, number and gender. The grammatical categories that are distinguished are:

person	PSN	first, second and third
gender	GDR	human feminine, human masculine
number	NBR	singular, non-singular
inclusion	inc	including addressee/s
	exc	excluding addressee/s

Third person is further sub-divided into nominal classes based on semantic categories.

The deep structure morphemes in the grammatical categories for person, number and gender are shown in Table 6. Anindilyakwa differs from other Aboriginal languages in that there are singular forms which cannot be considered to be number-neutral. The human feminine and masculine forms tha- and ni-, respectively, can only be used for one individual. For two or more human beings, the prefix changes to the plural wirra which can be furthered marked to indicate feminine or masculine dual. The nominal prefix, yi 'you and I' is analysed as first person inclusive singular because it contrasts with all other non-singular forms in the absence of the non-singular morpheme rra-. The combination of the non-singular person prefix ya- and the absence of the Number morpheme for plural seems to me to indicate that this prefix is perceived as a single paired unit (speaker and addressee).

TABLE 6: DEEP STRUCTURE MORPHEMES OF THE NOMINAL PREFIX NUCLEUS

	PERSON	NUMBER	GENDER/NUMBER
NON-SINGULAR			
1ST INCL	nga	rra non-sg	nga hfem
1ST EXCL	ya		ni hfemasc
2ND	kwi		
3RD 3:1	wi		puikwi tri
SINGULAR			
1ST INCL	ya		
1ST EXCL	ninga		
2ND	ningkwi		
3RD	tha		
3:2(i) HFEM	tha		
3:2(ii) NONH-FEM	ni		
3:3(i) HMRSC	yi		
3:3(ii) NONH-MRSC	a		
3:4	mua		
3:5			

The morpheme-final vowel in the deep structure morphemes has been identified by the following criteria:

- (i) The Word-medial Neutralisation Rule (NTR.1) cannot be applied within a morpheme. The deep structure morpheme-medial vowel is recognisable in the non-reduced form, even though this may be neutralised later, viz., ya as in the pronominal form yakwi (1st person); the final syllable of ninga as in the first syllable of ngarra (1st person).
- (ii) the phonetic quality of the vowel which precedes the morpheme-final syllable indicates that the deep structure has a final high or low vowel, e.g., ninga [nɪŋa] (1st person); the vowel preceding rra in all non-singulars.
- (iii) The use of the high vowel following /y/ is based on symmetry with its counterpart ni and this results in a contrast between yi (3rd person non-human masculine) and ya (1st person). The decision to use the high vowel following rounded consonants is arbitrary (see Section 2.3.4.2).
- (iv) The occurrence of the deep structure morpheme elsewhere in the surface structure. Nominal Classifiers tha- and ani- have corresponding Gender forms atha and ani, respectively; Class 3:5 classifier has an object form mwa.

The surface structure composite forms (excluding trial) are shown in Table 7 (on next page). The morpheme-final high vowels are created by the Word-medial Neutralisation Rule (NTR.1) which operates on all morphemes except a- (Nominal Class 3:4). The surface structure of the human masculine dual forms results from the operation of the Haplology Rule and the Consonant De-rounding Rule (see Sections

2.5.2.1 and 2.2.3.2). Note that all deep structure morphemes occur in the surface structure of the human feminine dual.

TABLE 7: NOMINAL PREFIX NUCLEUS (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

PERSON/NUMBER/GENDER				NOMINAL NUCLEUS
1ST	INCL	PL		ngarri-
	EXCL	PL		yirri-
2ND		PL		kwirri-
3RD	3:1	PL		wirri-
1ST	EXCL	HFEM	DU	yirringi-
	EXCL	HMASC	DU	yini-
2ND		HFEM	DU	kwirringi-
		HMASC	DU	k(w)ini-
3RD		HFEM	DU	wirringi-
		HMASC	DU	wini-
1ST	INCL	SG		yi-
1ST	EXCL	SG		ningi-
2ND		SG		ningkwi-
3RD	3:2	SG		thi-
	3:3(i)	SG		ni-
	3:3(ii)	SG		yi-
	3:4	SG		a-
	3:5	SG		mw-

The following derivations illustrate the application of the phonological rules.

yirringi-

1st exc fem dual

DEEP STRUCTURE      ya + rra + nga  
 NTR.1      ==>    yɪ    rɪɪ    nɪɪ  
                  1st    Nsg    hfem

k(w)ini-

2nd masc dual

DEEP STRUCTURE      kwɪ    + rra    + nɪ  
 VPR.1      ==>    kwɪ    + rra    + nɪ  
 VFR.2      ==>    kwɪ    + rre    + nɪ  
 VRD.2      ==>    kwu    + rre    + nɪ  
 HAPL      ==>    kwu    {rre}    nɪ  
 VFR.2      ==>    kwi            nɪ  
 CDR      ==>    k(w)ɪ            nɪ  
                  2ND            Nsg            hmasc

### 3.3.1.1 Person

First, second and third person morphemes occur as first order prefixes. There are, however, irregular forms in each category.

In the first person, three different but related person markers occur. The first person exclusive singular is ninga; its first syllable 'is dropped in the non-singular prefixes, presumably to shorten the Nominal Prefix Nucleus to three syllables; the first inclusive ya- is the shortened form of the pronoun person prefix, yakwi- (non-singular).

ningarimwa	'big me'
/ning{a} + arimwi/	
1ExcSg big	
ngarrarimwirimwa	'big us'
/ngarr{a} + arimwirimwi/	
1IncPl REDUP:big	
yarimwirimwa	'big you and me'
/y{a} + arimwirimwi/	
1IncSg REDUP:big	

In the second person, kwi is found in both the singular ningkwi- and the non-singular kwirri-. The latter may possibly a reduction from a proto form ningkwirri to ngkwirri- in which the first syllable is dropped and the initial nasal deleted.

ningkwarimwa	'big you'
/ningkw{i} + arimwa/	
2Sg big	
kwirringarimwa	'you, the two big females'
/kwi + rra + ng{a} + arimwi/	
2Nsg Nsg hfem big	

The third person divides into five noun classes which are described in detail in Section 3.3.2.



### 3.3.1.2 Number

The Number category is a second order prefix. Singular number is unmarked for first person, second person, and for all third person nominal classes except 3:1. The non-singular prefix *rra-* is marked on first person, second person, and the third person inherently-plural Nominal Class 3:1. Compare the two sets of examples below:

ningarimwa /ning{a} + Ø + arimwi/ 1Sg                      Sg      big	'big me'
ningkwarimwa /ningk{wi} + Ø + arimwi/ 2Sg                      Sg      big	'big you'
mwarimwa /mw{a} + Ø + arimwi/ 3:5                      Sg      that	'big [canoe]'
ngarrarimwa /nga + rr{a} + arimwi/ 1IncPl   Nsg              big	'big us'
kwirrarimwa /kwi + rr{a} + arimwi/ 2Nsg      Nsg              big	'big you'

The third person human feminine and human masculine Nominal Classes 3:2(i) and 3:3(i) are inherently singular. Their non-singular counterparts 3:3(i) transfer to the non-singular prefixation for all three persons.

narimwa /n{i} + arimwi/ 3:3(i)      big	'big man'
tharimwa /th{a} + arimwi/ 3:2(i)      big	'big woman'
wirrarimwirimwa /wi + rr{a} + arimwirimwi/ 3:1      Nsg              REDUP:big	'big men'

The non-singular counterparts of the inherently-singular non-human Nominal Classes 3:2(ii), 3:3(ii), 3:4 and 3:5 do not transfer to non-singular prefixes. The non-singular for these Nominal Classes is not marked in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus but by a different set of Number morphemes (see the following sub-section).

From this point onwards throughout the thesis, the Person and Number prefixes will be shown as a unit in the deep structure, i.e., between slash brackets, and labelled as plural as in Table 7. There is actually a "semi-deep" level in which the two are combined and the resultant unit then modified for trial and dual. The term, non-singular, does not highlight the distinction between plural, trial and dual with the addition of the Gender/Number morphemes.

### 3.3.1.3 Gender/Number

The gender category is a third order prefix which follows the non-singular Number prefix in all three persons. Two distinctions are marked: (a) human feminine or human masculine gender, both of which incorporate duality; and (b) trial number which is not marked for gender.

The human feminine dual is marked by the prefix nga-; the human masculine dual by the prefix ni-. This follows the Number morpheme for non-singular and, in effect, reduces that number to two.

yirringarimwa	'we two big women'
/yirra + ng{a} + arimwi/	
1ExcPl hfem big	

kwirringarimwa	'you two big women'
/kwirra + ng{a} + arimwi/	
2Pl hfem big	

winarimwa	'two big men'
/wi{rra} + n{i} + arimwi/	
3:1 hmasc big	

The trial number prefix pwikwi- is used in Modern Anindilyakwa for three animates but has only been observed when a speaker is being very specific (otherwise, the plural is used). (Note: In Traditional Anindilyakwa, the morpheme was probably paucal, as evidenced by its usage in a story by an older speaker for three to five persons.) The trial morpheme follows the non-singular Number morpheme but does not. It can, however, co-occur with either of the non-singular Number suffixes viz., -wiyi (dual) or -wiyi (plural). A reduplicated root or stem often co-occurs with the trial prefix. The four non-singular prefixes marked by trial number are:

ngarripwikwithithiyara  
 /ngarra + pwikwi + {a}thitha + yara/  
 1IncPl Tri REDUP:hfem young  
 'we three young girls'

yirripwikwiwikwitjakwiya  
 /yirra + pwikwi + yikwitjiya + wiyi/  
 1ExcPl Tri REDUP:small PL

yirripwikwathitha.angka  
 /yirra + pwikwi + athith{a} + arrangka/  
 1ExcPl Tri REDUP:hfem hip  
 'we three small women'

kwirripwikwiwikwitjiyakwiya  
 /kwirra + pwikwi + yikwitjiya + k{w}iyi/  
 2Pl Tri REDUP:small DU

kwirripwikwaningkwarpwa  
 kwirra + pwikw{i} + ani + ngkw{i} + arpwi/  
 2Nsg Tri n-hfem NSR wound  
 'you three small men'

wirripwikwalhakana	wirripwikwiwarta
/wirra + pwikwi + alhak{i} + ani/	/wirra + pwikwi + warti/
3:1 Tri DU this	3:1 Tri xlong-haired

'these three dogs (Lit: long-haired ones)'

The trial marker also follows non-human Nominal Classifiers for 3:2(ii), 3:3(ii), 3:4 and 3:5. This morphological structure contrasts with the one immediately above in that there is an absence of the non-singular prefix rra-. Here the animates or inanimates are viewed as

single entities which are only temporarily grouped together and do not form a permanent cohesive set which would be classified as 3:1. (Note: In Anindilyakwa, non-human animates can be pluralised by a change in the Nominaliser, e.g., yaka yitjarra 'this Silver Gull' and wirrakina wirritjarra 'those Silver Gulls'.) The four additional trial forms are:

t<sup>h</sup>ipwikwarimwirimwa  
 /tha + pwikwi + arimwirimwa/  
 3:2(ii) Tri REDUP:big  
 'three big [Rock-wallabies]'

yipwikwingmwa  
 /yi + pwikwi + ng{ki} + ngmwi/  
 3:3(ii) Tri ASR putrid  
 'three putrid [Baler Shells]'

apwikwarimwakwiya  
 /a + pwikw{i} + arimw{i} + kwiyi/  
 3:4 Tri big DU  
 'three big [fish].'

mwapwikwaningapwawiya  
 /mwa + pwikw{i} + ani + ngapwi ==> ngapwa + wiyi/  
 3:5 Tri n-hfem good PL  
 'three nice [fish].'

#### 3.3.1.4 Number

The plural Number allomorphs, mwirntaka ~ wirraka, optionally follow the Gender/Number prefix in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus. In the nominals, it could be said to be another number distinction for Gender/Number but in the erbs it follows the trial, pwikwi-. It also is not part of the personal pronoun nucleus (Section 4.1.1) whereas all other Gender/Number morphemes are. The plural Number morpheme is not very common in nominals but very common in the demonstratives (see Section 5.3). The allomorph, wirraka, is associated with Nominal Classifier 3:1 wirra- and the allomorph, mwirntaka, with the hardened adjective root pwirna 'many'. Their function is to show plurality with reference to the nominal classifiers. In the Personified Noun Classes, it is redundant but, in

the Non-personified, it is one of the ways to indicate plural number.

wirriwirrakaningapwa 'many good people'  
/wirra + wirrak{a} + aningapwa/  
3:1 PL good

yimwirntakikwalha 'some [goannas]'  
/yɪ + mwirntaka + kwalha/  
3:3(ii) PL some

mwiwirratjirra 'lined-up [yams]'  
/mwa + wirra{ka} + tjirri/  
3:5 PL long

amwirntamwiramwa 'whispered words'  
/a + mwirnta{ka} + mwir{a} + amwa/  
3:4 PL hollow PROP

The plural number morpheme can be reduplicated but this is not very frequent. The reduplication indicates a very large number.

awirriwirrakithirrpwira 'straight [sticks]'  
/a + wirr{aka} + wirraka + thirrpwira/  
3:4 REDUP PL straight

### 3.3.2 Noun classes

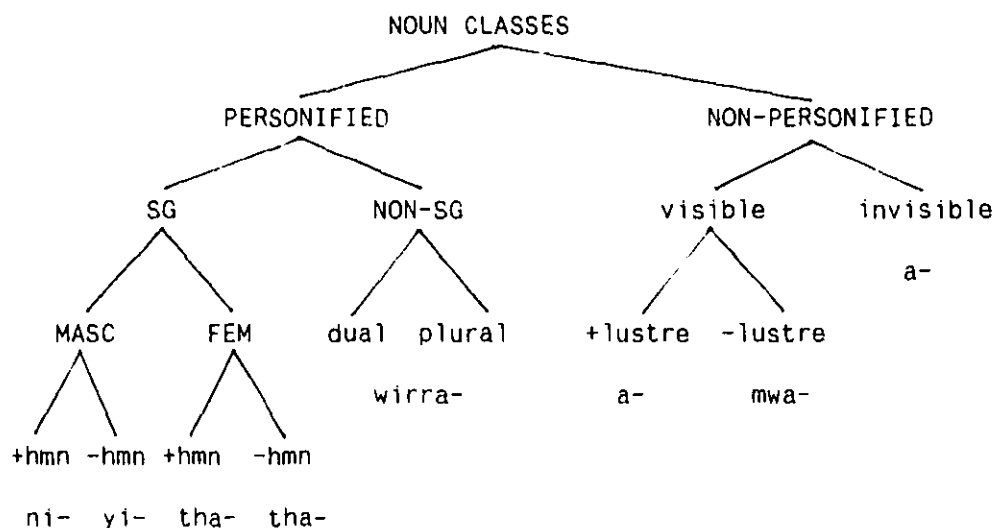
In Section 3.3.1, the full set of nominal classifiers for first, second and third persons were discussed. In this section, the semantic nature of the third person noun classes is described in detail.

All nominals in Traditional Anindilyakwa were obligatorily prefixed by one of the nominal classifiers but there are some borrowed nouns in Modern Anindilyakwa which are unmarked internally for class (see Section 3.3.2.3). A noun can refer to a specific individual item, a major generic class (e.g., winged creatures, hard-shelled animates), or a semi-generic higher level grouping of ten or more similar species.

The classification system for third person nominals is realised

by a set of prefixes which can be analysed as a hierarchical network of binary oppositions. The semantic domains of these noun classes are based on the world view or logic of the Aboriginal culture which often does not parallel that of Western culture. Table 8 diagrams the hierarchical nature of the Anindilyakwa noun class system and indicates the prefix associated with each class.

TABLE 8: NOUN CLASSES



The highest rank is the division into Personified and Non-personified categories. Only the Personified category is classified according to number and gender. The WIRRA Class is different from the other noun classes in that it includes the non-singular but genderless forms of the singular Personified noun classes, rather than a separate semantic domain.

The nouns in the Non-personified category are always singular--they cannot be pluralised by prefixation. As evident from Table 8, the visible category is further sub-divided into two classes on the semantic basis of lustrous versus lustreless. The term, lustrous (in preference to bright, shiny, silvery, dazzling white), is used because

it most adequately describes the Anindilyakwa concept of the reflection of light or mirror-like images; the term lustreless (in preference to dull, opaque, creamy, drab, dark, greyish) is used because the concept is one of not being able to reflect light or to mirror an image. Thus an item can be classified as lustrous (Class 3:4 A) or lustreless (Class 3:5 MWA) irrespective of whether it is white, black or any other colour.

The Nominal Classifiers for third person classify all animates and inanimates into five basic noun classes. Three of these are further divided into pairs of sub-classes to indicate their close relationship and to maintain divisions where there are differences in the morphological system. Sub-classes (i) and (ii) are human and non-human, respectively. The noun classes and their classifiers are listed below (the notation preceding the colon indicates third person):

#### PERSONIFIED CLASSES:

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 3:1(i) WIRRA  | two or more human animates  |
| 3:1(ii) WIRRA | spirits, pairs/flocks/colonies of non-human animates; inanimates in clusters (totems) |
| 3:2(i) THA    | human feminine animates   |
| 3:2(ii) THA   | non-human animates classified as feminine; inanimates with supernatural power         |
| 3:3(i) NI     | human masculine animates  |
| 3:3(ii) YI    | non-human animates classified as masculine; inanimates with supernatural power        |

#### NON-PERSONIFIED CLASSES:

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 3:4 A   | invisible items and visible items with a lustrous appearance (animate and inanimate) |
| 3:5 MWA | visible items with a lustreless appearance   |

The morphological differences between the human and non-human sub-classes of the Peronified noun classes are as follows:

- (i) In sub-class (i), the singular, dual and plural can be marked by only a change of prefix.

naningkwarpwa	'a man'
winingkwarpwa	'two men'
warningkwarpwa	'many men'
thitharringka	'a woman'
wirringathitharringka	'two women'
wirrathitharringka	'many women'

- (ii) In sub-class (ii), singular, dual or plural is not marked by a change in the prefixation but by suffixation within the noun phrase.

arimwa	akwalya	'a big fish'
arimwik{w}iya	akwalya	'two big fish'
arimwawiya	akwalya	'many big fish'

- (iii) The trial marker pwikwi- follows the non-singular wirra- prefix for human animates but is added to the singular prefixes for non-human animates. (Note that the difference in structure denotes a contrast between an interacting group and three single but temporarily grouped items.) Compare the first example below with the other two:

wirripwikwarimwirimwakwiya	wirrathitharringka
/wirra + pwikw{i} + arimwirimwi + k{w}iyi/	3:1 women
3:1      Tri      REDUP:big      DU	
'three big women'	



apwikwarimwirimwakwiya	akwalya
/a + pwikw{i} + arimwirimwi + k{w}iyi/	3:4 fish
3:4 Tri REDUP:big DU	
'three big fish'	
 yipwikwarimwirimwawiya	yaratja
/yi + pwikw{i} + arimwirimwi + wiyi/	3:3(ii) goanna
3:3(ii) Tri REDUP:big PL	
'three big goannas'	

### 3.3.2.1 Personified noun classes

The Personified noun classes consist mainly of human or non-human animates but do include some inanimates with supernatural power derived in the Dreamtime or "creation" era. The non-human animates act rationally or in a human-like role in the traditional stories, i.e., they speak, think, evaluate, fight with implements, change their own appearance, etc; the inanimates retain their supernatural power and are still associated with totems, ceremonies, poisons or sickness. The structural dichotomy of Personified and Non-personified supersedes the usual Western conventions of animate and inanimate.

The Personified noun classes take precedence over or outrank the Non-personified noun classes. Classification according to the semantic domains of the presence or absence of lustre would place some of the following items in the Noun Classes 3:4 A or 3:5 MWA but they are classified as (non-human feminine) Noun Class 3:2(ii) THA, (non-human masculine) 3:3(ii) YI, or (non-human non-singular) Noun Class 3:1 WIRRA.

thimwikwimwirra	'Cowry Shell'
/tha + mwikwi + mwirra/	
3:2(ii) salty PROP	
 yimwawira	'moon'
/yi + mw{i} + awira/	
3:1(ii) INALP alone	
 wirripwirrkpa	'Pleiades stars'
/wirra + pwirrkpw/	
3:1(i) ???	

yilyangmwilhimwilha  
 /yi + lyang{ka} + mwilha + mwilha/  
 3:2(11) head REDUP rough

'Estuarine Stonefish'

The cultural importance of the pairing of masculine and feminine is evident in the traditional Dreamtime stories where the dramatic personae are often one male and one female, e.g., yiningwimwapwalhpwa akwa thiwirrawilya 'Bat and Rainbow'; thimwarngimwarnga akwa yilyakwa 'Cricket and Bee'; thingarrpwiya akwa yimwarntakwiwapwa 'Crocodile and Blue-tongue Lizard'. The Aborigines refer to the pairs, at least in English kinship terms, as husband and wife or mates, or brother and sister.<sup>3</sup> Conversely, some animates are said to "have no mate", e.g., yinipwirimwirra 'Chinaman-fish'. The following pairs are representative of some for which no traditional Dreamtime story has been recorded. Each pair of words provides a contrast within closely related species or things.

yilyampwarra	'Caspian Tern (3 sp.)'
thangarninyimwirra	'Little Tern (4 sp.)'
yingakarpwiyarrkpwa	'Barramundi Cod'
thirnarra	'Honeycomb Cod (7 sp.)'
yipwiratha	'Agile Wallaby'
thilhantha	'Little Rock-wallaby'
yimwawira	'moon'
(thi)mwamwawira	'sun'

Footnote 3: The Warnindilyakwa Aborigines also refers to non-human animates as brothers, sisters, brother and sister, friends or mates. e.g., the Seven Sisters, or yikpwa akwa yirimpwa 'Coucal Pheasant and Silver Gull'. Alternatively, they are referred to as "having the same skin". The same terms of reference apply to the relationship between a person and his/her totem.

### 3.3.2.1A Noun Class 3:1 WIRRA

The non-singular Personified Noun Classes 3:1(i) human and 3:1(ii) non-human are both prefixed by wirra-. This class is predominantly animate and consists of items which form an interacting pair or group. The human sub-class 3:1(i) can be further marked for number and gender (see Section 3.3.1.3); the non-human sub-class 3:1(ii) cannot be so marked. Some of the non-human animates live or forage in pairs as well as in small or large groups.

The nominal in Class 3:1(i) is always human and non-singular. The following examples are divided into three sets--the second set having prefixes that are reduced by Cerebralisation (Section 2.5.2.3) and the third set showing the dual and trial forms.

wirrachitharrangka	'women'
wirrawilya	(clan name)
wirrawiwarrka	'my brothers'
wirrachithitjarrka	'my female avoidance relatives'
wirrapwilhirratha	'parents of two sons'
wirranikapwirra	'members of the opposite moiety'
wirranyingwinyamwa	'people with holes in their nasal septum'
warningkwarpwa	'men'
warnimwamwalya	'Aborigines'
warninthilyakwa	'Anindilyakwa speakers'
warningkwira	'Numbulwar people'

The following examples illustrate the dual prefixation and

the agreement within the noun phrase:

wirringiyakwirrarra	wirringatharringka	'two happy women'
wirringarimwakwiya	wirringathithiyara	'two big girls'
winitjakwiwara	winapwalitjakwiya	'two sad male owners'
winiyikwitjiyikwiya	winantjarrngalyilya	'two small boys'

The non-singular wirra- prefix for Noun Class 3:1(ii) is used predominantly for a pair or group of interacting non-human animates but also for a few inanimate lexical items. When one member of the pair or group is isolated it still retains the same prefix to identify it as a representative of the larger group.

The noun class is restricted to spirits, a few land mammals, birds, insects or marine life. The inclusion of spirits in this noun class indicates that they are regarded as being part of a group. This may be because of their association with deceased people. The frightening evil spirits are also described as having shapes similar to humans.

wirrangalya	(name of two spirit beings like mermaids)
wirramwikwa	'evil spirits'

The land or marine mammals in Noun Class 3:1 WIRRA all live in family-like groups or colonies. All known terms are given below.

wirriwarta	'dog (gen.)'
warningkwarra ~ warningwanimpwalhipwa	'dingo'
wirramwalhkwa	'Black Flying-fox'
wirranthintha	'mouse (gen.)'
wirriyangkwirrapwirna	'Water-rat'

The twenty or so birds in the WIRRA Noun Class forage in pairs, small groups or flocks of thirty or more, or live in colonies. The generic term, wirratjitja 'winged creatures', fits into this noun class.

wirrawimwinya	'ducks (4 sp.)'
wirrilharrkwarpa	'Nankeen Night Heron'
warningwangwirakpa	'Glossy Ibis'
warnikwitjitjingwa	'Barn Owl'

The ten terms for insects are seen in colonies or in small or large groups. The generic terms, wirrimwilyitja 'butterfly' and wirrilhikwikwilya 'white ants, termites and borers', fall into the WIRRA Class. The word wirriyampa refers to WIRRA Class insects that fight, e.g., stick insect and praying mantis.

wirringmwa	'cockroach'
wirramwirnta	'dog ticks'
wirrimwilyingarrathatha	'red tick (sp.)'
wirrilyangpwilyangpwirna	'orange ant (sp.)'
wirrimwiyapiya	'praying mantis'
wirrimwapwirrkwatja	'stick insect'
warningwimwiyarrawapwa	'beetle that feeds on the Kurrajong shrub'

The eight WIRRA Class terms for marine life are commonly found in schools and not separately. E.M. Grant (1982) makes such comments as: "abundant", "very common" or "in large groups in tidal pools". The noun, wirrangwinyampa 'soldier crab' (Lit: 'the group that is angry'), is probably a translation of the English name but the concept

of plurality for these, the only crabs seen in one large group, is included in the noun.

wirrapwartja	'Surf Parrot-fish'
wirriwartiwarta	'Guam Scorpionfish' (5sp.)
wirranimwalyikwa	'Purple Tusk-fish'
wirrawirimpwa	'butterfish'

The only two shellfish classified as WIRRA are found in very large numbers within the same area. (These are included under animate because they were eaten. The Aborigines refer to the edible ones as "shellfish" and the inedible ones as "shells".)

wirriwartiwarta	'Chocolate Date Mussel'
wirrirawirawarra	'Lined Nerite'

The following inanimate items are the only ones recorded to date in the 3:1(ii) WIRRA Noun Class. Their inclusion in this nominal class can be explained as follows:

- (i) associated with the Dreamtime or spirits

The word wirramwikwa has a primary meaning of 'ghost or spirit of a dead or dying person' but has related secondary meanings of (a) a firestick which is alight, (b) a whirlwind or willywilly or (c) a cramp in the leg. (Debris scattered by the whirlwind must not be picked up because it would cause the person to become sick and perhaps die; the cramp only seems to refer to a leg cramp while swimming and this can result in death.) The word, wirrawapwarriwa 'spirits' tracks', is also classified because of its association with wirramwikwa.

wirripwirrkpwa 'Pleiades (a group of seven stars)' are referred to as the "Seven Sisters" who have dwelt in the sky since the Dreamtime.

The two place names, to date, are probably the present symbols or habitat of a group of Dreamtime beings. The first name refers to an area with lots of large red rocks; the second place name has a root which means 'spirits of dead people'.

wirriwarrakpwathana (place name)

wirrawirrinamwirrimwantja (place name)

(ii) physical appearance

The three plants always cover a large area. The waterlilies also have multiple leaves and (edible) roots; the Beach Spinifex has connected tussocks of grass; and the Fire Vine (used for ceremonial bands) has clusters of three small (edible) berries. The latter have male and female flowers.

wirrayangkwirra 'Blue Waterlily'

wirriwartiwarta 'Beach Spinifex'

wirrimwilyalya 'Fire Vine'

(iii) indeterminate gender

There are two traditional words where the non-singular WIRRA classification (unspecified gender) is used and not the masculine or feminine gender prefixes. The Nouns, wirrakalhka 'human foetus' and wirringampwa 'premature baby', fit into the non-human 3:1(ii) Noun Class because they are used for both the singular and non-singular. (The words are used when the foetus is still blind--the human masculine and feminine classifiers are used when the baby is well-formed and likely to

live.)

The Dreamtime classification of YI non-human masculine Class for yimwithirrngwa 'Blue Catfish' appears to hold for only the local fish. Its mainland counterpart, wirrimwithirrngwa, is placed in the genderless WIRRA Class.

### 3.3.2.1B Noun Class 3:2 THA

Noun Class 3:2 is divided into two sub-classes: 3:2(i) human feminine and 3:2(ii) non-human feminine. Both are singular and marked by the same prefix tha-. Note that the non-singular counterpart of Noun Class 3:2(i) is Noun Class 3:1(i).

The following examples show the type of lexemes included in Noun Class 3:2(i):

thathiyara	'girl'
thathiyiwangkwa	'older woman'
thingwiyarrka	'my father's sister'
thingaya	'widow'
thalhawithawarra	'girlfriend'
thathikapwirra	'woman of X moiety'

The personal names of women (except for loanwords) all fall into this noun class. Some names are associated with the names of Dreamtime women, e.g., thingaiha (name of a Dreamtime woman and the associated Red Sandhill but now also a white woman's personal name); some are synonymous with that of a non-human animate classified as feminine in the Dreamtime era, e.g., a woman's name thalhantha is from thilhantha 'Rock Wallaby'. The origin of others is not known but names seem to be re-cycled after a long period of non-use.



thingkwiya	(Dreamtime name)
thapwinkwitha	'Katie Herbert'
thalhintjawayina	'Stella Yantarrnga'
thipwirmpwaiha	'Polly Mamarika'

Noun Class 3:2(ii) consists of the feminine beings in the Dreamtime who are now manifested as non-human animates and of inanimate items associated with those beings or which have a supernatural power causing pain, sickness or death. It includes all types of non-human animates (except sharks, crabs, crayfish) and a few inanimate items.

There are two land mammals and nine marine mammals in the THA Noun Class, including six (sting)rays with spikes which can cause a lot of pain.

thilhantha	'Little Rock-wallaby'
thithiningkwa	'Short-beaked Echidna'
thingintjapwana ~ thilharriringwa	'dolphin'
thiningkwilhangwa	'Dugong'
tharalharra	'Long-tailed Ray'

Noun Class 3:2(ii) includes about twenty-five reptiles (snakes, lizards and goannas) and one marine turtle. The semi-generic term, thilyapwirnta 'all greyish-coloured frogs' fits into this noun class.

thingarrpwiya	'Estuarine Crocodile'
thirangka	'Spotted Tree Monitor'
thaya	'Green Tree Snake'
thamwapwimirra	'Olive Python'
thingalhiwa	'Hawksbill Turtle'

There are about forty birds in Noun Class 3:2(ii), many of which are among the larger species.

thimwingwirra	'Blue-winged Kingfisher'
thimakpilha	'Australian Pelican'
thakwiyawitha	'Great Bower Bird'
thikwirirrkwa	'Brolga'
thimirra	'Torres St. Pigeon'
thimwarrkininkwira	'White-breasted Wood Swallow'

The eighteen Noun Class 3:2(ii) insect and spider names cover a very varied group of insects, some of which are totems and some which bite or sting. The generic term, tha(thi)kwiwarrkiwarrka ~ thathikwimwayarrkiyarrka 'spider', falls into this noun class.

thimwamwintjarmwintjarmwa	'grasshopper'
thimwingarniyantha	'dragonfly'
thimirmwara	'sandfly'
thinhinha ~ thimwatja	'mosquito sp.'
thiringkarrka	'ant sp.'
thimwikwimwirra	'Rhinoceros Beetle'

There are about about twenty fish and five miscellaneous marine creatures in Noun Class 3:2(ii).

thamwapwirra	'Coral Cod (8 sp.)'
thingathimwaratja	'Leatherskin (4 sp.)'
thinimpa	'Little Tuna'
thilyimpa	'squid'
thiwathirra	'jellyfish sp.'

Quite a few inanimates are included in Noun Class 3:2(ii) but they fall into two categories, as follows:

- (i) associated with supernatural power

The four celestial items are larger individual phenomena mentioned in traditional Dreamtime stories.

thakwiringiringanthika	'Venus'
thiwarriwarra	'Jupiter'
thiwirrawilya	'rainbow'
(thi)mwamwawira	'sun'

A few place names which are considered "sacred" are associated with the presence of a woman in the Dreamtime era.

thathimwikwa	(named hole at Scott Pt.)
thirrangmwirrimwantja	'Marble Point'
thingalha	'The Red Sandhill'
thithiwa	'Castle Rock'

There are some isolated instances of items which cause sudden sickness or pain (always attributed to supernatural causes and not physical). The actions in the first two examples are taboo.

thimwikwimwikwa 'Cowry Shell (gen.)', if eaten, are said to cause sores.

thimwarrnga 'seaweed sp.', if walked through, is said to cause extreme thinness or body odour.

thinyinya 'pteridium' and white things in the sea that sting

the eyes. These are probably linked with supernatural power. The pterigium usually occurs on men/boys who are the only ones allowed to have it removed.

About thirteen arboreal items are associated with the presence of spirits (via use in mortuary rites or ceremonies), are poisonous or cause sickness (infections from thorns or cutting edges of leaves). All except one fruit is not eaten but a few have edible roots).

thirnthirnta	'Large-berried Shrub'
thikwikwarnantha	'Wild Kapok Tree'
thathikwalyangpwitja	'Flat-pod Bean'
tharara	'Holly-leaved Pea-plant'
thingathiringwana	'Giant Spear Grass'

The seventeen terms for shells fall into three family groups: Cowry, Cone and Volute shells. All are totems. None were eaten.

thimwikwimwirra	'Cowry Shell (gen.)'
thingathimwarna	'Murex Shell (gen.)'
thathikwawilya	'Cone Shell sp.'

(ii) associated with a THA Class animate

An inanimate item can be classified as Noun Class 3:2(ii) if it is associated specifically with a feminine animate. The terms are names for body parts or items which have a (prominent) physical feature in common.

thingira 'white clay' was used in the Dreamtime era to paint the Sulphur-crested Cockatoo and Little Corella, thiwathirra.

thimwingkwirrartha 'areas on a woman's body that have raised veins which occur during pregnancy, viz., above the breasts, around the hips, behind the knees'.

thakwilyanthatha 'ceremonial headband made of wool or string'. This may be classified because it was worn by a man when he went to claim his bride or because it is made from wool (Class 3:2).

karripa 'turtle shell' only refers to the shell of the THA Class thingalhiwa 'Hawksbill Turtle' which was traded with the Macassans. The turtle, itself, is associated with a taboo for women--they cannot eat its flesh during childbearing years.

tharrawirikwikwa 'lymph glands in the neck' is named after the 'Peaceful Dove'. A person's swollen neck resembles a dove's neck when it is calling.

thiwirrawilya 'rainbow' is the present manifestation of the multi-coloured mythological 'sea snake' of the same name.

thirimpa 'mole, wart, tadpole' is named after the 'Rough-skinned Ray' because all three are regarded as similar in shape to the ray. The word has recently been used for 'male sperm' because it is small and its shape in photos or drawings is the same as that of a tadpole.

thimwingarniyantha 'Banded Helmet Shell' is named after the similarly-shaped 'dragonfly'.

thimwamwawira 'watch, clock' is named after mwamwawira 'sun'. The association is probably one of identifying time periods when the sun is shining, rather than shape.

thakwiwarkiwarka 'needle' is the generic term for 'spider'. Other synonyms have been placed in the same noun class, viz., nitila ~ tjarra 'sewing needle'; thakathitharra 'sewing or syringe needle'.

thingarrkwa 'spike' of thitjiningkwa 'echidna' is also used for a spear, the head of which consists of two stingray barbs (not always from THA Class rays) and for a 'Sea Urchin' that has long spindles. The word also refers specifically to the spike of the thirimpa ray or non-specifically to any needle (Class 3:2(ii)), to the prongs of a spear (Class 3:4), or to sharply-pointed leaves (Classes 3:2(ii), 3:4 and 3:5).

### 3.3.2.1C Noun Classes 3:3 NI and YI

Noun Class 3:3 is divided into two sub-classes and each has a different prefix. The noun class is prefixed by ni- for human masculine and by yi- for non-human masculine. Both are singular. The non-singular human masculine counterpart of Noun Class 3:3(i) is Noun Class 3:1(i) but Noun Class 3:3(ii) is pluralised only by suffixation.

The following examples illustrate the human masculine Noun Class 3:3(i).

naningkwarpwa	'adult male'
nanikwimwayartha	'boy at puberty'
nantjarrngalyilya	'boy'
nangariya	'baby boy'
ningwarrka	'my father'
napwalhitja	'male owner'
natharringkamwa	'married man'
nalhawithawarra	'boyfriend'

nimimpa	'blind man'
nimwarnkartamwa	'sorcerer'
nanikapwirra	'man of X moiety'

The name of a man or a Dreamtime personality is often prefixed by *ni-*. Men's names correspond with the name of the non-human animate--the former being prefixed by *ni-* and the latter by *yi-*. In traditional stories, the two names may occur in free variation or the human masculine Noun Class 3:3(i) prefix is used during the Dreamtime activities and the non-human masculine Noun Class 3:3(ii) for the present non-human form.

naningwakwingakpwa		'name of a Dreamtime man'
nimpwalhirra	~ yimpwalhirra	'name of Dreamtime man'
nikpwa	~ yikpwa	'Coucal Pheasant'
nipwiratha	~ yipwiratha	'Agile Wallaby'
nimwawira	~ yimwawira	'moon'
naningwimwapalhpwa	~ yiningwimwapalhpwa	'bat (gen.)'
naratja	/ yaratja	'man's name / goanna'
namwiwankwitja	/ yiwankwitja	'man's name / joey'
ngangkalyikwa	/ yalyikwa	'man's name / rain'

In Traditional Anindilyakwa, no change of gender is possible, i.e., the gender of a Dreamtime being always stays the same. In the last decade, the Dreamtime classification has sometimes been changed to the opposite gender when translating from an English gloss. For example, the traditional classification for *thiwirrawilya* 'rainbow' is the feminine 3:2(ii) Noun Class but, when one story-teller translated "he, the Rainbow Man" as *niwirrawilya*, it was changed to the masculine 3:3(i) Noun Class.

Noun Class 3:3(ii) consists of masculine beings from the Dreamtime who are now manifested as non-human animates or inanimate items that are associated with those beings or that have supernatural power causing pain, sickness or death. This noun class includes a large number of all types of non-human animates except frogs but only a few inanimates.

All but the two of the larger individual land mammals are classified as YI Class. The semi-generic generic terms, yiningkwarpwa 'adult male turtles and goannas' and yiningwingwangpwa 'edible land animals and reptiles' fall into this noun class.

yikwingpwa	'Rock Ringtail Possum'
yalyilya	'Little Red Flying-fox'
yiniyarriwarna	'Northern Quoll'
yirikwitjilhangwa	'Brindled Bandicoot'

There are nineteen Noun Class 3:3(ii) terms for reptiles and all but one of the six marine and one land turtles. Four generic terms fall into this category: yaratja 'goanna', yimwantha ~ yilharrkira 'turtle' and yingarna 'snake'.

yimwarntakiwapwa	'Blue-tongued Lizard'
yingkarm	'Striped Skink'
yayarranthangwa ~ yilharrpwantha	'Western Brown Snake'
yimwapwathikwana	'Death Adder'
yiningpwirna	'Elegant Sea-snake'
yantha(k)pwithingmwirra ~ yimwiwarraka	'Green Turtle'
yimapwirrkwira	'Leathery Turtle'
yingmwingmwarnta	'Snake-necked Tortoise'



About twenty-four terms for birds are included in the YI Noun Class, some of which are called "brothers" or the "same skin".

yikwirakwira	'Spotted Nightjar'
yimwakpirra	'Royal Spoonbill'
yingwa	'Torresian Crow'
yirimpwa ~ yitjarra	'Silver Gull'

Most of the thirty or so terms for insects and grubs in Noun Class 3:3(ii) have been identified as totems. Groote Eylandt Aborigines call some brothers, e.g., yangkirrangkwirra and yimwirntarrma 'snail (two different species)'.

yangkwirra	'house fly'
yimwirntarrma	'snail'
yarrnga	'leech'
yilhamwa	'water beetle'
yilyakwa	'bee'
yimwakimwakina	'hornet'
yimwirnta	'head lice'
yimwirralya	'Green Tree-ant'
yinanga	'witchetty grub'
yingarrampwilya	'centipede'

The majority of the marine life fits into Noun Class 3:3(ii): fifty-eight fish, five sharks, three rays, about thirty shells or shellfish, as well a few miscellaneous marine animates. The word, yangkwawa '(mythological) whale', is also included.

yakarra	'Purple Cod'
yikwirrirrthangwa	'Green Sawfish'

yilyangwilhimwilha	'Estuarine Stonefish'
yiningwapwitjakpwa	'Pikey Bream'
yikalyamwirra	'White Shark'
yimwirrpwingwa	'Zebra Shark'
yilyanga ~ yingwapwarra	'Common Shovel-nosed Ray'
yimwirnirna ~ yimwarpirra	'Fantail Ray'
yimwathiwaya	'stingray sp.'
yarrkwimwarnta	'Venus Shell'
yikwirna	'Baler Shell'
yilhikarintja	'Worm Shell'
yiningwampwaka	'Burrowing Clam (4 sp.)'
yinikarmwingkwartha	'small hermit crab'
yimwanta	'crab sp.'
yapwingwirra	'Sea Wasp Jellyfish'
yarrimwilya	'coral sp.'
yingwilha	'trepang'
yininya	'Tristletail'

Noun Class 3:3(ii) includes quite a number of inanimates which can be identified as being:

(i) associated with the Dreamtime

The following are present manifestations of celestial beings from the Dreamtime era. The word, yarringkwa 'yesterday', is YI Class probably because of its association with the moon--yesterday ends at daybreak, not midnight. The term, yipwilyipwilya 'thunder and lightning', is also the name of the Gecko lizard--its present manifestation.

yalyikwa	'rain'
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yiniyarrma	'SE trade winds'
yiningkwirra	'NW monsoonal winds'
yipwilyipwilya	'thunder/lightning'
yimwawira	'moon'
yikwira	'star'

Four topographical features and one place name are associated with "sacred places", e.g., cave paintings are in the sandstone ridges; the dancing ground or "place of footprints" is the site of the Barra Clan ceremonies or ritual fights.

yiningilya	'sandbar'
yinipa	'red ochre'
yinitjirra	'sandstone ridge'
yinikaya ~ yinikanga	'dancing ground'
nimwiningkakwilharrinamwantja	(sandhill name)

(ii) associated with the supernatural

Twenty or so body parts or functions are associated with supernatural power, poisons or sickness (infections). For example: clippings from fingernails or hair are used in sorcery; the lymph glands in the groin draw the poison from an infected leg; certain body parts are connected with the creation of life, its sustenance and its aging process or with the chest, e.g., *tipiya* 'tuberculosis'.

yinhanha	'fingernail'
yikwira	'grey hair'
yakika	'scrotum'
yiwarra	'vagina'
yiraka	'trachea, oesophagus'

yayarra	'vein, tendon'
yiningwinya	'fontanelle'
yingampwa	'gland in the groin'
yikwithikwitha	'chest'
yingamwina	'abscessed breast'
yiningwirnta	'cicatrice'
yiningwinya	'abscess'
yimwa	'excreta'
yarrtha	'nappy rash'

There are two arboreal items which are poisonous and seven associated with sorcery or ceremonies.

yimwirirra	'Crab's Eye'
yiwara	'Snake Vine'

yimwintangirringirra 'Blady Grass' was used to wrap a mentally ill person before ceremonial smoking.

yirarringantja 'White Paperbark' and yirmwa 'Ghost Gum' are locations for sorcery: a voodoo type representation of a person can be cut into the trunk and ceremonially speared or a person's intimate clothing (also see above) can be placed under the roots and "sung".

yimwinthingwa 'Cypress Pine' has needles which are burned for smoking the vagina yiwarra.

yirtha 'Lawyer Vine', yingakpwarnga 'Short Cut-leaved Palm' and yilharrpa 'Liviston Palm' are/were all used for ceremonial armbands.

yilhamwara 'orchid (5 sp.)' was used for making to glue to attach the ochres or clay when painting people ceremonially or painting barks.

yarrarra 'forked stick' supported the burial platform.

yinikwampwa 'bark of Broad-leaved Paperbark' was used for the neck adornment worn during the mourning period (probably holding the bones of the deceased relative).

(iii) associated with another YI Class animate or inanimate

There are about ten trees whose membership in this noun class appears to be due to their association with bees, yilyakwa. (The much sought-after honey is located by watching for the bees and a substance that falls from the hive to the bottom of the tree.) The bees collect the nectar, humans suck the "honey" from the flowers, or the leaves are tied to make a container for carrying the honey. (The three species of native bees do not sting.)

<u>yiningkwirra</u>	'Fern-leaved Grevillea'
<u>yilharrikirra</u>	'White-flowered Mangrove'
<u>yinarrpwa</u>	'Salmon Gum'

Two wooden artifacts are named or classified in agreement with the noun class of the tree from which they are made; one wooden artifact adopts the same name as a body part with the same shape.

yilyarra 'Macassan pipe' is the same name as the Pipe Bush;  
yiraka 'didjeridu' is the same name as the trachea.

yikarpwa ~ yimwangala 'woomera' is preferably made from the wood of tjangawila 'Red Ash'.

### 3.3.2.2 Non-personified noun classes 3:4 and 3:5

The Non-personified is divided into visible and invisible (never visible). The former is further sub-divided semantically into lustrous versus lustreless. Noun Class 3:4 A incorporates the invisible and the lustrous items; Noun Class 3:5 MWA involves the lustreless items. Both Noun Classes are inherently singular.

The invisible items in Noun Class 3:4 are all inanimate and could be said to be related to the wind. They fall into two categories:

(i) language and human noises

There are about twenty terms that are associated with human and vocal. The generic terms, ayakwa 'word, speech, language', amapa 'song', all fall into this category. The word, alhikwantja 'dance', may be in this noun class because of its association with singing or the feet.

aninthilyakwa	(language name)
alhawithawarra	'story'
amwarngka	'laugh'
amwithilya	'cough'
akarrngarra	'burp'

The generic term, akirra 'name', and non-personalised (ceremony) names are included as well as the terms for Dreamtime (the era when topographical items are said to be named), dream and taboo.

amwirntiwirrariya	'Mardayina ceremony'
anikarrnga	'Dreaming (country)'
aningwarraakpakwiya	'Dreamtime'
akwilyangpwirarrka	'dream'
angkwapwikwapwa	'taboo'

(ii) associated with wind

There are several terms for winds, seasons and some sicknesses that are placed in the Class. The citation form, arrirra 'wind or body pulse', fit into this noun class. (The physical sign of death is the cessation of breathing--a dead person is said to "have lost his/her wind".)

amwarrpwa	'east wind'
angwirntirra	'SE trade winds'
akwiningkwira	'wet season'
akwimwalhilhiyanga	'season whene the mwalhalhiyanga blooms'

Some of the following words are in Noun Class 3:4 presumably because of their association with a body part, viz., aringka 'head', amwantjantjingirra 'joint fluid'.

angpwilyiwa	'sickness'
akpwarra	'headache'
apwitjapwirra	'aching joints'

All visible items are classified according to their appearance. The semantic basis for this classification only became evident when

the majority of non-human animate and arboreal items were individually identified and attention focussed on the common factor in the appearance or habitat. Further evidence was provided by the comments from many of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (including even young teenagers) who have often remarked that, for example, "it grows in the sand or on a sandhill near the beach"; "it has black bars on its back"; "it's a very shiny fish"; "that fish shines in the dark"; or "it's green like the grass".

In the visible categories, the two Noun Classes contrast those items whose lustrous surfaces reflect light (A Class) and those items whose surfaces do not normally reflect light (MWA Class). The former is associated with daytime or light and the latter with nighttime or and darkness.

The visible category covers only the few animates that are not personified but most of the inanimate items. Even though few in number, all types of non-human animates (except for land mammals and reptiles) fall into these Noun Classes.

The four Noun Class 3:4 and the six Noun Class 3:5 birds are classified according to the shiny or dull feathers on their backs or mantles. When trying to identify the birds from pictures the first question asked by the older women was about their habitat (land or sea birds). Research showed that, while a large part of the 3:4 data corresponded with foraging or nesting in the inland soil (Noun Class 3:4) versus the coastal sandy areas (NounClass 3:5), the semantic opposition was not satisfactory because some closely related species in different noun classes live in the same area. Other Aboriginal comments on the appearance led to the present classification of lustrous versus lustreless.

akpwarra

'Spangled Drongo'



amwarrira (loanword)	'Large Egret, Little Egret' (4 sp.)
angwirrita	'Australian Magpie'
mwawilhpwirta	'Pied Cormorant, Little Pied Cormorant' (3 sp.)
mwilyangma	'Pied Heron, White-necked Heron' (3 sp.)
mwamwintjawitjawa ~ mwawiripwiripwa	'Striated Pardalote'
mwalyirrnwilya	'Red-collared Lorikeet'

There are four Noun Class 3:4 and nine Noun Class 3:5 insects or grubs classified by the lustrous or lustreless appearance of their backs (or wings).

alhikwingarrangpwilya	'centipede'
angalhiwa	'white-scale insect'
aritjiritjirrirra	'bee sp.'
atjikamwa	'moth sp.'
mwamwinya	'firefly'
mwarripwira	'scorpion'
mwartawa	'Bull Ant'

The thirty-four Noun Class 3:4 fish are described by Grant (1982) as "brilliant silver, gleaming black or white, greenish silver, bright golden yellow, coppery brown/bronze or pretty coloured". The whole fish is usually lustrous but there are some where only the lower sides or a prominent feature is lustrous. The seven lustreless MWA Class fish are described by Grant as having markings, such as "dusky crossbars, dark-edged fins, black blotches or dark vertical bands";

the Aborigines offered the information that the fish have "black bars or bands". These MWA Class fish are usually lustreless, i.e., creamy or greyish (sometimes when dead) and have dark vertical bars or blotches along the back or dorsal fin. (Note: The semantic notions, edible versus inedible and freshwater versus saltwater habitats, were investigated but found to be inapplicable).

arnayingwirra	'Long-tailed Catfish, Eel'
alhkirra	'Oxeye Herring'
amwarta	'Freshwater Long-tom'
amwatharrngwa	'Barracuda'
arrantha	'Painted Sweetlips'
amwikwana	'Cook's Soldier-fish'
mwamirrarra	'Qld. halibut (14 sp.)'
mwingintjapana	'Broad-barred Mackerel' (3sp.)
mwantjawarra	'Mouth Almighty Fish' (freshwater)

There are three terms for Noun Class 3:4 sharks (only one of which has been identified) and four terms for Noun Class 3:5 sharks. The generic term, mwangiyiwanga 'shark', appears to have been used for the name of a specific shark in the Dreamtime story about Umbakumba Lagoon but is now used in a more general way for sharks whose backs (as pictured or described by Grant) are not a bright, silvery colour but creamy white or slate grey.

angkilyingarrkalyithangwa	'Little Blue Shark'
amwarikwa	'Banded Wobbegong'
atja	'Black-tip Shark'

mwatja	'Black-tip Shark'
mwilhapwirakwa	'Graceful Shark'
mwingwarra	'Hammerhead Shark'

The one Noun Class 3:4 and the one Noun Class 3:5 ray have a lustrous and lustreless belly, respectively. The latter has three names for the different sizes and the three are referred to as "brothers". The terms are:

angwirrkpwirrkpwirra		'Pigmy Devil Ray'
mwangpwarna	juvenile )	'Common Shovel-nosed Ray'
mwakapwiramwirra	adult )	
mwanikarmwingkwartha	large adult)	

Approximately forty-five shellfish are included in Noun Class 3:4 but only six in Noun Class 3:5. The overall group is regarded here as "shellfish" because so many are or were eaten (with a contact history of fifty years it is hard now to get full information on everything that was eaten). The classification of almost all shells as Non-personified Noun Class 3:4 shells may simply be due to the fact that most shells are shiny on the outside but there is a greater likelihood that the common lustrous quality of the aperture or inner lining of A Class shells is the deciding factor. (Note: Most of the Noun Class 3:5 shells have a residual brown skin on the outside of the shell but this needs further checking with the Aborigines themselves.) The generic term for shell is athithira.

ararikwirra	'Ostrea Oyster'
athamwiya	'Top Shell'
amwirntiyarra	'Violet Snail Shell'
alyangmwilyangmwirra	'Ark Shell'

mwalihiwa	'Razor Shell (2 sp.)'
mwingarniyantha	'Giant Whelk (3 sp.)'
mwingwawa	'Pyramid Trochid'

Nine other crustaceans are classified by their lusted appearance and five by their lustreless appearance. There is, however, one pair of crabs which are called brothers, viz., mwangmwa 'Ghost crab' and mwaniipwarrpa (identification unknown); and another pair of sand crabs, mwangwirninya, are regarded as having a male and female relationship, viz., the Red Spot Crab is the female and a similar blue one is the male. The term, mwamwikwiyalhilha, refers to any crab that is "shy", i.e., it lives in the rocks.

angwalha	'Mud Crab'
amwilyingwirra ~ amwingangpwilya	'King Prawn'
amwingmwirra	'Coral Crayfish'
mwanyinganyangwiwa	'crab sp.'

Celestial terms fall into Noun Classes 3:4 and 3:5. The Noun Class 3:4 words for 'dusk' and 'evening' cover the periods when there is enough light from the sun or moon for people and things to be identified; the term for 'night' is only used when there is no moonlight and it is too dark to identify anything. The examples are ordered to show the oppositions in the two noun classes.

angwipina	'sky, clouds'
amwintjirrpwithatha	'rain clouds'
awitja	'fog'
alyarrathatha	'dusk, twilight'
alyarmwirtha	'evening'

awarriwalya	'shade'
akwapwarraka	'electric light'
mwiwimpwirra	'(myth.) clouds'
mwarrakwa	'meteor'
mwarrnga	'night, a sleep'
mwarngkirngkiwilyarra	'midnight'
mwamwikayarra	'rays at sunset (dark bands)'

All four words relating to 'fire' are A Class, including the general term angwira 'fire or firewood'. This may be due to the association with light or with the general term, aka 'wood'.

amwarnina	'ashes'
amwikwa	'live coals'
angwarra	'smoke, steam'

The majority of the body parts are included in the Non-personified noun classes, i.e., approximately thirty-five in Noun Class 3:4 and twenty-five in Noun Class 3:5. All body parts are visible under certain conditions, i.e. when animals are dissected. The A Class body parts are the organs that have a shiny appearance (e.g., heart, liver or lungs) or the shiny areas of the skin (e.g., nose, face, shinbone or buttocks); the MWA Class body parts are those organs or bones that are creamy or dull in appearance (e.g., brains, stomach or spine) or the lustreless areas of the skin that are recessed or covered by hair (e.g., lower back, leg calf, ear or penis). The examples below are ordered to show opposites wherever possible.

akarr	'teeth'
ayamwa	'body hair'
ayantha	'upper back'
alhakpwa	'leg (knee to ankle)'
arntirnta	'heart'
awa	'liver'
aminta	'nose'
amwalya	'body fat'
mwarpwa	'molar teeth'
mwamwingpwa	'head hair'
mwangpwangpwirna	'lower back'
mwakarra	'thigh'
mwamarrpa	'leg calf'
mwangmwa	'brains'
mwilhkwa	'stomach'
mwatha	'ear'
mwiringa	'spine'

The products of some insects are classified according to their lustrous and lustreless appearance.

amwilhika	'beeswax'
mwangkarriya	'stored pollen'
mwarntja	'brood cells'
mwiwatha	'cocoon, Paperwasp's nest'
mwiyarriya	'bird's nest'

The most difficult dichotomy to identify as lustrous (A Class) or lustreless (MWA Class) was the one between freshwater versus

saltwater and between soil or mineral sand versus beach sand. The binary features of salty (MWA Class) versus non-salty (A Class) were at first posited in addition to lustrous and lustreless. These additional semantic features, however, are unnecessary because on Groote Eylandt both water and land can be divided into classes on their light-reflecting properties. The contrasting general terms are:

akwingwa	'fresh water'
mwakarta	'sea'
atjiringka	'soil, mineral sand'
mwithiyalya ~ mwithiyalya	'beach and its sand'

The fresh water in the creeks and lakes is clear and still, reflecting light and mirroring sharply-defined images; conversely, the tropical sea or ocean is usually opaque and constantly moving and, therefore, does not reflect light in the same way or mirror sharply-defined images. The distinction between lustrous fresh water (A Class) and lustreless salty water (MWA Class) extends to other fluids.

athalyimwa	'freshwater river'
awirikwa	'freshwater swamp'
atjirratharrpwa	'freshwater pool'
ayakangalhipwa	'far side of fresh water'
amwinthikpwalya	'dew'
angwatha	'tears'
alyikwalya	'saliva'
angamwina	'breast milk'
amwinha	'urine'
amwantjantjingirra	'joint fluid'

mwikwimwikwa	'deep sea'
mwithalyimwa	'river [tidal reach]'
mwitjirratharrpwa	'saltwater pool'
mwiyakangalhipwa	'far side of salt water'
mwikwana	'perspiration'
mwarra	'blood'
mwarrakamwamwa	'pill, tablet'

The soil is lustrous because it is impregnated with (shiny black) manganese and the mineral sands sparkle in the sun. Conversely, the coastal beaches and beach sand is lustreless because it is not a dazzling white but consists of creamy-coloured shellgrit or broken coral and is often dirty because frequently cut by rivers or creeks and flanked by mangroves. Sand dunes are classified as both A and MWA Class--the former shining because denuded of trees and vegetation. The difficulty in analysis arose from the author's lack of knowledge of the different types of sand and soil on Groote Eylandt and the problem in recognising the cultural borderline between lustrous and lustreless. Once these were established the language was seen to be very consistent and the classification predictable. The following examples are ordered to show the contrasts between Noun Class 3:4 and 3:5.

angwarnta	'white stones, coins'
angarrmwirtha	'manganese'
akwalhirrangkwirra ~ alhitha	'orange ochre'
angarrathatha	'shiny red soil'
amwilyimwilyintja	'soil, mud'
angakartjiyinga	'sandhill'
athirra	'open hole, soak'



angwa	'coastal border where vegetation starts'
ayangkitharrpwa	'island'
mwaltharra	'brown stones, gravel'
mwinyathirra	'(natural) tar'
mwawirirra	'orange stone'
mwamwirikwa	'red gravel road'
mwamwingwira	'sand'
mwamwithangkwa	'sandhill'
mwathirra	'cave'
mwartawa	'cooking stones'
mwarringwa	'yellow ochre'

Other Non-personified inanimates are classified because of their association with the above.

(i) associated with a specific habitat

The classification of over fifty Noun Class 3:4 and thirty Noun Class 3:5 arboreal items is based on the habitat in which they typically (not occasionally) grow. The focus, however, is on the soil (A Class) or sand (MWA Class), not the surrounding topography or surface vegetation (jungle, open forest, swamps, etc.). Levitt's research (1981) gives meticulous details of such topography but also provided invaluable information about the type of soil, e.g., very sandy soil, sand dune, moist soil near swamps. The Aborigines also gave her the vital key to their classification of plants, i.e., they pointed out that the mwilhingkwaliwa 'Cladode Pea plants' grow in sandy areas but the alhingkwaliwa 'Cladode Pea plants' grow in the open forest (Levitt 1981:114). The distinction in the type of soil

or sand facilitates foraging for food in a given area.

aninthirrkwa	'Bottle Brush'
angpwatjangpwatja	'Star Boronia'
arngkaywaya	'Tamarind Tree'
akwirana	'Wild Grape'
athamwiya	'Hairy-leaved Convolvulus'
atjiwatjiwa	'Strap Fern'
mwamwilharrngkangwira	'Pink Hibiscus (3 sp.)'
mwamwira(k)pwirrirra	'Beach Calthrop'
mwanyingwinya	'Sand Fig'
mwarrngmirtha	'Bush Currant'
mwaritja	'Tar-vine root'
mwatjiwa	'Rock Fern'

The generic terms, arriparripa 'open forest, bush, scrub' and mwiringwana 'jungle', correspond with the contrast between A Class 'soil' and MWA Class 'sand'. The concept of light in the open forest versus darkness in the jungle may also be pertinent.

The generic terms, aka 'tree, wood, log, post' and amwarta 'grass, leaves', may be classified as A Class because the leaves are shiny (cf. arrimwara 'new shiny white shoots or new growth') or because the majority of trees or grasses for making artifacts and shelters grow in soil. There could also be an association with angwira 'fire and firewood'.

The classification of Non-personified place names corresponds with the presence of soil or freshwater versus sand or saltwater.

akpwiringa	'island off Scott Point'
akwiwalhinimwantja	'swamp at Four-mile'
amwanya	'creek name'
angarmantja	'rocks near Salt Lake'
mwapwalyingmantja	'Picnic Beach'
mwiyamwikwikwikwa	'Salt Lake entrance'
mwawilyimwantja	'Thompson's Bay'
mwingangmana	'inland sandhill name'

(ii) associated with other Noun Class 3:4 inanimates

The general terms for food are all under Noun Class 3:4, viz., anhinga 'vegetable food'; akwalya ~ amwathangkwa 'meat'. The reason for such classification is still obscure because (a) not all are lustrous; and (b) all three occur in both A and MWA Class habitats. All prepared introduced foods are also Noun Class 3:4, e.g. amwithinga 'flour'; amwirntimwirntatha 'icecream'. The most likely solution is their connection with angwira 'fire'. In akwalyakwa the same word, awalyiwa, is used for 'cooked, ripe or ready to eat'--the fire or the sun presumably seen as supplying the necessary heat. The other possibility is an association with akwingwa 'fresh water and other edible fluids'.

(iii) associated with a body part

The following examples illustrate the type of associations which occur.

angamwina	'breast and its milk'
amwarmwarra	'sore'

amwithikarra	'scab'
angwinya	'pus'
alya	'itchy area'
amwinta	'nose'
anyirra	'nasal discharge'
anyingwinya	'hole in nasal septum'
mwarrikwa	'penis'
mwamwingwirra	'semen'
mwanpa	'eye'
mwamwakwilya mwanpa	'eyelid'
mwamwilyimwilya	'sleep in the eye'

Artifacts are seen as a part or product of the item from which they are made and are, therefore, classified in agreement with its Noun Class. The following examples are typical of many artifacts.

alhamwikwa 'bark canoe' was made from alhapwira 'Stringybark Tree' or alhingakirapa ~ amwirapa 'Milkwood Tree'; mwalhamwikwa 'canoe' was made mwamwarra 'Short-leaved Paperbark Tree'.

artja 'roasting stick' was made from arntiwa 'Bloodwood Tree'; mwamwintjirrkiya 'digging stick' was made from mwiyamwira 'Digging-stick Tree'; mwiyanga 'firesticks' were made from mwapwantha 'Peanut Tree' or mwirarrawa 'Red Kurrajong Shrub' or mwarrngmwirtha 'Bush Currant Shrub'.

amwiwara 'pronged spear' and (Noun Class 3:4) lamwa 'shovel-nosed spear' have shafts made from awariwara 'Spear Bush';

angarrkikpa 'harpoon' was made from alhimwilya 'Bloodwood Tree'; mwingarrkikpa 'hooked spear' and mwakwirra 'pronged spear' had shafts made from mwapwantha 'Yellow Hibiscus' or mwawirmwalha 'Pacific Rosewood Tree'.

The bark of several trees was used for artifacts and shelters, viz., alhapwira 'Stringybark Tree'; alyikwirra 'Grey Paperbark'; amwirapa 'Milkwood Tree'. Grass, the generic term for which is amwarta, was also used.

<u>amwingpwa</u>	'windbreak'
<u>amwiyarriya</u>	'bush shelter'
<u>alhikira</u>	'shelter with walls'
<u>atjamwirnta</u>	'coolamon'
<u>alhamwikwa</u>	'bark canoe'

The generic term, mwarra 'string, rope' is Noun Class 3:5 in agreement with the class of four trees from which it was made, viz., mwapina 'wattle trees'; mwapwalhpwa 'Peanut Tree'; mwanyingwinya 'Sand Fig'; mwiyarrawa 'Red Kurrajong Shrub'. Some of the string artifacts are:

<u>mwawilya</u>	'men's string skirt'
<u>mwikayiwa</u>	'dillybag'
<u>mwilyalya</u>	'armband'
<u>mwingarikwa</u>	'fishingline'
<u>mwakathithamwira</u>	'necklace'
<u>mwamwingwirnta</u>	'knot'

amwirntakitjika 'little things', is included in Noun Class 3:4, probably because most small traditional artifacts would

have been made from the A Class barks or from wood, aka.

akarrikarra ~ pantjila 'pencil' and akwampwimpwarra 'chair, church' could be associated with A Class because the prototypes were made from aka 'wood (gen.)' or because they shone with alhitha 'paint, varnish'.

amwirntamwirntatha 'ice-cream' is associated with angamwina 'breast milk'; amwithingira 'white flour' (and the words for rice, bread, Rolled Oats, damper, sugar) are classified under anhinga 'vegetable foods'.

### 3.3.2.3 Loanword classification

Loanword nouns fall into two groups: (a) those from a neighbouring Aboriginal language that usually apply to native flora and fauna or traditional artifacts; and (b) those from Macassan that refer to people, ships, winds, trade goods and prepared foods or those from English that mostly refer to domesticated or farm animals, agriculture, manufactured goods and prepared foods. In traditional Anindilyakwa, some of the items were derived from within the language but other foreign words were adapted phonologically. Some Macassan words may also have been borrowed from the neighbouring languages because of the late arrival of the praus on Groote Eylandt (there is an obvious difference in the age of the tamarind trees at Milingimbi and Umbakumba.)

Loanwords are easily identified by the strangeness of the word-initial consonants or vowel but also by rarity of a phoneme or irregular consonant sequences. Such words are unmarked for the noun class (except for some animates) but the class can be identified from the adjective or demonstrative modifiers within the noun phrase.

mwama pwankwitja	NG rlangkitj	'this Whale Shark'
thakina tjarrangwa	MK tjarrang	'that horse'
yarimwa kawala	ENG koala	'big koala'

A few loanwords (other than humans and domesticated animals) are prefixed by a nominal classifier when adopted into Anindilyakwa.

thalikita ~ thingarrpwiya	ENG alligator	'Estuarine Crocodile'
thiwaltja	NG arltja	'Water Python'
awilmwarra	NG wulmuwarri	'boomerang'
mwiwalngara	NG walngari	'Beach Salmon (4 sp.)'

The choice of noun class marker is usually arbitrary but, in a few instances, there is some variation between noun classes.

### 3.3.2.3A Personified noun classes

Loanword nouns fall into the same categories as traditional words.

#### NOUN CLASS 3:1 WIRRA

Loanwords for Noun Class 3:1 human animates have been introduced along with the "invaders" but also include some words from interaction in mainland ceremonies at Numbulwar.

wirrapwipwilanta	MK Hollander	'Caucasians'
wirriyalipala	ENG yellah fellah	'part-Aborigines and Asians'
winipwingkawa	MK bunggawa	'two male bosses'
wirrapwalitja	NG napalitjung	'owners'
wirritjingkwaya	NG tjirrikay	'ceremony bosses'
wirripwikwithitha	ENG sister	'three nurses'

The word, pwalanta, is now being used without prefixation by some Aborigines who have recently been in regular contact with Aborigines in Northeast Arnhem Land and in sustained association with white personnel from the Northern Territory Education Department which now seems to have adopted the word into English. (The contrastive term from NE Arnhem Land languages adopted by whites, yolngu 'Aboriginal people', is not accepted on Groote Eylandt.)

There is one loanword from an unknown source that is not prefixed but is included in Noun Class 3:1, viz., tjawina 'friends'. There are no masculine or feminine singular forms of this word.

The introduced domesticated and farm animals are usually seen in herds or flocks and are, therefore, associated with similar groups of traditional land mammals and included in Noun Class 3:1. The loanwords, however, are alternately classified as Noun Class 3:4. As some of these animals do not have a shiny skin or coat and have not lived on Groote Eylandt, their inclusion in Noun Class 3:4 may be associated with amwathangkwa 'meat' or with tjiwirra 'paper, book'. All the nouns, except nanikwita 'goat' (the first introduced animal), are prefixed by wirra- but unmarked for Noun Class 3:4.

ana nanikwita		'this goat'
akina pikipika	~ wirrakina wirripikipika	'that pig'
pwitjikata	~ wirripwitjikata	'cat'
pwilikwa	~ wirripwilikwa	'cattle, buffalo'
tjipa	~ wirritjipa	'sheep'

The only other loanwords in Noun Class 3:1 are as follows:

pwirmpwirnga 'Orion's Belt', a group of stars probably classified in association with wirripwirrkpa 'Pleiades'. This



loanword may have replaced a traditional word.

wirralharra 'red ochre' is recognised by the Anindilyakwa speakers as a loanword from the Yirrkala area. It is classified for unspecified gender and not Noun Class 3:3(ii) for the corresponding traditional word.

wirrakwina, 'turtle'. Some say that the word is the generic term for turtle and classify it as WIRRA Class (unmarked for gender) but others say it is the Yirrkala name for thingalhiwa 'Hawksbill Turtle' and classify it as THA Class.

#### NOUN CLASS 3:2 THA

Loanwords for human animates and domesticated or farm animals can be prefixed by tha- to indicate the female sex.

thipwalanta	MK Hollander	'white female'
thiyalapala	ENG yellah fellah	'part-aboriginal female'
thapwalitja	NG napalitjung	'female owner'
thipwitjikata	ENG pussycat	'female cat'

The loanword, tjarrangwa 'horse' (MK: tjarrang), is probably classified as THA Class because its face is similar to that of thiningkwilhangwa 'Dugong'. An alternative solution could be the fact that both have an initial laminal consonant.

The four birds which are included in the WIRRA Noun sometimes have traditional synonyms. (Note: The emu is not native to Groote Eylandt.)

mwarliwiya	GP marliwiya	'Lew'
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karrathalpwiwa		'Chestnut Rail'
tjangatjanga	NG tjangatjanga	'Jungle Fowl' (NG: rooster)
thalki	ENG turkey	'turkey'

The following non-human animates are either associated with a traditional synonym in Noun Class 3:2 or are classified according to the initial phoneme.

kwirnthirra ~ thamwapwimwirra		'Olive Python'
thalikita ~ thingarrpwiya		'Estuarine Crocodile'
thiwaltja	NG arltja	'Water Python'
lingwirra ~ thingathiyalhiwa		'Blue-spotted Trevally (7 sp.)'
tharripa	MK tarripang	'trepang'

All the individual stars are classified in Noun Class 3:2 and this probably accounts for the loanword: pwarnimpirra ~ tarnimpirra 'Venus' which originates from the Gupapuyngu word, panumpirr.

Most of the loanword nouns for inanimate items fall into two groups: cloth (including wool and thread) or metal (including wire).

(i) cloth

Cloth and wool were introduced some centuries ago by the Macassans, the loanword being thimpwala 'cloth in oblongs or squares, flag, bed sheet, baby's napkin, dress material by the yard' (MK: sombala? 'sail'). Most terms for things made from cloth or wool are included in Noun Class 3:2(ii). The classification may be based on (a) an association with thakwiwarrkiwarrka 'spider (generic)' whose web is termed mwarra 'string'; (b) the initial phoneme of the first loanword; or (c) an association with the supernatural because

the cloth is incorporated into mortuary rites, i.e., flags are erected over a house as soon as a person dies to show that the area is taboo until the appropriate ceremonies have been completed. Other items are:

pwaliyarra	MK	palayarang	'sail'
kaliwirra	MK	karoro?	'tent (MK: sail)'
kalikwa			'calico, sheet'
pwirrikwpwirrikwa			'man's naga'
tiratjitja			'trousers'
pwarnampwila	GP	panang?	'ball of wool'
thirata ~ kwatana			'sewing thread'

The Anindilyakwa words which have developed within the language structure along with the introduction of cloth and wool are all placed in the THA Noun Class, e.g., thingarrthingara 'ball of wool'; thathikapwalimwingkwa 'underwear'; thakwirathamwira 'woollen headband'.

There is some evidence that indicates that the classification may have originally or alternatively been Noun Class 3:5, e.g., tiritja 'dress' and pwilangkita 'blanket' are included in both 3:5 and 3:2(ii) Noun Classes; mwatjikirrinta 'mosquito net' is only Noun Class 3:5. Traditional items of apparel were made from mwarra 'string' and placed in the same MWA Noun Class, e.g., mwawilya 'men's string belt and tassel; mwilyalya 'armband'.

(ii) metal

The four metal items are hard to justify under Noun Class

3:2(ii) because another twenty metal items, including traditional terminology, are classified under the (lustrous) Noun Class 3:4. The following associations are tentatively posited:

pwapwilhikana 'galvanised iron, sheet of tin or metal' may have been associated with the shape of a sail which is in Noun Class 3:2(ii).

thakwitjarrarra 'washing machine' may be associated with sheet metal or with women.

thirrantha 'wire, clothesline, radio aerial, fencing wire' may be classified simply because of its initial phoneme or because of its similarity to wool.

thakwiwarriwarra 'electric fan' is most likely associated with wire (desk fan) or sheet metal (ceiling fan).

The word, thilhingana ~ thilingana 'salt' (MK cela?), is also in Noun Class 3:2(ii) and not the expected Noun Class 3:5 for salty things. The only explanation appears to be the initial phoneme. The synonym is yilingana at Angurugu and this would indicate a Personified classification on the semantic basis of a harmful supernatural.

#### NOUN CLASS 3:3 NI AND YI

The loanword nouns for male human animates and non-human domesticated or farm animals are classified in human animate Noun Class 3:3(i), rather than the non-human animate Noun Class 3:3(ii). This associates the farm animals with the domesticated dog.

nimakatjina	MK Macassan	'Macassan male'
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nipwalanta	MK	Hollander	'white man'
napwalitja	NG	napalitjang	'male owner'
nipwilikwa	ENG	bullock	'bull, male buffalo'

Land mammals and turtles are traditionally Noun Class 3:3(ii) and loanwords are, therefore, similarly classified. The koala is so classified because Anindilyakwa-speaking Aborigines say that it resembles a possum.

pwalingkwitja	GP	palkitja	'Agile Wallaby'
aniwa	NG	anuwa	'Flatback Turtle'
kawala	ENG	koala	'koala'

Seven fish and one shellfish are included in Noun Class 3:3(ii) in agreement with the classification of the traditional synonyms. All the loanwords are borrowed from a neighbouring Aboriginal language.

karawarra	~ yarmwantja	NG	arrwar	'Yellow Sweetlip'
kwirnkwirna	~ yimirntjarra	NG	kirnkirn	'Turrum'
pwirritja				'Blue-tailed Mullet'
yimwirarra	~ yaka	NG	yimirtarri	'Milk-fish'
yimpwalmwa		NG	yurnpalmi	'Squat Turban Shell'

The introduced food or fruit is usually classified under A Class but four items are YI Class. The first two may be associated with yilyakwa 'honey' and the last two with yinimwanginga 'Red Wild Apple' which also has a very large seed. Pears are classified as both Noun Class 3:3(ii) and 3:4. None of the fruit has been grown at Umbakumba.

kayika				'cake'
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pwanapwila		'pineapple'
yapwirikata		'apricot'
pwitjitja	ENG peaches	'peach'

There are four loanwords associated with winds or sickness that are classified in agreement with a traditional synonym or with supernatural power. One of the older women also supplied another word, yinikalanta 'calendar' (associated with moon) but it is not generally accepted.

pwarra ~ yingkwira	MK barra?	'NW wind'
pwirrpwila	ENG football	'any ball'
rapwa	ENG rubber	'rubber, eraser'
wikwimwa	ENG hookworm	'hookworm'

### 3.3.2.3B Non-personified noun classes

#### NOUN CLASSES 3:4 A and 3:5 MWA

The loanwords in Noun Class 3:4 (classified on the semantic criterion of invisible) are related to speech, winds or sickness. Those recorded, to date, are as follows:

tjapwitja	ENG service	'church service'
kwiyarirtha		'storm'
thingwarra	MK tunggarra	'east wind'
tirmwala	MK timorro	'northeast wind'
tangkinintja	ENG tetanus	'tetanus'
mitjila	ENG measles	'measles'

The word, mwamwarika 'southeast trade wind', is a loanword which has possibly been placed in the MWA Class because of its initial

phoneme. The traditional Anindilyakwa words are angwirntirra and yiniyarra.

There are eight non-human animates for which loanwords are used. All are classified by the semantic criteria of lustrous and lustreless but most vary with traditional synonym of the same Noun Class. The loanword from Gupapuyngu, milika, is A Class when referring to the 'Feather-fin Bullfish' with its gleaming black and white stripes, and MWA Class when referring to the 'Yellow Emperor' with its drab colour and dusky blotches.

amwarrila	NG marrarla	'Large Egret'
mwarrikwirra		'Black-spot Long-tom'
kalampwarra ~ awilmwarra		'anemone sp.'
thiyiwa		'Hairy Caterpillar'
mwatja ~ atja	NG atja	'Black-tip Shark'
pwankwitja	NG rlanakitj	'Whale Shark'
witjilhikwa	NG wurrtjuluku	'Barred Long-tom'
mwiwalngara	NG walngara	'Cooktown Salmon (4 sp.)'

There are two other loanwords relating to marine life. The word, lipanga 'bait' is in Noun Class 3:4 in association with akwalya 'meat, fish'; the word, mwithiyarra 'Giant-winged Oyster' is in Noun Class 3:5, probably in agreement with its initial morpheme.

Loanwords are used for some of the arboreal species which appear to be native to Groote Eylandt. Almost all of these seem to be borrowed from a neighbouring Aboriginal language. The word, pwirimwa 'Broom Berry', has probably been adapted from the English word 'broom' and is classified as both A and MWA Classes. The first set growing in (lustrous) soil are in Noun Class 3:4 and the second growing in

(lustreless) sand are in Noun Class 3:5.

kalangarnta	NG	wukalangarnta	'Flat Swamp Potato'
kalirra			'Yellow-ball Flower fruit'
kwiralpwa ~ awariwara			'Spear Bush'
kwinyarra	NG	kurninyarra	'Swamp Fig'
tjingkwilila	NG	tjingkurlirli	'Carissa Shrub'
tjangawila	NG	tjangawili	'Red Ash'
pwarwirra			'Cockatoo Grass'
mwapwalpwa	GP	mapalku	'Peanut Tree, string'

The introduced arboreal items are mostly fruit trees or vegetables which were classified according to the nature of their first habitat when introduced through agricultural projects around Umbakumba in the post-World War II period. The few that are/were grown in both habitats take both noun classifiers, e.g., pwinana 'banana', pinata 'peanut', kiyikwampwa 'cucumber'.

anyina			'onion'
karita			'carrot'
tjikini			'zucchini'
lamwintja			'limes (tree & fruit)'
kwiripa			'Wild Passionfruit'
tjampwa ~ angkayiwaya	MK	tjampang	'Tamarind (tree & fruit)'
thinta	GP	thinti	'bamboo'
mwangwawa			'mango (tree & fruit)'
katjiwa			'cashew (tree & fruit)'
watamwilana			'watermelon'
pwiwapwiwa			'pawpaw (tree & fruit)'



pwitita	'potato'
pwaminkina	'pumpkin'

The term, kalikwa 'coconut palm' (MK: kaluku) is Noun Class 3:3(ii) by association with the indigenous palms. The nut, however, is classified as both 3:3(ii) and 3:5, the latter perhaps in association with the similar mwingalhika 'pandanus fruit'.

The terms for introduced prepared (mostly vegetable) foods are classified as 3:4, probably because they are categorised under the generic term, anhinga 'vegetable foods'. (Note: The term for 'tobacco' is included here because the Groote Eylandt Aborigines "eat tobacco" even though the practice of chewing tobacco has never been observed by the author.)

tampwa						'damper'
pwiriwita ~ pwirata						'bread'
rtirtirra						'Macassan rice cake'
tjikwa						'sugar'
pirrita ~ ratja	MK	berrasa?	ENG	rice		'rice'
pwarritja						'Rolled oats'
thampwakwa	MK	tambako				'tobacco, cigarettes'

The introduced terms for drinks are in Noun Class 3:4 in association with the generic terms, akwingwa or akwipipaka 'fresh water or drinkable fluids'. By contrast, the MWA Class word for medicine is classified because its association with salty water.

kwatiyala						'cordial'
tiya ~ rtiya ~ kapiti						'tea'
anitja	MK	anisi?				'alcohol'

The word miyilka 'non-huma milk', has two classifications: Noun Class 3:4 in association with angwina 'breast milk' and Noun Class 3:4 in agreement with its initial pr. theme.

Most introduced objects made from metal are in Noun Class 3:4 probably because their prototypes were shiny but there are four items which fall into Noun Class 3:5. This assumption is supported by the fact that the introduced shiny steel axe and shovel-nosed spear are in Noun Class 3:4 whereas the traditional stone axe and spears were in Noun Class 3:5. There is also a contrast in noun class between a shiny billycan and a drab bucket. Some items, such as kettles and saucepans, are placed in both noun classes.

pwatjananga		'lantern'
lyalyinga		'knife'
kaliwanga	MK kalewang	'machete'
tjinapwa	MK sinapang	'gun'
pakirrikirra		'metal file'
thititja	NG thututju	'crowbar'
pwalangwa ~ akwirngkwiwira	MK balango	'anchor'
pikanga	MK pekang	'fish hook'
pwatja	GP paatjtju	'nail'
pwatjikala	MK bassi kalling	'billycan'
pwithila	MK potolo?	'bottle'
kilatja	ENG glass	'window'
mwapwila	ENG marble	'marble'
parrika	ENG paddock	'(wire) gate, fence'
ritja	ENG razor	'razor'
tirtila		'bell'

pwangkwiya		'steel axe'
mwirngkirra	NG mirnkirra	'sinker'
pakita		'bucket'
tjipwina		'spoon'
tjaka		'jug'
mwawirnakaya		'stone axe'

The introduced wooden artifacts are classified as either Noun Class 3:4 or 3:5. It would seem that, from looking at the various items, the introduced timber was associated with the most similar native wood or under the generic term, aka 'wood'. The word, riwila 'ruler', is classified as both Noun Class 3:4 and 3:3(ii), presumably because the wood is similar to that of two different trees.

thirrapata ~ amwiwara	NG thurrapata	'pronged spear'
pwaliyarra	MK palayarang	'mast'
pantjila		'pencil'
awilmwarra	NG wulmuwarri	'boomerang'
thangwirnta		'hooked spear'
mwakatarra	MK	'rice platter'

The dugout canoe (as opposed to the bark canoe) is said to have been introduced by the Macassans and made primarily from trees in Noun Class 3:5. All other transport has been classified in association with it.

lipalipa	MK lepelepa	'boat'
mwitjiyanga ~ tingkiyi	MK biseang	'boat (wooden or aluminium)'

tiraka		'car, truck'
pwatjingwila		'bicycle'
arripilayina		'aeroplane'
kwilinga	MK guling	'rudder, steering wheel'

There are a few remaining artifacts which are classified as either Noun Class 3:4 or 3:5 for the reasons shown:

tjiwirra ~ tjirra 'paper, book' (MK surra?) and pwatha 'box (cardboard or wooden)' are classified under (lustrous) A Class because of their association with paperbark. Pound notes were traditionally given the same name as the paperbark.

mwampwilawa 'waterpot' is borrowed from Macassan and is classified as MWA Class, probably because of its lustreless appearance.

pwalmwarna 'hat' (NG: wupalmarna) is Noun Class 3:4 in agreement with the general term, amwarta 'leaves, grass'. The weaving of grass or palm leaves into hats and other artifacts is not indigenous to Groote Eylandt.

rlirrawaya 'sharpening stone' (source language unknown) is in Noun Class 3:4, probably in agreement with the classification of the local sharpening stones (in places such as Central Hill). Some others must have been traded with other tribes on the mainland.

mwinyatjirra 'tar, bitumen' (MK: minyak) is found offshore and classified as MWA Noun Class on the semantic basis of lustreless.

#### 3.3.2.4 Substitution of nominal classifiers

Noun roots or stems can be classified by more than one noun

class marker and thus belong to more than one noun class. Nouns are of two types: (a) a proper noun which is the name of a person, place or thing; or (b) a common noun which is a name applied to each member of a whole class sharing the same distinctive feature. The assignment of a proper noun to a particular class is arbitrary but the substitution or interchange of noun classifiers on a common noun is very flexible.

#### 3.3.2.4A With proper nouns

The substitution of nominal classifiers in proper nouns and species names with the same root can occur within and between the Personified and Non-personified classes. The change in nominal classifier can indicate that one was associated with supernatural power in the Dreamtime but the other was not. The identical or similar root indicates a common feature, such as shape or location.

The Personified Nominal Classifiers substitute in the following examples because of a difference in number and gender. The first in each pair of examples is seen alone but the second in large groups.

yilyampwarra	'Caspian Tern'
wirrilyampwarra	'Common Noddy'
yikwiwirratjitja	'Little Eagle'
wirratjitja	'bird (gen.)'

The first in each pair below is Personified (associated with a traditional Dreamtime story) and the second is Non-personified (classified by semantic criteria).

#### (i) geographical and personal names

Geographical and personal names in Anindilyakwa are frequently

associated with mythology. The first-born child, whether male or female, is given an important ceremonial or totemic name.

yantharrnga	'Central Hill'
antharrnga	'land around C. Hill'
yinghimwa	'Angurugu River'
anhimwa	'mangroves'
wirripwirrkpa	'Pleiades stars'
ampwirrkpa	'NE Islands'
wirrawilya	(clan name)
mwawilyimwantja	(place part-owned by Wurrawilya)
nanikwiyalhiya	(man's name)
mwamwikwiyalhiya	'crab sp.'

(ii) non-human animates

In almost all cases, the paired items are both non-human animates but exceptions do occur.

thilhirrinta	'Carpet Python' (juv.)
alhirrinta	'Carpet Python' (adult)
thingintjapana	'Dugong'
mwingintjapana	'Narrow-banded Mackerel'
thimwingarniyantha	'dragonfly'
{mwi}mwingarniyantha	'Giant Whelk Shell'
wirrimwikwa	'(red-eyed) spirits'
amwikwa	'glowing coals'
mwamwikwa	'spirit's eye, tail light, pandanus dye'

thimwamarra	'Red-backed Button Quail'
{mwa}mwamarra	'leg calf'
yiningkwira	'NW wind'
thimwarrkininkwira	'White-breasted Wood Swallow'

(iii) arboreal (including artifacts)

Some of the following pairs of examples include some Common Nouns, e.g., the generic terms and the Non-personified Bean Plants which the Aborigines regard as "all the same".

thirntirnta ~ NG yirntirnta	'Large-berried Shrub'
arntirnta	'heart'
yinimwanhinga	'Red Wild Apple'
anhinga	'vegetable food'
anhinganhinga	'any bush fruit'
mwinhinga	'Zamia Nut'
thathikwalyingpwa	'Flatpod Bean'
amwikwalyingpwitja	'Violet Bean'
mwamwikwalyingpwitja	'Fire Bean'
yinikwampwa	'Broad-leaved Paperbark'
mwingwinikwampwa	'White Bridal Tree'
yimwirntangirringirra	'Blady Grass'
amwirntangirringirra	'Potato Grass'
mwirringirra	'jungle'
thirringirringwana	'grass sp.'
yingarrampwilya	'centipede'

mwangarrampwilya

'double-sided hooked  
spear'

Another interesting feature of Anindilyakwa is the change of noun classifier in relation to the size (or age) of some specific non-human animates. The only systematic change is for rays but there are a few random changes with fish and a turtle.

There are twelve terms for Personified rays in Noun Class 3:2(ii) which refer to only the juvenile in each species. The adult counterparts are all in Noun Class 3:4 and all have an obvious lustrous feature, viz., gleaming back, white belly or bright blue spots.

alyiwa	adult)	'Blue-spotted Fantail Ray'
	)	
thalyiwa	juvenile)	
amwarninthangwa	adult)	'Spotted Eagle Ray'
	)	
thimwarninthangwa	juvenile)	

One turtle has a difference in classification according to size, viz., atjirakamwa is the juvenile which corresponds with yitjirakamwa 'adult Olive Ridley Turtle'. The Personified item here is the larger and not the smaller one as for rays. The reason may be that the large turtles are eaten whereas small ones are returned to the water so that they can 'grow big before being caught again'. Conversely, it is the small rays that are eaten because the flesh is "sweet and oily".

Two fish have been recorded as having a contrast in noun class affiliation because of size, viz., thalyakilya 'juvenile Groper' and alyakilya 'adult Groper'; yaka 'adult Bone-fish' and akwikwiwarapwa 'juvenile Bone-fish'.



### 3.3.2.4B With common nouns

The noun classifiers for all five noun classes can be interchanged on common nouns, except where it is not possible semantically. (The exceptions are within the "competence" of many of the language speakers but the identification of the referent is not readily given.) The noun class changes in agreement with the grammatical or semantic categories. Each word may, therefore, cover more than one item but some are used as citation forms for a specific thing, e.g., *yinimwamwiwa* 'egg' refers to any egg unless otherwise stipulated.

The most common change in noun class occurs for items that are marked for possession within the stem complex (see Section 3.2.3.3). The noun class-marker indicates the possessor. The compound stem is usually realised as an adjective root or a Bodypart noun root. An overt noun referent specifies the possessor in each particular context.

<i>awalyiwa</i>	'ripe, cooked'
<i>yinimwawalyiwa</i>	'flower of 3:3(ii) Class trees: yinipwarrngintja, yinimwanhinga'
<i>amwawalyiwa</i>	'flower of 3:4 Class trees: ayalhikwa'
<i>mwamwawalyiwa</i>	'flower of 3:5 Class trees: mwapina, mwartirtarra, mwamwarra'
<i>warnimwamwiwa</i>	'3:1 Class round things: fat people, dogs or birds, waterlily seeds'
<i>thathimwamwiwa</i>	'3:2(ii) Class round things: fat or pregnant woman or animal'
<i>nanimwamwiwa</i>	'3:3(i) Class round things: fat man'
<i>yinimwamwamwiwa</i>	'3:3(ii) Class round things: Wild Apple seed, egg, toe, ball'
<i>amwamwiwa</i>	'3:4 Class round things: button'

mwamwamwiwa	'3:5 Class round things: sun, eye, pill, seeds'
thathimwalyirra	'3:2(ii) Class juice: red dye from a dress'
yinimwalyirra	'3:3(ii) Class juice: honey, sugarcane'
amwalyirra	'3:4 Class juice: from fruit or oil/juice/blood from meat'
mwamwalyirra	'3:5 Class juice: from Pandanus fruit, coconut milk'
aringka	'head'
warnimwaringka	'people's heads'
thathimwaringka	'3:2(ii) neck of a dress or shirt, roots used for dyes'
amwaringka	'bottle lid, any 3:4 Class yam'
mwamwaringka	'any 3:5 Class yam'
angwinyampa	'angry'
wirrapwipwarta wirrangwinyampa	'policemen'
nangwinyampa	'angry male'
thathingwawinyampa	'clothes worn in a fight'
aningwawinyampa	'3:4 Class weapons: spear, gun'
mwaningwawiyampa	'3:5 Class vehicles: boat/plane/truck filled with soldiers'
yang{w}amwina ~ ying{w}amwina	'3:3(ii) Class: abscessed breast'
ang{w}amwina	'3:4 Class: woman's breast after the first baby's birth'
mang{w}amwina ~ mwing{w}amwina	'3:5 Class: girl's breast'
amwamwira	'3:4 Class: axe handle, pincer claw of a mud crab'

In the Personified mode, roots or stems are usually marked for the human classifications of non-singular Noun Class 3:1, feminine singular Noun Class 3:2(i), and masculine singular Noun Class 3:3(i). These classifications can, much more rarely, be extended to include other animates or inanimate items. The non-human animate is, however, temporarily being described in terms of a human being; the inanimate term is usually idiomatic. The only restriction on the number of substitutions is that the connotation is not possible semantically in Anindilyakwa.

wirringaya	'3:1 Class: widowers'
thingaya	'3:2(i) Class: widow'
ningaya	'3:3(i) Class: widower'
warningwakarrngimwantja	'3:1 Class: dentists'
thathingwakarrngimwantja	'3:2(i) Class: female dentist'
naningwakarrngimwantja	'3:3(i) Class: male dentist'
warningkwilyipwa	'3:1 Class: descendants'
thathingkwilyipwa	'3:2(i) Class: female descendant'
naningkwilyipwa	'3:3(i) Class: male descendant'
wirrakwakwa	'3:1 Class: Central Hill clan'
wirranimwakwakwa	'3:1 Class: clan males'
wirrathimwakwakwa	'3:1 Class: clan females'
thathimwakwakwa	'3:2(i) Class: clan female'
nanimwakwakwa	'3:3(i) Class: clan male'
nakwakwa	'3:3(i) Class: Laurence Wurrakwakwa's nickname'

wirrangariya	'3:1 Class babies: humans or animals such as dogs and birds'
thangariya	'3:2 Class baby: female human or non-human'
nangariya	'3:3(i) Class baby: male human'
angariya	'3:4 Class baby: fish, bird'
mwangariya'	'3:5 Class baby: fish, bird'
wirrilhamwikwarra	'3:1 Class: murderers'
thilhamwikwarra	'3:2 Class: murderess or crocodile'
nilhamwikwarra	'3:3(i) Class: murderer'
yilhamwikwarra	'3:3(ii) Class: animate that kills'
alhamwikwarra	'3:4 Class: animate that kills'
mwalthamwikwarra	'3:5 Class: animate that kills'
wirripwipwalanta	'3:1 Class: white people'
thipwalanta	'3:2(i) Class: white woman'
nipwalanta	'3:3(i) Class: 'white man'
apwalantha	'3:4 Class: English words or white man's food'
amwalya	'body fat'
warnimwamwalya	'3:1 Class: Aborigines'
thathimwamwalya	'3:2(i) Class: female Aborigine'
nanimwamwalya	'3:3(i) Class: male Aborigine'
yinimwamwalya	'3:3(ii) Class: living animate with body fat, e.g. koala'
amwamwalya ayakwa	'3:4 Class: true words'
-lyingkwa	'to paint'
warnikwilyingkwa	'3:1 Class: dancers'

thathikwilyingka	'3:2(i) Class: female dancer'
nanikwilyingka	'3:3(i) Class: male dancer'
yinikwilyingka	'3:3(ii) Class: dancing ground'
amwikwilyingka	'3:4 Class: bark painting'
akwilyingka	'3:4 Class: mortuary rite'
mwamwikwilyingka	'3:5 Class: liniment'

The human feminine Noun Class 3:2(i) and the human masculine Noun Class 3:3(i) also indicate the female and male sexes. The nominal classifiers can also be used with domesticated animals to distinguish the two sexes. The only traditional land mammals to be classified in such a way were probably dingos but all introduced house and farm animals (except nanikwita 'any goat') are now included.

warningwanimpwalhikpwa	'3:1 Class: dingo, dingoes'
thaningwanimpwalhikpwa	'3:2(ii) Class: female dingo'
naningwanimpwalhiklpwa	'3:3(i) Class: male dingo'

wirripwilikwa	'3:1 Class: cattle, buffalo'
thipwilikwa	'3:2(ii) Class: cow'
nipwilikwa	'3:3(i) Class: bull'

wirripwitjikata	'3:1 Class: pussycat(s)'
thipwitjikata	'3:2(ii) Class: female cat'
nipwitjikata	'3:3(i) Class: tomcat'

The Noun Class 3:3(ii) land or sea mammals can be classified as male sex by the use of the classifier with a Noun root that denotes an age (size) and gender classification for humans and dogs. To date, only a few examples have been found in relation to turtles, wallabies

and the Silver Gull. There is one Noun Class 3:5 arboreal item with a contrast between male and female.

warningkwarpwa	'3:1 Class: adult males, men'
naningkwarpwa	'3:3(i) Class: adult male, man'
yiningkwarpwa	'3:3(ii) Class: male turtle or wallaby'
yiningkwarpwithangwa	'3:3(ii) Class: Rainbow Bee-eater'
mwaningkwarpwa mwikwiwara	'3:5 Class: "male" edible white flesh of the Bush Mango'
wirrathitharrngka	'3:1 Class: adult females, women'
thitharrngka	'3:2(i) Class: woman'
yitharrngka yitjarra	'3:3(ii) Class: female Silver Gull'
mwitharrngka mwikwiwara	'3:5 Class: "female" edible yellow flesh of the Bush mango'
wirrakalhka	'3:1 Class: human foetus(s)'
thakalhka	'3:2(i) Class: female human foetus'
nakalhka	'3:3(i) Class: male human foetus'
yakalhka	'3:3(ii) Class: turtle foetus in an unhatched egg'
-warti	'hairy'
wirriwarta	'3:1 Class: dog, dogs'
thiwarta	'3:2(II) Class: female dog, bitch'
nuwarta	'3:3(i) Class: male dog'
yiwarta	'3:3(ii) Class: unborn turtle'

There is another set of common nouns in which the noun class appears to change between two similar items. The traditional name of a particular item is modified by the occurrence of an adjective or noun root in the first order of the complex stem and the noun class is

marked in agreement with the generic term for the item, e.g., shells are in Noun Class 3:4 in agreement with athithira 'shell gen.'). These words have been "engineered" to suit the demand by white people for a name for everything--even older Aborigines who have not been in the discussion will say "that's not a proper name for anything". In context, when comparing unnamed items, there is no misunderstanding of the term.

thimwikwimwirra	'Cowry Shell'
apwingkimwikwimwirra	'(hump-backed) shell like a Cowry'
yiwalhkwirra	'Venus Shell sp.'
anqangkiwalhkwirra	'Lucin Shell'
yilharta	'Mud Whelk'
arrkilharta	'Wendeltrap Shell'
amwingkwilharta	'Sand Creeper'
mwingarniyantha	'Giant Whelk'
arrkimwingarniyantha	'Mitre Shell'
amwingarniyantha	'Stromb Shell'
yiningwakpwitjakpwa	'Pikey Bream'
aningwakpwilyakpwa ~ alhikwiningwakpwilyakpwa	'Snub-nosed Dart'
thirntirnta	'Large-berried Shrub'
alhingkwirntirnta	'Poison Berry Tree'
mwiyarrawa	'Red Kurrajong'
alhingkwimwiyarrawa	'Yellow-ball Flower'

### 3.4 NOMINAL SUFFIXATION

Inflectional and derivational suffixes can occur on nominals and mark three types of possession, number and case. Inflectional suffixation creates a different form of the same word but derivational suffixation creates a new lexeme which may or may not change its grammatical class.

#### 3.4.1 Possession

Three types of possession are found in nominal suffixation, viz., Genitive/Possessive, Propriative and Kinship. Genitive possession can be either inflectional or derivational, Propriative possession is derivational and Kinship possession is only inflectional.

##### 3.4.1.1 Possessive (Genitive)

Possession in the noun phrase is inflectional and is marked by the suffix -hangwi. The Possessive suffix is attached to the modifier in the possessive noun phrase which does not have concord in its prefixation. Examples are as follows:

mwarliwiyilhangwa	wirriyikwayiwa
3:2(ii) emu-POSS	3:1 children
'Emu's children.'	

ana	ayakwa	tjanitilhangwa
3:4 this	3:4 speech	(name)-POSS
'This story [is] Janet's.'		

wimpwa	thapwapwirnilhangwa	thimpwala	ngakwirrilhangwa
but	3:2(ii) many-POSS	3:2(ii) clothes	1IncPl-POSS

karrawara	akingawirtitjinamwa	akimwantja
high	1IncPl+3:2 will be climbing	tree-LOC
'But we will be putting our many clothes up high in the tree.'		

yingilhikana	thakina	thikwirirrkwilhangwiwa	angalya
3:2 went	3:2(ii) that	3:2(ii) brolga-POSS-ALL	3:4 place
'She went to Brolga's place.'			



The Possessive suffix is obligatorily affixed to about twenty nouns and usually follows a single noun or adjective root. The two phonologically-conditioned allomorphs are -lhangwi (following a vowel) and its hardened counterpart -thangwi (following a consonant). This usage is derivational.

yirikwitjilhangwa 'Brindled Bandicoot'  
 /yi + ri{kwi} + kwitji + lhangwi/  
 3:3(ii) body small POSS

thiningkwilhangwa 'Dugong'  
 /tha + ningkwi + lhangwi/  
 3:2(ii) pointed POSS

yinimwalyithangwa 'Rainbow Bee-eater'  
 /yi + {a}ni + mw{i} + alyi{kpwa} + thangwi/  
 3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP lips POSS

thimwapwiyanthangwa 'Brown Booby'  
 /tha + mwapwi{rrkwi} + yan{tha} + thangwi/  
 3:2(ii) short-legged aimless POSS

#### 3.4.1.2 Propriative and Privative

The Propriative suffix 'having' is derivational and follows an adjective or noun root. There are three allomorphs: -mwirra ~ -mwi usually following a root-final vowel and the hardened counterpart -pwi following a consonant. (The form -pwirra has not yet been found.) The optional final syllable rra is considered to be the word-final stem formative (see Section 3.1.2.1). The Propriative suffix and the Comitative case marker share the same form, -mwi ~ -mwirra. There may, in fact, be a semantic overlap between the concept of 'having' and that of 'with' (accompaniment).

alhimwirra 'stirred up sediment'  
 /{a} + alha + mwirra/  
 3:4 sharp PROP

thimwikwimwirra 'Cowry Shell'  
 /tha + mwikwi + mwirra/  
 3:2(ii) salty PROP

yilyangmwirra /yi + lyang{ka} + mwirra/ 3:3(ii) head PROP	'Ark Shell'
wirrawinyampimwirra /wirr{a} + awinyampi + mwirra/ 3:1(i) angry PROP	'quick-tempered [people]'
apwilhkwimwa /a + pwilhkwi + mwi/ 3:4 head hair PROP	'grass sp.'
yiningwimwarmwa /yi + {a}ni + ngwi + mwar{ngka} + mwi/ 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP spirit PROP	'native bee sp.'
mwangkarrkpwa /mw{a} + angkarrk{a} + pwi/ NCL hip PROP	'Wild Plum'
mwapwalhpwa /mw{a} + apwalh{ka} + pwi/ 3:5 abdomen PROP	'Peanut Tree'
mwanpwa /mw{a} + arngka ==> an{ka} + pwi/ 3:5 eye PROP	'eye'

The following words illustrate the usage of the basic and hardened forms of the suffix 'having'. Apparently a choice is made to avoid ambiguity. Some first order roots are shortened forms.

mwirirrpwa /mwa + ri{pwi}rr{kwi} + pwi/ 3:5 back PROP	'human back'
mwarirmwa /mwa + ri{pwi}rr{kwi} + mwi/ 3:5 back PROP	'Mango Bark Tree'
awilyapwa /a + wilyi ==> wilya + pwi/ 3:4 one PROP	'one'
ampwilyimwa /{a} + ampw{aka} + wilyi + mwi/ 3:4 pair one PROP	'two, pair'
yiningwingwangpwa /yi + {a}ni + ngwi + ngw{iy}ang{ka} + pwi/ 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP hand PROP	'four-footed mammals'

The Privative suffix, 'not having', follows a noun or adjective root. It has two allomorphs: -mi usually following a root-final vowel and its hardened counterpart -pi following a root-final consonant. The anticipated form, \*-pirra, has not been identified but its absence saves any ambiguity with mwirri [miɾi] ~ pwirri [piɾi] 'wide, fat'.

thathingwithimpwalima 'naked female'

/th{a} + atha + ngwi + thimpwala + mi/  
3:2(ii) hfem ALP cloth PRIV

nimwimpa 'blind'

/ni + mwi{r}ng{kwi} + pi/  
3:3(i) eye PRIV

akilyarrpa 'not heavy'

/[a] + a{ni} + ki + lyarr{ka} + pi/  
3:4 n-hfem ASR bone PRIV

yilharrpa 'Liviston Palm'

/yi + lharr{ka} + pi/  
3:3(ii) bone (=spine) PRIV

animpinimpa 'shrub sp.'

/a + nimpɪ + ning{ki} + pi/  
3:4 REDUP pointed (=spear) PRIV

#### 3.4.1.3 Kinship possession

Seven Possessive suffixes distinguish the grammatical categories of first, second and third person, singular and non-singular number, and third person masculine and third person feminine. These suffixes are used only with kinship nouns (see Section 3.2.5) and are listed on Table 9.

These suffixes incorporate syllables which have the same form as other nominal prefixation. In the third person singular, Gender morphemes, atha- (human.feminine) or ani- (non-human.feminine), is followed by kpwi; in the third person plural, arra is a variant form of the non-singular morpheme in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus,

TABLE 9: KINSHIP POSSESSION

	1ST PERSON	2ND PERSON	3RD PERSON masc      fem
SINGULAR	arrka	ani	anikpwi   athikpwi
NON-SINGULAR		aningwi	arringpwi

followed by ngpwi (probably a variant form of kpwi). No derivations are available for the remaining suffixes, except to point out that ngwi- is the Alienable Possession marker.

The following examples contrast the seven Kinship Possessive suffixes with the same root and prefix.

ningwarrka	'he, my father'
ningwanyingpwa	'he, our father'
ningwana	'he, your (sg) father'
ningwaningwa	'he, your (nsg.) father'
ningwanikpwa	'he, his father'
ningwathikpwa	'he, her father'
ningarringpwa	'he, their father'

Possession can be marked twice in the same noun phrase. Kinship Possession is marked by suffixation on the noun head but the modifier can also be marked by the Possessive suffix lhangwi.

wirriwartilhangwa	thirntathikpwa
/wirra + warti + lhangwi/	th{a} + {a}rnt{a} + athikpwi/
3:1(ii) hairy POSS	3:2(ii) mother      3FemSg
'she, the female dog's mother'	

wirringampwilyakwiyilhangwa  
 /wirring{a} + ampwily{i} + kwiya + lhangwi/  
 3:1FemDu two DU POSS

thirntharringpwa  
 th{a} + {a}rnth{a} + arringpwi/  
 3:2(ii) mother 3Nsg  
 'she, the two [dogs'] mother.'

nganyangwa thirntirrka nayamwa wirranthintha  
 /ngaya + lhangwi/ /tha + {a}rnta + {a}rrka/ 3:1 said 3:1 mouse  
 "[She is] my mother," Mouse said.

The Kinship Possessive suffix -arrka has some irregular forms. The initial vowel is dropped in the word, thirntirrka 'my mother'; and the flap /rr/ consonant is deleted when there is a preceding stem-final flap, e.g., napwirraka 'my son'.

#### 3.4.2 Number

The three morphemes for Number distinguish dual and plural from the unmarked singular, and a collective unspecific plural. The dual suffix is -kwiyi [k(w)iya]; the plural suffix is -wiyi; and the third suffix is -mwirriyi which means 'and all other similar items near the named one' or 'et cetera'. The Number morphemes can be attached to any or all words in the noun phrase. (Note: The High Vowel Lowering Rule 3 generates the low vowel preceding Number morphemes.) A Restrictive suffix, -mwi ~ -pwi, is used to limit the number of items and can be translated as 'only'.

The dual and plural Number morphemes for the Personified noun classes are redundant as the prefix is also marked for dual or plural, as shown in the last three examples. The trial can be marked by either the dual or plural morpheme.

winingkwanyingwakwiya  
 /wi{rri}ni + ngkw{i} + anyingwi ==> anyingwa + kwiyi/  
 3:1MascDu MMB KPOSS DU  
 'our two mothers' mothers' brothers'

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thapwirranimwirriya  
 /th{a} + apwirr{a} + ani + mwirriya/  
 3:3(i) daughter KPOSS ETC  
 'your daughter and the other [daughters]'

akwa ngarningka ningkwirra karningkwarpwa  
 and again 2Pl 2Pl male adults

yikawilyakatjinamwilhangwa mwalhamwikwamwirriya akwa  
 2Pl+3:1 teach-ABL 3:5 canoe-ETC and

aningkwamwirriya  
 3:4 spear-ETC

'And again, you men should teach [the boys] about the canoe and similar things and the spear and similar things.'

The Restrictive suffix, *-mwi(rra) ~ -pwi*, is adjoined only to numeral adjective roots and limits the number of items. The distribution of the two allomorphs is phonologically-predictable on the basis of dissimilation: *-mwi* follows the word-final syllable /pwi/; *-pwi* follows the word-final syllable /mwi/; and free variation occurs elsewhere. (Note: The intervening vowel is lowered to /a/ as per Vowel Lowering Rule 3.) This suffix has the same shape as the Propriative suffix 'having' and can co-occur with it.

wirriwilyapwamwa 'only one'  
 /wirra + wilyapwi ==> wilyapwa + mwi/  
 3:1(ii) one:PROP RST

nampwilyimwapwa 'only two'  
 /n{i} + ampwilyimwi ==> ampwilyimwa + pwi/  
 3:3(i) paired:PROP RST

mwamwangpwalhimwa ~ amwangpwalhipwa 'only five'  
 /mwa + mwangpwalha + mwi ~ pwi/  
 3:5 five RST

ampwawirimwa ~ amwpawirimwirra 'only a few'  
 /{a} + ampwawiri + mwi(rra)/  
 3:4 few RST

### 3.4.3 Case

There are five peripheral cases in Anindilyakwa marked by inflectional clitics. The term clitic is used for suffixes which are

bound morphemes functioning at clause level and attached to more than one grammatical class of words (see Hartmann 1972 re use in tagmemics). Case clitics can be attached to any word except a particle but are usually marked on only one member of the noun phrase--the adjective if there is more than one word.

There is a difference of opinion in linguistic theory as to whether case relationships are expressed only by inflectional suffixes on the noun phrase or whether it is permissible to use prepositions, postpositions or prefixation to express such relationship. Crystal (1985:42) emphasises that the linguistic term case involves only INFLECTIONAL suffixation and, if this is the only criterion, Anindilyakwa has a case system for only peripheral cases. The Benefactive morpheme in Anindilyakwa (Section 6.3.3), however, expresses the same semantic relationship as Crystal's Benefactive case, viz., "a case form whose function in the sentence is to express the notion of "in behalf of"....[with regard to] intended recipients", but cannot be called a case because it is realised by verb prefixation. This seems to me to prevent the same relationship, irrespective of the kind of affixation, from being under the same terminology. It also means that no nuclear cases exist in Anindilyakwa.

In the chapter "The case marking for the major syntactic relations", Blake (1977:6) describes some non-Pama-Nyungan Australian languages being in a separate neutral category. He further states: "We can consider that nouns and pronouns can operate in an ergative system, an accusative system or a neutral system, neutral either because there is no case marking or because there is unique marking for each of the three functions, Subject [intransitive], A[gent] and P[atient]". Anindilyakwa fits into this neutral category because it



has no nuclear case markers on nouns and pronouns but it differs in that verb prefixation is not always unique but in agreement with the grammatical subject (Nominative) or the grammatical object (Accusative). Blake's comment and data (1977: 1,12) for Tiwi which has a similar concord system to Anindilyakwa is: "Tiwi is accusative inasmuch as the functions of Subject [intransitive], A[gent] and P[atient] are represented by a cross-referencing system of bound pronouns prefixed to the verb which operate in a transparently accusative paradigm. The noun phrases are not marked for syntactic case...".

The nuclear cases, Nominative, Accusative and Dative, are discussed in this section but verb prefixation is described in terms of subject or object prefixes elsewhere in the thesis.

#### 3.4.3.1 Nuclear cases

A nuclear case, as opposed to a peripheral case, is defined as one which is cross-referenced to subject and object prefixes in the verb. No case markers occur on the subject and object noun phrases or pronouns but they can occur on the indirect object.

##### 3.4.3.1A Nominative and Accusative cases

The nuclear case system is tentatively regarded as an Accusative system. In discussing case relationships with respect to the Nunggubuyu verb prefixation, Heath (1984:552) states that 'some allomorphic patterns did point towards a hidden nominative/accusative bias'. This analysis, however, is dependent on the assignment of Accusative case to his inverse morpheme (nasal archiphoneme) which distinguishes the inverse object-subject ranking from the direct subject-object ranking in the verb prefixation (see also Heath 1984:375, 555). Anindilyakwa has not been analysed as having an

inverse morpheme but it does have an inverse hierarchical system in the verb prefixation.

The following examples illustrate the cross-referencing of members of the unmarked noun phrase or pronominal to the verb prefixation for transitive or intransitive subject and direct object.

nangkarrina                      nakina  
/n{i} + angkarra + ni/        3:3 that  
3:3        run                      TNS  
'He ran.'

kalyikpwayinamwa                      aka                      mwakartimwantja  
/ka + lliikpw{i} + aya + ni + mwi/        3:4 wood        3:5 sea-LOC  
3:4 float                      SNsg        TNS        NPIP  
'The wood will be floating in the sea.'

warnimwamwalya        nanirringkamwantja  
3:1 Aborigines        /na{rri} + ni + rringk{a} + a{mwi} + mwantja/  
3:1                      3:3        see                      NPIP        LOC

yipwikwaya                      nilhikanamwantja  
3:3 that coming                      /ni + lhik{a} + a{mwi} + mwantja/  
3:3        come                      NPIP        LOC  
'The Aborigines were watching the approaching snake.'

thikwa        kilhikatjimwantja                      arningkwaya        ngayiwa  
maybe        /ka + lhik{a} + atja + mwantja/        tomorrow        1ExcSg  
1ExcSg        go                      TNS        LOC

mwitjiniwa                      yipwawilyakinamwa                      ningkwiwa  
3:4 mission-ALL        /yipwa + wilyaka + n{i} + amwi/        2Sg  
1ExcNsg        take                      TNS        NPIP  
'If I go to the mission tomorrow I will be taking you.'

wirrimwirntiwarna                      alhingatjirriwiya        akwa  
/wirra + Ø + mwirnti{i} + arni/        3:4 long-PL        and  
2Nsg        3:4 divide                      TNS

arikwitharrpwiwiya  
3:4 short-PL  
'Divide the long and the short [sticks]!' / 'Sort them [into]  
long ones and short ones!'

#### 3.4.3.1B Dative case

The Dative case has been used in the analysis of Aboriginal languages to cover several different functions (Blake 1975:35ff). Similar functions in Anindilyakwa are found in di-transitive verbs,

usually marked by the benefactive prefix mwini-. The noun phrase or pronoun in the indirect object is not marked with a distinctive Dative case-marker but by another case clitic. They express the role of beneficiary or possessor and the purposive.

The indirect object is always a human or non-human animate which is cross-referenced to the verb (instead of the direct object). The benefactive prefix almost always follows this indirect object prefix in the verb. The noun phrase or pronoun identifies the beneficiary but can take one of four case markers denoting different types of relationships.

(i) Possessor and assessed

The the Possessive suffix -hangwa on the noun phrase or personal pronoun in the indirect object denotes that the beneficiary owns the item mentioned in the direct object.

ngarripwikwimwiniyamina		ningkwilhangwa
/ngarripwikwi + Ø + m(w)ini + yam(w)i + ni/		2Sg-POSS
1IncTri	3:4 BENE do TNS	

akina  
3:4 that  
'We'll do that [work] for you.'

ngayiwa	kingamwinilyilyana
1ExcSg	/ka + nga + m(w)ini + lyily{i} + ani/
	1ExcSg 3:2 BENE send TNS

wirrintjaya ngalhilhangwa  
(sympathy) 3:2(i)-POSS  
'I will send it instead of her, the poor thing.'

nangamwinakarrnginamwa
/na{ni} + ng{a} + m(w)in{i} + akarrnga + n{i} + amwi/
3:3 (=3:2) 3:2 BENE get water TNS NPIP

akwingwa	thathiyamwarntjathikpwilhangwa
3:4 water	3:2 sister-KPOSS-POSS

'She is getting water for her sister.'

nanimwinangmwimwathamwirra
/na{ni} + ni + m(w)in{i} + angmwimwath{a} + amwirra/
3:3 3:3 BENE steal NPIP



pronoun in the indirect object with concord in the verb prefix. The meaning is usually purposive but could simply be understood as motion towards the beneficiary.

ngalhiwawa	ngamwiniyikatja	anhinga
3:2(i)-ALL	/Ø + nga + m(w)ini + yik{i} + atja/	3:4 food
	2Sg 3:2 BENE deliver TNS	

wirriyikwayiwawa  
3:1 children-ALL  
'Take the food to/for her and the children!'

yikwa	ngayiwawa
1IncSg give	1ExcSg-ALL

'Give it to me!' (Note: The verb prefix means 'you to me')

nartjiyaya	yirranimwanthinhayiwa
3:3 stood	1ExcNsg+3:3 watched-ALL

'He stood watching for us [to come].'

A pronoun in the Indirect Object can also be suffixed by the Change of Referent suffix -atja. This suffix denotes a change in the actor or agent within a discourse or in a sentence. Its usage can resolve ambiguity between the actor and beneficiary, as in the first example below.

wirringamwiningakpwirakina	angalya
/wirri{nga} + nga + m(w)ini + ngakpwiraka + ni/	3:4 place
2FemDu 3:2 BENE make TNS	

ngalhatja  
3:2(i)-CofR  
'You two [girls] make the bed for her!'

ngayiwa	nganimwinanthiyama	anatja
1ExcSg	/nga + ni + m(w)in{i} + anthiy{a} + amwi/	3:3-CofR
	1ExcSg 3:3 BENE search NPIP	

'I am looking for him.'

#### 3.4.3.2 Peripheral cases

The five peripheral cases are Locative, Ablative, Pergressive, Allative and Comitative. The Pergressive case-markers refer to time and location. Some spatial relationships form paired oppositions in

relation to any given referent, viz., between Locative (stationary in space) versus Pergressive (progression through space) and between Ablative (from a space) versus Allative (to a space).

Peripheral case markers are clitics in Anindilyakwa and can be attached to the verb in the absence of an overt noun phrase, in addition to and in agreement with the marker on the noun phrase, and instead of the noun phrase. The meaning of the verb is extended to include the notion expressed by the case marker, e.g., look towards, take from, and the goal of the action usually cross-referenced to the verb by the object prefixes.

#### 3.4.3.2A Locative case

The locative case-marking clitic -mwantja can be translated into English as 'in, on, at, by'. The clitic can refer to either space or time and involves the concept of "stasis" or "stationary-ness" in relation to its referent. In the noun phrase, the case clitic is usually adjoined to only one of the modifiers when the phrase consists of more than one word. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of Locative case marked on the noun phrase.

ampwarriya	arimwamwantja	aka
2Sg sit	3:4 big-LOC	3:4 tree

'Sit next to the big tree!'

tingkiyimwantja	arakpwa	mwiwikwitjiyimwantja
3:5 dinghy-LOC	comp.act	3:5 small-LOC

yirriripitjayina  
1ExcPl disembarked  
'We went ashore in the small dinghy.'

akana	akwilyipwana	alhitha	anilhangwimwantja
however	3:4 bright	3:4 paint	3:3(i)-POSS-LOC

nanimwathangkwa  
3:3(i) his body  
'However, [Snake had] pretty colours on his body.'

kimwingkwathinamwa      aka      amwikayarra      arningkwayimwantja  
 1ExcSg will be digging      3:4 wood      3:4 roots      3:4 tomorrow-LOC

lharrwira

3:4 afternoon

'I will be digging up the tree roots tomorrow afternoon.'

kampwa      akimwakiniyatha      ngawa      akinimwantja  
 therefore      1IncPl+3:4 will tell-PURP      cont.act      3:4 that-LOC

mwarrnga      ayikwitjiyimwantja

3:4 night      3:4 Thursday-LOC

'And so we will tell the story on that Thursday night.'

pwiyā      naniyiwangkwilhangwimwantja      alhikira      yirrampwilyimwa  
 then      3:3(i) old man-POSS-LOC      3:4 house      1ExcPl were staying  
 'And then we were staying at the old man's house.'

The Locative case-marker -mwantja is the least common way out of three grammatical ways to express accompaniment in Anindilyakwa. The referents are always animates. Semantically, there is still the concept of stationary-ness with regard to the referents/participants. In current data, the Locative clitic expressing accompaniment has been attached only to a noun. (See Sections 3.4.3.2E and 4.1.1.3 for alternative constructions.)

pwī:::ya      nampwarrimwa      thirntanikpwamwantja  
 then      3:3 was sitting      3:2(i) mother-KPOSS-LOC  
 'He was sitting with his mother.'

yingil hikana      ngalhiwa      wirriyikwayiwamwantja  
 3:2 sent      3:2(i)      3:1 children-LOC  
 'She went with the children.'

nakina      niyarthangimwa      wirrawimwinyimwantja  
 3:3(i) that      3:3 was arriving home      3:1 duck-LOC  
 'Rainbow married Duck.' (Lit: he was arriving home with Duck)

When the Locative case clitic occurs with verbs of impact, speech and sight, the noun phrase can be marked for Locative case. Some English glosses do not express the locative nature of the case. The noun phrase can also be marked for object agreement and the verb prefixed by the Benefactive prefix mwini-, as in the last two

examples.

ngalhilhangwa      nangalyangpwarra      aringkimwantja  
3:2(ii)-POSS      3:2+3:2 head:split      3:4 head-LOC

akinimwirra      thikwirirrkwimwantja  
3:4 that-COM      3:2 brolga-LOC

'Emu hit Brolga on the head with that [stick].'

pwiya      narramwaka      wirringwarringpwimwantja      yakinilhangwa  
then      3:1+3:3 told      3:1 father-KPOSS-LOC      3:3(ii) that-ABL  
'And then they told their father about that (snake).'

yingilyangkiyamwa      thakina      thathikwilyampwarrikiyatha  
3:2 was thinking      3:2(ii) that      3:2 to trick-PURP

wirrikwalhimwantja  
3:1 some-LOC

'She was thinking she would plan to trick some [others].'

narringamwinakwimwirna      thakinamwantja  
3:1Pl+3:2(ii) put      3:2(ii) that-LOC  
'They put the spike in her (the stingray).'

nanimwiningatja      yakina      alhakpwimwantja  
3:3(i)+3:3(ii) hit      3:3(ii) that      3:4 leg-LOC  
'He hit it [the wallaby] on the leg.'

The Locative case clitic, -mwantja 'in, on, at, by', can be suffixed to a transitive or intransitive verb. The meaning of the verb is extended to include that of the clitic, e.g., carry on, fit into. The following examples show the verb carrying the case marker in addition to or instead of the noun phrase.

kiwilyakimwantja      kingapwikwayininimwantja  
2Sg+3:4 will carry-LOC      2Sg+3:4 will carry on head

aringkimwantja      ningkwilhangwa      anhinga  
3:4 head-LOC      2Sg-POSS      3:4 vegetable food

'You can carry your [own] food on your head.'

ana      athirrngwarna      pwatha      karrakayanamwimwantja  
3:4 this      3:4 big      3:4 box      3:1+3:4 will be sitting-LOC

wirrimwangpwalha      wirriyikwayiwa  
3:1 five      3:1 children

'Five children can fit into this big box.'



athithipwirra      ningirringkinamwantja  
 3:4 very similar      1ExcSg+3:4 am looking-LOC  
 'I am looking at the same one.'

In contrast with the inflectional use of the Locative case clitic, there is another derivational usage in which new noun lexemes are created, mostly geographical names. The case marker indicates that the place or item is "located at or in" the area identified by the preceding stem. The stem is a free form noun with or without its nominal classification. The words describing animates are usually Alienable Possession nouns.

aningwimwikwimwikwimwantja      'Blue-ringed octopus'  
 /{a} + ani + ngwi + mwikwimwikwi + mwantja/  
 3:4 n-hfem ALP deep sea LOC

naningwakarrngimwantja      'male dentist  
 /n{i} + ani + ngw{i} + akarrnga + mwantja/  
 3:3(i) n-hfem ALP teeth LOC

thathingwimwamwawirimwantja      'Brown Tree Snake'  
 /th{a} + atha + ngwi + mwamwawiri + mwantja/  
 3:2(ii) hfem ALP sun LOC

akwilyatjilyatjarrimwirrimwantja      'Seven-mile Beach'  
 /a + kwilyatjilyatjarrimwirra + mwantja/  
 3:4 sharpening stone: PROP LOC

mwingwarntimwantja      'Jagged Head'  
 /mwa + ngwarnti + mwantja/  
 3:5 rock LOC

The Locative marker replaces the Kinship Possession suffix in the following kinship terms:

wirringarrngwilhimwantja      'they two, her daughters-  
 /wirring{a} + arrngwilha + mwantja/      in-law'  
 3:1FemDu dau-in-law LOC

winathangimwantja      'they two, MMB children'  
 /wi{rri}ni + athanga + mwantja/  
 3:1MascDu marriageable LOC

### 3.4.3.2B Ablative case

The ablative case-marking clitic, -lhangwi 'from, out of, off', primarily denotes movement from a space or from a point in time, as specified by its referent within the noun phrase.

anatja            nipwina            naningkwarpa  
3:3(i)-CofR    3:3(i) this       3:3(i) man

nanirringkirringkamwa            arriparripilhangwa  
3:1+3:3 keeps on looking       3:4 bush-ABL  
'The man keeps on looking at them from the bush.'

naningwimwapwalhpwa       anatja            ningakpwirakatjingwinimwa  
3:3(i) bat                    3:3(i)-CofR       3:3 was hiding himself

nakinilhangwa            niwirrwilya  
3:3(i) that-ABL            3:3(i) rainbow  
'Bat was hiding himself from Rainbow.'

akwalhimwantja    niwarmwatjingwinamwirra       akinilhangwa       akwingwa  
3:4 some-LOC       3:3 is standing himself up    3:4 that-ABL       3:4 water  
'At other times he is standing up out of the water.'

nilhikana       yarringkwa       lharrwirilhangwa  
3:3 went       yesterday       3:4 afternoon-ABL  
'He went yesterday afternoon.' (Lit: from the afternoon time)

mwingkiyatha       kinilhikatjamwirra       lharrwirilhangwa  
3:5 other-PURP       3:3 will be going       3:4 afternoon-ABL  
'He will be going for another afternoon.'

naraka            karramwiniwatjiwatjanga       angalya  
not-INTENS       3:1+3:1 go near                    3:4 place

apwapwirnilhangwa            kwiritjimwitja  
3:4 many-ABL                    3:4 year  
'They never went near to that place after many years.'

The Ablative suffix -lhangwi is also used with the English meaning 'about'.

yingarrikarrangimwa       mwanimpwilhangwa       tjanita  
3:2 was writing            3:5 eye-ABL               3:2(i) (name)  
'Janet was writing about the eye.'

namwirntakakpwarthanaka       akinilhangwa       apwirtha  
3:1Pl were scared-INTENS       3:4 that-ABL       3:4 whale  
'They were all very scared of the whale.'

When the Ablative case-marking clitic -lhangwi is attached to the verb the meaning can either be 'from (here or there)' or 'about'.

ningilhikatjilhangwa	arakpwa	ananiwiya
1ExcSg go-ABL	comp.act	immediately

'I am going from [here] right now.'

ningilhikanimwirrilhangwa	arakpwa	mitjinilhangwa
1ExcSg was going-ABL	comp.act	3:4 mission-ABL

ngilhawirrathinimwirrilhangwa  
1ExcSg was returning-ABL  
'I came back from the mission.'

ngiwilyakinilhangwa	ana	aka	angwiriwa
1ExcSg+3:4 take-ABL	3:4 this	3:4 wood	3:4 fire:ALL

'I will take the wood from [here] to the fire.'

wirrimwangkathirra	kalhikatjamwilhangwa	yantjarrikina
3:1 white people	3:1 will be going-ABL	to there

karringakpwirakiniyatha  
3:1+3:4 will make-PURP  
'White people will be going from [here] to there to make it [house].'

kampwirra	yakwitjina	angakwipwa	amwakalyiwakpwa
therefore	there	from there	(name)

yirrakakirimwakatjingwinimwilhangwa	amwapa
1ExcNsg were teaching ourselves-ABL	3:4 song

'Up there at Bickerton Island, we were learning [new] songs.'

ngarramwakinamwa	nilhikanimwirrilhangwa	yarimwa
1IncNsg are telling	3:3 was coming-ABL	3:3(ii) big

'We are telling you about the giant who came [from the mainland].'

### 3.4.3.2C Pergressive case

There are two pergressive case-marking clitics: the Locative Pergressive morpheme, -lhangwiya 'through, along, across or over a location', and the Time Pergressive morpheme, -wiya 'through or during a period of time'. Both denote movement or progression through space. The clitic -lhangwiya consists of two morphemes: the Ablative case-marker -lhangwi and the Time Pergressive clitic -wiya (see also Section 7.4.2). This derivation has been confirmed by the pronunciation of the four syllables and by Aboriginal literates who

often spell the clitic as lhangwiya.

The following examples of the Locative Pergressive case-marking clitic -lhangwiya illustrate its usage within the noun phrase.

pwia      mwamwirikwilhangwiya      ampwaka      kilhikatjamwa  
then      3:5 road-LPRG      later      2Sg will be going  
'And then, later on, you keep going along the main road.'

akina      nayirmangimwirra      mwapwilhalhilhangwiya      mwakarta  
3:4 that      3:4 was swimming      3:5 shallow-LPRG      3:5 sea  
'The fish was swimming through the shallow sea.'

nilhikanimwa      anganthingilhangwiya      amwarta  
3:3 was going      3:4 sharp-LPRG      3:4 grass  
'He was going through the sharp grass.'

lhikatja      mwamwithangkwihangwiya  
2Sg go      3:5 sandhill-LPRG  
'Go across the sandhill!'

ampwilyimwilhangwiya      ningana      ningilhikana  
3:4 two-LPRG      1ExcSg this      1ExcSg went  
'I went through two [places].'

When the Locative Pergressive case-marking clitic -lhangwiya is suffixed to a verb progression through a particular location or (perhaps) continuation of the action seems to be implied.

kilhikatjamwilhangwiya      ngayiwa      ninganimwalhika  
1ExcSg will be going-LPRG      1ExcSg      1ExcSg tracks

yikilhikwamwirrkatjina  
1ExcNsg will follow  
'I will be going through [the area]; you can follow my tracks.'

ningiwilyakinilhangwiya      ngayiwa      pwatjikala      angalyiwa  
1ExcSg+3:4 carried-LPRG      1ExcSg      3:4 billycan      3:4 home-ALL  
'I carried along my billycan to [my] home.'

nimwanilhangwiya      anilhangwa      pwangkwiya  
3:3+3:4 picked up-LPRG      3:3(i)-POSS      3:4 axe

yilyakwiyatha  
3:3(ii) honey-PURP  
'He picked up his axe so that [he could go] for honey.'

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the Time Pergressive case-marking clitic (TPRG), -wiya 'during that

time'. It is usually affixed to adverbial nouns but can occur on other words in the noun phrase.

yikwina                      awilyiwilyapwawiya  
1ExcSg/2Sg give      3:4 REDUP:one-TPRG  
'Give me one at a time!'

ngayiwa      ningalhalhikatjamwa      ningingarringarranamwa  
1ExcSg      1ExcSg keep going      1ExcSg keep visiting

                 nganyangwa      chirntirrka                      athiwayiwiya  
                 1ExcSg-POSS      3:2(i) mother-KPOSS      for a while-TPRG  
'I always go and visit my mother for a few days.'

ngayiwa      ningampwarrnga      athinipwawiya      akwitjina  
I              I sat                      soon-TPRG              there

                 kampwirra      ningkwiwa      aritjilhangwa  
                 therefore      you              behind  
'I got there early and so you [followed] later.'

When the Time Progressive case-marking clitic, -wiya (progression through time), is attached to the verb the imperfective aspect suffix often co-occurs. The clitic indicates the continuation of the action over a period of time.

ningikwilharritjinawiya                      akwingwa      katinimwantja  
1ExcSg+3:4 am dropping-TPRG      3:4 water      3:4 garden-LOC  
'I am watering the garden.' (Lit: I am dropping water)

yingingwathanawiya      ampwaka  
3:2 is crying-TPRG      later  
'She is still crying.'

ningithakinawiya                      ampwaka      amwathangkwa      angwirimwantja  
1ExcSg+3:4 is cooking-TPRG      later      3:4 flesh      3:4 fire-LOC  
'I am still cooking the meat on the fire.'

ningimwangkarraniwiya                      mwamwawirawa                      ngayiwa  
1ExcSg+3:5 run-TPRG      3:5 sun (=clock)-ALL      1ExcSg  
'I will go [and find out] the time.'

#### 3.4.3.2D Allative case

The Allative case-marker, -wi 'to, towards', denotes movement to or towards a space (identified by its referent within the noun

phrase). The following examples illustrate the Allative case-marking clitic in a noun phrase where the meaning is 'to, towards'.

narrimwathiwarrka	arakpwa	mwarimwi	mwarra	mwarimwi <u>wa</u>
3:1+3:4 tied	comp.act	3:5 big	3:5 rope	3:5 big-ALL

mwitjiyanga

3:5 boat

'They tied the big rope to the big boat.'

akwa	kampwirra	nimwarntharrkina	angarripa	yipwirathi <u>wa</u>
and	therefore	3:3 pointed	this way	3:3(ii) wallaby-ALL

'Therefore he pointed this way towards the wallaby.'

narringka	apwirthi <u>wa</u>
3:5/3:4 looked	3:4 whale-ALL

'The shark looked towards the whale.'

nanikwirthaka	yakina	wirrakina	warnimwamwalya
3:1+3:3 walked round	3:3(ii) that	3:1 those	3:1 people

niwarrikpayina	angwarnta	yakini <u>wa</u>	yingarna
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3:1+3:4 threw	3:4 rock	3:3(ii) that-ALL	3:3(ii) snake
---------------	----------	------------------	---------------

'They walked all around that [snake] and threw rocks towards the snake.'

The Allative case-marker can also be translated as 'about' when it is used with verbs of speech and thought but it still retains an underlying notion of these being directed towards the addressee.

kampwirra	karningmwa	yikangkirratjamwa
therefore	2Pl knowledgeable	2Pl will be thinking

nipini <u>wa</u>	nantjarrngalyilya	akwa	thingir <u>awa</u>
------------------	-------------------	------	--------------------

3:3(i) this-ALL	3:3(i) boy	and	3:2(ii) clay-ALL
-----------------	------------	-----	------------------

'Thus you will be thinking about this boy and about the clay.'

The Allative case-marking clitic can also be used to denote the goal or purpose towards which a person is aiming. The English gloss in such noun phrases is 'for'. Note that the Purposive mood clitic -yatha co-occurs with the Allative case-marker -wi in the last example (see Section 8.1.2.1).

yingilhawirratha      ampwaka      akpwiringkimwantja  
 3:2 returned      later      3:4 dry land-LOC

yingiringkwiringkwapwatjingwiniwa  
 3:2 kept covering herself-ALL  
 'She returned later to dry land for the purpose of covering herself.'

yingitjathanamwa      yingakpwirrangkinamwa      anhingawa  
 3:2 is emerging      3:2+3:4 is looking for      3:4 food-ALL

alyarrngwalyilya  
 3:4 night  
 'She (the echidna) comes out looking for food at night.'

ngilhiakatjamwa      akwalyiwa      mwithalyimwawa  
 1ExcSg+3:4 am going      3:4 fish-ALL      3:5 river-ALL  
 'I am going to the river for fish.'

kilhiakatjiyatha      ningana      akwingwiwa  
 1ExcSg go-PURP      1ExcSg this      3:4 water-ALL  
 'I will be going for water.'

#### 3.4.3.2E Comitative case

The Comitative suffix, -mwi(rra) ~ -mwi 'with', 'by means of', denotes instrument and accompaniment. The following examples show the instrumental usage.

tjirrrihangimwa      mwiitjiyanga      yirrakina      yirrrihikanimwa  
 3:3(i) Jerry-POSS-COM      3:5 boat      1ExcPl those      1ExcPl were going

mwithirrngwarnimwa      arapwiyimw~~i~~th~~a~~  
 3:5 big-COM      (name)-COM-TRM  
 'We were going in Jerry's big boat, the Arabia.'

yakina      yipwiratha      nilhikanimwa      anilhangwimwa  
 3:3(ii) that      3:3(ii) wallaby      3:3 was going      3:3(ii)-POSS-COM

apwiyarpwiwa      alhika      wipwirra      yikwalha  
 3:4 four      3:4 foot      like      3:3(ii) some

yiningwingwangpwa  
 two-handed animals  
 'The wallaby was going along on his four feet like other four-footed animals.'

narimwithangwa      nilyikwanimwa      thingirimw~~i~~rra  
 3:3(i) big-POSS      3:3 was painting      3:2(ii) clay-COM

anilhangwa      nanimwathangkwa  
 3:3(i)-POSS      3:3(i) his body  
 'His oldest son was painting his body with white clay.'

nara nanimwa ayikwitjiya wimpwa arimwimwirra  
 not 3:4 this-COM 3:4 small but 3:4 big-COM  
 'Not with the small one but with the big one.'

akilhangwa yipina arikwitharrpwamwantja  
 3:4 tree-ABL 3:3(ii) this 3:4 short-LOC

angapwa kwinimwana yakina  
 3:4 that there 2MascDu+3:3 will pick up 3:3 (ii) that

ayarrkamwa  
 3:4 hand-COM  
 'You can get it [goanna] off a short tree with [your] hands.'

The Comitative case is also used to denote accompaniment. The meanings vary in the following examples but some appear to have the semantic concept of 'having'.

pwatjikala nalyangpwirrkwina akwingimwa  
 3:4 billycan 3:4 is filled 3:4 water-COM  
 'The billycan is filled with/by water.'

kingilhikatjamwa yiwilyapwamwirra yimwawira  
 3:2 will be going 3:3(ii) one-COM 3:3(ii) moon  
 'She will be going for a month.'

Question: Angampwimwirra kwiwilyakinemwa ningkana  
 3:4 which? 2Sg will be taking 2Sg this  
 'Which one will you be taking?'

Answer 1: nara ananimwa ayikwitjiya wimpwa  
 not 3:4 this-COM 3:4 small but  
 arimwimwirra  
 3:4 big-COM  
 'Not the small one but the big one.'

Answer 2: Athirrngwarnimwirra pwangkwilya  
 3:4 big-COM 3:4 tomahawk  
 'The biggest axe.'

The suffixation of the Comitative case clitic to a verb has only rarely been found. The problem may lie in its similarity to the past imperfective suffix and further investigation is necessary.



winalhangapamwirrathingwa	arakpwa	nanilhikilhikilhalha
3:1MascDu-COM-?	comp.act	3:1MascDu kept making a noise
nanapwirrmpwatjangimwirra	akwingwimwantja	
3:1MascDu splashing in-COM	3:4 water-LOC	
'Those two [boys] kept making a noise by splashing in the water.'		

The morphological structure of the free form personal pronouns differs from that of all other word classes. The Nominal Prefix Nucleus occurs in the Pronoun Nucleus to which is added a stem formative. There are, however, some differences in the two sets of morphemes. Pronouns differ from nominals in that they are not suffixed by the Number morphemes; they are similar to nominals in that they are marked by the same case clitics. Pronouns, however, are uniquely marked for Change of Referent within a text (between sentences) or within a clause.

There are eighteen personal pronouns which distinguish the same grammatical categories for person, number and gender as in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus (see Section 3.3.1). Only four further pronouns are added with the marking of trial.

Personal Pronouns are used when referring to human animates or non-human animates that assume the role of humans in the traditional Dreamtime stories, e.g., they speak, think, evaluate, fight with an implement, or alter their appearance. Such non-human animates are arbitrarily classified as either feminine (Noun Class 3:2(ii) THA), masculine (Noun Class 3:3(ii) YI) or the non-singular (Noun Class 3:1 WIRRA).

#### 4.1 PRONOUN STEM

A pronoun consists of an obligatory the Pronoun Nucleus and a stem formative.



#### 4.1.1 Pronoun nucleus

The grammatical categories in the Pronoun Nucleus are Person, Number and Gender/Number. Table 10 shows the deep structure form of the morphemes in these categories.

The morphemes in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus and the Pronoun Nucleus differ in some forms. A comparison of the deep structure morphemes for the person category is shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11: COMPARISON OF PRONOUN & NOMINAL PERSON PREFIXATION

		PRONOUNS	NOMINALS
NON-SINGULAR			
1ST	INCL	ngakwi	nga
	EXCL	ya	ya
2ND		ningkwi	kwi
3RD	3:1	apwi	wi
SINGULAR			
1ST	INCL	yakwi	ya
	EXCL	ngaya	ninga
2ND		ningkwi	ningkwi
3RD	3:2	nga	tha
	3:3(i)	ani	ni
	3:3(ii)	yi	yi
	3:4	a	a
	3:5	mwa	mwa

Totally different morpheme shapes are used for first person exclusive singular and third person Noun Class 3:2 but the same morphemes are used for first person exclusive non-singular, second person singular, and for third person Nominal Classes 3:3(ii), 3:4 and 3:5.

The remaining morphemes that differ are usually shortened in some way in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus. In most instances, the initial syllable is deleted, the exception being in the first

inclusive non-singular where the second syllable is deleted to make the non-singular prefixes symmetrical in the nominals. In the third person non-singular nominals, the word-initial consonant is lenited after the deletion of the initial syllable.

The Number morphemes for the Pronoun Nucleus and the Nominal Prefix Nucleus are identical but Gender/Number has additional forms in the pronouns. The trial morpheme pwikwi- for the nominals has an additional non-singular morpheme rra- following that morpheme in the pronouns. A distinction between human masculine and non-human.masculine co-occurs with the singular Person morphemes only in the pronouns. The composite forms in the surface structure of the personal pronouns (excluding trial) are shown in Table 12. (See Section 3.3.1 for the derivations of dual forms.)

TABLE 12: PRONOUN NUCLEUS (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

PERSON/NUMBER/GENDER				PRONOUN NUCLEUS
1ST	INCL	PL		ngakwirri-
	EXCL	PL		yirri-
2ND		PL		ningkwirri-
3RD	3:1	PL		apwirri-
1ST	EXCL	HFEM	DU	yirringi-
	EXCL	HASC	DU	yini-
2ND		HFEM	DU	ningkwirringi-
		HASC	DU	ningkwirri ~ ningk(w)ini-
3RD		HFEM	DU	apwirringi-
		HASC	DU	apwirri ~ ap(w)ini
1ST	INCL	SG		yakwi-
	EXCL	SG		ngayi-
2ND		SG		ningkwi-
3RD	3:2	SG		ngalhi-
	3:3(i)	SG		ani-
	3:3(ii)	SG		yingalhi-
	3:4	SG		angalhi-
	3:5	SG		mwingalhi- ~ mwingalhi-

The pronoun system in Anindilyakwa is not unit-augmented (see Glasgow 1966, Sharpe 1972:86, McKay 1979). Such systems require only one trial form and Anindilyakwa has a trial counterpart for each plural form. In this respect, the Anindilyakwa pronoun system differs from that for Nunggubuyu (Warren 1982:41). Table 13 sets out the pronouns in a similar form to that used for the unit-augmented or 1-2 system.

In Table 13, the first person singular forms for inclusive and exclusive do not correlate with those for the non-singular, i.e., one would expect the ngaya and yakwi to be reversed to show consistency. The syllable kwi in the singular inclusive forms is the shortened form for second person (see Section 3.3.1 Table 6). The internal structure of the deep structure morphemes is as follows:

1st exclusive singular	ngaya 1ExcSg		
1st inclusive non-singular	nga{ya} 1ExcSg	kwi 2nd	rra Nsg
1st inclusive singular	{nga}ya 1ExcSg	kwi 2nd	
1st exclusive non-singular	ya 1IncSg		rra Nsg

As anticipated, the second person is not marked in the exclusive pronouns. The first exclusive non-singular builds on the first inclusive singular and not the first exclusive singular. Such building is found in the unit-augmented system. (Note: In the first inclusive, the absence of a Number prefix indicates that 'you and I' is a single complex speaker/addressee interaction.)

#### 4.1.1.1 Person

The shapes of the first order Person prefix are irregular for

TABLE 13: PRONOUN NUCLEUS SYSTEM

NUMBER	1ST PERSON	1ST/2ND PERSONS	2ND PERSON	3RD PERSON
SINGULAR FEM MASC	ngaya	yakwi	ningkwi	nga ani
FEM DUAL MASC	yirringa yirringi	(no pronoun form)	ningkwiirringa ningkwiirringi	apwirringa apwirringi
TRIAL	yirripwikwirra	ngarripwikwirra	ningkwiirripwikwirra	apwirripwikwirra
PLURAL	yirra	ngakwirra	ningkwirra	apwirra

ngakwirriwa 'we all'  
/nga{ya}kwi + rra + wi/  
1IncPl nsg SF

yirringiwa 'we all [but not you]'  
/{nga}ya + rra + nga + wi/  
1ExcSg nsg HfemDu SF

yakwiwa 'you and I'  
/[nga]ya kwi + wi/  
1ExcSg 2nd SF

ngakwirriwa 'we all'  
/[nga]{ya} kwi + rra + wi/  
1ExcSg 2nd nsg SF

#### 4.1.1.2 Number

ningkwi-	/ningkwi/	2nd singular
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ningkwirringi-	/ningkwɪ + rra + nga/	2nd hmasc dual
ningkwirri-	/ningkwɪ + rra /	2nd plural
apwirringi-	/apwɪ + rra + nga/	3rd non-h.masc dual
apwirri-	/apwɪ + rra /	3rd plural

The absence of any marking of non-singular in the first person inclusive form yakwi 'you and I' led to its placement as a singular form. The interaction between speaker and addressee thus seems to be regarded as a single complex unit--one in which there is a cohesive relationship between the two persons, i.e., an underlying semantic concept of pairedness or duality.

#### 4.1.1.3 Gender/Number

The Gender/Number category follows the Number category in third order in the Pronoun Nucleus. With non-singular person morphemes, there is a distinction between the human masculine ni- and the human feminine nga-, both of which also incorporate the concept of duality. The following examples illustrate the Gender/Number morphemes. The coalescence is the result of Cerebralisation (Section 2.5.2.3) and subsequent loss of retroflexion (Section 2.11.2).

apwirringiwa		3rd hfem dual
/apwirra	+ nga + wi/	
3:1	hfem SF	
yirringiwa		1st excl hfem dual
/yirra	+ nga + wi/	
1ExcPL	hfem SF	
ningkwirniwa		2nd hmasc dual
/ningkwir{ra}	+ ni + wi/	
2Pl	hmasc SF	
yiniwa		1st excl hmasc dual
/yi{rri}	+ ni + wi/	
1ExcPl	hmasc SF	

The Gender/number morphemes which follow the Person morphemes only occur with the third person Nominal Classes.<sup>4</sup> The non-human.masculine (i.e., not human masculine) ngalha- contrasts with the human masculine ni-. Thus no contrast exists between the singular and dual human masculine morphemes but does exist between the two human feminine morphemes, nga (human feminine dual) and ngalha (human feminine singular).

In the following examples, reduction in the morphemes for Nominal Classes 3:2 and 3:3 is created by Haplogy (Section 2.5.2.1).

aniwa		'he'
/a{ni} + ni + wi/		
3:3(i) hmasc SF		

ngalhiwa		'she'
/[nga] + ngalha + wi/		
3:2 n-hmasc SF		

yingalhiwa		'it'
/yi + ngalha + wi/		
3:3(ii) n-hmasc SF		

In Modern Anindilyakwa, the third person pronouns have been reduced to two forms by the deletion of the Person prefixes for Nominal Classes 3:3(ii), 3:4 and 3:5. This results in a contrast between ani- (human masculine) and ngalha- (not human masculine). The full forms, yingalhi-, angalhi-, mwingalhi-, have been elicited from the older generation but are not known by the younger people. Thus ngalhiwa is used for all Nominal Classes except 3:3(i). The following examples illustrate the current usage which has only been found in texts suffixed for Change of Referent.

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Footnote 4: There is no indication as to whether this gender contrast should be analysed as part of the Person category or the Gender/Number category. The word-medial neutralisation of the Person morphemes, however, has influenced the decision.

ngayiwa      ngilhikatja      mwana      atjingkwipwapwa      ngalhatja  
 1ExcSg      1ExcSg go      CSL      3:4 sick-CSL      3:2(1)-CofR  
 'I go because she [is] sick.'

yirrapwirraranimwa      tiraka      wimpwa      tingkiyi  
 1IncPl were waiting for      3:5 truck      but      3:5 dinghy

ngalhatja      nimwangkarranimwa      arripwatja      angalyiwa  
 3:5-CofR      3:5 was running      that way      3:4 home-ALL  
 'We were waiting for the truck but the dinghy was going home  
 that [other] way.'

napwikwimwangwirrkwana      mwinhingiwa      wimpwa      ngalhatja  
 3:1Tri+3:5 looked for      3:5 zamia nuts-ALL      but      3:4-CofR

aningwathinipwa      awalyiwa  
 3:4 flowers      3:4 ripe  
 'The three of them looked for zamia nuts but the flowers [were just]  
 coming out.'

Trial is optionally marked by pwikwirra- which can be added to the four plural forms. The first person is again irregular in that ngakwirra is reduced to ngarra, a reduction not consistent with any of the phonological rules. Trial is used only when the speaker is being specific in identifying three people--in other instances the more general plural form is used. The symmetrical patterning of the trial can be seen by the following alignment:

1st inclusive trial	ngarripwikwirri-
1st exclusive trial	yirripwikwirri-
2nd trial	ningkwirripwikwirri-
3rd trial	apwirripwikwirri-

When a male and a female person interact there is an honorific system in which the dual marker is the opposite gender to the speaker.

yirrapwikwayinimwirra      anhinga      wirriyikwayiwa      akwa  
 1ExcTri+3:4 were sharing      3:4 food      3:1 children      and

yirringiwa  
 1ExcFemDu  
 'We [my wife and I] were sharing the food with the children.'

winilhikatja    ningkwirniwa    niyamwa  
 2MascDu go    2MascDu    3:3 said  
 '“You [female] go with him,” he said.’ (Lit: you two males go.)

The dual free form pronouns occur when two persons share the same activity, thus highlighting the cohesive nature of the relationship. The two people are usually of the same sex.

yakwiwa    yakwilhikatja    yakarntakatja    akwalya  
 1IncSg    1IncSg go    1IncSg+3:4 will spearfish    3:4 fish  
 ‘Why not come spear-fishing with me?’

ngarrilhikana    apwirringiwa  
 3:1FemDu went    3:1FemDu  
 ‘She went with her.’ (Lit: the two women went)

yirringiwa    ngilhikanimwa  
 1ExcFemDu    1ExcFemDu was going  
 ‘I [female] was going with her.’ (Lit: we two were going)

#### 4.1.2 Stem-formative -wi

The stem formative -wi follows the Pronoun Nucleus and precedes all other suffixation. It could possibly be analysed as the subject and object marker on free form pronouns. The reasons for positing this morpheme as a stem formative are as follows:

- (i) the stem-formative -wi also occurs with nominals when one of the set of first order roots is in second (word-final) order. This parallels the change from a word-initial position for the Nominal Prefix Nucleus to a word-final position as the pronoun nucleus.
- (ii) if the suffix is regarded as the case marker, then some of the peripheral (adverbial) cases must be said to be marked for Nominative or Accusative as well as for the peripheral case, e.g., Kwa lhikatja ngayiwa-mwantja! ‘Come with me!’. Multiple case-marking does occur in other Aboriginal languages

but not usually in this order (Dench & Evans 1988:28).

- (iii) by positing the suffix as a stem-formative, both the free form pronouns and nominals can be treated as unmarked for subject and object. This is not necessarily significant because there is a contrast in other Australian languages.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the stem formative in the subject. Such pronouns are unmarked for case in contrast with those that occur as object. (Note: The object pronouns may include the stem formative but are always marked for a peripheral case.)

nimwantharrka	ani <u>wa</u>	mwakina	mwingarikwa
3:3+3:5 pointed	3:3(i)	3:5 that	3:5 fishing line

'He aimed the fishing line.'

arntakatja	ningkwi <u>wa</u>	ananiwiya	akwalyiwa
2Sg spearfish	2Sg	now	3:4 fish-ALL

'You spear-fish for fish now!'

nara	ngayi <u>wa</u>	alhikangimwa
not	1ExcSg	not going

'I am not going.'

The stem-formative almost always occurs when the free form pronoun is the subject or object of the sentence. Even though the stem formative is not obligatory, some of the younger Anindilyakwa literates or editors will add it when transcribing or checking texts recorded by the older people.

ningapwirangkinamwirra	ngaya	yiningwingwangpwiwa	ningana
1ExcSg am finding	1ExcSg	3:3(ii) mammal-ALL	1ExcSg this

'I am going to find some land mammals.'

ngalha (~ ngalhiwa)	angilhikatja	tirakiwa
3:2(i)	let her go	3:5 truck-ALL

'Let her go in the truck.'

## 4.2 PRONOUN SUFFIXATION

Pronouns can be suffixed by three derivational suffixes which are found only in pronouns and by the Possessive suffix -lhangwi which also occurs with nominals and demonstratives. Pronouns are inflected for the peripheral cases and by a Change of Referent marker.

### 4.2.1 Derivational

The three derivational suffixes are -apwakwi 'in isolation'; -ampwirri 'in rotation'; and -kwapwi 'in addition'.

The derivational suffix, -apwakwi [apwakiya] 'alone, in isolation', follows the Pronoun Nucleus and replaces the stem formative -wi. This replacement may, however, be simply a deletion by Haplology. There is also a variant form, -a(pwa)pwilhangwi, in which there are two morphemes. In the first morpheme, the third syllable regressively assimilates to the second and the final syllable yi is dropped; the second morpheme is probably the Possessive suffix -lhangwi.

ngalhapwakwiya	angiwilyakina	anhinga
3:2(i) alone	let her carry	3:4 food
'Let her take the food by herself.' / 'Let her carry her own food.'		

ngalhapwapwilhangwa	angiwilyakina	anhinga
3:2(i) alone	3:2 let carry	3:4 food
'Let her take the food by herself.'		

ningingangakpwiraka	ngayapwakwiya	thaka	tiritja
1ExcSg+3:2 made	1ExcSg alone	3:2(ii) this	3:2(ii) dress
'I made this dress myself.'			

yikilhikatja	yangkwirranga	ningkwirrapwakwiya
2Pl will come	to here	2Pl alone
'You should come along here on your own.'		

The suffix, -ampwirri [empiʔi] 'in rotation, in turn', follows the Pronoun Nucleus and replaces the stem-formative -wi. The derivation of the morpheme is not known but it may be associated with

the same form in the verb 'to wait'. A variant form, -ampwilhangwi [amp<sup>w</sup>u<sup>l</sup>angwu], has two morphemes: the first morpheme ampwi is the shortened form of -ampwirri which is followed by an obligatory Ablative case clitic -lhangwi.

ngal <u>hampwirra</u>	angiwilyakina	anhinga
3:2(i) rotating	3:2 let carry	3:4 food

'It's her turn to take the food.'

pwiya	ngarningka	ngayiwa	ngay <u>ampwilhangwa</u>
then	again	1ExcSg	1ExcSg rotating

ningakpwirranga	athikalyikpwa
1ExcSg+3:4 found	3:4 lily

'Then I, in my turn, found a lily.'

akwa	narringiwartanga	nakina	apwurring <u>ampwilhangwa</u>
and	3:1FemDu+3:3 hit	3:2(i) that	3:1FemDu rotating

'And the two women, in their turn, hit him.'

The suffix, -kwapwi 'in addition', does not immediately follow the Pronoun Nucleus but occurs after the Change of Referent marker, -atja. There is justification semantically for this co-occurrence because the suffixed pronoun always involves a change of referent.

ngalhatjik <u>wapwa</u>	yimwarntakiwapwa	kinampwilyamwa
3:2(i) additional	3:3(ii) lizard	3:3 will be staying

athirrimwantja
3:4 hole-LOC

'The blue-tongue lizard also might be living in a hole.'

anana	ngalhatjik <u>wapwa</u>	ngalhilhangwa
3:4 this	3:2(i) additional	3:2(i)-POSS

'This [is] for her too.'

yalhakwa	ngantjik <u>wapwa</u>	ngarntakatja	akwalya
here	1ExcSg additional	let me fish	3:4 fish

ananimwantja	angalya
~ 3:4 this-LOC	3:4 place

'Let me also fish at this place.'

#### 4 .2 Inflectional

The Possessive suffix -lhangwi follows the Pronoun Nucleus

and replaces the stem formative -wi. It is used for Possessive case within the noun phrase but can also be used in the indirect object. (Note: There are other assimilated variants of this suffix (see Section 2.7.2).)

ampwaka    ningingararrimatjinawiya    thimpwala    yakwilhangwa  
later    1ExcSg+3:2 am drying-TPRG    3:2(ii) dress    1IncSg-POSS  
'I am still drying our dresses in the sun.'

tjayi    lhikatja    anana    nganyangwa    angalya  
away    2Sg go    3:4 this    1ExcSg-POSS    3:4 place

karntakatjiyatha    akwalyiwa  
1ExcSg+3:4 will spear-PURP    3:4 fish-LOC  
'Go away! This is my place to fish.' (Lit: for fishing).'

yiningapwa    ngakwirrilhangwa    yikwithikwitha  
3:3(ii) good    1IncPl-POSS    3:3(ii) chest  
'We feel good now.' (Lit: our chests are good)

kingakwina    ana    ngalhilhangwa    tjiwirra  
1ExcSg+3:2 will give    3:4 this    3:2(i)-POSS    3:4 book  
'I will give this book to her.'

wakarrngina    akwingwa    yakwilhangwa  
2Sg+3:4 get water    3:4 water    1IncSg-POSS  
'Get the water for us!'

kithakinamwa    angwirimwantja    ningkwilhangwa  
1ExcSg+3:4 will be cooking    3:4 fire-LOC    2Sg-POSS  
'I will be cooking it on the fire for you.'

The Change of Referent suffix is found only in the pronouns and follows the Pronoun Nucleus. It indicates a change in the dramatis personae and is used for anaphoric reference in non-reported speech in discourses or in the second clause within a sentence. In this context, it is always cross-referenced as the subject of the verb.

ngaya    mwama    mwitjiyalya    nganyangwa    ninganingkwalyirra  
1ExcSg    3:5 this    3:5 beach    1ExcSg-POSS    1ExcSg Mamarika  
'"I, the Mamarika, own this beach," he said.

ningana    niyamwa.    Ningkwiwa    angalhipwa  
1ExcSg this    3:3 said    2Sg    that side  
"You [own] the beach



mwitjiyalya alhilhiyangilhangwa niyamwa anatja.  
 3:5 beach (name)-ABL 3:3 said 3:3(i)-CofR  
 on that side, from Aliliyanga," the other man said.

Nalhilhiyanga niwilyapwa nakina anatja  
 3:3(i) Amagula 3:3(i) one 3:3(i) that 3:3(i)-CofR  
 This one [was] an Amagula; that other one [was]

naningkwalyirra niwilyapwitha.  
 3:3(i) Mamarika 3:3(i) one-TRM  
 Mamarika.'

yantjarra nakaka nilhikana thathimwingkwirrawa  
 this way 3:3(i) this 3:3(i) went (name)-ALL

anatja angarripa amwirakiwarrikwa  
 3:3(i) that way (name)  
 'He [Horace] went this way to the place, Dadimungkwurra; he  
 [Nangbinarra] went that way to Amirakuwarrikwa'.

arripwilayina mwapwarta yaya wimpwa ngalhatja  
 3:5 aeroplane 3:5 agile pace but 3:5-CofR

tiraka mwanitjiyangma yaya  
 3:5 truck 3:5 weak pace  
 'An aeroplane goes faster than a car.' (Lit: the aeroplane [has]  
 a fast pace but the truck a weak pace.)

ningkwa apwapwirna akina wimpwa ngantja athirrapwa  
 2Sg 3:4 many 3:4 that but 1Sg-CofR 3:4 few  
 'You [have] lots but I [have] a few.'

Another usage of the Change of Referent suffix is in the di-  
 transitive clause in which this form of the pronoun occurs in the  
 indirect object (see also Section 3.4.3.1B). The semantic concept is  
 still one of marking the change from the participant in the subject to  
 a different participant in the indirect object.

ngamwiningakpwirakina angalya ngalhatja  
 2Sg+3:2 make 3:4 place 3:2(i)-CofR  
 'Make the bed for her!'

kilhikatjimwantja ningkwiwa ngantja  
 2Sg go-LOC 2Sg 1ExcSg-CofR

yikimwinipwayantanamwa apwila akwa awirintja  
 2Sg/1ExcSg will be buying 3:4 apple and 3:4 orange  
 'When you go [shopping] you will be buying an apple and orange  
 for me.'

nganiyarriya      wirrintjaya      apwirringatja  
 (empathy)      (sympathy)      3:1FemDu-CofR  
 '[I] feel very sorry for the two women.'

The Locative, Ablative, Allative, Pergressive and Comitative case clitics can be attached to the free form or the possessive pronouns, i.e., the case marker follows the stem formative -wɪ or the Possessive suffix -ɪhangwɪ. (Note: The Time Pergressive clitic apparently involves pergression rather than juxtaposition.)

wirrakina      wirratjitja      nanirntarrka      aniwamwantja  
 3:1 that there      3:1 bird      3:1+3:3 grabbed      3:3(i)-LOC  
 'That bird grabbed onto him.'

nanaka      ngayiwamwantja  
 3:3(i) this      1ExcSg-LOC  
 'The man [is] near me.'

akina      ayakwa      yirrilyalyingpwikayinimwa  
 3:4 that      3:4 speech      1ExcPl were discussing

ngakwirrilhangwilhangwa      wirriyikwayiwa  
 1IncPl-POSS-ABL      3:1 children  
 'We were talking about our children.'

amwirntakakina      nalhawirrathinimwa      apwirriwawa  
 3:4Pl those there      3:1Pl were returning      3:1Pl-ALL  
 'Those [spears] kept returning to them.'

ningilyilyangimwa      ayakwa      ngalhiwawa.  
 1ExcSg+3:4 was delivering      3:4 speech      3:2(i)-ALL  
 'I was delivering the message to her.'

ningkwiwilhangwiya      yirrayiwarna  
 2Sg-LPRG      1ExcSg+2Sg follow  
 'I followed along in your [tracks].'

ngayiwawiya      kampwarriya  
 1ExcSg-TPRG      2Sg sit  
 'You should [come and] sit close to me!'

kwilhikatjamwirriwiya      ningkwilhangwimwirra      tiraka  
 2Sg are going-TPRG      2Sg-POSS-COM      3:5 car  
 'You are always going in your car.'

yingilhikatjamwa      ngayiwamwirra  
 3:2 is going      1ExcSg-COM  
 'She is going with me.'

Anindilyakwa has 320 free forms of the demonstrative (including variants but excluding shortened forms). These are divided into six sets in which the roots distinguish location in relation to the speaker and/or addressee, and visibility. They can be used as an attributive modifier within a noun phrase or as the noun phrase itself. One of the six sets has an anaphoric function in a discourse. A demonstrative and a personal pronoun often occur in apposition, especially in first and second persons.

A demonstrative consists of an obligatory Nominal Prefix Nucleus, an optional Number morpheme and an obligatory demonstrative root. The morphological structure of demonstratives and personal pronouns are quite different. Demonstratives differ from nominals in two ways: (a) there are additional Number morphemes which are closer in shape to those in the verb prefixation; and (b) only a set of simple demonstrative roots can occur. Suffixation for nominals and demonstratives is the same. The deep structure demonstrative morphemes are shown on Table 14.

The Anindilyakwa demonstratives have combinations of prefixes and roots which appear to be illogical to non-native speakers, e.g., 'that I over there' and 'this you here'. These first and second person demonstratives are only used in unusual situations, such as referring to a reflection or image in water, a mirror or a photo. Thus 'that I over there' is used when a photo of me is at a distance from myself and the person to whom I am speaking.

TABLE 14: DEEP STRUCTURE MORPHEMES OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES

	NOMINAL PREFIX NUCLEUS	NUMBER	ROOT: LOCATION
NON-SINGULAR			
1ST INCL	ngarra ngarripwiku	PL ~ wirrakwi	here: SG/PL here: DU/TRI here: PLURAL
1ST EXCL	yirra		
1ST EXCL	yirripwiku		
1ST EXCL	yirriini => yini		
1ST EXCL	yirringa	DU/TRI	there there: PLURAL
2ND	kwirra		
2ND	kwirripwiku		
2ND	kwirriini => kini		
2ND	kwirringa		
3RD	wirra		
3RD	wirripwiku		
3RD	wirriini => wini		
3RD	wirringa		
SINGULAR			
1ST INCL	ya		
1ST INCL	ninga		
1ST EXCL	ningkwu		
2ND	tha		
3RD	ni		
3:2(1)	yi		
3:3(1)	a		
3:3(11)	mwa		
3:4			
3:5			

## 5.1 DEMONSTRATIVE ROOTS

The demonstrative roots divide into two semantic groups, viz., realis and irrealis. The realis roots indicate that an item is visible and in a certain position in relation to the speaker and/or addressee; the irrealis roots indicate that the referent is not visible to the speaker and the location, therefore, is irrelevant or unknown.

### 5.1.1 Realis

The roots in the four sets of realis demonstratives are as follows:

anani	'this one near the speaker, this here'
akini	'that one near the addressee, that there'
angapwi	'that one distant from speaker & addressee, that over there'
pwikwaya	'this one approaching the speaker and addressee'

If an item is midway between the speaker and addressee either demonstrative can be chosen. If a visible item is outside the immediate area of interaction between the speaker and addressee the demonstrative angapwa is used to denote a distance of anything more than two or three feet from the speaker and addressee. Children learn to use the two extremes of distance, anani and angapwi', prior to the more complex akini.

The demonstrative, pwikwaya 'this approaching', may consist of the empty morph pwi plus the root kwaya 'to share' since, in my experience, the person approaching frequently stops and joins in the conversation.

Examples of the four realis demonstratives are as follows:

yalhakwilhangwiya    ninganana                    ningilhikatjamwa  
 here-LPRG                    1ExcSg this here    1ExcSg am going  
 'I am going along here.'

narringamwinakwimwirna    thakinimwantja  
 3:1+3:2 put                    3:2 that there-LOC  
 'They put [the spike] in her.'

nara    anana                    wimpwa    angapwa                    tjiwirra  
 not    3:4 this here    but    3:4 that over there    3:4 book  
 'Not this one but that book over there.'

arngkwawira    mwangiyiwanga    mwipwikwaya                    nimwilhikana  
 once                    3:5 shark                    3:5 this coming    3:5 went  
 'Once the shark went towards [the whale].'

The first three realis demonstratives listed above have allomorphs and, in some instances, shortened forms.

- (i) The realis demonstrative roots, anani 'this here' and akini 'that there', vary freely with ayani and ayini, respectively, when the prefix is marked for plural. The suffix -aya is the same form as the suffix used to mark the plural subject or object in the verb suffixation (see Section 6.3.2).

kwirrimwirntakanana ~ kwirrimwirntakayana  
 /kwirra + mwirntak{a} + anani ~ ayani/  
 2Pl                    PL                    this here  
 'these here: all of you'

yirrimwirntakakina ~ yirrimwirntakayina  
 /yirra + mwirntak{a} + akini ~ ayini/  
 1ExcPl                    PL                    that there  
 'those there: all of us'

yimwirntakakina ~ yimwirntakayina  
 /yi + mwirntak{a} + akini ~ ayini/  
 3:3(ii)                    PL                    that there  
 'those there: YI Class'

- (ii) Two realis demonstrative roots each have two different roots corresponding with a difference in number, viz., anani 'this here (singular and plural)' versus akani 'this here (dual and

trial); and angapwi 'that over there (singular and plural)' versus angakpi [aŋekpi] 'that over there (dual and trial). There is no apparent reason for these number distinctions but it may be that, as the other member of the trinary set, akini 'that there', does not distinguish number, the deep structure form of anani was akani and that regressive assimilation has changed some surface structure forms. The occurrence of a morpheme-initial [a] and not the fronted allophone [e] in angakpi suggests the presence of two morphemes, the nature of which has not been ascertained.

ningkanana  
/ningk{wi} + anani/  
2Sg            this here:sg/pl  
'this here: you'

kwirrimwirntakanana  
/kwirra + mwirntak{a} + anani/  
2Pl            PL            this here:sg/ 1  
'these here: all of you'

kinalhakana  
/k{w}i{rri}n{i} + alh{aki} + akani/  
2MascDu            DU            this here:du/tri  
'these here: you two males'

wirrangapwa  
/wirr{a} + angapwi/  
3:1            that over there:sg/pl  
'those over there: all of them'

wirringalhangakpa  
/wirring{a} + alh{aki} + angakpi/  
3:1FemDu            DU            those over there:du/tri  
'those over there: they two females'

ngarripwikwalhangakpa  
/ngarripwikwi + alh{aka} + angakpi/  
1IncTri            DU            those over there:du/tri  
'those over there: all of us' (in a photo)

- (iii) The realis root, anani 'this here', is the only one which has irregular phonologically-conditioned forms within the set. Four allomorphs occur in the singular or plural forms, viz.,

anani, arnarni, amami, and akaka. The second allomorph is the result of the Cerebralisation following plural prefixation (see Section 2.5.2.3). The allomorph, amami [ememi ~ amemi], is progressively assimilated following the singular nominal classifier mwa-. The nasal, however, is not rounded. The most likely explanation is that it conforms to the regular phonological patterning of an unrounded nasal preceding the word-final high fronted vowel allophone.

anana  
/{a} + anani/  
3:4 this here:sg/pl  
'this here: A Class'

warnarna  
/wirra + anani ==> arnani ==> arnarni/  
3:1 this here:sg/pl  
'these here: WIRRA Class'

mwamama  
/m{wa} + anani ==> amwamwi ==> am{w}am{w}i/  
3:5 this here:sg/pl  
'this here: MWA Class'

The allomorph, akaka [akaka] 'this here', occurs only in the third person singular forms for Noun Classes 3:2, 3:3 (i) and 3:3(ii). The reduplication suggests assimilation within the root. This supports the above suggestion that the deep structure form akani was once regular and not irregular for singular number. Progressive assimilation operating on akani would result in akaka. Furthermore, the allomorph akaka freely varies with assimilated forms, conditioned by the nominal classifier.

thakaka	~	thathaka	'this here: THA Class'
nakaka	~	nanaka	'this here: NI Class'
yakaka	~	yayaka	'this here: YI Class'



In both akini [akini] and akani [akeni], the morpheme-initial vowel in the surface structure is almost always [a], indicating that the Vowel Fronting Rule 1 is not operating. Two morphemes may be involved in each root: the second morphemes may be ani 'here' or ni 'there'; and the first morpheme may be aka, possibly indicating realis (in contrast with the syllable pwi in the irrealis demonstrative root pwini 'not visible'). The most likely explanation, however, is that the nasals in both morphemes were historically retroflexed as in the variants for first and second person.

ningana	~	ningarna	'this here: 1ExcSg'
ningkana	~	ningkarna	'this here: 2Sg'

- (iv) Some demonstrative roots can be shortened by deleting the medial syllable. It occurs in two demonstrative sets with the following allomorphs: anani or akaka 'this here' and angapwi 'that over there'. The shortened variants, ani and aka, occur in all pertinent positions within the set but apwi has only

mwamwirntaka(na)na  
 /mwa + mwirntak{a} + a(na)ni/  
 3:5 PL this here  
 'these here: MWA Class'

thakina	wipwirra	tha(ka)ka
3:2 that there	like	/tʰ{a} + a(ka)ka/ 3:2 this here

'That one there is like this one.'

nangapwa ~ napwa  
 /n{ɪ} + a(nga)pwi/  
 3:3(1) that over there  
 'that one over there: NI Class'

Of the realis demonstrative roots, only akini is used to indicate anaphoric reference in discourses. It is used when a

previously-named participant in the story continues to be the main actor. It is in contrast with the use of the Change of Referent marker on the personal pronoun when the main actor changes. The choice of this particular demonstrative appears to be quite arbitrary seeing that there can be no concept of nearness to the addressee (or audience). All six demonstratives can occur in reported speech. The following excerpts from the same story exemplify the usage of various demonstratives in reported speech and the contrast between the anaphoric demonstrative and the Change of Referent pronoun (see underlining).

Angkwawira mwangwiyiwanga mwipwikwaya nimwilhikana  
 once 3:5 shark 3:5 this coming 3:5 came  
 Once the shark came towards the whale.

apwirthiwa. Pwiya nimwartanga mwakina  
 3:4 whale-ALL then 3:5 called 3:5 that there  
 Then that [shark] called out

akwalhiwa akwalya wirrirringka  
 3:4 other:ALL 3:4 fish 2Pl+3:4 look at  
 to the other fish, "Look at that whale over there!"

angapwa apwirtha. Pwiya nayamwa  
 3:4 that over there 3:4 whale then 3:5 said  
 Then he [whale]

angalhatja kiyamwarrkinamwa ningana  
 3:4-CofR 1ExcSg be doing how? 1ExcSg this here  
 said, "How can I get big

kingimwirrthiniyatha akwa karimirrthiniyatha.  
 1ExcSg will become fat-PURP and 1ExcSg will become big-PURP  
 and fat?"

A demonstrative and a personal pronoun co-occur quite frequently in the same sentence. There is no known syntactic or semantic reason for this co-occurrence. For example:

Question: akina akwalya ngawa ningkwirra  
 3:4 that there 3:4 fish cont.act 2Pl  
 'Do you all have enough fish?'

Answer: katha                    ngayiwa                    ningana  
           don't know            1ExcSg                    1ExcSg this here  
           'I don't know.'

### 5.1.2 Irrealis

One of the two irrealis demonstratives is an interrogative.  
 The roots in the two sets of irrealis demonstratives are as follows:

pwini	'that not visible to the speaker'
angampwi	'which?, what?'

The location of the item represented by pwini 'not visible, unseen' is known by the speaker who will supply the information if others are in doubt. In contrast, the interrogative demonstrative angampwi indicates that the location is unknown to the speaker.

The following examples illustrate the positioning of the irrealis demonstrative pwini as head or modifier of the noun phrase. The fact that an item is 'not visible' can often only be determined in the context of a conversation or a narrative.

kampwirra    thipwina            thingira            anilhangwamwantja  
 therefore    3:2(ii) that unseen    3:2(ii) clay    3:3(i)-POSS-LOC

          nanimwathangkwa            yingiwirritjingwa  
           3:3(i) his body            3:2 moved itself  
 'Thus the clay on his body had disappeared.'

yingapwirangka    apwiniwa                    angwarnta  
 3:2 looked for    3:4 that unseen-ALL    3:4 stone  
 'She looked for the stone.'

naniwarrikawarriyathinimwirra    naripwapwa  
 3:3MascDu were becoming upset    not-CSL

wirripwina                    wirrangariya  
           3:1Pl those unseen    3:1Pl young  
 'The two of them were becoming upset because [there were] no children.'

The irrealis demonstrative pwina is also used in comparisons

to indicate that the items are the same or similar.<sup>5</sup> It does not seem to indicate that the items are 'not visible' because the realis demonstratives can occur in the same sentence. In this particular usage, the root pwini can be marked simply by the Nominal Prefix Nucleus or be attached to a demonstrative (see last two examples).

alhakina	pwatjikala	<u>apwinikwiya</u>
3:4Du those there	3:4 tin	3:4 same-DU

'Those two tins are the same.'

awirrakayana	<u>apwiniwiya</u>	wimpwa	angapwa
3:4Pl these here	3:4 same-PL	but	3:4 that over there

ngalhatja	angka
3:4-CofR	3:4 other

'These are the same but that one over there is different.'

wimpwa	ngalhatja	thipwina	thilyapwirnta
but	3:2(ii)-CofR	3:2(ii) that unseen	3:2(ii) frog

<u>thipwina</u>	ngawa	wipwirra
3:2 same	cont.act	like

'But the frog was still the same as before.'

pwia	angwirritha	nalhantharrkina	<u>anipwina</u>	arakpwa
then	3:4 magpie	3:4 thought	3:4 same	comp.act

kiniwilyakatjiniyatha	yaka	yingwa
1ExcSg+3:2 will show-PURP	3:3(ii) this here	3:3(ii) crow

'Then that same Magpie thought, "I will teach Crow [a lesson]."'

wirrapwapwirnilhangwa	nalyalyingmwayininwaka
3:1 many-ABL	3:1+3:4 were liking-INTENS

wirrapwapwirnilhangwa	yimpwikwa	niwirrwilya
3:1 many-ABL	except	3:3(i) rainbow

<u>nakinipwini</u> tha
3:3(i) that there-same-INTENS

'Everyone was enjoying it--everyone except that same Rainbow.'

---

Footnote 5: Two realis demonstratives can also be used for comparisons but the word, wipwirra 'like', co-occurs, e.g.,

thakina	wipwirra	thakaka
'that [dress] is like this one'		

As both constructions seems to have been used for visible items more field work is necessary to resolve the issue.

The negative adverb nara can precede the irrealis demonstrative pwini to form the idiomatic expression that can be translated 'not here', 'not there', 'non-existent' or 'without'. Semantically the phrase is marked twice for negative. This construction is often the answer to a question and occurs without its referent as head of the noun phrase.

nara      mwipwina                      yalhakwimwantja  
not      3:5 that unseen      here-LOC  
'It [the boat] is not here'.

arakpwawiya      yakina                      yipwiratha      nara  
long ago      3:3 that there      3:3 wallaby      not

                    mwipwina                      mwamwithakpwa  
                    3:5 that unseen      3:5 tail  
'A long time ago the wallaby [was] without a tail.'

Question: wirripa      warnimwamwalya      narranirringka  
                    3:1 any?      3:1 people      3:1+3:3 saw  
'Did he see any people?'

Answer:      nara      wirripwina  
                    not      3:1 those unseen  
'[The people] were not there.' / 'No one.'

An interrogative demonstrative, represented by apa [epa] 'any?', is probably related to the irrealis demonstrative apwini 'not visible' or the question suffix -pwini (Section 8.2.1.6).<sup>6</sup> This interrogative demonstrative is used when the questioner cannot see any visible evidence of the items. The root p[w]i is prefixed by the Nominal Prefix Nucleus but only a limited number of singular

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Footnote 6: The realis demonstrative, represented by akini, is used with question intonation when the referent is visible, e.g.,

Question: akina                      akwalya                      ngawa      ningkwirra  
                    3:4 that there      3:4 fish      enough      2Pl  
'Do you all have enough fish?'

Answer:      katha                      ngayiwa                      ningana  
                    don't know      1ExcSg      1ExcSg this here  
'I don't know.'

forms have been recorded to date. No suffixation occurs. It may well be that this word is an interrogative adjective but it is analysed as a demonstrative because of the association with demonstratives in a Question/Answer mode.

Question: apa                      ningkakpwirrangarna                      anhinga  
              3:4 any?                2Sg+3:4 found                      3:4 food  
              'Did you find any food?'

Answer:    nara                apwina                      kakpwirrangarna  
              not                3:4 that unseen                      1ExcSg will find  
              'I found nothing.' / 'I did not find it [food].'

Question: wirripa                      warrimwamwalya                      narrarringka  
              3.1Pl any?                3:1 people                      3:1+3:3 saw  
              'Did he see any people?'

Answer:    nara                wirripwina  
              not                3:1 those unseen  
              'No one.'

Question: wayi                apa                      ngantja                      angwira  
              oh                3:4 any?                1ExcSg-CofR                      3:4 wood  
              'Hey, [have you] any wood for me?'

Answer:    nar'apwina  
              not 3:4 that unseen  
              'None.'

Question: ningkwipa  
              2Sg any?  
              'Are you there?'

Answer:    yawi                ningana                      yalhakwimwantja  
              yes                1ExcSg this here                      here-LOC  
              'Yes, I'm here.'

The interrogative irrealis demonstrative root has two different roots corresponding with a change in number, viz., angampwi 'which? (singular/plural)' and angangpi [ajenpi ~ ejenpi] ~ angampi [ajempi] 'which? (dual/trial)'. The dual/trial realis and irrealis forms, angakpi 'those over there' and angangpi 'which of those?', contrast only by the use of /ng/ and its hardened counterpart /k/.

The meaning would, however, be neutralised if these roots were to be considered to be the same number infix or root.

nangampwa  
/n{a} + angampwi/  
3:3(i) which?:sg/pl  
'Which one is that [NI Class]?'

thalhangangpa  
/th{a} + alh{aki} + angangpi/  
3:2(ii) DU which?:du/tri  
'What are those two [THA Class]?'

wirripwikwalhangangpa  
/wirripwikwi + alha{aki} + angangpi/  
3:1Tri DU which?:du/tri  
'What are those three [WIRRA Class]?'

The interrogative demonstrative, angampwi 'what?, which?', has a secondary meaning of 'where?'. (Note: This demonstrative has the same root as the interrogative adverb ngampwi 'where?'.) The answer to the question, however, is not an adverb but a realis or irrealis demonstrative, as seen in the pairs of examples below.

Question: nangampwa                      nawirrmwikwimwa  
3:3(i) which?                      3:3(i) man  
'Which man?' / 'Where is the man?'

Answer: nakina  
3:3(i) that there  
'That man there.'

Question: thangampwa                      thatharrngka  
3:2(i) which?                      3:2(i) woman  
'Which woman?' / 'Where is the woman?'

Answer: thangapwa                      arrakpimwantja  
3:2(i) that over there                      outside-LOC  
'That woman outside.'

Question: angampwa                      akwalya  
3:4 which?                      3:4 fish  
'Which fish?' / 'Where is the fish?'

Answer 1: anana                      akwalya                      ningkwirangimwa  
3:4 this here                      3:4 fish                      1ExcSg+3:4 was hooking  
'This fish that I was hooking.'

Answer 2: nara apwina akwalya kikwiranga  
 not 3:4 that unseen 3:4 fish 1ExcSg+3:4 would hook  
 'I did not catch a fish.'

An irrealis interrogative demonstrative can co-occur with any member of a noun phrase. This permits the co-occurrence of two different demonstratives.

angampwikwiya apwina nganyangwa  
 3:4 which?-DU 3:4 that unseen 1ExcSg-POSS  
 'In which [place] are my two things?'

mwangampwa mwakina  
 3:5 which? 3:5 that there  
 'What is that?'

mwangampwa mwarimwa mwitjiyanga  
 3:5 which? 3:5 big 3:5 boat  
 'Where is the big boat?'

The interrogative demonstrative angampwi is also used in the same way as 'what's its name?' or 'what you may call it' in English. It maybe asking for an answer from the audience or simply used as an aside until the correct name of the item is recalled.

angampwaka apwina amwikirra angalya  
 3:4 which?-INTENS 3:4 that unseen 3:4 its name 3:4 place  
 'What do you call it? The name of that place?'

## 5.2 ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Three of the demonstratives are affixed by the Time Progressive case clitic to indicate time. The prefixation is restricted to the nominal classifier for Noun Class 3:4 which is associated with invisibility. They function syntactically as adverbs, not as part of a noun phrase. (See also Section 7.1.2). The three demonstrative adverbs are:



a(na)niwiya	now, immediately, during the present time
apwiniwiya	a while ago, during those few days, that time in the past
akiniwiya	previously-mentioned time, during that past time

The realis demonstrative in ananiwiya 'now' indicates that the time is close to the speaker. The meaning of akiniwiya 'that past time' is similar to its usage for anaphoric reference in the discourse. The adverbial demonstrative, ap{w}ini (recent past time), implies that the time has disappeared because of the use of the demonstrative for the 'not visible or unseen'.

ningilhiakatjamwa	<u>ananiwiya</u>	ningana
1ExcSg am going	3:4 this here-TPRG	1ExcSg this here

kimwarringkinamwa	mwitjiyanga
1ExcSg+3:5 will be seeing	3:5 boat-ALL

'I am going now to see the boat.'

ningimwarringkinamwa	mwitjiyanga	<u>ananiwiya</u>
1ExcSg+3:5 am seeing	3:5 boat	3:4 this here-TPRG

'I can see the boat right now.'

nimwangkarrinimwa	tiraka	angwirra	akwa	<u>akiniwiya</u>
3:5 was running	3:5 truck	strongly	and	3:4 that there-TPRG

ngarringakowartha  
1IncPl were frightened  
'The truck was going fast and, at that time, we were frightened.'

yingilhihana	<u>apwiniwiya</u>
3:2 went	3:4 that unseen-TPRG

'She went a few minutes ago / last week.'

The above usage contrasts with the occurrence of the demonstratives as modifiers of an adverbial noun within the noun phrase. Their prefixation is also restricted to Noun Class 3:4 but in agreement with the noun class of the head of the noun phrase. Various case clitics can occur in this environment.

kingatjininamwa                      angwalha      animwantja                      tjantiyi  
 1ExcSg+3:4 will be killing      3:4 crab      3:4 this here-LOC      3:4 Sunday  
 'I will be killing the mud crab on this [coming] Sunday.'

nilhikana      yakiniyatha                      yimwawira  
 3:3 went      3:3(ii) that there-PURP      3:3(ii) moon  
 'He went for three months.'

### 5.3 DEMONSTRATIVE PREFIXATION

The demonstratives are prefixed by the Nominal Prefix Nucleus but have a dual number prefix which does not occur in nominals or personal pronouns. It follows the Nominal Prefix Nucleus.

The number morphemes in the demonstratives distinguish singular, dual/trial and plural. Singular is unmarked; dual and trial are marked by the same number morpheme lhaki-; plural is marked by the freely-varying morphemes, mwirntaka- and wirraka-. The number morphemes are optional with the human plural WIRRA noun class which already has number marked in the nominal prefix nucleus but obligatory with the non-human plurals in the THA, YI, MWA and A noun classes.

ninganana    'this here: I'  
 /ning{a} + anani/  
 1ExcSg      this here

ningkakina    'that there: you'  
 /ningk{wi} + akini/  
 2Sg              that there

wirrangapwa      ~      wirrimwirntakangapwa      ~      wirriwirrakangapwa  
 /wirr{a} + (mwirntak{a} ~ wirrak{a}) + angapwi/  
 3:1              PL                              that over there  
 'those over there: WIRRA Class'

thimwirntakipwikwaya      ~      thiwirrakipwikwaya  
 /tha + (mwirntaka ~ wirraka) + pwikwaya/  
 3:2(ii)      PL                              this coming  
 'these approaching: THA Class'

yimwirntakipwina      ~      yiwirrakipwina  
 /yi + (mwirntaka ~ wirraka) + p{w}ini/  
 3:2(ii)      PL                              that unseen  
 'those not visible: YI Class'

amwirntakangampwa ~ awirrakangampwa  
 /a + (mwirntak{a} ~ wirrak{a}) + angampwi/  
 3:4 PL which?  
 'which of those?: A Class'

The deep structure form of the dual number morpheme, alhaki- ~ alyaki-, has been difficult to determine. The penultimate low vowel is fronted in the irrealis demonstratives, thus indicating that the final syllable is ki-. (Note that in other demonstratives the final VCV elides.) The phonological rules operate with both possibilities, alhaki- or alhakpi-. The former has been arbitrarily chosen as the form throughout this thesis--the arguments for and against each choice are as follows:

- (a) the deep structure alhaki- would be similar to the dual prefix lhirraka- in the verbs, i.e, a morpheme-initial /a/ is added and the morpheme-medial VCC sequence /irr/ is deleted. This, however, is unusual because it is not the deletion of a medial syllable. The final syllable is that of the Adjectiviser ki-, commonly found in the first root of an adjective stem, but differing from other number morphemes which all end in /ka/.

wirringalyakpwina  
 /wirring{a} + alyak{i} + p{w}ini/  
 3:1FemDu DU that unseen  
 'those two not visible: WIRRA Class'

thalhakpwikwaya  
 /th{a} + alhak{i} + pwikwaya/  
 3:2(ii) DU this coming  
 'these two approaching: THA Class'

yalhakana  
 /y{i} + alh{aki} + akani/  
 3:3(ii) DU these here:du/tri  
 'these two here: YI Class'

- (b) the deep structure alhakpi- would correspond with the demonstrative root angakpi- but the alternation, /lh/ ~ /ng/,

does otherwise occur. (Note: The hardened counterpart of /ng/ is /k/ and of /lh/ is /th/). Furthermore, no other number prefix has a final CCV.

kwirringalhangakpa  
 /kwirring{a} + alh{akpi} + angakpi/  
 2FemDu DU those over there:du/tri  
 'those two over there: you fem'

mwalhangangpa  
 /mw{a} + alh{akpi} + angangpi/  
 3:5 DU which?:du/tri  
 'which two: MWA Class?'

In the trial demonstratives, the dual prefix follows the trial marker in the Nominal Nucleus. The last two examples show how number can be marked four times in the one demonstrative.

apwikwalhakana  
 /apwikw{i} + alh{aki} + akani/  
 3:4Tri DU these here:du/tri  
 'these three here: A Class'

yirripwikwalhakupwina  
 /yirripwikw{i} + alh{aki} + p{w}ini/  
 1ExcTri DU that unseen  
 'those three not visible: we'

wirripwikwalhangakpa  
 /wirripwikw{i} + alh{aki} + angakpi/  
 3:1Tri DU those over there:du/tri  
 'those three over there: WIRRA Class'

#### 5.4 DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXATION

Demonstratives do not have any distinctive suffixation but are affixed by some, but not all, of the nominal suffixes and clitics. No derivational suffixation has been found. They are not inflected by the Possessive suffix because the possessive personal pronouns are used instead.

The Number suffixes (Section 6.3.2 excluding Restrictive) can

be attached, viz., -kwiya (dual), -wiya (plural), and -mwirriya 'and all the others in the vicinity'. For trial number, there is a choice of either the dual or the plural number suffixes.

angampw <u>kwiya</u>	apwina	nganyangwa
3:4 which?-DU	3:4 that unseen	1ExcSg-POSS

'Where are my two things?'

apwikwalhakina	pwatjikala	apwikwalhakpwini <u>kwiya</u>
3:4Tri that there	3:4 billycan	3:4Tri same-DU

'Those three billycans there are the same.'

wirrangapwaw <u>iya</u>	wirripwipw <span style="text-decoration: underline;">ilanti</span> wiya
3:1 that over there-PL	3:1 whites-PL

'All the non-aboriginal people [are] over there.'

akini <u>wiya</u>	nganyangwa
3:4 that there-PL	1ExcSg-POSS

'All this [is] mine.'

thangampwamw <span style="text-decoration: underline;">irri</span> ya	thakina
3:2 which?-ETC	3:2 that there

'What [kind is] that [bird] and similar [ones] there?'

The peripheral case-marking clitics are often marked on the demonstrative in the noun phrase. The following sets of examples illustrate this occurrence for Locative, Ablative, Allative, Pregressive and Comitative cases.

yikil <span style="text-decoration: underline;">hika</span> tja	yalhakwa	ngantjikwapwa	ningarntakatja
2ExcPl will go	here	1ExcSg-POSS-also	1ExcSg+3:4 spearfish

akwalya	ananimw <span style="text-decoration: underline;">ant</span> ja	angalya
3:4 fish	3:4 this here-LOC	3:4 place

'We will come here and spear-fish at this place.'

angampwimw <span style="text-decoration: underline;">ant</span> ja	angalya	ningkwampwilyamwa
3:4 which?-LOC	3:4 place	2Sg are staying

'In which place are you living?' / 'Where are you living?'

anatja	ningakpwirakatjingwinimwa	nakinil <span style="text-decoration: underline;">hang</span> wa
3:3(i)-CofR	3:3 was hiding himself	3:3(i) that there-ABL

niwirrwilya
3:3(i) rainbow

'He was hiding himself from Rainbow.'

yirramwaka	mwakinilhangwa	arakpwawiya	wirrarimwirimwa
1ExcPl+2Pl told	3:5 that there-ABL	long ago	3:1 big

natjitjangimwa  
 3:1 kept eating  
 'We told about that (fruit) the giants on eating a long time ago.'

kampwirra	naniwilyaka	nakina	wirrakina
therefore	3:1+3:3 took	3:3(i) that there	3:1 those there

thakiniwa  
 3:2(ii) that there-ALL  
 'Therefore he took those people to that [frog].'

yikangkirrakatjamwa	nipwiniwa	nantjarralyilya
2Pl are running	3:3(i) that unseen-ALL	3:3(i) boy

akwa thingirawa  
 and 3:2(ii) white clay-ALL  
 'You will be thinking of the boy and the white clay.'

ananilhangwiya	ngawa	kwiyanwinamwa
3:4 this here-LPRG	cont.act	2Sg+3:4 is saying
'You keep on saying it [word] like this.' (Lit: along this)		

mwangapwilhangwiya	lhikatja	mwamwirikwa
3:5 that over there-LPRG	2Sg go	3:5 road
'Go along the road over there.'		

mwangampwimwirra	ningkilhikanimwa	mwitjiyanga
3:5 which?-COM	2Sg were going	3:5 boat
'By/in which boat were you going?'		

wirrilhikatja	warnimwirra
2Pl go	3:1 these here-COM
'Go with these [people]!'	