

Adverbs are primarily distinguished from other major word classes (verbs, nominals and pronominals) by the absence of prefixation. They differ from particles because they can carry case-marking clitics. Some adverbs are monomorphemic but most are polymorphemic. A few adverbial clitics have been included in this section because of their grammatical relationship with separate words.

The adverbs have been divided into five different types: locative, pergressive, manner, temporal and interrogative. The locative and pergressive adverbs are either speaker-oriented or environment-oriented. Some of the interrogative adverbs have an adjective or demonstrative roots.

7.1 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Location in adverbs can relate to time or space. Semantically and, to a lesser extent morphologically, they divide into two groups. One group refers to a specific position in relation to the surrounding environment (including people) but the other group refers to a specific position in relation to the speaker, narrator or author. In Anindilyakwa discourses, the narrator or author acts as an observer describing events as if sitting watching them, e.g., live telecasts by racing or Olympic Games commentators. These adverbs can be inflected for the peripheral cases.

7.1.1 Environment-oriented

Locative adverbs which indicate the specific position of an object in relation to its environment are set out in (horizontal)

contrastive pairs in Table 32. The locative adverbs refer to time as well as space. The system is defective in that the term arrawa is used in two different contrastive pairs. Some Warnindilyakwa Aborigines themselves presented the locative adverbs as pairs of antonyms.

TABLE 32: LOCATIVE ADVERBS (ENVIRONMENT-ORIENTED)

karrawara / apwalhkaya high, high up, above, over, on top of	arrawa low, low down, under, underneath, beneath
arrakpi outside	arrawa inside
akwithangwa near, nearby, next to close to, beside, nearly, almost	awirrikalya distant, far off, remote, long way away

The locative adverb, karrawara 'up high', is much more frequently used than its synonym. Even though it can be marked for case it is often not marked.

thapwapwirrangwa thimpwala ngakwirrilhangwa karrawara
3:2 many-POSS 3:2 clothing 1IncPl-POSS high

akingawirtitjinamwa akimwantja
1IncNsg+3:2 will be putting 3:4 tree-LOC
'We should be putting our clothes high up in the tree.'

yirripwikwalhilhikani::wa karrawara arakpwa
1ExcNsg went-cont.act high comp.act

yirrangapwa yakwitjina arakpwa
1ExcPl there there comp.act
'We three kept on going [until we reached] the top up there.'

wirringalhakana thikwirirrkwa ngawa narringangkirranamwirra
3:1FemDu 3:2(ii) brolga cont.act 3:1+3:2 are thinking

niwangkirrayinamwirra karrawarilhangwiya
3:1 are running high-LPRG
'The two brolgas are still thinking and running around high [in sky].'

The word, apwalhkaya(wa) 'above, up high', has been given as the synonym for karrawara(wa) but only one example is available from texts or elicited data. The word is obviously related to the verb, apwalhkayikwi 'to stand up', in which the first root is apwalhka 'abdomen'. It is also possible that the sky is seen as shaped like an abdomen.

yingampwilyimwa	amwiningka	<u>apwalhkaya</u>	mwipwinimwantja
3:2 was staying	3:4 different	high	3:5 that unseen-LOC

mwamwithangkwitha
3:5 sandhill-TRM
'She was staying up high on another sandhill.'

The locative adverb, arrawa 'down low' and 'inside', does not distinguish between the concepts of 'inside-ness' and 'underneath-ness'. The following examples illustrate both meanings and the contrast with karrawara.

narrawilyakamwa	wirrapwapwirnaka	wirrawimwinya
3:1+3:1 are carrying	3:1 many-INTENS	3:1 ducks

<u>arrawa</u>	apwirnilhangwimwantja	kayiwa
inside	3:1-POSS-LOC	3:5 bag

'They are carrying lots and lots of ducks inside their bag.'

nimwirrkwilhimwa	<u>arrawa</u>	akimwantja
3:3 was lying	under	3:4 tree-LOC

'He was lying down under the tree.'

akwa	mwarra	mwipwina	nimwikwilharrinimwa	<u>arrawiwa</u>
and	3:5 blood	3:5 that unseen	3:5 was falling	inside-ALL

'And the blood was flowing down inside [her body].'

<u>arrawimwantja</u>	alhikirimwantja
inside-LOC	3:4 house-LOC

'Inside the house.'

nampwampwilyimwirra	nakwikwawira	<u>arrawa</u>
3:3 was keeping on sitting	3:3 alone	inside

mwathirrimwantja	<u>karrawara</u>	mwamwithangkwiwantja
3:5 cave-LOC	high	3:5 sandhill-LOC

'He was keeping on sitting alone inside the cave high up in the hills.'

The locative adverb, arrakpi [e^hrekpi] 'outside', has been recorded only in reference to location in space. Its contrast with arrawa 'inside' is shown in the following examples.

thangapwa arrakpimwantja
3:2(i) that there outside-LOC
'She is outside.'

alyarrngwalyilya yakina nilhikana arrakpiwa
3:4 night 3:3(ii) that 3:3 went outside-ALL
'At night he [Wallaby] went outside.'

akiwarrilhangwa arrawimwantja wimpwa akiwarrilhangwa
3:4 portion-ABL inside-LOC but 3:4 portion-ABL

arrakpimwantja
outside-LOC
'Part [of the airconditioner] will be inside and part outside.'

The locative, akwithangwa 'near', is not mono-morphemic. The first of the two morphemes akwi is the shortened form of (y)alhakwa 'here'. The second morpheme -thangwa may be the hardened form of the ablative case clitic or the possessive suffix. The latter would indicate an (as yet unconfirmed) semantic concept of 'possessing here-ness'.

aniwa akwithangwa ngarrilhikatjamwa angalya
3:4 this-ALL near 1IncNsg are going 3:4 place
'We are going close to this place.'

pwiya mwiwilyapwimwantja mwarrnga thakina yingilhikana
then 3:5 one-LOC 3:5 night 3:2 that 3:2 went

akwithangwiwa awirikwa
near-ALL 3:4 swamp
'And then for one night she went near to the swamp.'

aningkwa nakwimwarnimwirra akwithangwa aniwamwantja
3:4 spear 3:3+3:4 was putting near 3:3(i)-LOC
'He was putting the spear next to him.'

napwiwarrka anilhangwa aningkwa arrawa amwartimwantja
3:3+3:4 hid 3:3(i)-POSS 3:4 spear inside 3:4 grass-LOC

akwithangwa
near
'He hid his spear in the grass nearby.'

akwithangwa kalharrmwirthinamwa
 near 3:4 will be becoming dark
 'It's nearly dark.'

mwipwina mwitjiyanga akwithangwa kimwingwirthinamwa
 3:5 that unseen 3:5 boat near 3:5 will be sinking

yirriyamwa
 1ExcNsg said
 "'The boat is almost sinking," we said.'

The Locative adverb, wilyarra 'in the middle, centrally', is
 an adjective root, minus the nominal classifiers.

arakpwa yirripwikwilhika yirripwikwiwatja
 comp.act 1ExcTri went 1ExcTri followed

yingangarikwiwilyarrakamwirra thakini-tha
 3:2+3:2 was causing centrality 3:2 that-TRM

wilyarra yingilhikanimwa
 centrally 3:2 was going
 'We three followed--she (Miss Harris) went in the middle.' (Dabarda
 was first and Maria last)

ana apwaka wilyarra apwina
 3:4 this 3:4 over there-INTENS centrally 3:4 that unseen

nakpwilhtjirrathina apwina ningiyamwa
 3:4 became long 3:4 that 1ExcSg said
 "'It is in the middle over there in the undulating country," I said.'

nalhikanimwa akina pwiya wilyarrapwa
 3:1 were going 3:4 that then centrally-RST

niwalharrngparrngimwa antharrnga
 3:1 were settling down (name)
 'They kept going and then they settled down about halfway at
 Antharrnga.'

Rebecca ningkwiwa lhikatja wilyarriwa
 (name) 2Sg 2Sg go middle-ALL
 'Rebecca, go to the centre (of the circle)!'

7.1.2 Speaker-oriented

The second set of locative adverbs which refers to a more
 general position in relation to the speaker or narrator are shown on
 Table 33 in (horizontal) contrastive pairs. These adverbs

sometimes inflected by pergressive case-markers, -lhangwiya and -wiya.

TABLE 33: LOCATIVE ADVERBS (SPEAKER-ORIENTED)

near to speaker		distant from speaker	
(y)alhakwa	here	(y)akwitjina	there
(y)athatha	on this side	(y)athikina	on that side
a(tha)thipwina	on this side (previously mentioned)	a(lha)lhipwatja	on that side (previously mentioned)

The first order morpheme in the stems of locative adverbs, yathatha 'near the speaker' or 'on one side', has various phonologically-conditioned allomorphs in the surface structure, viz., (a) the forms shortened by the Haplology Rule (see Section 2.5.2.1), e.g., yatha; (b) the variation between /th/ and /lh/ because of the Fortition Rule (see Section 2.12), e.g., yalha, alhalha and alhatha; and (c) the absence of the initial consonant /y/ (see Section 2:10), e.g., athatha and atha. In the deep structure of the word yakwitjina, the medial syllable of the first morpheme yalhakwi has probably elided.

The second order morphemes make a distinction between being near the speaker or farther away. There is some resemblance to the demonstrative pronoun root but these are not demonstratives because of the lack of prefixation--they simply share the same root. The two demonstrative roots are: akini 'there nearer to the addressee' and pwini 'that not visible' which has a secondary meaning of 'same that as previously referred to'. No explanation can be given for the

alternative forms except that yathatha could be the result of progressive assimilation of the nasal in ani 'this near the speaker' to the last stop in yatha.

The following examples illustrate the contrastive pair of adverbs, (y)alhakwa 'here' and (y)akwitjina 'there'. In some of the examples from stories, the narrators were at Umbakumba but the orientation is related to the speaker rather than the township.

yalhakwa nimwathathinamwa nwakina ningiyamwa
here 3:4 is burning 3:5 that 1ExcSg said
'The fire is burning the tyre here [near me]," I said.'

pwiya alhakwa arakpwa yarna angalyimwantja
then here comp.act 1ExcPl these 3:4 place-LOC
'And then we were all at home here.'

kingakpwirakinamwa angalya alhkira akwitjina
1ExcSg+3:4 will be making 3:4 place 3:4 house there
'I will be building a house there.'

yakwitjina arra napwikwimwingkilha
there (name) 3:1Tri slept
'The three of them slept the night there at Arra.'

The following examples illustrate the contrastive pair of adverbs, (y)athatha 'on this side' and (y)athikina 'on that side'. The shortened form is also included.

nakina ana yathatha angalya naningkwalyirra
3:3(i) that 3:4 this on this side 3:4 place 3:3(i) Mamarika

wimpwa anatja angalya angalhipwa
but 3:3(i)-CofR 3:4 place that way
'He, the Mamarika man, had a place on this side but he [Amagula] had a place in that direction.'

yatha arakpwa ningilhikanimwa mwiwilyapwamwa
on this side comp.act 1ExcSg was going 3:5 one

ningimwingkilhimwirra ampwikwampwa
1ExcSg was sleeping (name)
'On this side I was going and sleeping one night at Umbakumba.'

nilhawirrathinimwa yathathilhangwiya
3:3 was returning on this side-LPRG
'He was returning from across there.'

thakina	<u>athikina</u>	yingilhikana	yingimwatjiwarna
3:2 that	on that side	3:2 went	3:2 walked

arakpwa	angapwiwa	angalya
comp.act	3:4 that there-ALL	3:4 place

'She walked on that side to that place over there.'

nilhikwilhikwayina	<u>athikinaka</u>	apwirantjarrarra
3:3 kept dancing	on that side-INTENS	3:4 smooth

'He kept on dancing on that side and [made] a smooth [place].'

The locative adverbs, alhalhipwina 'on this same side' and alhalhipwatja 'on that same side', seem to be used when referring to something that has just been mentioned. This is probably related to the usage of the irrealis demonstrative words with pwini for indicating similarity or sameness. No meaning has been assigned as yet to the morpheme pwatja. The shortened form, alhipwi 'on that same side', may be baby talk.

yirripwikwalhakana	<u>athipwina</u>	yirranikwa	akina
1ExcTri went	on this same side	1ExcNsg+3:3 gave	3:4 that

akwalya
3:4 fish

'We went on this side and he gave us [shark] meat.'

<u>alhalhipwatja</u>	arakpwa	nakina	nilhikwayina
on that same side	comp.act	3:3(i) that	3:3 danced

'He danced on that side.'

pwiya	<u>athipwina</u>	wirrirrakarimwa	wimpwa
then	on this side	3:1 big	but

<u>alhipwatja</u>	wirrirrakitjirra
on that side	3:1 long

'And then [he left] the big one on this side and the long one on that side.'

<u>alhipwa</u>	ningana	apwirrimwantjilhangwa
on that same side	1ExcSg this	(name)-ABL

'I [went] from Four-Mile Billabong on that side.'

The adverb, angalhalhipwatja 'from that side, from over yonder, from there', has two shortened forms: angalhipwa and angalyipwa. The derivation of this adverb is not resolved as yet. It may be an

adverbial noun in which an adverbial stem is preceded by the Alienable Possession marker ngwi-.

pwiya nihawirrathimwilhangwa angalhalhipwatja
then 3:3 was returning-ABL from there

 mwawilyimwantjilhangwa
 3:5 Thompson's Bay-ABL
'And then he was returning from Thompson's Bay.'

angalhipwa angampwilhangwa amwakalyiwakpwa
from there which?-ABL (name)

 yirringalhawirrakatjiwamwa thiningkwilhangwa
 1ExcNsg+3:2 were bringing back 3:2(ii) dugong

 thathimwathangkwa
 3:2(ii) her flesh
'From that place, Bickerton Island, we were bringing dugong meat
back (with us).'

7.2 PERGRESSIVE ADVERBS

A pergressive adverb is a separate word which indicates progression through space or time as opposed to the locative adverb meaning stationary in space or time. These adverbs are often accompanied by an appropriate hand movement. Verbs of motion frequently co-occur with the adverbs but the latter in themselves imply movement. They are not further suffixed for peripheral cases.

7.2.1 Environment-oriented

Table 34 lists the one pair of pergressive adverbs that are orientated to the environment rather than the speaker. The words refer to both location and time.

TABLE 34: PERGRESSIVE ADVERBS (ENVIRONMENT-ORIENTED)

athinakpwa (go) ahead, first, early	aritjilhangwa (follow) behind, last, late
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The pergressive adverb athinakpwa 'ahead' consists of two morphemes. The first morpheme is athini which is also found in temporal adverbs, e.g., athinipwa 'soon'. It is probably the same morpheme as (y)athatha 'on that side' in which the last syllable in the surface structure could be said to have assimilated to the previous one. The second morpheme is akpwa 'buttocks'. The word is used when someone goes ahead or arrives early in order to prepare something for those following.

wangkirrayina	<u>athinakpwa</u>	katjingwa
2Nsg go	ahead	so that

yikakarrnginiyatha	akwingwa	yirriyamwa
1ExcNsg will get water-PURP	3:4 water	1ExcNsg said

'"Go on ahead so that you can get us some water!" we said.'

nangapwa	ngarranimwinakwirratjinamwirra	<u>athinakpwa</u>
3:3(i) that there	1IncNsg+3:3 is minding	ahead

'That [man] over there is minding it ahead for us.'

<u>athinakpwa</u>	thirntanikpwa	yingilhikirakamwa	alhikira
ahead	3:2 mother-KPOSS	3:2+3:4 is building	3:4 house

akwa	yingilhirakamwa	angwira
and	3:2+3:4 is building	3:4 fire

'First of all, his mother is building a house and a fire.'

ngalhatja	mwariya	akwa	wirriyikwayiwa	niwampwilya
3:2-CofR	(name)	and	3:1 children	3:1 stayed

<u>athinakpwa</u>	angalyimwantja
ahead	3:4 home-LOC

'Mariya and the children stayed at home at first.'

The pergressive adverb aritjilhangwa 'behind' consists of two morphemes. The first morpheme aritji could be a hardened and shortened form of the adjective root rrariya; the second is the ablative case-marker -lhangwi. The word is used of someone following another person or one who comes after or later than everyone else.

pwi:::ya	ngalhatja	yinganthaya	<u>aritjilhangwa</u>
then	3:2-CofR	3:2 looked	behind

'And then Dabarda looked behind [her].'

yirripwikwirratja ngayiwa akwa mwiťjatja akwa
1ExcTri-CofR 1ExcSg and (name) and

mwiťjyarritja yirringilyakiwana ngalhatja thapawarta
(name) 1ExcFemDu led 3:2-CofR (name)

aritjilhangwa yirrangapwirrakwiwiwana
behind 1ExcNsg+3:2 followed

'Mijaja, Miss Harris and I led and Dabarda followed on behind us.'

ngayiwa ningampwarrnga athinipwawiya akwiťjina kampwirra
1ExcSg 1ExcSg soon-TPRG there therefore

ningkwiwa aritjilhangwa
2Sg behind

'I got there early and thus you came later.'

ngalhapwapwilhangwa amwirntakiljika aritjilhangwa
3:4 its turn-ABL 3:4 small things behind

'The luggage, in its turn, [was taken off] last.'

ampwaka ngaya aritjilhangwa
later 1ExcSg behind

'I [am waiting] until last.'

There is another pergressive adverb, lhikwakwa 'en route, along the way', which refers to space but not to time.¹¹ The word appears to be a shortened form resulting from the reduplication of the root lhikwa 'to dance'.

mwiťjiyangimwa mwakartilhangwiya mwathirrngwana mwakarta
3:5 boat-COM 3:5 sea-LPRG 3:5 big 3:5 sea

yirramwartangimwa lhikwakwa
1ExcNsg were climbing en route

'We were going by boat through big waves en route.'

Footnote 11: There is another adverb, lhikwiniyawa 'last, later', which is similar in morphological structure to lhikwakwa. It is used of the last action before leaving or the last person to go. As only the following example occurs in texts, its analysis as a pergressive adverb cannot yet be established.

ana anhinga ningalyipwarnamwa ngayiwa kilhikatjawa
3:4 this 3:4 food 1ExcSg am eating 1ExcSg 1ExcSg will go-ALL

lhikwiniyawa
last

'I am eating this food [and] I will be going later.'

narringingwathayinimwirra lhikwakwa winalyakpwiniwa
 3:1FemDu were crying en route 3:1MascDu those unseen-ALL
 'The two women were crying along the way about the two boys.'

yakina nayitjinimwirra wirrapwapwirna warnimwamwalya
 3:3(ii) that 3:3 was eating 3:1 many 3:1 people

lhikwakwa nilhikanimwantja
 en route 3:3 went-LOC
 'He [Snake] was eating a lot of people as he went along.'

7.2.2 Speaker-oriented

Table 35 lists the pergressive adverbs in paired oppositions in relation to movement to or from the speaker (as explained by the Aborigines themselves). The derivation of one word, however, indicates that the movement is towards the addressee. These adverbs are frequently accompanied by an appropriate hand movement. The horizontal pairs of antonyms were supplied by some of the Warnindilyakwa Aborigines. The word-initial consonant /y/ is optional in some words (see Section 2.10).

TABLE 35: PERGRESSIVE ADVERBS (SPEAKER-ORIENTED)

towards the speaker	away from the speaker
(y)angkwirrangwa to here, towards the speaker	angakipwa to there, away from the speaker
angarripwa (come) this way towards the speaker but changing one's the intended direction	(y)antjarri(kina) (go) that way from the speaker but not straight ahead
arripwapwa (come) towards the speaker	arripwatja (go) away/along from the speaker but in another direction

The derivation of these words is hard to determine because of the irregular forms. There are, however, overall similarities in the morphemes throughout the whole set. The morpheme in the first position is probably the noun root (y)angka 'head' but could also be the noun root arangka 'eye'. The second morpheme kini is the demonstrative root, akini 'that near the addressee'. The morphemes, pwapwa and pwa(tja), are paired and mean 'towards the speaker' and 'away from the speaker', respectively. The morpheme, tjarri [tjeŋi], is probably the hardened form of the adjective root, yarriki 'forked'; the morpheme, arri [eŋi], may also be a shortened form of the same root (see Section 2.9).

In the pergressive adverb, yangkwirrangwa 'to here', the initial consonant /y/ is optional. The derivation of the word is not known but the first morphemes seem to be yangkw and the other/s perhaps rrangwi or rranga, plus the Allative case-marker -wa. The case-marker frequently co-occurs on another word in the sentence.

wangkirrattja	<u>yangkwirrangwa</u>	ngayiwawa
2Sg run	to here	1ExcSg-ALL
'Run towards me!'		

alyarrngwalyilya	arakpwa	akina	mwarngkirngkiwilyarra
3:4 night	comp.act	3:4 that	3:5 midnight

yilhawirrathinimwa	<u>angkwirrangwa</u>	angalyiwa
1IncSg were returning	to here	3:4 home-ALL
'It was midnight when we were arriving home here.'		

anatja	<u>angkwirrangwa</u>	nangkarrinimwa	nangkarnimwirra
3:3(i)-CofR	to here	3:3 was running	3:3 was getting

thampwakwiwa
3:2(') tobacco-ALL
'He was running back here to get tobacco.'

mwilharrngkwitharrpwamwa	nimwangkarrina	<u>angkarrangwa</u>
3:5 tractor (short thing)	3:5 ran	to here
'The tractor came back here'		

<u>yangkwirrangwawiya</u>	ningana	ningilhikatjamwa
to here-LPRG	1ExcSg this	1ExcSg am going
'I am going around to here.'		

The derivation of the adverb, angakipwa 'to there', has not been ascertained. The first morpheme could be {y}ang{ka} 'head' and the last morpheme pwa could be the short form of pwatja 'away from the speaker'. (Note: There is a slight possibility that this is not a separate pergressive adverb but a variant form of the adverbial noun angalhipwa.)

yingilhawirrathina yingalhilhikani:::wa angakipwa
 3:2 returned 3:2 kept going-cont.act to there
 'She returned and kept on going [until she got] to there.'

yirripwikwirrakwithirrintinga angalyimwantja angakipwa
 1ExcTri descended 3:4 place-LOC to there

arapwa yirripwikampwirra
 comp.act 1ExcTri settled
 'We three went there to our camp and settled down.'

angakipwa mwithiyalyimwantja yirranirikpwitjangatja
 to there (name)-LOC 1ExcNsg+3:3 jumped off
 'He landed us there at Saltwater Creek.'

The pergressive adverb, angarripwa 'this way', probably consists of three morphemes: yang{ka} 'head'; arri{ki} 'forked'; and {pwa}pwa 'towards the speaker'. It has a shortened form arripwa which deletes the first morpheme. Such deletion is irregular.

akina arapwa niwangkarrina angarripwa mwikwimwikwiwa
 3:4 that comp.act 3:4 went this way 3:5 sea-ALL
 'It went straight ahead to the sea.'

wirringingampayina arripwa yiningwampwakiyatha
 2FemDu bathe this way 3:3(11) clam-PURP

thapwirrikwiya yingiyamwa
 3:2(1) daughter-DU 3:2 said
 '"You two daughters bathe this way for clams!" she said.'

yikilharrkatjiyatha arimiwiwa atjipwitila angarripwa
 1ExcNsg will send-PURP 3:4 big-ALL 3:4 hospital this way

tawiniwa
 Darwin-ALL
 'We intend to send you to the big hospital, this way to Darwin.'

The pergressive adverbs, yantjarrikina ~ yantjarra 'that way', refer to movement away from the speaker. The word probably consists of three morphemes, viz., (y)angka 'head' in which the final syllable is deleted and the nasal assimilates to the laminal stop; tjarri{ki} 'forked'; and kini 'near to the addressee'. The meaning of the demonstrative root indicates that the movement is related to the addressee rather than the speaker. It would seem that an addressee is implied even though one is not always visible to the group involved in the conversation. The Aborigines sometimes include that information in the free translation of the sentence.

nangkarra antjarrikina akiniwa athalyimwa
3:3 ran that way 3:4 that-ALL 3:4 river
'He ran that way [towards them] to the river.'

yantjarra aniwa nilhikana thathimwingkwirrawa
that way 3:3(i) 3:3 went 3:2(ii) point-ALL
'He went that way to the point [where the others were waiting].'

nara wiyakwiywirna ana athalyimwa yantjarrikina
not 2Nsg+3:4 follow 3:4 this 3:4 river that way

niyamwa yingwa
3:3 said 3:3(ii) crow

'"No, follow the river in that direction!" Crow said.

nara yantjarra angarripwa
no! that way this way
'Not that way, this way.'

The contrasting pair of adverbs, arripwapwa 'this way, towards the speaker' and arripwatja 'that way, away from the speaker', share the first morpheme arri{ki} 'forked' but contrast in the second morpheme. There is a possibility that the morpheme, pwapwa 'this way', has the deep structure demonstrative root pwini in which the last consonant has assimilated to the former.

nipwikwaya arripwapwa
this coming this way
'He [is] coming this way.'

thakina yinitjingwinimwirra amwarngka akwa yingil hikana
 3:2 that 3:2+3:4 was laughing 3:4 laugh and 3:2 went

yingikwakpwirriwarna ngarningka arripwatja
 3:2 crawled on her stomach again that way
 'She was laughing and went crawling along on her stomach again
 that way.'

wilhawirrathina arripwatja mwirirrpwamwa
 2Nsg return that way 3:5 human back-COM
 'Go backwards!'

The pergressive adverb arripwatjipwa means to 'turn and go that way'. There is a slight change in meaning because of the reduplication which seems to indicate repetitive action. No examples are available from text. The morpheme, pwatja 'that way', is most likely to be tjipwa because of its reduplicated form pwatjipwa (the reduplication and metathesis of pwatja would yield pwatjapwa).

7.3 MANNER AND TEMPORAL ADVERBS

The manner and temporal adverbs are structured in different ways. Some are monomorphemic while others are polymorphemic; some can be affixed by a limited number of syntactic suffixes, e.g., Intensifier and Terminaliser.

7.3.1 Uninflected adverbs

There are two adverbs which do not take derivational or syntactic inflections, other than the intensifier or terminaliser. These words could alternatively be regarded as particles but semantically fit in with the adverbs. The two adverbs are:

athirrariyapwa	suddenly
angwirra	strongly, energetically

The adverb, athirrariyapwa 'suddenly', is composed of three

morphemes. The first morpheme is probably the short form of {y}atha 'on this side'; the second is most likely to be the adjective root rrariya 'bad'; and the third -apwa may be the restrictive suffix 'only'. (Note: The semantic concept of badness or wrongness connected with 'suddenly' may have arisen from the cultural prohibition that a person not be woken suddenly so that the person's spirit will have time to return to the body.) The word has been checked but no examples are available from texts. The adverb, angwirra 'strongly, hard', is inflected by only the Intensifier and Terminaliser.

kampwirra	nangawartanga	thakina	<u>angwirra</u>	mwirirrpwamwantja
therefore	3:2+3:2 hit	3:2 that	strongly	3:5 back-LOC

'And so she hit her hard on the back.'

yakina	yipwiratha	nangkarrinimawaka	<u>angwirra</u>
3:3 that	3:3 wallaby	3:3 was running-INTENS	strongly

'That wallaby was running very fast/hard.'

ngalhatja	yirikwitjilhangwa	nanarrkarna	nakinimwantja
3:3(ii)-CofR	3:3(ii) bandicoot	3:3+3:3 pulled	3:3(i) that-LOC

angarripa	<u>angwirra</u>
that way	strongly

'Bandicoot pulled [the tail of] Wallaby very hard that way.'

7.3.2 Adverbs inflected only by -wiya

There are some temporal adverbs which have only been recorded with the Pergressive Time case-marker -wiya. The overall meaning does not always appear to change but the case-marker does indicate that duration of time is involved. These adverbs are as follows:

warnantji(pwawiya)	quickly
athiwaya(wiya)	for a while
a(tha)thinipwa(wiya)	soon, in a little while, first (before)

The adverb for 'quickly' has two forms, warnantjipwawiya ~ warantjipwawiya, in which the nasal and not the reflexion has been lost. The word consists of three morphemes: warnantja 'quickly'; pw (empty morph); -wiya (time progressive case). The vocative suffix -a::wi can be used with the shortened form warnantja.

akwa nanayitjina ngawa warnantjipwawiya
and 3:1MascDu+3:4 ate cont.act quickly
'And the two men continued to eat it quickly.'

akina amwarmwarra natjinginimwa warantjipwawiya
3:4 that 3:4 sore 3:4 was dying quickly
'The sore was getting better quickly.'

warnantja lhikatja niyamwa
quickly 2Sg move 3:3 he said
'"Come quickly!" he said.'

warantja::wi
quickly-VOC
'Quickly!'

The temporal adverb, a(tha)thinipwa 'soon', consists of two morphemes. The first root is athatha 'on this side' (as seen in the locative adverbs); the second root may be a metathesised form of the demonstrative pwini 'near the speaker'. This would imply a meaning of 'time that is on this side near the speaker'. The addition of -wiya can extend the meaning of athinipwawiya to 'first in time, before (something else), early'.

yirrilhalhikanimwa::wa pwiya awilyapwa ayangkitharrpwa
1ExcNsg kept going then 3:4 one 3:4 island

athinipwawiya
soon-TPRG

'We kept on going and then soon an island [appeared].

pwiya yakwitjina tjatimwantja yirrimwirntakirikwpwitjangayina
then there 3:4 jetty-LOC 1ExcNsg jumped off

yarnimwamwalya athinipwawiya
1ExcPl Aborigines soon-TPRG

'And then we Aborigines all jumped off first.'

yawa	arakpwa	<u>athinipwa</u>	kilhikatjamwa
yes	comp.act	soon	1ExcSg will be going

'Yes, I will be going soon.'

<u>athinipwawiya</u>	wirtarriyawiya	nanilharrkatjamwa
early	morning-TPRG	3:1+3:3 is sending

wirrathithiyara	yangkwirrangwa	ampwikwampwiwa
3:1 girls	to here	Umbakumba-ALL

'Early in the morning he is sending the girls here to Umbakumba.'

The temporal adverb, athiwaya 'for a little while', has two morphemes. The first root is the shortened form of the root athatha 'on this side' (see locative adverbs); the second root is possibly the adjective root waya 'weak'.

pwiya	angwirrirta	naniyangkilhapanimwantja	mwakiniyatha
then	3:4 magpie	3:3+3:3 asked-LOC	3:5 that-PURP

athiwaya
for a while
'And then Magpie asked Crow for that [raft] for a while.'

ninganikwinilhangwiya	mwamwama	tiraka	nganyangwa
1ExcSg+3:3 gave-LPRG	3:5 this	3:5 truck	1ExcSg-POSS

athiwayawiya
for a while-TPRG
'I gave him this truck of mine for a while.'

7.3.3 With multiple inflection

Some temporal adverbs can be suffixed by more than one case-marking clitic. The meanings of the ones recorded to date are: -mwantja 'on or at that time'; -lhangwi 'from that time'; -wiya 'during that time'; and -yatha 'for that time'. The mitative case-marker, -mwi(rra), does not appear to add anything to the meaning. The most common case-marker is still the Time Progressive -wiya.

The case clitics are optional on the following temporal adverbs. It is highly probable that all but the first word are

adverbial nouns but there is as yet no real evidence of prefixation.

ampwaka ~ ampwakimwirra	later, later on
athiwapwa	today

The monomorphemic adverb ampwaka has a primary meaning of 'later' but this includes continuing to do something after the expected time limit for its completion. It can be translated as '(until) later, not now, still, later still, yet'. The addition of the concomitative clitic -mwirra does not appear to change the meaning.

yakwitjina	yirriwirrakirikpwitjangina	yirriwirramwirrkwilha
there	1ExcNsg jumped off	1ExcNsg all reclined

ampwakitha
later-TRM

'We all jumped off there and lay down until later.'

ampirrarina	<u>ampwaka</u>	thathingwiyani
2Sgwait	later	3:2 wife-KPOSS

kingiwilyakinamwirriwa	anhinga	niyamwa
3:2+3:4 will be bringing-ALL	3:4 food	3:3 said

'"Wait until later [when] your wife will be bringing some food back!" he said.'

nara	<u>ampwakimwirra</u>	kithaka	ningana
not	later-COM	1ExcSg+3:4 will cook	1ExcSg this

'I will not cook it until later.' / 'I have not cooked it yet.'

yingwa	<u>ampwaka</u>	nimwingkwilhinga
3:3 crow	late	3:3 slept

'The crow slept until late.'

The adverb, ampwakilhangwa 'slowly, gently, carefully, softly', is used of both actions and speech. It consists of the adverb ampwaka 'later' and the ablative suffix -lhangwi. The lengthening of the first syllable increases the degree of slowness in a similar way to the use of the same phonological feature with the

time sequence conjunction pwiya (see Section 8.1.1.2). The occurrence of the ablative case-marker -lhangwi changes the meaning to 'slowly, carefully, softly' and refers to speech as well as time.

pwiya	<u>ampwakilhangwa</u>	nimwanga	ampwilyimwakwiya
then	carefully	3:3+3:4 picked up	3:4 two-DU

aka
3:4 stick

'And then he carefully/gently picked up the two sticks.'

<u>ampwakilhangwa</u>	nilyapwikinamwirra	karrawarilhangwiya
slowly	3:3 is creeping	high-LPRG

winalhakinimwantja
3:1MascDu-LOC

'Slowly he is creeping higher towards the two men.'

a::mpwakilhangwa	ngalhatja	mwakarta	mwathirringwarnaka
slowly	3:5-CofR	3:5 sea	3:5 big-INTENS

nimwiwarmwatjingwinimwaka
3:5 was standing itself up-INTENS

'Very slowly a very big wave was raising itself up.'

The adverb, athiwapwa 'today (from dawn till dawn), nowadays', consists of two morphemes: {y}atha 'on this side' and wapwa which may be a lenited form of pwapwa 'this way'. The word is optionally suffixed by the pergressive case-marker -wiya, the locative case-marker -mwantja, and the concomitative case-marker -mwirra. The restrictive suffix -(a)pwi (usually adjoined to adjectives) follows the locative case-marker in the adverb, athiwapwamwantjipwa 'only for today'.

akwa	kampwirra	arakpwa	<u>athiwapwa</u>	thakina
and	therefore	comp.act	today	3:2 that

yingampwilyamwa	yingakpwiwarrkatjingwinamwa
3:2 is staying	3:2 is hiding herself

mwaningwilhitha
3:5 daytime

'And therefore nowadays she is hiding herself in the daytime.'

kingilhikatjina athiwapwamwirra
 3:2 will go today-COM
 'She will be going today.'

ningimwarringkimwa athiwapwawiya wirtarriyawiya
 1ExcSg+3:5 was seeing today-TPRG morning-TPRG

mwitjiyanga
 3:5 boat
 'I was seeing the boat during this morning.'

The temporal and manner adverbs in which the case-markers are obligatory for that specific meaning are as follows:

arakpwawiya	long ago
yangmwangmwintjilhangwa	purposelessly, aimlessly, needlessly

The adverb, arakpwawiya 'a long time ago' has a less common form arakpwakwiya [arakpwakiya].¹² The morpheme in first position is the particle arakpwa (completed action) and is suffixed by -wiya (time pergressive). The word is mainly used of the Dreamtime and, by its derivation, implies that this era was complete in itself and distinct from the present one. Some speakers use the term to mean 'some time ago, many years ago'.

arakpwawiya akina apwirtha alharrpwilhalhaka
 long ago 3:4 that 3:4 whale 3:4 thin-INTENS
 'During the Dreamtime, the whale was very thin.'

akwa nanimwakinamwirra ayakwa arakpwawiyilhangwa
 and 3:3+3:1 was telling 3:4 word long ago-ABL

wirrarimwirimwilhangwa angalya
 3:1 very big-POSS 3:4 place
 'And he was telling them a Dreamtime story about the giants' place.'

Footnote 12: There is a variant arakpwakwiya which has been supplied for the dictionary but has not been used in the telling of traditional stories. The suffix -kwiya does not occur anywhere else as a syntactic inflection and may have arisen because -wiya varies with -kwiyi as the trial/plural suffix on nominals.

arakpwawiyilhangwa niwapwirrathathitjingwinimwilhangwa
 long ago-ABL 3:4 was starting itself-ABL

winampwilyimwakwiya winanimwamwalyikwiya
 3:1MascDu two-DU 3:1MascDu two-DU

nanimwingkwilhitjiyinimwa arrawa mwathirrimwantja
 3:1MascDu were sleeping inside 3:5 cave-LOC
 'From the Creantime, from its beginning, two men were sleeping
 inside a cave.'

ngayiwa arakpwawiya ningampwilyimwirra nimpwilhwarimwantja
 1ExcSg long ago 1ExcSg was living Numbulwar-LOC
 'I was living at Numbulwar a long time ago.'

The adverb, yangmwangmwintji' igwa 'purposelessly', is polymorphemic and consists of the repeated verb yangmwintjitha 'to be quiet, to cease talking' and the ablative clitic -lhangwi. This word has been given and checked as a dictionary item but no example is available from texts. (Note: A person has been described as 'aimless' if just sitting quietly without doing anything.)

7.4 INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS

The four interrogative adverbs occur initially in the sentence or follow an interjection. They can be marked for peripheral cases or by the nominal number suffix. These adverbs differ from adverbial nominals or demonstrative pronouns because they lack prefixation but are similar because of the presence of the nominal number suffix. (Note: For the interrogatives in other word classes see Sections 3.2.7, 5.1.2, 6.2.2.5 and 8.2.1.6.)

7.4.1 Interrogative: lhaka

The word, lhaka 'already' 'ready', functions as an interrogative adverb and a particle. It appears to be related both in shape and meaning to arakpwa (completed action) and arakpwa frequently occurs in the answer to the question. As an interrogative

spoken in isolation, it questions whether or not the addressee has completed a prior activity in order to be ready for the next one, i.e. 'are you ready to go?', 'is it ready?', 'have you finished it?'. The Purposive mood clitic, the Intensifier and the Possessive suffix have all been recorded attached to this word.

<u>lhaka</u>	ningkilhikatjamwa	arakpwa
already	2Sg are going	comp.act
'Are you ready to go?'		

<u>lhaka</u>	ningkwaningapwath ^a	arakpwa
already	2Sg have become good	comp.act
'Are you well now?'		

<u>lhakiyatha</u>	ngantja	akina
already-PURP	1ExcSg-CofR	3:4 that
'Is there anything for me?'		

<u>lhakaka</u>	wirringalhakpwina	wirritharrngkikwiya
already-INTENS	3:1 those unseen	3:1 women-DU
'Can you see those two women already?'		

<u>lhakithangwa</u>	nganyangwa	akina
already-POSS	1ExcSg-POSS	3:4 that
'Is it really mine?'		

7.4.2 Interrogative: angkapwirra

The interrogative word, angkapwirra ~ akapwirra 'who?', is classified as an interrogative adverb because the word is not prefixed by nominal classifiers. The two morphemes may be: (a) the adverbial morpheme {y}angkwī (meaning unknown) and -pwirra (question marker) but its co-occurrence of -pwirra with another question-marking suffix -pwini is strange; or (b) the noun classifier /a/ followed by a{r}ngkwī 'eye' and the root apwirra 'many'. This adverb has been found to be suffixed for the Allative case and by the Purposive and Reason clitics.

<u>angkapwirra</u>	wirrakina	arrakpinwantja	nayangpayinamwa
who?	3:1 those	outside-LOC	3:1 are talking
'Who is talking outside?'			

<u>angkapwirri(wa)</u>	nalhikanimwa	mwitjilyalyiwa
who?-ALL	3:1 were going	3:5 beach-ALL
'Who was going to the beach?'		

<u>akapwirriyatha</u>	akina
who?-PURP	3:4 that
'Who is that for?'	

<u>akwapwirripwapwa</u>	pwiwartangimwa
who?-CSL	2Sg+3:1 was hitting
'Why were you hitting whoever it was?'	

The interrogative word, angkapwirrilhangwa 'whose?', consists of the above interrogative plus the possessive suffix -hangwi. The following examples extend the number of case clitics to include Locative.

<u>angkapwirrilhangwa</u>	ningkwakina	thirntana
who?-POSS	2Sg that	3:2 mother-KPOSS
'Who is your mother?' / 'What is your mother's name?'		

<u>akapwirrilhangwimwantja</u>	alhikira
who?-POSS-LOC	3:4 house
'Whose house is that?' / 'Whose is the house?'	

Unlike the other interrogative adverbs, the number suffix associated with nominals can be added to either angkapwirra or angkapwirrilhangwa.

<u>akapwirriwiya</u>	wirrakina	warnimwamwalya
who?-PL	3:1 those	3:1 Aborigines
'Who are those Aborigines?'		

<u>akapwirrilhangwiwiya</u>	anana	akwalya
who?-POSS-PL	3:4 this	3:4 fish
'Who does all the fish belong to?'		

If the identity of the 'who' is not known the cross-referenced prefix in the verb or the demonstrative pronoun is in the third person plural. This can be seen in the following question and answer examples below.

Question: angkapwirra nalhikanimwa mwitjiyalyiwa
 who? 3:1 were going 3:5 beach-ALL
 'Who was going to the beach?'

Answer: ngayiwa ningilhikanimwa
 1ExcSg 1ExcSg was going
 'I was going.'

Question: angkapwirra ningkwarrangayinthimwirra
 who? 2Sg+3:1 are wanting
 'Who are you wanting?'

Answer: ningkwiwa
 2Sg
 'You.'

Question: akapwirripwina warna
 who?-QM 3:1 these
 'Who are these [people]?'

Answer: nganyangwa thirntirrka thaka
 1ExcSg-POSS 3:2 mother-KPOSS 3:2 this
 'She is my mother.'

7.4.3 Interrogative: ngampwi-

The root of the interrogative adverb, ngampwi- 'where?', differs from the interrogative demonstrative root angampwi 'which?', only in the absence of the nominal class-marking prefixation. This adverb is obligatorily suffixed by Locative, Ablative, Allative, and Locative Pergressive case-markers and for Purposive mood. The Locative form, however, is irregular because the syllable mpwi preceding -mwantja is deleted by the Haplo'logy Rule (Section 2.5.2.1).

<u>ngamwantja</u>	where at? at what place? whereabouts?
<u>ngampwilhangwa</u>	from where? from whence?
<u>ngampwiwa</u>	where to?
<u>ngampwilhangwiya</u>	along where?
<u>ngampwiyatha</u>	when?

ngamwantja ningkwiwa ningkirikwilharrinimwa
 where?-LOC 2Sg 2Sg were falling
 'Where were you born?' (Lit: were you falling)

ngampwilhangwa ningkilhikanimwa
 where-ABL 2Sg were going
 'Where were you coming from?'

ngampwiwa ningkilhikatjamwa
 where?-ALL 2Sg are going
 'Where are you going to?'

ngampwilhangwiya nakaka nilhikanimwa
 where?-PRG 3:3(i) this 3:3 was going
 'Along where was he going?' / 'How far was he going?'

ngampwiya thakina yingiyarthangimwa
 where?-PURP 3:2 that 3:2 was arriving
 'When did she arrive?'

7.4.4 Interrogative: mwiampwana

The interrogative adverb, mwiya(m)pwani 'for what purpose?', differs from the interrogative adjective amwiampwana only in the absence of the nominal classifying prefixation and there does not appear to be a change in the meaning. The first morpheme is mwi- (inalienable possession) which indicates that this adverb must be derived from the interrogative adjective. The second morpheme is possibly a reduced and assimilated form of the verb root yanthapwani 'ask'. The adverb is only suffixed by the Reason case clitic or the Question marker.

mwiampwana nalhawirrakatjinamwirra akina
 what purpose? 3:4 is bringing itself 3:4 that
 'For what purpose is the spear returning?'

mwiapwanipwapwa nakina nilhikatjamwirra antjarrkina
 what purpose?-CSL 3:3(i) that 3:3 is going that way
 'Why is he going down there?'

mwiampwanipwirra kwirringiyamwarrkina
 what purpose?-QM 2FemDu do
 'What's the matter? What are you two doing that for?'

The meaning of the interrogative adverb mwiampwani can be

extended to include the semantic concept of questioning 'why'. The contrast in meaning between purposive and reason is best illustrated in the question and answer framework, as shown in the data below. There is, however, no clear morphological distinction between reason and purpose in much of the data and the actual meaning would have to be ascertained from context. An indication of the addressee's reaction is sometimes seen found in the presence of purposive *-yatha* or reason *-pwapwa* clitic in the reply.

Question: *mwiyampwana* *ningkwilhikanimwa*
 what purpose? 2Sg were going
 'For what purpose were you going?'

Answer: *ningilhikanimwa* *ningapwayinthangimwiyatha* *thimpwala*
 1ExcSg was going 1ExcSg+3:2 was buying-PURP 3:2 dress
 'I was buying a dress.'

Question: *mwiyampwanipwirra* *ningkwingwathinamwa*
 what purpose?-QM 2Sg are crying
 'Why are you crying?'

Answer: *thiyapwarrka* *nganyangwa* *ngiwartangimwa*
 3:2 sister-KPOSS 1ExcSg-POSS 1ExcSg+3:2 was hitting
 'My sister was hitting me?'

Question: *mwiyampwanilhangwa* *ngiwartangimwa*
 what purpose?-ABL 2Sg+3:2 was hitting
 'Why was she hitting you?'

Answer: *ningingapamwapwapwa*
 1ExcSg was swearing-CSL
 'Because I was swearing.'

The words, *mwiyampwana* and *mwiyampwanipwapwa*, can be shortened to *mwana* and *mwaniwapwa*, respectively.

mwana
 what purpose?
 'What's wrong with you?' / 'What's up?'

mwaniwapwa *ngiwartanga* *ningkwiwamwantja*
 what reason? 2Sg+3:2 hit 2Sg-LOC
 'Why did she hit you?'

<u>mwani</u> <u>pwapwa</u>	nara	kilhikana	kwiliwa
what reason?	not	2Sg go	3:4 school-ALL
'Why didn't you go to school?'			

The shortened word mwana can co-occur redundantly with another interrogative adverb or adjective. In this construction, it seems to function as only a question marker--there are no examples of its co-occurrence with the Question-marking suffix -pwirra. It is usually placed first in the sentence, immediately preceding the other interrogative word.

<u>mwana</u>	<u>ngampwi</u> <u>wa</u>	<u>ningkwakina</u>	<u>ningkwilhatjamwirra</u>
CSL	where?-ALL	2Sg that	2Sg are going
'Where are you going to?'			

<u>mwana</u>	<u>angkapwirrimwantja</u>
CSL	who?-LOC
'Who has it?'	

<u>mwana</u>	<u>ampwarrngarni</u> <u>hangwa</u>	<u>angalya</u>	<u>kwirrilhikanimwa</u>
CSL	3:4 how many?-ABL	3:4 place	2Nsg were coming
'How many places were you coming from?'			

<u>angampwa</u>	<u>mwana</u>	<u>akina</u>
3:4 which?	CSL	3:4 that
'Where is that?' / 'At which place is that?'		

CHAPTER 8 PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Particles are distinguished from other word classes in that they are uninflected, i.e., neither prefixation or derivational suffixation occurs. Syntactic inflection is limited to the two non-modal clitics for emphasis or intensification. Particles are usually mono-morphemic.

Particles and miscellaneous clitics fall into three groups: conjunctions, modal or non-modal particles and interjections.

8.1 CONJUNCTIONS

Eleven conjunctions have been found in Anindilyakwa, linking clauses, phrases or words. As free form particles, they usually occur in sentence-initial or clause-initial position but can be placed second. Some free form conjunctions co-exist with a clitic of the same meaning.

8.1.1 Co-ordination

Co-ordination is marked by six different free form particles (and a possible sixth) which indicate co-ordination which is Simple, Sequential, Adversative, Concessive, Resultative and Similative.

8.1.1.1 Simple: akwa

The conjunction, akwa 'and', joins any two independent clauses, phrases or words in a simple co-ordinated relationship. Two pronominals are not linked by akwa because the language structure incorporates such combinations as non-singularity in the prefixation.

ningarthirranimwa akwalya akwa
 1ExcSg+3:4 was spearing 3:4 fish and

yirringalyipwarnimwa
 1ExcFemDu+3:4 were eating
 'I was spearing the fish and we two [my wife and I] were eating it.'

yakina yipwiratha yinikwiyalhilha yiningwingwangpwa
 3:3(1i) that 3:3(1i) wallaby 3:3(1i) shy 3:3(1i) mammal

akwa nampwilyimwirra yakwikwawira
 and 3:3 was staying 3:2(1i) alone
 'The wallaby was a shy animal and stayed alone.'

winalhakina nikpwa akwa nitjarra
 3:1MascDu those 3:3(1) pheasant and 3:3(1) seagull

naningkwirrkwanimwa akwalya
 3:1MascDu+3:4 were hunting 3:4 fish
 'Pheasant and Seagull were fishing.'

ngayiwa akwa tjanita akwa yilayina
 1ExcSg and (name) and (name)

yirrapwirrangkayinimwa yinimwanwiwawa
 1ExcNsg were looking for 3:3(1i) eggs-ALL
 'Janet, Elaine and I were looking for turtle eggs.'

8.1.1.2 Sequential: pwiya and yiya

The conjunction, pwiya [p^wiya ~ piya], joins two independent clauses and indicates a time sequence, i.e., of one event or activity following another, ad infinitum. This is the most common conjunction in narratives. Heath (1984:425ff, 618) refers to the Nunggubuyu equivalent as 'now' and 'then' denoting temporal immediacy based on the present tense and sequential function in discourses. The Anindilyakwa Aborigines, however, translate this word as 'and then' and appear to me to be focussing only on the sequence of activities, regardless of whether the tense is past or non-past.

narringalhalhakaniwa pwiya yinginirringka yilyakwa
 3:1Nsg kept going-ALL then 3:2+3:3 saw 3:3(1i) honey

mwariya
 (name)
 'They kept on going and then Maria saw another hive.'

pwīya warina nimwakpwirraŋga mwinhinga athinipwayiwa
 then (name) 3:3+3:5 found 3:5 zamia nuts soon (=first)

pwīya narrimwarringka pwawitawi
 then 3:1+3:5 saw 3:5 photo
 'And then, first of all, Warren found the zamia nuts and then they
 photographed them.'

kwirrilhikatjamwa mirritjinilhangwawa angalya pwīya
 2Nsg are coming 3:4 medicine-POSS-ALL 3:4 place then

 yirratja ngarramwinarrkpinamwa mirritjina
 1ExcPl-CofR 1IncNsg+2Nsg are throwing 3:4 medicine

 akinimwantja amwamwarra
 3:4 that-LOC 3:4 sore
 'You come to the clinic and we will put medicine on your sores.'

nakina nilhikanimwa angarripa pwīya angarripa
 3:3 that 3:3 was going that way then that way
 'He was going this way and that way.'

The first syllable of pwīya can be lengthened and high pitched to indicate continuation of the action in the first clause. Alternately, the conjunction can be reduplicated to intensify the activity.

yirripwikwiyamwintjamwa ngawa pwī:::ya wilyarra
 1ExcTri are doing cont.act then centrally

 anyingwinyimwantja
 3:4 (name)-LOC
 'We three kept on doing [it] and then we were in the middle at Anyingwinya.'

yirrimwirntakalhilhikani:::wa yirriwirtanga pwī:::ya
 1ExcNsg kept going-cont.act 1ExcNsg climbed then

 wirrkwalha arakpwa namwirntakilhawirrathina arakpwa
 3:1 some comp.act 3:1 returned comp.act
 'We kept going and climbed up and up and some returned.'

yirriwirrakalhilhikana ngawa yirrakina pwī:::ya
 1ExcNsg kept going cont.act 1ExcPl those then

pwī:::ya yirriyartha arakpwa angalyimwantja
 then 1ExcNsg arrived comp.act 3.4 home-LOC
 'We kept on walking and walking and then we arrived home.'

During the narration of a story, the conjunction pwīya can be

used with question intonation to mean 'And then what?' or 'What happens/happened next?'.

The conjunction, yiya ~ yiyi [yi:], joins two nominals or adverbs. It is considered to be a locative sequential co-ordinator because it is used to link a list of similar items. This word is similar in shape to the conjunction pwiyā which has also been recorded as [p i yiyā]. The conjunctions, yiyā and akwā, are both used to separate the nominals in a list but the former is very rare.

niwangkirrayina	angkiwa	<u>yiyā</u>	angkiwa	angalya
3:1 ran	3:4 other-ALL	and	3:4 other-ALL	3:4 home

'They ran home in all directions.'

wirrapwapwirna	wirritharrngka	yakwitjina	angkilhangwa
3:1 many	3:1 women	there	3:4 other-ABL

<u>yiyā</u>	angkilhangwa	angalya
and	3:4 other-ABL	3:4 place

'Many woman [came] there from different places.'

karnimwamwalya	<u>yiyā</u>	wirriwarta	<u>yiyā</u>
2Pl Aborigines	and	3:1 dog	and

yiningingangpwimwirriya	kampwampwilyamwa
3:3 four-legged animals-ETC	2Sg are keeping on staying

mwithalyimwimwantja	akwā	awirikwamwantja
3:5 estuary-LOC	and	3:4 swamp-LOC

'You Aborigines, dogs, mammals and the rest are to keep on staying at the river estuary and the swamp.'

8.1.1.3 Adversative: wimpwa

The adversative conjunction, wimpwa [ump^wa ~ mp^wa], joins two independent clauses in which the two activities or states are opposed to each other.

warningwamwartakpwa	niwarrwarrwartangimwa	alyingpwa
3:1 godwit	3:2 was keeping on hitting	3:4 clapsticks

<u>wimpwa</u>	thikwirirrkwa	yinginirakpwirnimwa
but	3:2(ii) brolga	3:2+3:3 was playing
yiraka		
3:3(ii) didjeridu		

'Godwit tapping the clapsticks but Brolga was playing the didjeridu.'

niwilyapwa naningkwalyirra wimpwa niwilyapwa
 3:3(i) one 3:3(i) Mamarika but 3:3(i) one

nalhilhiyangwa
 3:3(i) Amagula
 'One man was Mamarika but the other Amagula.'

yalhakwa arakpwa ningana ningampwarrinamwa wimpwa
 here comp.act 1ExcSg this 1ExcSg am staying but

arakpwa wilhikatja wiwirtana angarripa
 comp.act 2Sg go 2Sg climb that way
 'I am staying here but you go and climb up that way!'

nara arakpwa nakina nantjarrngalyilya wimpwa
 not comp.act 3:3(i) that 3:3(i) boy but

thiwathirra arakpwa
 3:2(ii) cockatoo comp.act
 '[Now] he is not a boy but a cockatoo.'

8.1.1.4 Concessive: aka(r)na

The concessive conjunction, akani [akena] ~ akarni, joins any two independent clauses. The relationship is one of weaker opposition than wimpwa and is best translated by the English term, 'however' or 'nevertheless'. The comment in the second independent clause shows that the activity in the first independent clause was attempted but not satisfactorily accomplished.

niwartanga arakpwa wirrakina thakiniwa katjingwa
 3:1 called comp.act 3:1 those 3:2(ii) her-ALL so that

thathikwilhawirrakwatjiniyatha akwingwa akana
 3:2 to bring back-PURP 3:4 water however

ngalhatja ngawa yingimwingkwilhinga
 3:2-CofR cont.act 3:2 slept
 'They called out to her to bring back the water; she, however, continued to sleep.'

nilhapwatjingwina kwiraya nilhikana apwiyarpwiwamwa alhika
 3:3 tested himself try 3:3 went 3:4 four-COM 3:4 foot

akana nara ngawa
 however not cont.act
 'Wallaby tried to walk on four feet but he couldn't.'

nampwilya yakwitjina akana yapwapwirna yarrnga
 3:3 stayed there however 3:3(ii) many 3:3(ii) leech
 'He stayed there--however there were too many leeches.'

kampwirra warnimwamwalya nanirringkimwantja yipwikwaya
 therefore 3:1 people 3:1+3:3 saw-LOC 3:3(ii) this coming

nilhikanimwantja kwiraya niwangkirrayinimwa
 3:3 came-LOC try 3:1 were running

akana niwapwiwarrkatjingwinimwa
 however 3:1 were hiding themselves
 'Therefore when the people saw the approaching snake they tried
 to run and hide themselves.'

8.1.1.5 Resultative: kampwirra

The conjunction, kampwirri [kempiʔa] ~ kampwi [kampʷa], joins two independent clauses but the relationship is one of cause and effect. The event in the second clause happened as a result of the first or could not have happened without the first event. It can be translated as 'therefore', 'thus', 'as a result', 'and so' or 'in order to'.

nilharra yalyakwa kampwirra nimwirntatha nakina
 3:3 fell 3:3(ii) rain therefore 3:3 got cold 3:3(i) that

ningwanikpwa
 3:3(i) father-KPOSS
 'It was raining and, as a result, his father got cold.'

nanimwiningatja nakina alhakpwimwantja kampwa
 3:3+3:3 hit 3:3(i) that 3:4 leg-LOC therefore

mwarra alhakpwa nakina
 3:5 blood 3:4 leg 3:3(i) that
 'He hit him on the leg and therefore he has a red leg.'

pwiya nara angapwa ningilhawirrathina kampwirra
 then not 3:4 that there 1ExcSg returned therefore

ngarningka
 again
 'And then nothing happened and therefore I returned again.'

nayamwa angwirrirtha ningana kampwirra arakpwa
 3:4 said 3:4 magpie 1ExcSg this therefore comp.act

kinikirriyakamwa nakina
 1ExcSg+3:3 will trick 3:3(i) that
 'Magpie said, "I will trick him [as a retaliatory act] .1."'

The conjunction kampwirra is the only one which is juxtaposed to another conjunction. It has been found following the other four co-ordinators and the purposive subordinator.

arngkwawira yingiyakwirranaka akwingwa akwa kampwirra
3:4 once 3:2 thirsted-INTENS 3:4 water and therefore

yingilyangkiyamwa thakina thathikwilyampwarrkiyatha
3:2 was thinking 3:2 that 3:2 to trick-PURP

wirrikwalhimwantja
3:1 some-LOC

'Once she was very thirsty for water and therefore she was thinking about tricking the others.'

pwia kampwirra arakpwa narritjarrikwa wirrakina
then therefore comp.act 3:1+3:4 finished 3:1 those
'And then, as a result, they finished it [the dancing].'

pwia nitjarrkinamwa arakpwa wimpwa kampwirra
then 3:3+3:4 is finishing comp.act but therefore

arakpwa nanimwakinamwa akinilhangwa angalya
comp.act 3:3+3:1 is telling 3:4 that-ABL 3:4 place

niwampwilyamwilhangwa
3:1 are staying-ABL

'And now he is finishing the story but, as a result, is telling them about the place where they were staying.'

akana kampwirra yinganarra nakpwirranga arakpwa
however therefore (name) 3:3+3:4 found comp.act

ayangkitharrpwa
3:4 island

'However, as a result, Snake found the island.'

katjingwa kampwirra yikamwakiniyatha
so that therefore 1ExcNsg can tell-PURP

kiyamwarrkinamwa ningkwakina nayamwa akina
1ExcSg do how? 2Sg that 3:3 said 3:4 that

'"So therefore you can tell me how I am going to do it," the octopus said.'

The conjunction kampwirra can be translated as 'next' in the following constructions: ningkwiwa kampwirra 'You (go) next.' While the meaning is idiomatic there is still the concept of taking action because the previous activity has or will be completed.

8.1.1.6 Similative: wipwirra

The conjunction, wipwirra [(w)upwura] 'like', links a phrase or word to another in the clause. It can precede or follow the linked word noun or phrase. The conjunction indicates the similarity between two items or previous and present states.

mwamwintjirratha	yingimwalhkayitjiwamwa	<u>wipwirra</u>
3:5 spear	3:2+3:5 is standing up	like

warningkwarpwa

3:1 men

'She is standing the spears up like men [stand up].'

nimwingwathayinimwa	<u>yinipa</u>	<u>wipwirra</u>	nimwiyamwamwa
3:5 was crying	3:3(ii) red ochre	like	3:5 is doing

ngalhilhangwa	mwampwilyimwakwiya	mwanpwakwiya
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3:2-POSS

3:2 two-DU

3:2 eye-DU

'She was crying and her two eyes were getting red.' (Lit: her two eyes were crying.)

akina	<u>wipwirra</u>	nayamwamwa	ayikwitjiya	alhikira
3:4 that	like	3:4 is doing	3:4 small	3:4 house

'The lighthouse looks like that small house [on NE Islands].'

yirrilhawirrathina	angalyiwa	alyarrngwalyilya	tjapwitja
1ExcSg returned	3:4 place-ALL	3:4 evening	3:4 service

yirrampwarringa	<u>wipwirra</u>	yalhakwa
1ExcNsg sat	like	here (=this)

<u>aningwalyarrwalyilya</u>	ngarrampwarrinamwa
3:4 evening service	1IncNsg are sitting

'We returned to the place and had an evening service like the evening service we are having here [at Umbakumba].'

nalhikana	wimpwa	ngalhatja	thipwina	thilyapwirnta
3:1 went	but	3:2-CofR	3:2 that unseen	3:2(ii) frog

ararpwa	<u>thipwina</u>	ngawa	<u>wipwirra</u>
comp.act	3:2 that unseen	cont.act	like

yingilhawirrathina	ararpwa
3:2 returned	comp.act

'They went but the frog was still the same as she had been.'
(Lit: she returned [to be] like her [original shape])

The conjunction wipwirra can be reduplicated to intensify the similarity. The lexical meaning is 'like' or 'similar to'. (The

Anindilyakwa concept of sameness does not necessarily mean 'exactly the same'.)

yakina	nara	kinirikwpwirikwpwitjangina	wipwirriwipwirra
3:3 that	not	3:3 hop and hop	REDUP: like

athiwapwa
today

'He [Wallaby] did not hop and hop just like he does today.'

yingakirrampa	arakpwa	natjalhkwirringwirrathina	arakpwa
3:2+3:4 put back	comp.act	3:4 became covered	comp.act

wipwirra	apwina	ngawa	wipwirritha
like	3:4 that unseen	cont.act	like

'She pulled [the sand] back [until] it was level like it was before.'

8.1.2 Subordination

The six different types of subordination are: Purposive, Anticipatory, Causal (reason), Definite, Conditional and Temporal.

8.1.2.1 Purposive: katjingwa and -yatha

The conjunction, katjingwa 'so that', 'for the purpose of', is the free form purposive marker that links a subordinate purpose clause to the main independent clause. It has the same meaning as -yatha and usually co-occurs with it.

akina	aningapwa	aningkwa	<u>katjingwa</u>	nanikwartiyatha
3:4 that	3:4 good	3:4 spear	so that	3:3 to kill

niwirrwilyimwantja
3:3(ii) rainbow-LOC

'That was the best spear for killing Rainbow.'

pwiya	yimwawira	nimwarrkarna	angwirra	mwirringpwithiyatha
then	3:3(ii) moon	3:3+3:5 pulled	strongly	3:5 strong bag-PURP

<u>katjingwa</u>	winalhakinakwiya	<u>nariyatha</u>	kanangkirrayina
so that	3:1MascDu-DU	not-PURP	3:3MascDu will run

'Moon pulled the strong [dillybag] tight so that the two men could not run away.'

yawi	kwa	anilhikatja	<u>katjingwa</u>	kinirringkinyatha	yilyakwa
yes	here	let him come	so that	3:3+3:3 will see-PURP	3:3 honey

'Yes, let him come so that he can see the honey.'

The Purposive mood clitic -yatha denotes planning or purposing to carry out the action of the verb. In addition to its occurrence with the conjunction, katjingwa, it commonly occurs with the infinitive verb in the subordinate clause.

namwirntakilhikana	warnikwipakatjiyatha	akwingwa
3:1Pl came	3:1 to drink-PURP	3:4 water

'They all came to drink the water.'

nanilyangkiyamwa	winalhakina	winanikwilhikiyatha
3:1MascDu were thinking	3:1MascDu those	3:1MascDu to go-PURP

athalyimwawa	winanikwingampatjiyatha
3:4 river-ALL	3:1MascDu to bathe-PURP

'The two of them were thinking about going to the river to swim.'

ngarningka	ngarramwakinanamwa	karnikwilhawirrathiyatha
again	1IncNsg are telling	2Pl to return-PURP

'We are telling you again to return [home].'

The Purposive mood clitic can be attached to the verb in an independent clause and modify its meaning to one of intention to fulfil the action.

nangkarriniyatha	akana	wirrakina	wirratjitja
3:3 ran-PURP	however	3:1 that	3:1 bird

nanirntarrka	aniwamwantja
3:1+3:3 grabbed	3:3-LOC

'He planned to run away, however, the bird got hold of him.'

kwinithakiniyatha	naningkwarpa	yinimwamwiwa	angwirimwantja
3:3+3:3 will cook-PURP	3:3(i) man	3:3(ii) eggs	3:4 fire-LOC

'The man plans to cook the eggs in the fire.'

kimwaniyatha	aka	akwa
1ExcSg+3:4 will grab-PURP	3:4 stick	and

kingatjiyatha	yirikwithilhangwa
1ExcSg+3:3 will kill-PURP	3:3(ii) bandicoot

'I plan to grab a stick and to kill Bandicoot.'

The Purposive clitic, -yatha, is usually marked on the verb but it is also occasionally found on the noun phrase. (See Section 3.4.3.2D for the use of the Allative case denoting purposive mood.)

ningkarrnginilhangwa aka alhikiriyatha
 1ExcSg cut-ABL 3:4 wood 3:4 house-PURP

kingakpwirakiniyatha
 1ExcSg+3:4 will make-PURP
 'After I cut the wood I plan to build a house.'

yingilhawirrathina yingiwilyakamwa anhinga thakina
 3:2 returned 3:2+3:4 was bringing 3:4 food 3:2 that

katjingwa thathikwangkwilhyatha wirriyikwayiwiyatha
 so that 3:2 to grind 3:1 children-PURP
 'She returned bringing food to grind for the children.'

8.1.2.2 Anticipatory: yanthilhangwa

The conjunction yanthilhangwa 'until' links a subordinate clause to the main independent clause. The word probably consists of two morphemes: yantha 'aimlessly' and -lhangwa (ablative). In much of the data the action in the independent clause seems to have no goal and just continues on to an inevitable conclusion (as stated in the subordinate clause).

nilhikana nangkarrina akwa nimwalyangkana lhikwakwa
 3:3 went 3:3 ran and 3:3 played en route

yanthilhangwa nimwarrawarna
 until 3:3 wandered around
 'He ran and played along the way until he was lost.'

nithirrirntinga yakina ngawa yanthilhangwa
 3:3 descended 3:3(ii) that cont.act until

nampwilya yilyangmwantja
 3:3 stayed 3:3(ii) (name)
 'He continued to descend until [eventually] he stayed at Yilyangmanja.'

nakina nampwilyimwirra ninganthingakamwa amwirntakakina
 3:3(i) that 3:3 was staying 3:3+3:4 is sharpening 3:4 those

yanthilhangwa anganthingawiya ngawa ningakpwirakimwa
 until 3:4 sharp ones cont.act 3:3+3:4 is making
 'He was sitting sharpening those [spears] until he had made enough sharp ones.'

The anticipatory conjunction can also precede a nominal but an underlying verb could be said to occur in the deep structure. The noun

is always an adverbial noun involving specific time.

yanthilhangwa kiritjimwitjimwantja
until 3:4 Christmas-LOC
'Until Christmas [has come].'

8.1.2.3 Causal: mwanipwapwa

The conjunction, mwanipwapwa [menup^wɔpwa] 'because', usually conjoins an independent and a dependent reason clause. The first two syllables can occur as a separate word mwana and the last two syllables as the clitic -pwapwa. The clitic is usually affixed to the word that follows mwana. The sentence can be marked more than once for reason. (Note: There is double subordination in the second example but such rare occurrences have not been analysed as yet.)

kaniwartangiyatha winalhakinimwantja nanikwanikpwakwiya
1ExcSg+3:1 will kill-PURP 3:1MascDu-LOC 3:3 son-KPOSS-DU

mwanipwapwa winimwingwirthangmwakwiyipwapwa
 because 3:1MascDu are greedy-CSL
'I will kill his two sons because they are greedy.'

nampwampwilyimwirra nakwikwawira arrawa mwathirrimwantja
3:3 kept on sitting 3:3 alone inside 3:5 cave-LOC

 nakina paniwirrkpamwirripwapwa niwirrwilyawa
 3:3(i) that 3:3+3:3 is hating-CSL 3:3(i) rainbow

mwanipwapwi nanimwinangmwathimwirripwapwa
 because 3:3+3:2 was stealing-CSL

 anilhangwa thathiyanikpwa
 3:3-POSS 3:2 wife-KPOSS
'Bat kept on sitting alone inside the cave because he hated
Rainbow because he stole his wife.'

ngayiwa ningilhikatja mwana atjingwipwapwa ngalhatja
1ExcSg 1ExcSg go QM 3:4 sickness-CSL 3:2-CofR
'I go because she is sick.'

niwirtangimwirripwapwa akimwantja nilhikatjimwirra nakina
3:3 was climbing-CSL 3:4 tree-LOC 3:3 was going 3:3 that
'Because he was climbing the tree he fell.'

8.1.2.4 Definite: -mwantja

The locative case-marking clitic -mwantja is attached to the

verb in a subordinate Definite clause and equates with the English conjunction 'when'. The verbs in both the subordinate and main independent clauses are prefixed for the Potential or Actual mood and can take the full range of tense and aspect suffixes. The activity has not yet happened but the action in the subordinate clause is assured. The first set of examples illustrate the Actual mood and the second set the Potential mood.

winalhakina nanarrikayinimwantja aningkwa
3:1MascDu those 3:1MascDu+3:4 were throwing-LOC 3:4 spear

nalhawirrathinimwa
3:4 was returning
'When they threw the spear it was returning.'

niyamwa mwiyanpanipwirra yingatja
3:3 said wny-QM 1IncSg hit

ningimwingkwilhingamwirrimwantja
1ExcSg am sleeping-LOC
'He said, "Why did you hit me when I am sleeping?"'

akana niyamwamwantja nakina anatja
however 3:3+3:5 was doing 3:3(i) that 3:3(i)-CofR

yirikwitjilhangwa nanirntarrka nakina akpwilhangwa
3:3(ii) bandicoot 3:3+3:3 grabbed 3:3 that 3:4 buttocks-POSS
'However, when he [Wallaby] was doing that, Bandicoot got hold of his buttocks.'

kartharriyamwantja akwalya kampwirra
1ExcSg+3:4 will be spearing-LOC 3:4 fish therefore

kamwinithakinamwa ngayiwa
1ExcSg will be cooking 1ExcSg
'When you catch a fish then I will be cooking it for you.'

ningkwakina kiningalyakwimwantja yakina yingarna
2Sg that 2Sg+3:3 will tread on-LOC 3:3 (ii) that 3:3(ii) snake

kanatharriyamwa
3:3 will be spearing
'When you stand on the snake it will be biting you.'

pwia kampwa kalharmwirthimwantja kilhirakina
then therefore 3:4 will be dark-LOC 2Sg+3:4 will build

angwira ningkwiwa
3:4 fire 2Sg
'And so when it gets dark you should light a fire.'

pwiya	angwirrirtha	naniyangkilhapanimwantja	mwakiniyatha
then	3:4 magpie	3:3+3:3 asked-LOC	3:5 that-PURP
athiwaya	anatja	yingwa	nanimwakamwa
for a while	3:3-CofR	3:3(ii) crow	3:3+3:3 was telling
nakinimwantja	kwiraya		
3:3(i) that-LOC	try (=trick)		

'And then when Magpie asked him for the raft for a while Crow was telling him a lie.'

Two occurrences of subordination co-occur in the following sentences. Such examples are rare and have not been analysed as yet. In the latter example, the same action of cooking is repeated with slightly different synonyms.

kampwirra	warnimwamwalya	nanirringkimwantja	yipwikwaya
therefore	3:1 people	3:1+3:3 saw-LOC	3:3 this coming
nilhikanimwantja	kwiraya	niwangkirrayinimwa	
3:3 came-LOC	try	3:1 were hiding themselves	

'When they saw it, when the approaching Snake came, they were trying to hide themselves.'

kithakinamwantja	kakwinamwirra	akwalya
1ExcSg+3:4 will be cooking-LOC	1IncSg will be giving	3:4 fish
arakpwa	kawalyiwathimwantja	
comp.act	1ExcSg+3:4 will have become ready to eat-LOC	

'When I will be cooking the fish I will be giving it to you--when it will be ready to eat.'

There are textual examples in which a subordinate clause is marked by -mwantja with a possible meaning of 'where'. Other than posit another type of subordination, it seems wiser to consider it to mean 'when' until further research can be done.

winampwilyimwakwiya	winiyikwitjiyakwiya	nanimwalyangkayinimwirra	
3:1MascDu two-DU	3:1MascDu small-DU	3:1MascDu were playing	
winalhakina	apwirnilhangwimwirra	ayikwayiwa	
3:1MascDu those	3:1MascDu-COM	3:4 small(pl)	
aningkwa	akwithanga	nampwilyamwirrimwantja	yingarna
3:4 spear	near	3:3 was living-LOC	3:3 snake

'The two boys were playing with their little spears near to where Snake was living.' / 'The two boys were playing with their little spears when Snake was living nearby.'

8.1.2.5 Conditional: -mwirrikpwa

The Comitative clitic, -mwirra plus word-final stem formative -kpwi, indicates that the action in the subordinate clause is an imposed condition before the action of the main clause can take place.

nampirraranimwa	kanikwamwirrikpwa	winalhakina
3:3 was waiting	3:1+3:3 will be giving-COM	3:1MascDu those

wirrawimwinya
3:1 duck

'He was waiting [to see] if they [his two sons] would be giving him a duck.'

kingirringkinamwirrikpwa	yingiyamwarrkina	yinganthapwana
3:2+3:4 will be seeing-COM	3:2 do what?	3:2 asked

'She asked what she would do if she saw the stone.'

ningampirraranimwa	kwiraya	kalhikanimwirrikpwa	wirrakwakwa
1ExcSg was waiting	try	3:1 will come-COM	3:1 (clan name)

'I was trying to wait [to see] if the Wurrakwakwa would come.'

8.1.2.6 Temporal: -lhangwa and -wiya

When the ablative suffix -lhangwi is attached to the verb in a subordinate clause it indicates temporal subordination. It is best translated as 'after' because the activity in the main independent clause does not begin until after that in the subordinate clause is completed.¹³ Either Actual or Potential Indicative prefixation can be used in the subordinate clause.

kwirranthakpwilkatjingwinamwilhangwa	akwingwilhangwa
2Nsg will be washing yourself-ABL	3:4 water-ABL

kwirrilhikatjamwa	mirrithinilhangwa	angalya
2Nsg are going	3:4 medicine-POSS	3:4 place

'After you finish washing yourself with water you are to go to the clinic.'

Footnote 13: When trying to elicit the English construction 'before I do such-and-such I will do such-and-such' the Anindilyakwa sentence was changed to this 'after' construction or, to a lesser extent, one which puts the two events in sequence using pwija.

kilhikatjawa ngayiwa ngatjarriyilhangwa thimpwala
 1ExcSg will go-ALL 1ExcSg 1ExcSg+3:2 have washed-ABL 3:2 clothes
 'I will go after I have washed the clothes.' / 'Before I go I
 will wash the clothes.'

ningimwangkilhangwa tiraka katjingwa kilhikatjiyatha
 1ExcSg have picked up-ABL 3:5 truck so that 1ExcSg will go-PURP

 alyangkwihiwa
 3:4 (name)-ALL
 'After I pick up the truck I am planning to go to Alyangkula.'

kiwilyakinawa tjiwirra kwiliwa nganyangwa
 1ExcSg+3:4 will take-ALL 3:4 book 3:4 school-ALL 1ExcSg-POSS

 kwirringkilhangwa ningkwiwa athinipwawiya
 2Sg+3:4 see-ABL 2Sg soon (=first)
 'After you have looked at it first I will take my book to school!'

The pergressive suffix *-wiya* occurs on verbs if the activity in the independent and subordinate clauses is happening at the same time. (In comparing the last two examples below, note that the /a/ preceding *-wiya* represents the non-past imperfective suffix *-amwi* in which the second syllable has been deleted by the Haplology Rule.)

akwa nimwapwartitjina arakpwa angwiriya anatja
 and 3:3+3:4 rubbed comp.act 3:4 fire-PURP 3:3(ii)-CofR

 yingwa ampwaka nimwingkwilhiwiya
 3:3(ii) crow later 3:3 slept-TPRG
 'And Magpie rubbed the sticks together for fire while Crow slept.'

ningalyipwarna akwalya nimwingkwilhawiya mwarrnga
 1ExcSg+3:4 ate 3:4 fish 3:3+3:5 was sleeping-TPRG 3:5 sleep
 'I ate it while he was sleeping.'

ngarrilhikatjamwa arakpwa ayikwitjiya niwangkarrinawiya
 1IncNsg are going comp.act 3:4 small 3:4 is running-TPRG
 'We are going [now] while a breeze is blowing.'

8.2 MISCELLANEOUS PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Like the conjunctions, the particles and clitics in this subsection are not inflected (except by the Intensifying and Terminative clitics). Three of the free form particles indicate aspect, (completive, continuative, and repetitive) and three mood

(dubitative, negative and interrogative). Other miscellaneous particles and clitics distinguish restrictive, intensifying and terminative.

8.2.1 Aspect and Mood particles

The three particles for aspect form a set of semantic contrasts. The Completive and Continuative aspect particles are in opposition to each other and, in their widest usage, indicate whether the activity is seen as completed versus continuing. The third one in the set is the Repetitive particle and it indicates the repetitive or on-going nature of the activity. The other particles in this subsection do not show any inter-relationship or opposition.

8.2.1.1 Completive: arakpwa

The aspect particle arakpwa indicates that the action of the verb is complete. It occurs with verbs which are not marked by the past continuative aspect suffix, -mwi(rra). The particle frequently follows the resultative conjunction kampwirra and indicates that the activity of the preceding clause has already been completed.

ngalhatja arakpwa thaka
3:2-CofR comp.act 3:2(i) this
'She [got] close.'

ngarrilhikatja yirriyamwa arakpwa yirrimwirntakilhika
1IncNsg go 1ExcNsg said comp.act 1ExcNsg went
'"We'll go," we said and we all went.'

yirratja yirriyamwa nara angalyiwa arakpwa
1ExcNsg-CofR 1ExcNsg said not 3:4 home-ALL comp.act

ngarrilhikatja ngarriwarrikwatjingwina
1IncNsg go 1IncNsg exchanged ourselves

yathathiwiya
on this side-TPRG
'We said, "No, we'll go straight home now.'

yirripwikwalhalhikani::wa karrawara arakpwa
 1ExcTri kept on going-cont.act high comp.act

yirrangapwa yakwitjina arakpwa
 3:3(ii) that there there comp.act
 'We kept on going up [until we reached] the top there.'

pwiya angwirrirtha nalhantarrkina ana arakpwa
 then 3:4 magpie 3:4 thought 3:4 this comp.act

kiwilyakatjiniyatha yaka yingwa
 1ExcSg will show-PURP 3:3(ii) this 3:3(ii) crow
 'And then Magpie thought, "I will teach the same crow [a lesson]."

yakwitjina arakpwa nimwangkarrkartjaya nimwithathinimwa
 there comp.act 3:5 smoked 3:5 was burning

mwingakina yirripwimwakirriwantjimwa nimwingpwatjinimwa
 3:5 that 1ExcTri+3:5 are smelling 3:5 was smelling
 'There [the tyre] smoked [and] was burning [and] we smelt fire.'

The aspect particle. arakpwa, can modify a time adverb and indicate that the time is complete or almost complete.¹⁴

pwiya lharrwira arakpwa apwirratja wirrikwalha
 then 3:4 afternoon comp.act 3:1-CofR 3:1 some

wirripwikwaya namwirntakilhikarna
 3:1Tri these coming 3:1 came
 'And then late in the afternoon they all came.'

8.2.1.2 Continuative: ngawa

The aspect particle ngawa indicates that the activity of the

footnote 14: There are a few examples of this particle being used where the continuative aspect is marked on the verb. No explanation can be given at this time. They may be errors or the word arakpwa may not be referring to the verb in apposition. For example:

yatha arakpwa ningilhikanimwa mwiwilyapwamwa
 or this side comp.act 1ExcSg was going 3:5 one-only

ningimwingkwilhimwirra ampwikwampwa mwaningwangalhipwa
 1ExcSg was sleeping 3:4 (name) 3:5 that day

ningilhikanimwirrilhangwa mitjinilhangwa
 1ExcSg was coming-ABL 3:4 mission-ABL
 'On this side I was going and was sleeping one night at Umbakumba on the day I was coming from the mission.'

verb is continuing at that time or some time later, i.e., it is not yet complete. It is the antonym of arakpwa. The Anindilyakwa speakers often do not make any overt reference to the word in their English translations. It can, however, be translated as 'still'.

The continuative particle ngawa often co-occurs with verbs marked by continuative aspect suffix -mwi(rra) and with the reduplicated forms of verbs. The suffix and particle do not co-occur. There are, however, sentences in which the verb is not marked for the continuative aspect but the particle ngawa immediately follows the verb. It seems that, in such data, only the particle indicates the continuation of the activity.

apwirratja	wirratjitja	wirriyirrpuyirra	ngawa
3:1Pl-CofR	3:1 birds	3:1 constant	cont.act

namapayinimwirra
3:1 were singing
'The birds were continuing to sing.'

nakina	niwarpwarrinimwa	akinawa	akwa	yakwitjina
3:3(i) that	3:3 was rolling	3:4 that-LOC	and	there

ngawa nampwilyamwirra
cont.act 3:3 was sitting
'He rolled into the water and there he continued to sit.'

narringinilharrmwangimwirra	nimwawiriwa	akana	nara
3:1-3:3 were chasing	3:3(ii) moon-ALL	however	not

ngawa karringinakpwirrangarna
cont.act 3:1FemDu+3:3 could find
'The two women were chasing Moon but, however, could not catch him.'

anana	ngawa	yirramwiniwilyakina	ngayiwamwantja
3:4 this	cont.act	1ExcNsg carry	1ExcSg-LOC

'I am still keeping this for you.'

namwirntakimwirayangaka	ngawa	akwa	niwayitjinaka
3:1 hungered-INTENS	cont.act	and	3:1 ate-INTENS

ngawa	narrilharrngkwitjarrikwa	amwirntakipwina
cont.act	3:1 things:finished	3:4 those unseen

anhinga warnantjipwawiya
3:4 food quickly
'They continued to be very hungry and to eat quickly [until] they had finished all the food.'

The particle ngawa also occurs in verbless constructions, viz., those that consist of a topic and comment.

winampwilyimwilhangwa ngawa arrawa akwingwimwantja
 3:1MascDu two-ABL cont.act under 3:4 water-LOC
 'The two men continued to be underneath the water.'

A verb can indicate continuous action by the addition of the suffix by -wa, usually accompanied by length and high pitch on the penultimate syllable and reduplication of the verb root. As -wa does not co-occur with the particle ngawa it is considered to be a short affixed form of the particle. The continuative aspect suffix on a verb does not co-occur with -wa. Furthermore, Aboriginal literates sometimes hyphenate the particle ngawa to the verb to correspond with the orthographical use of hyphenation preceding inflectional suffixes.

ngarriwirrakitharrpwikwayinamwirri::wa
 1IncNsg are shortening ourselves-cont.act
 'We are all gathering ourselves together [for the meeting].'

nanilhalhikani::wa nanilhawirathinaka
 3:1MascDu kept going-cont.act 3:1MascDu returned-INTENS

arakpwa winalhakina akana ampwakilhangwa
 comp.act 3:1MascDu those however slowly

nanilhikana
 3:1MascDu went

'Those two men continued to go; they returned but, however, were walking slowly.'

yirripwikwimwingkimwingkathayini::wa yirripwikwimwarripaka
 1ExcTri kept on digging-cont.act 1ExcTri+3:5 threw-INTENS

mwarntakirriyarra
 3:5 yam

'We three continued to keep on digging [and] threw out a lots of yams.'

The following examples compare the three ways in which continuative aspect is shown.

pwiya yirrimwirntamwirntakalhalhikani::wa
 then 1ExcNsg kept going-cont.act
 'And then we all continued to keep on going.'

yirripwikwalhikanimwirra ngawa yirripwikwalhakina
 1ExcTri were going cont.act 1ExcTri those
 'The three of us continued to go.'

anatja nipwina niwilyapwa nilhikana ngawa
 3:3-CofR 3:3(i) that unseen 3:3(i) one 3:3 went cont.act
 'The eldest son continued to go on.'

The aspect particle ngawa can precede or follow a nominal or adverb. The concept appears to be one of continuity of the time or state and equates with the English term 'still.'

anipa ngawa karrawarilhangwa nangpwatja angwira
 3:4 alive cont.act high-ABL 3:4 smelt 3:4 fire
 'The fire was still alive and could be smelt from high up.'

akwa kampwa arakpwa athiwapwa ngawa
 and therefore comp.act today cont.act

 kampwirra yakinaka yimwirrtjingwa ngawa
 therefore 3:3(ii) that-INTENS 3:3(ii) black cont.act
 'And, as a result, still today the crow is still black.'

The particle ngawa has an extended meaning of 'enough'. This appears at first to be contradictory but can be explained as a temporary cessation of an activity which is likely to be resumed at some future date.

ninganthingakamwa amwirntakakina yanthilhangwa
 3:3+3:4 is sharpening 3:4 those until

 anganthingawiya ngawa ningakpwirakamwa
 3:4 sharp-PL cont.act 3:3+3:4 is making
 'He is sharpening all those spears until he makes enough sharp ones.'

akina ngawa ningilhikanimwirra angalyawa
 3:4 that cont.act 1ExcSg was going 3:4 home-LOC
 'That was enough--I was going home.'

arakpwa arakpwawiya akina ngawa
 comp.act long ago 3:4 that cont.act
 'That's all [for now] about the past.'

akina	akwalya	<u>ngawa</u>	ningkwirriwa
3:4 that	3:4 fish	cont.act	2Pl

'Have you enough fish?'

The particles ngawa can follow a demonstrative to signal the end of a discourse. The syllable pwi optionally intervenes and connects the two words to form the one phonological word. This syllable is probably a shortened form of the conjunction, pwiyi 'and then'.

ana	pwiya	ngawa	==>	[enup ^w uŋa ^w wa]	'this [is] enough'
akina	pwiya	ngawa	==>	[akinup ^w uŋa ^w wa]	'that [is] enough'

8.2.1.3 Repetitive: ngarningka

The aspect particle, ngarningka 'again', indicates repetition of the action stated in the verb.

ngalhatja	thikwirirrkwa	nangamwinikalyikamwaka
3:2(ii)-CofR	3:2(ii) brolga	3:2+3:2 is not believing-INTENS

<u>ngawa</u>	<u>ngarningka</u>	nangayanthapana	mwarliwiyawa
cont.act	again	3:2+3:2 asked	3:2(ii) emu-ALL

'Brolga still is not believing her and asked her again.'

pwiya	yirrakina	yirramwamwanga	nimwangkarrina
then	1ExcPl those	1ExcNsg+3:5 picked up	3:5 ran

<u>ngarningka</u>	akwa	yirrilhikana
again	and	1ExcNsg went

'And then the truck picked us up again and we went home.'

yirripwimwingkwilha	<u>ngarningka</u>	yirripwikwingwirrkana
1ExcTri slept	again	1ExcTri hunted for

mwinhinga
3:5 burrawang nuts
'We three slept and again [next day] we hunted for Zamia nuts.'

<u>ngarningka</u>	mwiwilyapwimwantja	mwarnga	napwilhikanimwa
again	3:5 one-LOC	3:5 sleep	1IncTri were going

'Again, after a night's sleep, we three were going on again.'

ngalhatja	aningwathinipwa	awalyiwa	<u>ngarningka</u>
3:4-CofR	3:4 first	3:4 ripe	again

'[The flowers] were just coming out again.'

When the particle refers to a nominal or pronominal the concept is one of repetition or addition and can be translated as 'also'.

akwa ngarningka ningkwirriwa karningkwarpa
and again 2Pl 2Pl men

yikawilyakatjinamwilhangwa mwalhamwikwamwirriya
2Nsg+3:1 show-ABL 3:5 canoe-ETC
'And you men also should show the boys about canoes and other things.'

yingitjarrikwamwa athalyimwa akwa awirikwa
3:2+3:4 is finishing 3:4 river and 3:4 swamp

apwipwirrngkwitharrpa akwa amwathirra akwa
3:4 waterholes and 3:4 soak/well and

ngarningka akwalha yingikpwiringkakamwirraka
again 3:4 some 3:2+3:4 made dry-INTENS
'She finished [drinking] the water in the river, swamp, waterholes and also some others [until] she made them very dry.'

The particle ngarningka can also be translated as 'more', 'another' or 'others' but the concept remains one of repetition or addition (not continuation). It is difficult in many instances to make a distinction between 'again' and 'more'.

akwa kikwiranamwantja ngarningka akwalya
and 2Sg+3:4 will be hooking-LOC again 3:4 fish

yikikwirna ngantja
1IncSg give 1ExcSg-DAT
'And when you catch some more fish please give me some.'

nalharrngkwirikwitha ngarningka yingapwirthanga awilyapwa
3:4 thing:became raw again 3:2+3:4 cooked 3:4 one
'The thing was raw so she cooked it one more [time].'

yikwa ngarningka
1IncSg give again
'Give me more!'

8.2.1.4 Dubitative: thikwa; yinthiya and kwiraya

Two mood particles are considered to be dubitative. The first is thikwa 'maybe, perhaps' which has the same meaning as those words

in English. It co-occurs with the actual, potential or negated moods in the verb prefixation.

thikwa kingilhikatjamwa
perhaps 3:2 will be coming
'Perhaps she will be coming.'

thikwa kithakina arningkwaya thikwa naritha
perhaps 1ExcSg+3:4 will cook 3:4 tomorrow perhaps not-TRM
'I might cook it tomorrow, maybe not.'

thikwa thikwa nara
perhaps perhaps not
'Maybe, maybe not.'

The mood particle thikwa can modify a noun or adverb and indicates a doubt about its specific identity.

thikwa angkapwirra wirrakina
maybe who 3:1 those
'Who perhaps is out there?'

akinaka amwakwilyimwithaka pwilayin yirriyiwarnimwa
3:4 that-INTENS 3:4 complete-INTENS 3:4 plains 1ExcNsg were followi

thikwa yathatha akwa ngampwiwa thikwa
perhaps this side and where?-ALL perhaps

mwawilyimwantjiwa
3:5 (name)-ALL

'We were walking across the entire plains area, maybe on this side, and where to? perhaps Thompson's Bay.'

yirriwa yirrilhikanimwa yirrapwirangkimwa mwangkarrpwiwa
1ExcPl 1ExcNsg were going 1ExcNsg were searching 3:5 plum-ALL

akwa mwarrngmirthiwa thiwitha
and 3:5 currant-ALL perhaps-TRM
'We were looking for perhaps Wild Plum and Bush Currant fruit.'

The second dubitative particle, yinthā ~ yinθi 'or perhaps', is used when there is a choice between two alternatives but does not really equate with the English word 'or'. The usage of yinthā ~ yinθi suggests a doubt about the original statement and suggests another possibility. It cannot be used for sentences, such as 'Would

you like tea or coffee?', the answer to which is implied by the acceptance or refusal of the latter item. (Note: It could alternatively be considered to be a conjunction.)

There is very little evidence of its use in choosing between one of two possible activities. The most common usage is between two nominals or adverbs.

ngakwirrilhangwimwantja	wirriyikwayiwa	aningapwawiya
1IncPl-POSS-LOC	3:1 children	3:4 good-PL

ngarrawilyakathinamwa	yinthiya	awirrariyawiya
1IncNsg+3:1 are showing	or perhaps	3:4 bad-PL

'We are teaching our children about the right or perhaps the wrong things.'

ngarrilhikatja	angwirrkwiwa	yinthe
1IncNsg go	3:4 Angurugu-ALL	or perhaps

ngarriwarrikwatjingwina	arakpwa	angalyiwa	niyamwa
1IncNsg take ourselves past	comp.act	3:4 home-ALL	3:3 said

'"Are we going to Angurugu or straight past it to home?" he said.'

kilhikajamwirra	athiwapwa	yintha	arningkwaya
2Sg will be going	today	or perhaps	3:4 tomorrow

'Will you be going today or tomorrow?'

yipwina	nimparrmwantja	yinthe	yangapwa
3:3(ii) that unseen	3:3(i) (name)	or perhaps	3:3(ii) that there

lharrngantjipa	alhipwatja
(name)	to that side

'[He went to] Nimbarrmanja or perhaps to Larrnganjiba over there on the other side.'

The particle, kwiraya 'try' or 'attempt', modifies the verb and could be considered to be a verbal auxiliary. (It is not a verb because it does not carry inflection.) It usually immediately precedes the verb but can be positioned anywhere in the sentence.

naraka	apwina	angalya	wimpwa
not-INTENS	3:4 that unseen	3:4 place	but

ningapwirangkinamwa	angarripa	<u>kwiraya</u>	niyamwa
1ExcSg+3:4 am finding	that way	try	3:3 said

'"This place is not [suitable] but I am trying to find one over that way," he said.'

wirrakina warnimwamwalya kwiraya niwapwiwarrrkatjinginamwa
 3:1 those 3:1 Aborigines try 3:1 are hiding themselves
 'Those Aborigines are trying to hide themselves.'

yakaka yingwa kwiraya nikipathayinamwa
 3:3(ii) this 3:3(ii) crow try 3:3 is lying

nanimwakimwakina
 3:3 kept telling
 'The crow is trying to trick me by telling lies.'

8.2.1.5 Negative: nara

The modal particle for negation is morphologically simple in that it consists of one morpheme and cannot be prefixed. It usually negates an irrealis demonstrative pronoun, a nominal or verb. The word nara precedes the word it modifies. One of the most common occurrences is the use of the negative particle to negate the irrealis demonstrative for 'not visible', with the resultant meaning being 'not here, not there, not existing in present experience of the speaker'. When it negates a demonstrative pronoun it is often inflected by the Intensifying clitic.

naningwimwampwalhpwa nirampwarrrpirra nanimwikwirra akwa
 3:3(ii) bat 3:3(ii) flat 3:3(ii) his face and

nara apwina amwinta anilhangwa
 not 3:4 that unseen 3:4 nose 3:3(i)-POSS
 'Bat's face was flat and his nose was not there.'

nara wirripwina yalhakwa
 not 3:1 those unseen here
 'There is no one here.' / 'There are no people here.'

nara apwina angaiya wimpwa ngilhikatja
 not 3:4 that unseen 3:4 place but 1ExcSg go

angarripa ngapwirangkina niyamwa
 that way 1ExcSg+3:4 find 3:3 said
 '"There is no place here but I am going that way to find one,"
 he said.'

nanirringka wirratjitja naraka wirripwina
 3:3+3:1 saw 3:1 bird not-INTENS 3:1 those unseen

warnimwangwirratjitja
 3:1 feathers
 'He saw a bird without feathers.'

Another common usage of nara is in the negated verb (see Section 6.3.1.2). In some instances, the verb is not realised in the surface structure. The particle can be inflected for the peripheral cases, including their usage as conjunctions.

mwanipwirra	ana	amwamwarra	nangakpwirakatjingwina
why	3:4 this	3:4 sore	3:4 makes itself

ngarnimwamwalyimwantja	yiyikwayiwa	yingarna
1IncPl Aborigines-LOC	3:3(ii) small	3:3(ii) snake

anana	<u>nara</u>	<u>arringkamwa</u>
3:4 this	not	not seeing

'The reason why the sores keep recurring in us Aborigines is that we cannot see the scabies mite.'

pwiwawiya	ningilhikanimwirra	<u>nariwiya</u>	anhinga
pre-dawn	1ExcSg was going	not-TPRG	3:4 food

<u>kalyipwarna</u>
1ExcSg+3:4 would eat

'I was going in the pre-dawn before I had eaten breakfast.'

naniwarrkawarriyathinimwa	<u>nariwapwa</u>	wirripwina
3:1 were becoming upset	not-CSL	3:1 those unseen

wirrangariya
3:1 children

'They were getting upset because [they had] no children.'

kwirrikwalha	yirrimwinangkirratja	ayakwa	wimpwa
2Pl some	1ExcNsg listen	3:4 word	but

kwirrikwalha	<u>nara</u>
2Pl some	not

'Some of you listen to our words but some [do] not [listen].'

A much rarer usage of the negative particle is its occurrence with a noun phrase. It can be separated from the word it modifies by one or two words.

naniwartiyina	winalhakana	akana	<u>nara</u>	<u>alhingatjirrirra</u>
3:1MascDu fought	3:1MascDu these	however	not	3:4 long

<u>awiyampa</u>
3:4 fight

'The two men fought but, however, not for long.' (Lit: not a long fight)

naningkilyikwakatjiwa angalya warnimwalhika pwiya nara
 3:1MascDu+3:4 encircled 3:4 place 3:1 their tracks then not
 'The two men went right around the place [looking for] their tracks
 and then [found] none.'

8.2.1.6 Interrogative: -pwini ~ -pwirra

The interrogative clitic, -pwini [p(w)ini] ~ -pwirra, is usually suffixed to an interrogative adverb. The alternant form -pwirra may be the result of the addition of the stem formative suffix -rra (with the deletion of ni by the Haplology Rule).

mwiyampwanipwina ningkilhikana ampwikwampwiwa
 what purpose?-QM 2Sg went 3:4 (name)-ALL
 'For what purpose did you go to Umbakumba?'

lhakithangwipwina kinilhikana arakpwa
 already-ABL-QM 3:3 went comp.act
 'Has he gone already?'

nirringkamwipwina nakina yimwanta mwakartimwantja
 3:3 was seeing-QM 3:3(i) that 3:3(ii) turtle 3:5 sea-LOC
 'Did he see that turtle in the sea?'

kilhikatjamwipwina ningana athiwapwa
 1ExcSg will be going-QM 1ExcSg this today
 'Will I be going today?'

yakilhikatjamwirripwira ~ yakilhikatjamwirripwina
 1ExcNsG will be going-QM

aritjilhangwa yarnarna
 later 1ExcPl this
 'Are we going later?'

There is an interrogative particle na which occurs sentence finally with a high or rising pitch. This may be a short form of the clitic -pwini but is more likely to be a borrowing from Nunggubuyu or Roper Kriol. Prior to 1987, the word was rarely heard at Umbakumba. It was previously heard constantly at Angurugu when Groote Eylandt Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals were conversing, often tagged on to the end of an English sentence. The usage has increased in the Umbakumba school but mostly through the presence of a Nunggubuyu

teacher. In checking data in 1987, the word na was corrected and replaced by -pwina (see last pair of examples). It is probably best translated as an Echo Question.

nithakinamwa	nakina	akwalya	angwirimwantja	<u>na</u>
3:3+3:4 was cooking	3:3 that	3:4 fish	3:4 fire-LOC	QM

'He was cooking fish on the fire, wasn't he?'

athiwapwa	<u>na</u>
today	QM

'Today?'

arngkarpwarrngarna	ningkwana	ningkwilhikanimwa	<u>na</u>
3:4 how many times?	2Sg this	2Sg were going	QM

'How many times did you go (to the toilet)?'

arngkampwarrngarnimwa	ningkwanipwina	ningkwilhikanimwa
3:4 how many times?-COM	2Sg this-QM	2Sg were going

'How many times have you been going (to the toilet)?'

8.2.1.7 Restrictive: yimpwikwa; waka and angkitharrpwa

There are three particles which have been grouped together, more or less, for convenience.

The particle, yimpwikwa 'only, except', has only been found to modify a noun or noun phrase. It limits the number of items involved.

wirrimwirntakakina	<u>yimpwikwa</u>	wirrapwiyarpwiwa
3:1 those	only	3:1 four

wirriyikwayiwa	yirriwirtangimwa
3:1 children	3:1 were climbing

'Only four of the children were climbing on up [the hill].'

niwangkirrayina	angkiwiya	<u>yimpwikwa</u>	<u>thakina</u>
3:1 ran	far away-TPRG	except	3.2(i) that

<u>thitharrngka</u>
3:2(i) woman

'They all ran a long way away except that woman.'

nalyalyingmayinimwa	wirrapwapwirnilhangwa	<u>yimpwikwa</u>
3:1 were being happy	3:1 many-ABL	except

<u>niwirrwilya</u>
3:3(i) rainbow

'Everyone except Rainbow was happy.'

The particle, wilhkwa 'only, just', has been supplied as an entry for the dictionary but has not been found in any texts nor remembered from conversations. It may be a Nunggubuyu word (see Heath 1984:435 wulguy).

The particle yantha is used to indicate that the action has no real purpose (see also Section 8.1.2.2.) . For example, when the word is used as a response to the question 'Why is the person sitting there?' the meaning is 'for no reason, for nothing, just sitting, just waiting'. In the following examples, the same aimlessness is involved and has been translated as 'just'.

akwa	<u>yantha</u>	ngawa	nimwirrkwilhimwa	arrawa
and	just	cont.act	3:3 was lying	under

akimwantja
3:4 tree-LOC

'And he just continued to lie under the tree.'

ngalhatjaka	angwira	pwi::ya	<u>yanthaka</u>	niwampwilya
3:4-CofR-INTENS	3:4 fire	and then	just-INTENS	3:4 stayed

niwangkirratjaka
3:4 ran-INTENS

'And then the fire burnt all the grass.' (Lit: the fire just stayed and ran around)

nanakpimwirrakimwirriya	<u>yantha</u>	naka	wimpwa
3:3(i) (name)-ETC	just	3:3(i) this	but

anilhangwa	akirra	napingkiyikwa
3:3(i)-POSS	3:4 name	3:3(i) (name)

'Just Nanakbimirraka and the others--but his real name is Napingkiyikwa.'

Another particle, waka 'odd, different from others', is rarely used in the texts. It signifies that its referent is the odd one in a group or is set apart from the group. In the last example, waka involves rejection or setting apart of the unwanted item. The word is in apposition with a pronominal, nominal or noun phrase.

anana waka amwarrngwa
 3:4 this odd 3:4 yellow
 'This yellow one is odd.' / 'This odd one is yellow.'

waka anana wimpwa angapwa awilyapwithangwa
 odd 3:4 this but 3:4 that there 3:4 one-ABL
 'Not this one but that one from over there.'

wirriyapwitjapwa wirrakina awarrwalya angalya
 3:1 separate 3:1 those 3:4 shade 3:4 place

namwinampwilyimwirra apwirra waka
 3:1 were staying 3:1PL odd

wirriyathilhangwa
 3:1 separate-ABL
 'They were staying in a shady place apart from the others.'

The particle angkitharrpwa is the free form diminisher which corresponds with the prefix -warrngka. Semantically, the compared item is smaller (decreased largeness) or larger (decreased smallness) than the original. The word consists of two morphemes: a{r}ngka 'eye' and tharrpwi 'short'. It usually immediately precedes or follows a nominal but can be used as a time adverb.

angpwitha angkitharrpwa
 3:4 strong DIMIN
 'Rather strong.' / 'Slightly heavy.'

angkitharrpwa ngakakirimwatjingwimwa
 DIMIN 1ExcSg will be teaching myself
 'In a little while, I will be getting to know more.'

The diminisher is also used to express comparisons which, in Anindilyakwa, are always binary (not trinary as is possible in English). When comparisons of four objects were requested the diminisher angkitharrpwa was used with the words 'small' and 'large'; when comparisons of odd numbers were requested the diminisher could be used with either adjective for the ones intervening between those seen as pairs.

thathirrngwana thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
 3:2 big 3:2 one thing
 'big one (= biggest one)'

thathirrngwana angkitharrpwa thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
 3:2 big DIMIN 3:2 one thing
 'Not quite the biggest one.'

thiyikwitjiya angkitharrpwa thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
 3:2 small DIMIN 3:2 one thing
 'Slightly larger than the smallest one'

thiyikwitjiya thaningwarngkiwilyapwa
 3:2 small 3:2 one thing
 'Small one (= smallest one)'

8.2.1.8 Intensifying: -aki

The clitic, -aki [eki], can be suffixed to almost any word in the sentence and it is difficult at times to know what is being intensified or emphasised. Somewhat the same meaning is conveyed by the English words: 'really', 'very' or 'definitely'. The vowel in the penultimate syllable is lengthened and the final syllable stressed.

When the Intensifying particle -aki occurs on a pronominal or one of the words in a noun phrase it functions in the same way as reduplication, i.e., it can pluralise or intensify. (Note that the plurality is cross-referenced in the verb in the last example.)

akinaka aningapwa aningkwa
 3:4 that-INTENS 3:4 good 3:4 spear
 'That one is the best spear.'

yinimwamwiwaka akwitjina kwirrintjaya amwakwilyiwakpwa
 3:3(ii) eggs-INTENS there truly 3:4 (name)
 'There are really lots of eggs at Bickerton Island.'

naningkwarpwa aringkawaka nakina
 3:3(i) man 3:4 head-ALL-INTENS 3:3(i) that
 'The man was a sorcerer.' (Lit: very good head)

nimwirntakingakpwirakamwilhangwa amwirntakarrpwithaka aningkwa
 3:3+3:1 was making-ABL 3:4 strong-INTENS 3:4 spear
 'After he was making very strong [tightly-bound] spears...'

ngalhatja mwarimwilhangwa mwitjiyanga
3:5-CofR 3:5 big-ABL 3:5 boat

namwirntakikwiwarinimwa pwathaka
3:5 was breaking 3:5 box-INTENS
'The rope was breaking all the hull of the big boat.'

When the clitic -aki is suffixed to a verb or a particle that modifies the verb it intensifies or emphasises the action of the verb.

pwiya yirriyamwa nimwikwiwarrinaka arakpwa mwama
then 1ExcNsg said 3:5 broke-INTENS comp.act 3:5 this

mwitjiyanga akiyamwarrkinamwa ngarna
3:5 boat 1IncNsg are doing what? 1IncPl these
'And then we said, "This boat is really broken. What are we going to do?"'

anatja niyamwa nanilhikanimwaka winalhakina
3:3-CofR 3:3 said 3:1MascDu were going-INTENS 3:1MascDu those

naningampayinimwirra athalyimwimwantja
3:1 were bathing 3:4 river-LOC
'He said, "Those two men were definitely bathing in the river.'

ngarningkaka ningana kilhawirrathinamwirra
again-INTENS 1ExcSg this 1ExcSg will be returning

kilhikatjamwa nganyangwiwa
1ExcSg will be going 1ExcSg-POSS-ALL
'I will definitely be returning to my [home] again.'

When the clitic -aki is suffixed to an interjection it intensifies or emphasises the word. There is one example where it occurs with the particle wipwirra 'like'.

naraka arakpwa yingilyimwatha thipwina
not-INTENS comp.act 3:2 disappeared 3:2(i) that unseen
'Definitely not, she disappeared.'

angampwaka apwina amwikirra akinimwantja angalya
which?-INTENS 3:4 that unseen 3:4 name 3:4 that-LOC 3:4 place
'What is the name of that place?'

mwamwintjirratha yingimwalhkayitjiwamwa wipwirraka
3:5 spear 3:2+3:5 was erecting like-INTENS

warningkwarpwa
3:1 men
'She was standing the spears very much like men.'

The particle can co-occur on several words in the same sentence and this gives a very dramatic effect to high points in story, captivating the attention of the audience. It has only been observed in narratives by people regarded as excellent storytellers.

ngalhatja mwakarta mwathirrngarnaka
3:5-CofR 3:5 sea 3:5 big-INTENS

nimwiwarmwatjingwinamwaka nimwipwilhipwayinimwaka
3:5 was uprighting itself-INTENS 3:5 was blowing bubbles-INTENS

mwikwimwikwimwantjaka
3:5 ocean-LOC-INTENS

'The very big wave stood very still, blowing lots of bubbles, in the very [middle] of the ocean.'

8.2.1.9 Terminative: -tha

The terminative particle -tha is a clitic which is suffixed to any word class at or near the end of a sentence. It indicates the end of a discourse or a particular activity within a discourse but does not occur in conversations. The syllable is heavily stressed and thus alters the normal word stress.

The clitic -tha commonly occurs in three positions in the discourse: (a) at the end of the discourse; and (b) in the middle of the discourse preceding a change from one set of actors (dramatic personae) to another; and (c) in the middle of a discourse before the same dramatis persona starts a new activity. The Change of Referent pronoun often co-occurs at the beginning of the next sentence.

pwiya animwangmwa nimwingkwilhi^htha apwirringatja
then 3:4 (name) 3:3 slept-TRM 3:1P1-CofR

narringimwirrkwana mwiyarrawiwa
3:1FemDu+3:5 hunted 3:5 kurrajong nut-ALL

'And then Horace slept at Animangma. The two women [in the other group] went looking for Kurrajong nuts.'

kampwirra	ningpwitjangina	arakpwa	kampwirri <u>tha</u> .	Akwa
therefore	3:3 jumped	comp.act	therefore-TRM	and

yikinirringkinimwantja	yipwirathilhangwa	ayarrka
2Nsg+3:3 can see-LOC	3:3(ii) wallaby-POSS	3:4 hand

apwina	nathathinimwa	angwira	arakpwawiya
3:4 that unseen	3:4 was being burnt	3:4 fire	long ago

amwirrtjingwawitha.	Akina	ngawitha.
3:4 black-ALL-TRM	3:4 that	cont.act-TRM

'And, therefore, the wallaby jumps. And you can see where the front paws of Wallaby were being burnt black a long time ago. That's all.'

Mwarliwiya	yingimwarringkamwantja	mwarra
3:2(ii) emu	3:2+3:5 saw-LOC	3:5 blood

nimwikwilharrinimwantja	thakinilhangwa	thikwirirrkwa
3:5 blood:fell-LOC	3:2 that-ABL	3:2(ii) brolga

aringka	kampwirra	yingarrikwilhi <u>tha</u> .	Kampwa
3:4 head	therefore	3:2 felt sorry-TRM	therefore

yingarrakpitjiwa	apwina	angwarnta.
3:2 spat out-ALL	3:4 that unseen	3:4 stone

'When Emu saw the blood flow down from Brolga's head she felt sorry. Therefore she [Emu] spat the stone out.'

One of the Anindilyakwa literates often used *-tha* at the end of each paragraph in the English story from which she was translating. This caused the skewing of the Anindilyakwa system in some instances. The clitic also seems to be inserted when narrator has come to a stopping point in the story, i.e., when collecting his/her thoughts for the next part of the narrative or assimilating the next chunk of data to be translated. When checking such narratives the author or editor often requests its removal. There are travelogues with the same dramatic personae continuing the same type of travelling and hunting activities where the clitic *-tha* is not used throughout the whole discourse.

8.3 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are separate words which can stand alone or be

incorporated into a sentence. In the latter case, they are usually the first word. They fall roughly into three types: responses, attention-seekers and warnings.

8.3.1 Responses

There is a wide variety of particles which can be regarded as responses in Anindilyakwa. These occur mostly in conversation and the stories told by some of the older renowned story-tellers who use them to add a dynamic quality to the reported speech in narratives. In written material, these particles are rarely used.

The expressions fall roughly into two groups: (a) affirmations, denials or questions about what has just been said or done; and (b) empathy. The words in the first group are as follows:

ngarra ~ ngalya	it's hard to believe, it's not true, is it?
kwiraya	only joking, only teasing, you are trying to trick me, it's not true, you're pretending
thangpwa	is it true?
katha ~ karra	I don't know
kayi ~ kaya	say it again, please repeat what you have just said, I beg your pardon?
mwamwa	it's okay, it's all right, it doesn't matter
yinthiyi ~ yinthayi	oops, I'm sorry (it was accidental), I'm sorry I forgot it
yawi ~ yawa ~ yiwi	yes
nara	no
a:::	er, um

As most of the words are used in isolation with the above meanings the following random examples show their usage and position

in sentences.

yawj angapwa anhinga angalyimwantja
yes 3:4 that there 3:4 food 3:4 place-LOC
'Yes, there is food at the house.'

mwamwa kampwa ngarriwirrana ana
okay therefore 1ncNsg+3:4 throw out 3:4 this

aningwingarrkwimwa nayamwa
3:4 spikeless 3:1 said
'"It doesn't matter that as a result [of its slipping out] we
leave this stingray without a spike," they said.'

nara ampwaka
no not now
'Not yet.'

katha amwiyampana akina
don't know 3:4 what? 3:4 that
'What sort of thing have you lost?'

katha ninganingpwalha ngaya ningana
don't know 1ExcSg ignorant 1ExcSg 1ExcSg this
'I do not know.'

The expression kwiraya is often accompanied by or replaced by the poking out of the tongue. As an interjection, it means 'a trick', 'I/you are pretending', 'a joke' or 'it's not credible'. The speaker uses the word as a statement to inform the addressee that he/she is only joking or the addressee uses it when questioning the veracity of the speaker's statement. This particle has the same form as the Dubitative particle (see Section 8.2.1.4) but any semantic relationship between the two usages has not been discussed with the native speakers.

kwiraya ningkwakina
you're teasing 2Sg that
'I don't believe you!'

The particle, thangpwa 'is it true?', is a short form of the noun, amwanthangwa 'truth'. The final syllable pwj may be a stem

formative or the Comitative clitic 'having'.

Question: thangpwa ningkilhikatjamwa tawiniwa
true? 2Sg are going 3:4 Darwin-ALL
'Is it true you are going to Darwin?'

Answer: amwanthangwa
3:4 truth
'It [is] true.' / 'Truly.'

The interjection, *yinṯhiyi ~ yinṯhayi*, consists of the dubitative particle *yinṯhi* followed by the vocative suffix *-ayi ~ -yi*. It means 'oops, I am wrong' or 'sorry I forgot something', thus maintaining the uncertainty or doubt of the dubitative particle (see Section 8.2.1.4).

The words for sympathy or empathy all appear to have at least two morphemes. The expression, *nganiyarriya* (empathy), can denote 'rejoicing with those who rejoice' but is mainly used to express sympathy. It probably consists of the two morphemes, *nga[r]ni* (1st inclusive plural) and *yarriya* 'bad', with a meaning of 'we feel badly'. The other expressions, *wirrintjaya ~ wintjaya ~ kwintjaya ~ mwarraḱpwa* (sympathy), appear to have variants of the prefix *kwirra* (2nd plural) with *tjaya* 'go away'. These particles have been recorded at the beginning and end of a sentence and can co-occur.

ninganingapwatha arakpwa ningana nganiyarriya
1ExcSg became well comp.act 1ExcSg this (empathy)
'I am well again--happy me.'

ngayiwa ngingamwinilhikatjamwa ngalhilhangwa wirrintjaya
1ExcSg 1ExcSg+her am getting 3:2-POSS (sympathy)
'I am getting it instead of her--poor [woman].'

nanipwiwakitha kwintjaya
3:3(i) silly (sympathy)
'He's silly, poor boy.'

nganiyarriya wintjaya ngalhatja
(empathy) (sympathy) 3:2-CofR
'Poor woman.'

8.3.2 Attention-seekers

Anindilyakwa, like many other languages, has several words which are used simply to get someone else's attention. The following words could be translated as 'oh!', 'hey!' or 'hey you!'. The words are often reduplicated to attract greater attention and they can be in apposition.

wayi [wa¹] ~ waya ~ wawi [wa^u] ~ waa ~ ayi [e: ~ a¹]

kwiwitja ~ kwitja

karikwa

kwirriwa ~ wayi kwirriwa

The most frequent particle wayi and its variants can be lengthened and high-pitched when used in the same way as the Australian cooee to locate others in the bush. The word is commonly used singly or reduplicated to attract attention but there can also be an element of surprise. Unlike what Heath (1984:446) reports for Nunggubuyu, this exclamation does not seem to be used to denote fear.

wayi	yarimwa	amwanthangwithangwa	yantharrnga	yingiyamwa
oh	3:3(ii) big	3:4 truly	3:3(ii) (name)	3:2 said

'"Oh, Central Hill is really big," she said.'

ningimwirntatha	ningimwirntatha	<u>awi</u>	<u>wawi</u>	<u>wawi</u>	<u>wawi</u>
1ExcSg cold	1ExcSg cold	oh	oh	oh	oh

ngarnta	ngarnta	ngarnta	niyamwa
mother	mother	mother	3:3 said

'"Oh, oh, oh, mother, mother, mother, I am so cold," he said.'

<u>ayi:::</u>	yirripwikwinimwinampirrarinamwa	yirripwikwalhakana
oh	1ExcTri+3:3 are waiting	1ExcTri

yingiyamwa	ngalhatja	thathiyiwangkwa
3:2 said	3:2-CofR	3:2(i) woman

'Oh, we three will wait for him,' the old woman said.

The expression kwirriwa has been explained as meaning 'hey, all of you' and this suggests an analysis of two morphemes: kwirra (2nd

plural) and -wa (allative). The word karikwa is used to gain attention before questioning another person about an intended activity, e.g., 'hey, who is getting the soap?'; 'hey, what time are we going?'.

kwiwitja yingiyamwarrkinamwa thakina naniyamwa
 hey 3:2 is doing what? 3:2 that 3:1MascDu said
 "Hey, what is she doing?" the two men said.'

The following exclamations involve surprise and/or pain. The word yakayi is common to north-eastern Arnhem Land and is used primarily to draw other people's attention to the fact that the speaker is hurt. It is also used, however, for surprise or when another person swears.

yakayi	ouch!, oh that hurt!, oh what a surprise!
karri	oh what a pleasant surprise!
tjilipwa ~ tjiripwa	down it goes!

Examples are as follows:

wayi	ningkwirringiwa	wayi	yingiyamwa	ayi:::ayi:::
oh	2Pl	oh	3:2 said	hey

yirikwitjilhangwa yakayi yingiyamwa
 3:3(ii) bandicoot (surprise) 3:2 said
 "Hey, all of you," she said, "oh, a bandicoot!"

karri	thathingapwa	tiritja	ningkwilhangwa
(surprise)	3:2(ii) good	3:2(ii) dress	2Sg-POSS

'Oh, what a nice clean dress!'

The exclamation, tjilipwa ~ tjiripwa, is a loanword (probably tjirlipwa) whose origin has not been established. It appears to vary with tjiwitj and tjatj but their final consonants also indicate borrowing.

akina tjiripwa
 3:4 that down it goes
 'Down it goes!'

tjiwitj tjiwitj nangwirtangmwina akina athirra
 down down 3:3+3:4 deepened 3:4 that 3:4 hole
 'Oh down he went, he made the hole deeper.'

yakwitjina mwilyarrkayanikpwa natharritha tjilipwa
 there 3:5 (name) 3:3 sank down he went

 niwampwilyamwirra akwingwa angwitjiraka
 3:3 is staying 3:4 water 3:4 deep hole
 'There at Milyarrkayanikba--oh down he went--he sank and is staying
 in a deep freshwater hole.'

The remaining words are used to get the attention of another person when the speaker wants the transfer of something in the possession of either the speaker or addressee. The word kwa is often accompanied by a hand movement in which all the fingers are moved downwards; the word wiya is spoken with an extension of the hand holding the offering.

yintja	hurry up!, it's my turn!
yintha	show it to me!, let me see it!
wiya	this is for you, here you are
kwa	(come) here!

The above expressions usually occur in isolation but can co-occur with another particle. The command kwa means 'towards the speaker' and is used as a verbal auxilliary in contrast with tjayi 'away from the speaker'. As a separate utterance it means 'come here to me'.

yintja kwiraya
 hurry try
 'Hurry up, I want to try.'

kwa / kwa lhikatja
 here here 2Sg foot-walk
 'Come here!'

kwa kwa winilhawirrathilhangwa ngarripwikwiwartiyinilhangwa
 here here 2MascDu return-ABL 1IncTri fight-ABL

yingiyamwa
 3:2 said

'"Hey, you two men come here and we three will have a fight!" she said.'

8.3.3 Warnings

Warnings or threats are usually said in anger and indicate impending doom if some corrective action is not taken. The words can be said in isolation and are emphatic when the last syllable is lengthened and stressed.

tjayi ~ tjaya ~ tjiyi	scram!, (go) away!
pwarra [p(w)eři]	get away and stop annoying me!
kartiyi [kařf::]	watch out!, watch what you're doing!, be careful! beware!
kapwa [kapwá::]	be quiet!, silence!
ngwayi [ngwé::]	stop staring at me!

The words, tjiwitj and tjiwi 'scram!', are used on Groote Eylandt but are said to be Nunggubuyu terms. The expression, tjaya is also used as a verbal auxiliary indicating the action is away from the speaker.

<u>tjayi</u>	/	<u>tjayi</u>	lhikatja
away		away	2Sg go
'Go away!'			

<u>kapwa</u>	yamwinthatha
ssshhh	2Sg become quiet
'Be quiet!' / 'Shut up!'	

<u>kartiyi</u>	yingarna
beware	3:3(ii) snake
'Watch out! There's a snake!'	

TEXT: THE TRADITIONAL STORY OF YANTARRNGA (CENTRAL HILL)

AUTHOR: Topsy Yantarrnga, Umbakumba, 1977.

Ngarramwakinamwa nilhikanimwirrilhangwa
nga{rra} +rra +mwaka +n{i} +amwi ni +lhik{a} +ani +mwirra +lhangwi
1IncPl 3:1 tell TNS NPIP 3:3 move TNS PIP ABL
We are telling them the story about the big one who was coming

yarimwa. Yapwa nganyangwa
y{i} +arimwi y{i} +a{nga}pwi ngaya +lhangwi
3:3(ii) big 3:3(ii) that over there 1Sg POSS
from [the mainland]. The big one over there

yarimwa. Yiningangkwilhangwa
y{i} +arimwi yi +{a}ni +{ngwi} +nga{r}ngka +lhangwi
3:3(ii) big 3:3(ii) n-hfem ALP shoulder POSS
[is] mine. He (Lit: the one possessing the shoulder)

nilhikanimwa aripilhangwa
ni +lhik{a} +ani +mwi {a} +aripi +lhangwi
3:3 move TNS PIP 3:4 dry ABL
was coming from dry land, the country [Lit: tread on]

ngarningpwalhilhangwa angalya. Nara
ngarr{a} +ani +ng{ki} +pwalha +lhangwi {a} +ngalya nari
1IncPl n-hfem ASR ignorant ABL 3:4 tread on not
about which we [are] ignorant. No

kampwampwilyimwilhangwa nilhikanimwirra
ka +ampwampwilyi +mwi +lhangwi ni +lhik{a} +ani +mwirra
3:1 REDUP:stay PIP ABL 3:3 move TNS PIP
one was staying on and on there [before] he was coming.

nakina. Pwiya nithirrirntinimwirra armpwali
n{i} +akini pwiyi ni +thirirnta +ni +mwirra
3:3(i) that there then 3:3 descend TNS PIP (name)
And then he was going downhill to

pwiya nampwirrimwirra yakwitjina Akana
pwiyi n{i} +ampwirra +mwirra yakwithini akani
then 3:3 settle PIP there however
Anbal! [on the mainland] and then he was settling there. However,

napwiryimwirra amwilyimwilyintjimwantja,
n{i} +apwiri +yi +mwirra a +mwilyi+ mwi +lyintja +mwantja
3:3 adhere TNS PIP 3:4 REDUP INALP ??? LOC
he was getting bogged

amwilyarrngkwirra angalya natharrirthinimwa.
a +mwi +lyarrngkwi +rra a +ngalya n{i} +atharrirtha +ni +mwi
3:4 INALP ??? SF 3:4 tread on 3:3 sink TNS PIP
in the mud, the quicksand--he was sinking in that place.

Nampwilya	yakwitjina	akana	yapwapwirna
n{i} +ampwilyi	yakwitjini	akani	y{i} +apwapwirna
3:3(i) stay	there	however	3:3(ii) REDUP:many

He stayed there [but] however there were too many

yarrnga.	Yapwapwirna	yarrnga
y{i} +arrnga	y{i} +apwapwirna	y{i} +arrnga
3:3(ii) cut	3:3(ii) REDUP:many	3:3(ii) cut

leeches (Lit:to cut). He was

nakpwartha	akwa	nilhikana.
n{i} +akpwartha	akwi	ni +lhik{a} +ani
3:3 frighten	and	3:3 move TNS

scared of the very large number of leeches and he went on.

Nalhalhikani:::wa.	Napwa	ngarningka
n{i} +alhalhik{a} +ani +wa	n{i} +a{nga}pwi	ngarningki
3:3 REDUP:move TNS cont.act	3:3(i) that over there	again

He continued to keep on going. He, that one over there, again

nampwirra	apwimwantja	amwalyikpa
n{i} +ampwirra	{a} +a{nga}pwi +mwantja	a +mw{i} +alyikpi
3:3 settle	3:4 that over there LOC	3:4 INALP tongue

settled down over there at Amalyikba (Lit: tongue-shaped area).

Nampwirra	natharrirtha.	Nanthaya	angalya
n{i} +ampwirra	n{i} +atharrirtha	n{i} +Ø + anthaya	a +ngalya
3:3 settle	3:3 sink	3:3 3:4 look	3:4 tread

He stayed [but] he sank. He looked around the place

pwiya	nara	kinirringka.	Nara
pwiyi	nari	kini +Ø +rringka	nari
then	not	3:3 3:4 see	not

and then he could not see any place [to settle]. He did

kinakpwirrangarna	apwini	angalya.
kin{i} +Ø +akpwirrang{a} +arni	a +p{w}ini	a +ngalya
3:3 3:4 find TNS	3:4 that unseen	3:4 tread on

not find a place.

Angampwa	angalya	ana	niyamwa.
{a} +angampwi	a +ngalya	{a} +ani	ni +yamwi
3:4 which?	3:4 tread on	3:4 this here	3:3 say

"Which place is this?" he said.

Ngampwiyatha	ana	angalya
ngamp{w}iyatha	{a} +ani	a +ngalya
when?	3:4 this here	3:4 tread on

"When

katjathiyamwirra	niyamwa.
ka +Ø +tjatha +y{i} +amwirra	ni +yamwi
1Sg 3:4 enter TNS NPIP	3:3 say

am I going to get to [Lit: enter] this place?" he said.

ningapwipwirangkina	niyamwa.	Yakwitjina
ning{a} +Ø +apwipwirangka +ni	ni +yamwi	yakwitjini
1Sg 3:4 REDUP:search for TNS	3:3 say	there

There,

kampwirra yimwirntakipwina
 kamp{w}irri yi +mwirntaka +p{w}ini
 therefore 3:3(ii) PL that unseen
 as a result, [are] lots of wild apples

yinimwanhinga nalhkayana
 yi +{a}ni +mw{i} +anhinga n{i} +alkay{a} +ani
 3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP edible 3:3 stand up TNS
 that he planted there

nimwirntakapwirra anilhangwa angalya.
 ni +mwirntaka +p{w}irri ani +lhangwi a +ngalya
 3:3(i) PL wide 3:3(i) POSS 3:4 tread on
 at his place.

Yipwina akwa mwilyilya mwipwina
 yi + p{w}ini akwi m{w}i +lyilyi m{w}a +p{w}ini
 3:3(ii) that unseen and 3:5 ?deliver 3:5 that unseen
 He put the Milyilya

nimwakwimwarnitha. Nara apwina
 ni +mw{a} +akwim{w}i +arni +tha nari a +p{w}ini
 3:3 3:5 put TNS TRM not 3:4 that unseen
 there [in an area near the caves]. He didn't

kiniwilyaka akwalha. Nalhilhikani::wa.
 kini +Ø +wilyaka a +kwalha n{i} +a(lhi)lhik{a} +ani +wa
 3:3 3:4 carry 3:4 some 3:3 REDUP:move TNS cont.act
 carry any[thing]. He kept going on and on.

Nara apwina angalya wimpwa
 nari a +p{w}ini a +ngalya wimpwi
 not 3:4 that unseen 3:4 place but
 "There is no place [for me to settle] but

ngilhikatjamwirra angarripa
 {ni}nga +lhik{a} +atj{a} + amwirra a + ng{wi} +arripi
 1Sg move TNS NPIP 3:4 ALP forked
 I am going this way

ngapwirrangkina niyamwa. Naka
 ng{i} +Ø +apwirrangka +ni ni +yarwi n{i} +aka
 1Sg 3:4 search for TNS 3:3 say 3:3(i) this here
 to search for one," he said. He

ngarningka amwalyikpa nampwirritha. Akwakwa
 ngarningki a +mw{i} +alyikpi n{i}+ampwirra +tha akwakwi
 again 3:4 INALP tongue 3:3 settle TRM (name)
 settled again at Amalyikba.

akina angalya amwalyikpa. Yakwitjina
 {a} +akini a +ngalya a +mw{i} +lyikpi yakwitjini
 3:4 that there 3:4 tread on 3:4 INALP lips there
 That place, Amalyikba, belongs to the Wurrakwakwa. There

nampwirra yipwina ningwirtjirakina
 n{i} +ampwirra yi +p{w}ini ni +ngwirtjira +ka +ni
 3:3 settled 3:3(ii) that unseen 3:3 deepen CAUS TNS
 he settled [and] made a big well

angalyimwirrimwantja amwalyikpa. Yakwitjinā
a +ngalya +mwirra +mwantja yakwitjini
3:4 tread on COM LOC (name) there
at Angalyimwirra [the camping place], Amalyikba. There

nampwilya pwi::ya nara. Naraka apwina
n{i} +ampwilya pwiyi nari nar{i} +aki a +p{w}ini
3:3 stay then not not INTENS 3:4 that unseen
he stayed but not [for long]. He really could not see all over

angalya kinirringkaka. Tjatj
a +ngalya kini +Ø +rringk{a} +aki
3:4 tread on 3:3 3:4 see INTENS
the place.

nangwirthangmwina akina athirra kampwirra
na +ngwirthangm{w}i +ni {a} +akini {a} +athirri kamp{w}irri
3:4 be open-mouthed TNS 3:4 that there 3:4 mouth therefore
The hole was deepened and, as a result,

ngarrirripwirringkina. Naraka apwina
ngarra +Ø +rripwirringka +ni nar{i} +aki a +p{w}ini
1IncPl 3:4 REDUP:see TNS not INTENS 3:4 that unseen
we can look into it. "I [still have] no place

angalya wimpwa ngakpwirrangarnaka
a +ngalya {wi}mpwi ng{a} +Ø +akpwirrang{a} +arn{i} +aki
3:4 tread on but 1Sg 3:4 find TNS INTENS
[to settle] but I am really trying to find one

angarripa kwiraya niyamwa. Wirripwina
a +ng{wi} +arripa kwiraya ni +yamwi wirra +p{w}ini
3:4 ALP forked try 3:3 say 3:1 that unseen
somewhere," he said. He

nanakwimwarna yakina
n{i} +an{i} +akwimw{i} +arni y{i} +akini
3:3 3:3 put TNS 3:3(ii) that there
left

yinimwanhinga akwa warnipwarpwa.
yi +{a}ni +mw{i} +anhinga akwi wirra +ani +p{wi} +warpwi
3:3(ii) n-hfem INALP edible and 3:1 n-hfem NSR short-hair
the apples and [the stone named] Warnibarmba (Lit: short-haired ones).

Wimpwa nanakwimwarna wirrakina
{wi}mpwi na{rra} + n{i} +akwimw{i} +arni wirr{a} +akini
but 3:1 3:3 put TNS 3:1 that there
But he left Warnibarmba there--

warnipwarpwa athipwina wirrirrakarimwa wimpwa
athip{w}ini wirra +rrak{a} +arimwi {wi}mpwi
(name) this side 3:1 forehead big but
the big stone on this side but

alhipwatja wirrirrakitjikwa. Yathikina ngawa
alhapwatja wirra +rraka +tjikwi yathikini ngawi
that side 3:1 forehead small there cont.act
the small one on that side. From there

nitjirakamwirra		akina	angalya
ni +Ø +tjirak{a} +amwirra		{a} +akini	a +ngalya
3:3 3:4 deepen NPIP		3:4 that there	3:4 tread on
he is continuing to cut (Lit: deepen) the plains (Lit: place),			

Narapwaka angalya apwinitha niyamwa.
 nar{i} +apw{i} +aki a +ngalya a +p{w}ini +tha ni +yamwi
 not EM INTENS 3:4 tread 3:4 that unseen TRM 3:3 say
 "There is really no place [to stay]," he said.

Ngampwi kilhikatja kapwirangkina niyamwa.
 ngampwi ki +lhik{a} +atja k{i} +Ø +apwirangka +ni ni +yamwi
 where? 1Sg move TNS 1Sg 3:4 search for TNS 3:3 say
 "Where will I search for it?" he said.

Angarripa kilhikatja niyamwa.
 a + ng{wi} +arripi ki +lhik{a} +atja ni +yamwi
 3:4 NSR forked 1Sg move TNS 3:3 say
 "I will go this way," he said.

Nalhikani:::wa mwilyarrkayanikpwitha mwipwina
 n{i} +alhik{a} +ani +wi mwa +p{w}ini
 3:3 move TNS cont.act (name) 3:5 that unseen
 He continued to go from Milyarrkayanikpa.

mwipwina nimwalyikpa. Nalhikani:::wi
 mwa +p{w}ini ni +mw{i} +alyikpi n{i} +alhik{a} +ani +wi
 3:5 that 3:3(i) INALP tongue 3:3 move TNS cont.act
 He continued to go on and on

nangapwa angwirra. Angwirra nanakwimwarna
 n{i} +angapwi angwirra n{i} +an{i} +akwimw{i} +arni
 3:3(i) that there (name) (name) 3:3 3:3 put TNS
 [to] Angwirra. [At] Angwirra he left

nanikwiwanikpw nipwina. Kampwa
 n{i} +ani +kwi +w{i} +anikpwi ni +p{w}ini kampwi
 3:3(i) n-hfem ??? son KPOSS 3:3(i) that unseen therefore
 his son. As a

napwingkitjira. Kampwirra nipwina
 n{i} +ap{w}ingki +tjiri kamp{w}irri ni +p{w}ini
 3:3(i) body young therefore 3:3(i) that unseen
 result, he [is] small-bodied. Therefore he

napwingkikwiwakatjingwina angarripa
 n{i} +ap{w}ingki +kwiwak{wi} +atjingwi +ni a +ng{wi} +arripi
 3:3 body drop with splash RECP TNS 3:4 ALP forked
 he [the big Yantarrnga] dropped him [the small Yantarrnga] in the

niwirtanga arakpwitha. Yapwa
 ni +wirt{a} +anga arakpwi +tha y{i} +a{nga}pwi
 3:3 climb TNS comp.act TRM 3:3(ii) that over there
 waterhole [and then] he climbed up this way. He

yipwina nimpwarrimwatja yintha
 yi +p{w}ini nimp{w}arrimwa{n}tja yintha
 3:3(ii) that unseen (name) or perhaps
 [is] at Nimbarrmanja or perhaps

yangapwa lharrngantjipa alhipwatja wimpwa
 y{i} +angapwi lharrngantjipi alhapwatja wimpwi
 3:3(ii) that over there (name) that side but
 he [is] the one over there on that side at Larrnganjiba but

wimpwa	athipwina	nimpwarrimwantja	wimpwa	yapwa
wimpw:	athap{w}ini	nimp{w}arrimwantja	wimpwi	y{i} +angapwi
but	on this side	(name)	but	3:3(ii) that
but he[was] on this side [to] Nimparrimanja but				

yin+walhiwalyilhangwa.	Nimparrimwatjilhangwa
+{a}ni +mw{i} +alhawalya +lhangwi	nimparrimantja +lhangwi
(ii) n-hfem INALP REDUP:wide ABL	(name) ABL
he [went to] Yinimaliwalyilangwa.	From Nimparrimanja

yathikina	niwirtanga	nilhikana	pwiya
yathakini	ni +wirt{a}+anga	ni +lhik{a} +ani	pwiyi
there	3:3 climb TNS	3:3 move TNS	then
there, he climbed and then he got (Lit: went)			

nangapwa	karrawara.	Alhipwatja	arakpwa
n{i} +angapwi	karrawari	alhipwatja	arakpwi
3:3(i) that over there	high	there	comp.act
[to] the top.		On that side,	

nakina	nilhikwayina.	Nilhikwilhikwayina
n{i} +akini	ni +lhikwaya +ni	ni +lhikwilhikwaya +ni
3:3(i) that there	3:3 dance TNS	3:3 REDUP:dance TNS
he danced.		He really kept dancing

athikinaka	apwirantjarrarra.	Yathikina
athikin{i} +aki	{a} +ap{w}iran{gka} +tjarrarri	yathakini
there	INTENS 3:4 ?buttocks	there
on that side [and made] a smooth area.		

yikiwirtanimwantja	yikakwangpwa	angalya
yik{i} +wirt{a} +ani +mwantja	yika +kwangpwi	a +ngalya
2Sg climb TNS LOC	2Sg be excited	3:4 tread on
If you climb up there you will be excited about the place		

akwa	yapwapwirna	yilyakwa.	Ngarningka	arakpwa
akwi	y{i} +apwapwirna	yi +lyakwi	ngarningki	arakpwi
and	3:3(ii) REDUP:many	3:3(ii) speech	again	comp.act
and all the bees (Lit: one with speech). Again [after he				

nakina	niwirtanga	apwalkayiwa.	Apwalkaya
n{i} +akini	ni +wirt{a} +anga	apwalkayi +wi	apwalkaya
3:3(i) that there	3:3 climb TNS	high ALL	high
had finished dancing} he climbed right up to the top.			At the top

arakpwa	nangapwa	nampwirra.	Nanthaya
arakpwi	n{i} +angapwi	n{i} +ampwirra	n{i} +Ø +anthaya
comp.act	3:3(i) that there	3:3 settle	3:3(i) 3:4 look at
he settled.			He looked

nanthaya	akina	angalya
n{i} +Ø +anthaya	{a} +akini	a +ngalya
3:3(i) 3:4 look at	3:4 that there	3:4 tread on
[and] he looked all over the place		

amwirntakayina	ayangkwilyimwithiwiya	akwa
a +mwirntak{a} +ayini	a +yangka +lyimwitha +wiya	akwi
3:4 PL	those there	3:4 head be complete TPRG
and could see everywhere (Lit: many places)--across to the mainland and		

ayangkiyangkitharrpwa pwiya nitjarrikwaka
a +yangkiyangka +tharrpwi pwiyi ni +Ø +tjarri +kw{i} +aki
3:4 REDUP:head short then 3:3 3:4 finish CAUS INTENS
many islands (Lit: short-headed ones) and then he finished

angalya aningangkiwa Apwina
a +ngalya {a} +ani +{ngwi} +ngangka +wi a + p{w}ini
3:4 tread on 3:4 n-hfem ALP shoulder ALL 3:4 that unseen
all the places. "This place

angalya ngawa niyamwa. Yalhakwa ngampwarriya
a +ngalya ngawi ni +yamwi yalhakwi ng{i} +ampwarra +yi
3:4 tread on cont.act 3:3 say here 1Sg reside TNS
[is good] enough [for me]," he said. "Here I stay"

niyamwa. Yakwitjina arakpwa nakina
ni +yamwi yakwitjini arakpwi n{i} +akini
3:3 say there comp.act 3:3(i) that there
he said. There

nampwarrngatha naningwarngkwawiritha.
n{i} +ampwarrnga +tha n{i} +ani +ng{wi} +arngkwawiri +tha
3:3 sit down TRM 3:3(i) n-hfem ALP forever TRM
he stayed forever.

Akinipwingawa.
akini +pwi +ngawi
that EM cont.act
That's all.

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