

A GRAMMAR OF WAMBAYA

by

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Preface

The research for this thesis was conducted during five field trips, totalling over six months, from February 1991 to April 1993. Work was begun in Elliott, N.T, and then, as many Elliott Wambaya moved to Tennant Creek, was continued there. This project was initiated by the Gurungu Council Aboriginal Corporation in Elliott who sent out a request for a linguist to work on Wambaya due to the increasing concern about its fate among people of the community. For the first few field trips, while still working in Elliott, I worked very closely with the Gurungu Council who were always co-operative and welcoming and who were instrumental in obtaining funding for these trips.

There was a lot of support for the project from the Wambaya people of both Elliott and Tennant Creek. Although people were not always able to help me with language material, help came in many different forms: from assistance in the elicitation and transcription of stories, to providing access to computers and office space, to providing company for the many hours spent driving between Elliott and Tennant Creek.

This thesis is a synchronic description of the Wambaya language. While I have included comparative remarks in a few places, that has not been the aim of the thesis. Nor was the aim of this thesis to describe the language within any particular theoretical framework. I have written primarily a reference grammar and have only occasionally drawn on particular theories when it seemed necessary for explication.

It goes without saying that this grammar is incomplete. Time constraints imposed by the nature of the degree, coupled with the extra amount of time needed to elicit data on a language that is not often used spontaneously, have meant that many areas, such as discourse, pragmatics and prosody, have been neglected completely. And others, such as phonology and complex syntax, have not been given the detailed study that they probably deserve.

It is hoped that the study of Wambaya will not end here and that this thesis will merely serve as an first step from which more work can follow.

Abbreviations, Symbols and Conventions

-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
+	morpheme boundary (affix or clitic)
·	primary stress
^a	secondary stress
//	phonemic transcription
[]	phonetic transcription (IPA)
Ø	contrastive zero morph
()	gloss of a zero morpheme when not represented in example
.	links English words in the one gloss
:	possible further segmentation, also links elements of portmanteau morphs

When glossing free and bound pronouns I do not use the colon: eg. '1duincS' rather than '1:du:inc:S'.
Although this is inconsistent, it simplifies the glosses for these common forms.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
I	Class I, masculine gender
II	Class II, feminine gender
III	Class III, vegetable gender
IV	Class IV, neuter gender

A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative case
Abs	absolutive gender suffix
ACC	accusative case (O)
AGNT	agentive nominaliser
ALL	allative case
away	direction away
B	Binbinka
B	brother, brother's
C	child
C	consonant
CAUS	causative suffix
COMIT	comitative case
COMP	complement
D	daughter, daughter's
DAT	dative case
DS	different subject
du	dual
DYAD	dyadic suffix
E	elder (sibling)
EP	epenthetic vowel
ERG	ergative case (A)
exc	exclusive
F	father, father's
FAC	factitive suffix
fem	feminine

Fut	future tense
G	Gudanji
GEN	genitive case
H	husband, husband's
Hab	habitual aspect
IMP	imperative mood
inc	inclusive
INCH	inchoative
INF	infinitive
INFER	inferential
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis mood
J	Jingili
LOC	ergative/locative/instrumental case
M	mother, mother's
masc	masculine
nAbs	non-absolutive gender suffix
NEG	negator
nF	non-future tense
Ng	Ngarnga / Ngarnji
nmasc	non-masculine
NOM	nominative case (S)
NP	noun phrase
nP	non-past tense (used with directional suffixes in auxiliary)
nPst	non-past tense
Nu	Nungali
O	transitive object
Obl	oblique
OP	object-promoting suffix
ORIG	origin
P	past tense (used with directional suffixes in auxiliary)
PERL	perlative case
pl	plural
POSS	possessive
Pr	progressive aspect
Pres	present tense
PRIV	privative
PROP	proprietary
PURP	purposive (non-finite subordinate clause inflection)
Pst	past tense
RDP	reduplicated
REFL	reflexive
RR	reflexive/reciprocal
S	intransitive subject
S	son, son's
sg	singular
SIMUL	simultaneous (non-finite subordinate clause inflection)
SS	same subject
TH	thematic consonant
TRANS	transitivising suffix
twds	directions towards

V	vowel
W	Wambaya
W	wife, wife's
Z	sister, sister's

Note on translations

Translations in this thesis are mostly my own. Those that are not are given in inverted commas. Where English makes distinctions that Wambaya doesn't (such as definiteness in NPs) I have made these distinctions in the English translations according to context.

1.1 THE LANGUAGE

Wambaya is a Non-Pama-Nyungan language from the Barkly Tablelands region in the northern central part of the Northern Territory. It is one of a family of languages known as the West Barkly languages which occupy an area of the central Northern Territory very roughly bounded by Daly Waters in the north-west, Borroloola in the north-east, Brunette Downs Station in the south-east and Renner Springs in the south-west (see Maps 1 and 2). The West Barkly languages are part of a larger sub-group known as the Mindi group which also contains the Jaminjungan languages: Jaminjung, Ngaliwuru and Nungali. The location of these languages is shown in Map 1.

Phonologically, Wambaya is fairly typical for an Australian language. The phoneme inventory contains five places of articulation for stops (bilabial, alveolar, post-alveolar (retroflex), palatal and velar), with a nasal corresponding to each stop articulation. Voicing is not phonemically distinctive. There are three laterals corresponding to the three non-peripheral stop articulations (alveolar, post-alveolar (retroflex) and palatal), an alveolar tap/trill, three semi-vowels: /w/, /ɹ/ and /j/, and three vowels: [i], [u] and [a], with no significant phonemic length distinction. In all of the other West Barkly languages there is a sixth stop articulation, a dorso-palatal, described by Chadwick (1978:9) as having an onset near the front of the velum and a palatalised release. This stop does not occur in Wambaya and I have only ever heard one example of it in Gudanji. Wambaya words are mostly disyllabic or longer and, except for the auxiliary, never end in a consonant.

There are seven parts of speech in Wambaya: nominals (including nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, free pronouns and time and locational nominals), verbs, adverbs, the auxiliary (including cross-referencing bound pronouns and tense/aspect/mood/directional suffixes), particles, clitics and interjections.

Pronouns distinguish person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and number (singular, dual and plural). First person non-singular makes an inclusive/exclusive distinction, and a gender distinction is made in the third person singular.

Wambaya nominals generally inflect for case, gender¹ and number. Although there are three numbers: singular, dual and plural, only dual nouns are obligatorily marked for

¹I follow Corbett (1991:5) in using this term for what are more traditionally referred to as 'noun classes'.

number. All modifiers must agree with the noun that they modify in all of these categories.

There are four genders in Wambaya, marked by suffix. In this respect Wambaya, along with the other West Barkly languages, is typologically aberrant and particularly interesting as gender in other non-Pama-Nyungan languages, along with much of the verbal morphology, is usually marked by prefix. In fact, apart from the West Barkly languages, the only other non-Pama-Nyungan languages which are not prefixing are the Tangkic languages, such as Kayardild and Lardil.²

The four genders in Wambaya are masculine (Class I), feminine (Class II), vegetable (Class III) and neuter (Class IV). Class membership is primarily semantically based. There are two series of gender suffixes: those which occur in the nominative and accusative cases (absolute) and those which occur in all other cases (non-absolute)³. Gender concord is shown on nouns, adjectives, demonstratives and some ignoratives.

Wambaya is a 'split-ergative' language: nominals (excluding free pronouns) have an ergative-absolute pattern of inflection while the free pronouns have a nominative/accusative declension. Following Goddard (1982), the class of nominals as a whole is analysed as having a three-way case system: ergative (/locative), nominative and accusative (see 4.4).

A second position auxiliary, obligatorily present in most Wambaya clauses, contains bound pronouns representing the subject and object noun phrases of the clause. This auxiliary also contains most of the tense, aspect and mood information for the clause, and can contain directional affixes indicating movement towards or away from the speaker. Unusually, the auxiliary has no root.

Some further unusual aspects of Wambaya grammar include: a subjective/objective distinction that is made by some adjectives (see 3.1), a suffix found with kinship nominals which appears to have a reflexive possessive function (see 4.5.1.2) and some verbs which alternate in transitivity without changing their form (see 7.2.1.6).

As is common for Australian languages, Wambaya is morphologically agglutinative and the word order is relatively free.

²Although the Tangkic languages were originally classified by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) as Pama-Nyungan, recent discussions (namely Evans (1985 and 1988) and Blake (1988 and 1990)) have shown them to be clearly non-Pama-Nyungan.

³These gender suffixes are then followed by the appropriate case suffix.

1.1.1 The West Barkly languages

The West Barkly language family consists of 5 languages/dialects: Jingili, Ngarnga (or Ngarnji), Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka. The structure of this family can be represented as in Table 1.1 (following Chadwick 1978:2).

Table 1.1 The West Barkly Language Family



The West Barkly language family contains two groups: Jingili and the Eastern Group. The Eastern Group contains four languages/dialects of which three - Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka - are clearly dialects of the one language. Lexicostatistical data (discussed below) show Ngarnga to be quite closely related to these three dialects, but different enough that it is probably best considered a language of its own. Thus, the Eastern Group is made up of two languages: Ngarnga and the 'McArthur language'⁵ which has the three dialects Wambaya, Gudanji and Binbinka.

There has been a fair amount of variation in the literature as to the classification of Ngarnga with respect to the other West Barkly languages. Capell (1979) considers it to be very close to Jingili, related "practically at dialect level" (p.182). Tindale (1974), on the other hand, gives 'Ngandji' (Ngarnji/Ngarnga) as an alternative name for the 'Kotandji' (Gudanji) people, thereby suggesting that Ngarnga is very closely related to dialects of the McArthur language. Chadwick (1971) describes Ngarnga as being "a 'halfway' in linguistic content between Djingili in the west and the Wambaja-Gudandji group in the east . . ." (p.34) which is a more accurate claim although, as shown in Table 1.1, Ngarnga is closer in relationship to the McArthur dialects than it is to Jingili.

Chadwick (1978:320, 322) gives a lexico-statistical comparison of the members of the West Barkly language group based on a 100-item word list. His results are given in Table 1.2 (I have collapsed his two tables into one).

⁴The terms 'Eastern Group' and 'McArthur' are taken from Chadwick (eg. 1978).

⁵Note that this language exists only for the purposes of linguistic classification and has no traditional status.

Table 1.2 Lexico-statistical Comparison of West Barkly languages (based on 100-item word list)

	Ji	Ng	W	G
B	21%	61%	69%	88%
G	21%	62%	78%	
W	29%	60%		
Ng	28%			

Thus, Jingili has a fairly low level of shared vocabulary with all of the Eastern Group languages/dialects and is quite clearly a language of a different subgroup. On the other hand, the languages/dialects of the Eastern Group have quite high levels of shared vocabulary, although the dialects of the McArthur language share more vocabulary with each other (between 69% and 88%) than any of them do with Ngarnga (between 60% and 62%). However, the levels of shared vocabulary with Ngarnga are still substantial and suggest a close relationship with the dialects of the McArthur language. The three dialects of the McArthur language form a dialect chain: Wambaya shares a high percentage of vocabulary with Gudanji which shares a high percentage of vocabulary with Binbinka. The percentage of shared vocabulary between Wambaya and Binbinka however, is significantly less. This pattern is predictable from the (traditional) geographic positions of the three communities: Wambaya country shares its northern border with Gudanji country which shares its northern border with Binbinka country (see Map 2).

The main focus of this thesis is the Wambaya dialect of the McArthur language. Unfortunately it was not possible to investigate the other Eastern Group languages/dialects in the same amount of detail that I have for Wambaya. This is due not only to time constraints but also to such things as the difficulty in finding informants: I have only been able to find one speaker of Ngarnga and only one partial speaker of Binbinka, and until recently I was having trouble finding good informants for Gudanji. However, I have been able to do some research (of varying degrees) on each of these other languages and will include them in the discussion wherever possible⁶. A discussion of Jingili is outside of the scope of this thesis as it is substantially different from the other languages and is also the language which Chadwick has worked on in the most detail (see Chadwick 1975). Jingili will only be referred to for comparative discussion.

⁶The similarities, at least within the dialects of the McArthur language, are such that it can generally be assumed that much of what is said for Wambaya will be at least similar if not the same for Binbinka and Gudanji. The only major areas of difference between these dialects is the auxiliary (particularly the tense/aspect/mood marking) and the forms of the demonstratives (see Appendix C and section 4.6 respectively).

1.1.2. Wider relationships

As they are among the southern most non-Pama-Nyungan languages, the West Barkly languages are surrounded on two sides by Pama-Nyungan languages to which they are clearly not genetically related: Wagaya and Warumungu in the south and the Ngumpin languages in the west. Although the non-Pama-Nyungan languages Alawa and Wardaman are adjacent to the West Barkly languages to the north, there is no apparent genetic relationship with these languages either. Nor is there any obvious genetic relationship between the West Barkly languages and Garrwa and Waanyi which lie immediately to the west; although striking similarities in verbal inflections (see 6.1) may reflect a distant relationship between these two groups of languages. Thus, the West Barkly languages are not clearly genetically related to any of the languages that border them.

Dixon (1980:225) claimed Jingili (and by implication all of the West Barkly languages) to be one of two languages (the other being Tiwi) which could not be genetically linked to other Australian languages at all. However, comparative work done by Chadwick (eg. 1984) has shown that the West Barkly languages are related to the Jaminjungan languages (Jaminjung (Cleverly 1968), Ngaliwuru (Bolt et. al. 1971b) and Nungali (Bolt et. al. 1971a)), located in the west of the Northern Territory, towards the West Australian border⁷ (see Map 1). This relationship is interesting as the West Barkly languages and the Jaminjungan languages are physically non-contiguous; they are geographically separated by the Ngumpin languages.

There is (at least) one major typological difference between the Jaminjungan languages and the West Barkly languages: the West Barkly languages are 'suffixing' (employing suffixes rather than prefixes) and the Jaminjungan languages are 'prefixing' (employing both suffixes and prefixes). However, many of the prefixes found in the Jaminjungan languages correspond with suffixes in languages of the West Barkly group. The existence of residual prefixes in certain lexical items and grammatical elements in West Barkly languages (such as the gender prefixes in Wambaya demonstratives and the pronominal elements in the auxiliary), which correspond to prefixes found in Jaminjungan languages is strong evidence that the West Barkly languages were originally prefixing and have since become suffixing (for example, gender suffixes seem to have developed from gender prefixes through the postposing and reduction of demonstratives, see Appendix B).

⁷This group of languages, containing the West Barkly and Jaminjungan languages, is known as the Mindi group after their shared distinctive first person dual inclusive pronouns.

The most striking similarities between the Jaminjungan and the West Barkly languages, as identified by Chadwick (eg.1984), are found among the pronouns (both bound and free) and the gender affixes (at least in Nungali, the only Jaminjungan language with a gender system)⁸.

Among the pronouns there is a large degree of similarity in the function and form of regular pronouns, as well as irregularities in the system which are common to all of the languages. One example of this is the first person dual inclusive pronoun which has a base of the form *mind(i)* or *mirnd(i)* in all of the languages, and has been adopted as the name for the whole group. Examples of other similarities among free pronouns include the form of second person singular free pronouns:

<i>nami</i>	Jaminjung and Ngaliwuru
<i>naminju</i>	Nungali
<i>nama/nyama</i>	Jingili
<i>nyami</i>	Gudanji and Binbinka
<i>nyamirni</i>	Wambaya

and the form of the suffix that occurs on dual and plural non-subject free pronouns:

<i>mindag</i> '1duincObl')	-ag	Jaminjung	(eg.
	-agu	Jingili	
(eg. <i>mindagu</i> '1duincObl')	-(a)ga	Ngarnga and Gudanji	(eg. <i>mirndaga</i>
'1duincObl')			

Among the bound pronouns, an example of similarity is the third person singular masculine transitive subject forms:

<i>gan-</i>	Jaminjung and Ngaliwuru (used for feminine too)
<i>ngan-</i>	Nungali
<i>gani-</i>	Gudanji (present tense)
<i>gini-</i>	Wambaya

A significant degree of similarity also exists between Nungali and the West Barkly languages in the area of gender and gender marking. All of these languages have four genders, marked by suffix in the West Barkly languages, and by prefix in Nungali. In all languages there is a distinction made among gender affixes according to case. In the Eastern Group of the West Barkly languages this is a two-way distinction between

⁸The following discussion is based on information contained in Chadwick (1978, 1979 and 1984).

absolutive gender affixes which appear in the nominative and accusative cases, and those which appear in all other cases, followed by regular nominal case suffixes. In Jingili and Nungali, however, there is a three-way distinction among gender suffixes: absolutive, ergative and dative. Unlike in Wambaya, the ergative and dative gender suffixes in Jingili and Nungali are not supplemented with regular nominal case affixes. There is quite a significant degree of correspondence in both form and function between the gender suffixes of Nungali and the West Barkly languages. This is discussed in Appendix B.

1.1.3 Other spellings of language names

Alternative spellings for the Wambaya language name that are found in the literature are Umbia (Lindsay 1887), Wombya (Mathews 1900), Umbaia (Spencer and Gillen 1904), Wombaia (Mathews (1905), Capell (1965)), Yumpia (Basedow 1907), Umbai (Eylmann 1908), Wambaia (Hale (1959), Tindale (1974)), Wambaja (Capell (1963), Yallop (1969), Chadwick (1971)) and Wampaya (Avery 1990).

Gudanji has also been written as Kooringee⁹ (Stationmaster 1895), Koodangie (Mathews 1900), Godangee (Basedow 1907), Goodanji (Hale 1960), Gudandji (Capell (1963), Aguas (1968), Chadwick (1971), Blake (1990)), Kutandji (O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966), Kotandji (Tindale 1974) and Kutanji (Avery 1990).

Alternative spellings for Ngarnga/Ngarnji found in the literature are Gnanji (Spencer and Gillen (1904), Basedow (1907)), Angee (and Anga) (Basedow 1907), Ngandji (Tindale 1974) and Ngarndji (Chadwick (1971), Capell (1979), Blake (1990)).

Binbinka is found in the literature most commonly as Binbinga (eg. Spencer and Gillen (1904), Basedow (1907), Capell (1963), Tindale (1974), Chadwick (1978)), but also as Bing Binga (Lindsay 1887) and Binbingha (Mathews 1900 and 1908).

1.1.4 Previous investigations

All of the significant work that has been done on the West Barkly languages has been done by Neil Chadwick. As well as some articles (eg. Chadwick 1971, 1979, 1984) this work includes a published grammar of Jingili (Chadwick 1975) and his Ph.D. dissertation *The West Barkly Languages, Complex Morphology* (1978). This thesis is a detailed morphological analysis of the core aspects of the grammars of all of the West

⁹This looks suspiciously like Gurindji, but he claims that the country belonging to these people lies to the east of Powell Creek in the Northern Territory.

Barkly languages and probably represents the only detailed work that will ever be done on at least Ngarnga and Binbinka, for which there are almost no full speakers left.

Aside from Chadwick's work, there are some unpublished field notes by Ken Hale on Wambaya (Wambaia) (63 pages) and Gudanji (Goodanji) (28 pages) gathered in 1959 and 1960 respectively. An honours thesis done at ANU by Stuart Campbell (no date) provides a grammatical sketch and short wordlist based on these field notes and recordings of Hale's. There is also a brief grammatical sketch of Gudanji by E. F. Aguas (1968). The rest of the available information consists of a few brief wordlists (eg. Hercus (1983), Dymock (1985)); a few anthropological articles (mainly concerning the subsection system, see below) written at the turn of the century (eg. Mathews 1900, 1908); and some brief references in other more general texts and articles (eg. Capell (1963), Yallop (1969), Tindale (1974), Basedow (1907), Lindsay (1887) and Spencer and Gillen (1904)). There is also a report by John Avery about the Wambaya/Anthony Lagoon land claim (Avery 1990) which provides useful anthropological, social and historical information about the Wambaya, Gudanji and Ngarnga communities.

1.2 ITS SPEAKERS

1.2.1 History

The West Barkly communities have suffered greatly since European settlement, losing virtually all of their traditional land to white pastoralists well over a century ago. Survival by hunting and food-gathering was taken over by subsistence primarily on rations from the station in return for work. All of the older people that I have worked with, and many of the younger people, have spent a significant amount of time employed on cattle stations; the men as stockmen and the women as housemaids and the like.

There is little that has been written that gives much information about the history of these communities. The references to them found in the literature are brief and usually only mention their location¹⁰. A typical mention is found in Basedow (1907:3):

The Binbinga, a peaceful tribe, occupies the McArthur River district for 40 miles south of Borroloola.

The Godangee (probably a branch of the Gnanji), adjoins the Binbinga on the east.

¹⁰Spencer and Gillen (1904) and Mathews (1900, 1908) also contain some brief discussion of some aspects of ceremonial and social organisation (such as the subsection systems) of the Wambaya and Binbinka communities.

The Yumpia (Umbaia) lives in country extending south of the Binbinga, to the tablelands. Both this tribe and the former are noted for cattle-killing.

The Angee and Anga (no doubt branches of the Nganji [*sic*]) are small, hostile tribes, living south and west of the Allaua, at the head of the Wickham River.

Thus, most of the information for the following discussion has come from the Wambaya and Gudanji people that I have worked with and cannot be supported by information from other sources.

Most of the Wambaya and Gudanji people¹¹ moved off the stations that are on their land during the 1960s and 1970s. The main reason for this as explained to me by the people themselves is that they were forceably moved off the stations by Welfare who felt that the stations could not provide enough food and health care to support the communities. There may have been other reasons for this movement as well, such as the search for employment or problems in the relations between the station people and the Aboriginal communities. The majority of these people moved into the towns of Elliott, Tennant Creek and Borrooloola¹².

This shift into country belonging to other people, and the subsequent split-up of their communities, had disastrous effects for the Wambaya and Gudanji people, significantly contributing to the loss of their language and much of their ceremonial life. While living on 'foreign' land they could not practise much of their ceremony and had to use languages such as Kriol to communicate with the other communities, thereby reducing the use of their own languages. John Avery's impression of the circumstances of these communities during the mid 1970s is that they "stood at the end of every queue, whether it was for town employment, housing or other such benefits, and they were dependent on other Aboriginal people for their participation in ceremonial life" (1990:5). My impression is that the current situation is not all that different from the time of this observation.

1.2.2 Present situation

The majority of Wambaya and Gudanji people still live in South Camp, Elliott; Wuppa Camp, Tennant Creek; and Mara Camp, Borrooloola. The only communities on their traditional land are a small community of Wambaya who have moved back out to Brunette Downs Station and an even smaller community of elderly Wambaya/Gudanji

¹¹I do not know anything of the history of the Ngarnga and Binbinka communities so cannot include them in this discussion.

¹²Elliott is Jingili-Mutpurra country, Tennant Creek is Warumungu country and Borrooloola is Yanyuwa country.

living at Coolminyini outstation just out of Borroloola. There are also a few Wambaya/Gudanji people who live at Murunmurula on the South Nicholson River, although this is actually Waanyi country.

The lifestyle of the Wambaya and Gudanji people today is typical for Aboriginal town communities. Social Security payments and town food supplies have completely replaced hunting and food-gathering as the means of subsistence, and there are problems concerning alcohol. Although the kinship and subsection systems are still known and understood by even the youngest members of the community, the marriage laws are often not adhered to by the younger generations leading one old woman to complain disgustedly that these days young people just marry for love!

As for the Ngarnga and Binbinka communities, it seems that they have all but disappeared. I met only one old man who claimed to be Ngarnga (and one old woman, who has since died) and no-one who called themselves Binbinka. There are reports that there are some Binbinka people (who can still speak the language) living on Nutwood Downs Station, but this has yet to be confirmed.

The Eastern Group languages are in a critical state. A recent survey of language speakers undertaken by Robert Hoogenraad (personal communication) lists 32 people who claim to be full speakers of Wambaya, 10 who claim to be full speakers of Gudanji, only 1 for Ngarnga and 0 for Binbinka. Of the 32 people on Hoogenraad's list who claim to speak Wambaya fully, at least 10 of them received roars of laughter when this list was double-checked with some of the older speakers¹³. My estimates are that there are probably only between 15 and 20 really competent speakers of Wambaya left, and only about 6 or 8 competent speakers of Gudanji. I believe that Hoogenraad's figures for Ngarnga and Binbinka are correct although, as mentioned above, there are claims still needing confirmation that there are some Binbinka speakers living on Nutwood Downs Station.

All of the Wambaya and Gudanji people that I have worked with speak a dialect which is a mixture of Wambaya and Gudanji. The balance of this mix differs greatly - some speakers speak predominantly Wambaya with some Gudanji whereas others speak

¹³One of the difficulties here which may have helped cause this discrepancy is that people will often differ in their conception of what it means to 'speak' a language (especially with reference to languages which are no longer widely spoken). Thus, someone who is really only a 'half' speaker of a language may claim to speak it fully if they are surrounded by people who hardly speak it at all. Another factor that may have boosted these figures is that some of Hoogenraad's information came from people other than the purported speaker. If these people are not proficient in the language themselves, they may not be able to accurately judge the level of competency that somebody else may have in the language.

mostly Gudanji with a bit of Wambaya - but the two dialects are almost always mixed together. In fact most of the older people claim that the two communities and dialects have always been mixed up and that it is not possible, nor appropriate, to try and separate them¹⁴. Some evidence that there has been a greater degree of mixing of the two dialects in recent years however, comes from a 1987 file note from Papulu Apparr-kari, the language centre in Tennant Creek. In this note, one old (now deceased) Wambaya man is reported as claiming that there are only two fluent Wambaya speakers left (of which he was one) as all the other speakers have mixed the language up with Gudanji.

All of the competent speakers of Wambaya and Gudanji are over about 55 years old, and most of them would be over 60. There are a couple of people under 55 (perhaps in their 40s) who have a good command of Wambaya, although in speaking it they tend to substitute a number of grammatical elements from Kriol. Most of the people that I have met over the age of about 40 have a reasonably good to excellent passive knowledge of Wambaya or Gudanji but rarely speak it. None of the younger generations can speak the language at all, apart from the subsection terms, kinship terms and some lexical items. Only a few people that I met under about 30 could even understand sentences spoken to them in Wambaya or Gudanji. There is, however, some interest among some of the younger people in learning to read and write Wambaya, with the possible intention of teaching some to the children in school¹⁵.

The usual language of communication for all of these people, including the older ones, is a variety of Kriol or English ranging from quite a basilectal variety of Kriol among the older speakers to something closer to Aboriginal English among the younger ones. For most of the people this is their first (and only) language.

1.2.3 Social Organisation

1.2.3.1 The subsection system

Wambaya society is divided into an Nyulnyul-type system of eight subsections, or "skins", according to which marriage and all other relationships are determined.

¹⁴This issue caused a great deal of argument at a recent Wambaya language meeting and literacy course held in Tennant Creek (April 1993) as a couple of (less than fluent) speakers kept insisting that it was possible, and indeed important, that the two dialects be clearly separated. This was to the great frustration of the older people who claimed that it was impossible and inappropriate to do so.

¹⁵The difficulty with this is that the majority of Wambaya children attend school in towns that are on other people's land and where they are, therefore, in a minority. This makes it difficult to argue for the development of a Wambaya language program when the majority of children at the school have a different heritage.

Brothers and sisters belong to the same subsection, which is determined matrilineally. This system is demonstrated in Table 1.3 below. There are two sets of terms for most subsections; the less common term for each subsection is given in parentheses. The difference between these two sets of terms is discussed below. The subsections have different, although closely related names for their male and female members. In Table 1.3 female terms are given in bold. An equals sign indicates a first choice marriage partner, the outside arrows trace matrilineal descent, and the broken lines in the centre show patrilineal descent. An alternative representation of this system is given in Figure 1.1 (page 13).

Table 1.3 Wambaya Subsections

Jangalama (Jangalagu)	=	Nurlanyma (Nurlanjagurna)
Nangalama (Nangalagurna)	=	Jurlanyma (Jurlanjagu)
Balyarrinji	=	Niyamarrama (Niyamarragurna)
Balyarrinya	=	Jiyamarrama (Jiyamarragu)
Jurrulama (Jurrulagu)	=	Niyinama (Niyinagurna)
Nurrulama (Nurrulagurna)	=	Jiyinama (Jiyinagu)
Bangarinji	=	Yagamarrirna
Bangarinya	=	Yagamarri

Thus, the first choice marriage partner of someone of the *Jangalama* subsection would be someone from the *Nurlanyma* subsection. Their children would belong to the *Yagamarrirna* (daughters) and *Yagamarri* (sons) subsections.

Other terms for some of these subsections are commonly in use within the Wambaya community, but are reportedly not Wambaya terms. These are *Jugurdayi* and *Bulanyi* for *Jurlanyma* ¹⁶; *Ngabida* for *Nurlanyma* and *Nungarima* ¹⁷ for *Bangarinya*.

The terms in Table 1.3 fall into two types: those which mark gender with a prefix (*nV-* for female and *jV-* for male) and have final *-ma*, and those that mark it with a suffix (eg. *bangarinji/bangarinya*, *balyarrinji/balyarrinya* and *yagamarri/yagamarrirna*). It is only the terms of the first type that have the alternative forms, which substitute either *-gu* (male) or *-gurna* (female) for *-ma*. In these alternative forms gender is marked both by prefix and by suffix.

¹⁶These are the Warumungu baby talk term (Simspon and Heath 1982:4) and the Yukulta term (Sharp, cited in McConvell (1985:28)) respectively.

¹⁷This is possibly from the Yukulta term *nawangarima* (Sharp, cited in McConvell (1985:28)).

Figure 1.1 Wambaya Subsections (from Robert Hoogenraad)

The Wambaya subsection terms do not fit neatly with the different sets of terms discussed by McConvell (1985) and appear to be a mix of his Proto-Southwestern and Proto-Northeastern sets of terms¹⁸. As Wambaya is geographically between both groups, that they may have borrowed some terms from each is perhaps not surprising. The gender prefixes *jV-* (male) and *nV-* (female) present in five pairs of forms are clearly related to the gender prefixes in McConvell's Proto-Southwestern forms: **ja-* and **na-* (p.29). Of the five pairs of terms that have these prefixes, four have roots which also appear to be related to the corresponding Proto-Southwestern forms reconstructed by McConvell: *jiyinama/niyinama* (**-panangka*), *jurrulama/nurrulama* (**-purrurla*), *jangalama/nangalama* (**-ngala*) and *jiyamarrama/niyamarrama* (**kamarra*). However, one prefixed pair: *jurlanyma/nurlanyma* is a little puzzling as it contains the Southwestern prefixes, but has a root which is similar to a form belonging to McConvell's Proto-Northeastern set of subsection terms, **purlany*.

The reconstructed forms to which *bangarinji/bangarinya* and *balyarrinji/balyarrinya* are related are common to both the Proto-Southwestern and Proto-Northeastern sets, however the absence of gender prefixes in the Wambaya reflexes suggest that they may have come from the Northeast, rather than the Southwest. *Yagamarri/yagamarrirna* is not clearly related to the pragmatically equivalent Proto-Southwestern or Proto-Northeastern forms but may be derived from the same root as *jiyamarrama/niyamarrama*, which is **kamarra* in both sets of proto-terms. Note that these two subsections would belong to the one section in a section system (such as the Kariera system). Perhaps Wambaya has borrowed *jiyamarrama/niyamarrama* from its southern neighbours and *yagamarri/yagamarrirna* from its northern neighbours¹⁹. Interestingly, the pairs of terms that are suggested here as coming from the northeast, as opposed to the southwest, do not correspond with the structure of either a section system nor a moiety system. This would suggest that the borrowing of subsection terms from either the northeast or the southwest into Wambaya has not been on a completely systematic basis.

Table 1.3 only shows first choice marriage partners. A man's first choice marriage partner is someone who belongs to the same subsection as his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter (ie. his second cross cousin). However, this is not his only possible marriage partner, there are second, and third choice partners also. A man's second choice marriage partner is someone in the same subsection as his mother's

¹⁸Note that the following discussion is purely impressionistic and should be taken as speculative.

¹⁹I am not claiming that they borrowed these terms exactly as they are now, but that they borrowed earlier forms from which the present day forms have derived.

Note that the corresponding Yukulta term has the same form: *yakamarri* (McConvell, citing Sharp, (1985:29)).

mother and his third choice is someone in the same subsection as his father's sister's daughter (ie. his first cross cousin)²⁰.

For example, *Bangarinji's* first choice is *Yagamarrirna* (as his mother is *Nurrulama* whose mother is *Balyarrinya* whose brother is *Balyarrinji* whose daughter is *Nurlanyma* whose daughter is *Yagamarrirna*). His second choice is *Balyarrinya* (as his mother is *Nurrulama* whose mother is *Balyarrinya*). His third choice is *Niyamarrama* (as his father is *Jiyinama* whose sister is *Niyinama* whose daughter is *Niyamarrama*).

As noted above, five of the subsections have alternative forms which differ only in the final syllable(s): the first set of forms have final *-ma* for both male and female terms, as opposed to the second set which have final *-gu* (male) or *-gurna* (female). It was claimed by speakers that there is no difference between these two sets and that they are simply alternative Wambaya forms. However, it is the first set that is most frequently used and I suspect that the second set (those in parentheses) belong to another of the Eastern Group languages/dialects. This is supported by the fact that Spencer and Gillen (1904) give terms similar to these as the subsection terms for 'Gnanji' (Ngarnga). The 'Binbingha' (Binbinka) subsection terms given in Mathews (1908) also appear to be the same forms. These sets of terms are given in Tables 1.4 and 1.5 below, with the corresponding term from Table 1.3 given in italics.

Table 1.4 'Gnanji' Subsection Terms (Spencer and Gillen 1904:101):

Thungallaku	<i>Jangalagu</i>	Nurlanjukurna	<i>Nurlanjagurna</i>
Nungallakurna	<i>Nangalagurna</i>	Tjulantjuka	<i>Jurlanjagu</i>
Paliarinji	<i>Balyarrinji</i>	Niamaku	<i>Niyamarragurna</i>
Paliarina	<i>Balyarrinya</i>	Tjamuraku	<i>Jiyamarragu</i>
Uralaku	<i>Jurrulagu</i>	Nuanakurna	<i>Niyinagurna</i>
Nuralakurna	<i>Nurrulagurna</i>	Uanaku	<i>Jiyinagu</i>
Pungarinji	<i>Bangarinji</i>	Yakomarina	<i>Yagamarrirna</i>
Pungarinia	<i>Bangarinya</i>	Yakomari	<i>Yagamarri</i>

Table 1.5 'Binbingha' Subsection Terms (Male terms only) (Mathews 1908:100):

Jungalagoo	<i>Jangalagu</i>
Bullaranjee	<i>Balyarrinji</i>
Jooralagoo	<i>Jurrulagu</i>
Bangaranjee	<i>Bangarinji</i>
Jooanjagoo	<i>Jurlanjagu</i>
Jameragoo	<i>Jiyamarragu</i>
Jinagoo	<i>Jiyinagu</i>

²⁰I am not completely sure about the order of these two choices; they may go the other way around.

Spencer and Gillen also give subsection terms for Wambaya, as does Mathews (1905). What is interesting about these terms is that modern *-ma* -final terms (such as *Niyinama*) correspond in both cases, to *-m*-final terms. Modern Wambaya has a phonotactic constraint that all words must have a final vowel. Perhaps the terms given by Spencer and Gillen and Mathews reflect a stage of Wambaya when this constraint did not exist. Table 1.6 lists the Spencer and Gillen terms, the Mathews terms and the corresponding modern terms from Table 1.3 (in italics).

Table 1.6 Wambaya subsection terms

Spencer and Gillen (1904:100)	Mathews (1905:105)	From Table 1.3
Tjulum	Choolum	<i>Jurlanyma</i>
Nulum	Noolum	<i>Nurlanyma</i>
Paliarinji	Palyarin	<i>Balyarrinji</i>
Paliarina	Palyareenya	<i>Balyarrinya</i>
Tjinum	Cheenum	<i>Jiyinama</i>
Ninum	Neenum	<i>Niyinama</i>
Pungarinji	Bungarin	<i>Bangarinji</i>
Pungarinia	Bungareenya	<i>Bangarinya</i>
Thungallum	Chingulum	<i>Jangalama</i>
Nungallum	Ningulum	<i>Nangalama</i>
Tjamerum	Jamerum	<i>Jiyamarrama</i>
Niamarragun	Neomarum	<i>Niyamarrama</i>
Tjurulum	Chooralum	<i>Jurrulama</i>
Nurulum	Nooraluma	<i>Nurrulama</i>
Yakomari	Yacomary	<i>Yagamarri</i>
Yakomarin	Yacomareenya	<i>Yagamarrirna</i>

Another interesting feature in Spencer and Gillen's list is that they have divided the subsections into two moieties. This division is shown by the space half way down the list in Table 1.6. Spencer and Gillen name the first moiety *Illitji* and the second *Liaritji*. I have never heard either of these terms, nor been told anything of moieties within the Wambaya subsection. Avery (1990) discusses the existence of moieties and semi-moieties in many surrounding communities but says that they do not appear to exist in the Wambaya, GudANJI and NgarnGA subsection systems (p.41). Perhaps the knowledge of these moieties has been lost since the time of Spencer and Gillen's research.

1.2.3.2 Kinship terminology

The Wambaya kinship terms are given in Tables 1.7 (male ego) and 1.8 (male ego). This is a classificatory kinship system: these kinship terms are used for anyone in the appropriate category, regardless of whether or not they are actual consanguineal or affinal relatives. Another characteristic of this system is that same-sex siblings are treated alike. For example, a woman calls her sister's children by the same terms that she uses for her own; likewise a man with his brother's children. Similarly, parallel cousins (ie. the children of same-sex siblings) are treated as siblings. Where there are two terms for a category in the charts below, the first refers to the younger sibling and the second to the elder sibling. One's parents are referred to with the same term as for their younger sibling. Thus:

F
irda
barnangila

means that *irda* is the term for both father and father's younger brother and *barnangila* is the term for father's elder brother.

I have not given any of the synonyms for these kinship terms. Synonyms and near synonyms can be found in the word list in Appendix D.

Note that the cyclical nature of this system means that kin types can be defined in a number of different ways: for example, one's 'mother' (M) could also be one's 'brother's son's wife' (BSW); one's 'mother's mother' (MM) could also be one's 'cousin's wife' (FZSW) etc. To avoid cluttering, I have not listed every possibility in the tables but leave it to the reader to trace these alternative relationships themselves, if desired, using Table 1.3 above.

It is important to note that only a limited amount of work has been done in the area of Wambaya kinship and some of the terms given here (as indicated by the queries) are in need of checking. There is need for more research in this area.

Table 1.7 Kinship terms - male ego.

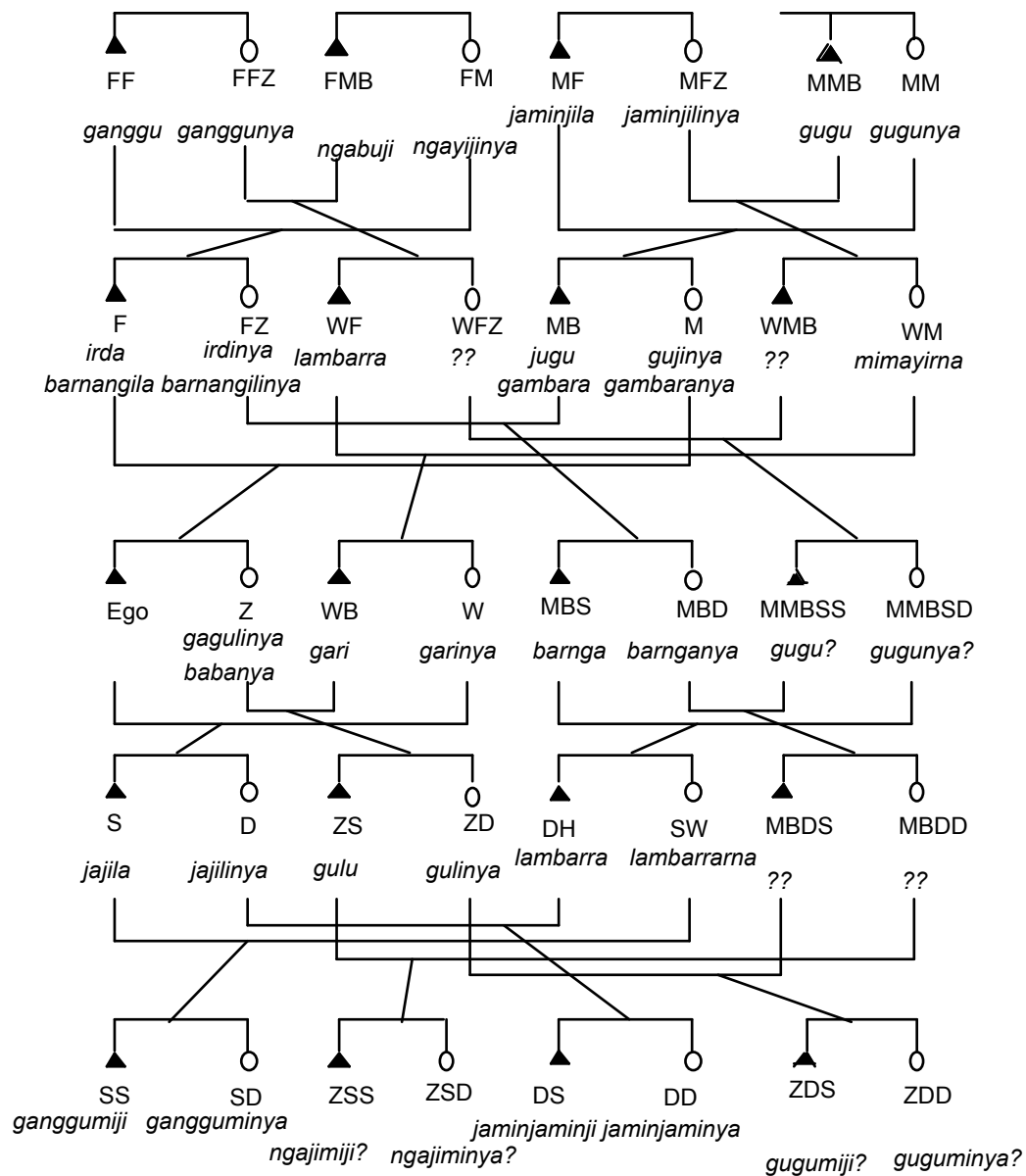
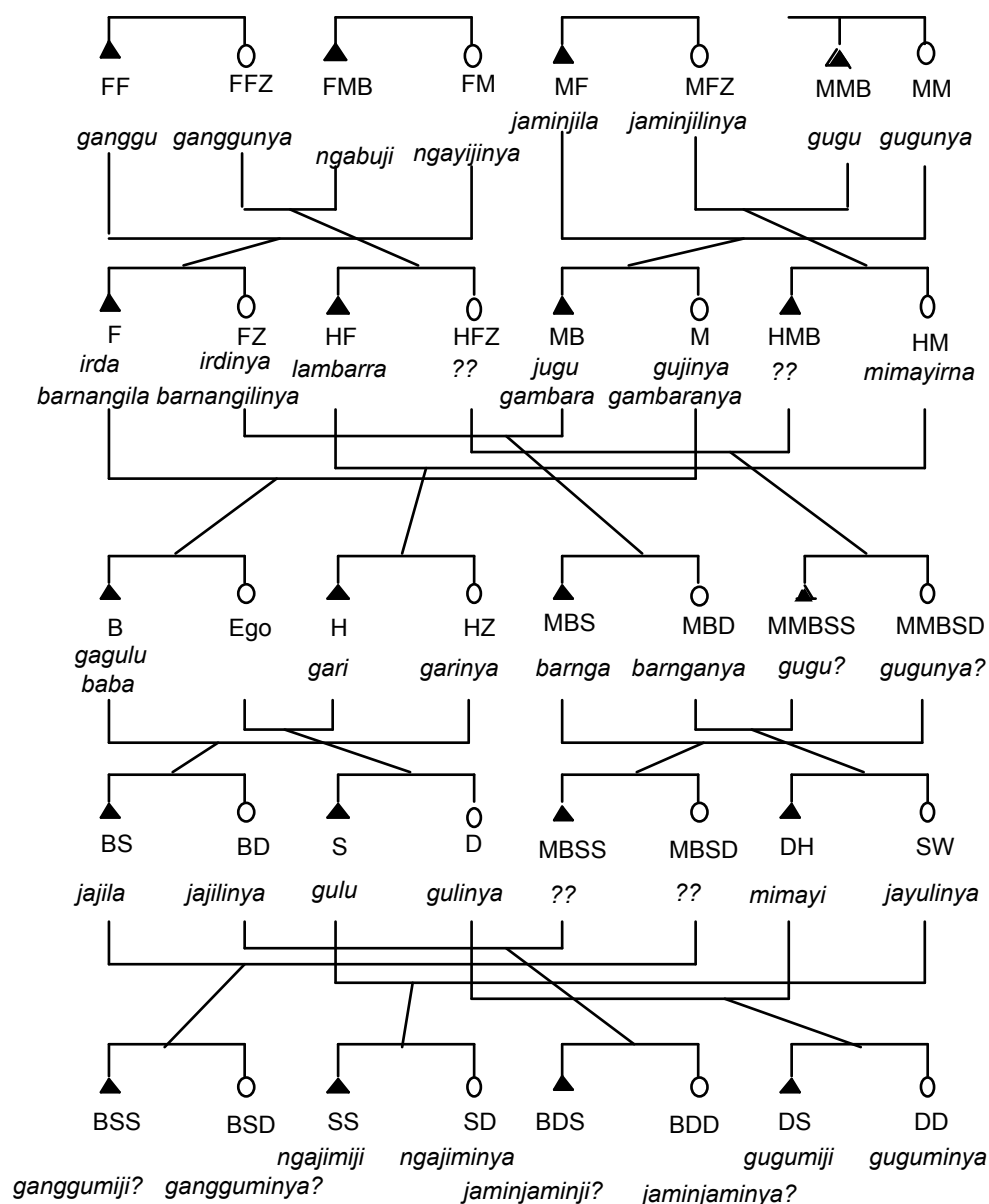


Table 1.8 Kinship terms - female ego.



Dyadic kinship terms can be formed with the suffix *-gulanji/-gulanga*, discussed in 4.5.1.3. Kinship terms can also be inflected with the suffix *-liji* which appears to be a reflexive-possessive suffix indicating that the 'possessor' of the kin is the subject (or the topic) of the clause. This suffix is discussed in 4.5.1.2.

Chapter 2 PHONETICS and PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS

The phonemes for Wambaya are given in Table 2.1 below. The orthographic symbol for each phoneme is given in parentheses following the IPA symbol. Note that, as voicing is not distinctive in Wambaya, the decision to use the voiced IPA stop symbols in Table 2.1 is arbitrary, although it reflects the Wambaya community's choice of orthography. For the rest of this chapter I will use the orthographic symbol to represent the phoneme (eg. /r/ not /ṛ/). Long vowels are given below in parentheses to indicate their rarity. There are only a handful of words with long vowels in the corpus; these are discussed in 2.1.4.

Table 2.1 Wambaya Phonemes

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Apico-postalveolar (retroflex)	Lamino -palatal	Velar
Stop	b (b)	d (d)	ɖ (rd)	f (j)	g (g)
Nasal (ng)	m (m)	n (n)	= (rn)	ʌ (ny)	N
Lateral		l (l)	ɭ (rl)	ɥ (ly)	
Tap/Trill		ɾ ²¹ (rr)			
Semi-vowel	w (w)		ṛ (r)	j (y)	

Vowels:	i (i) [i: (ii)]	u (u)
	a (a) [a: (aa)]	

As shown in Table 2.1, the Wambaya phoneme inventory contains five places of articulation for stops including two apical series and one laminal series. There is a nasal corresponding to each stop articulation and a corresponding lateral at each non-peripheral articulation. There is an alveolar tap/trill and three semi-vowels: labio-velar /w/, retroflex /r/, and lamino-palatal /y/. There is a three-way vowel contrast with a very limited length distinction; long vowels are found in only a handful of words - see 2.1.4.

Although the orthographic symbols for each of the individual phonemes are given above, in order to easily read the examples given throughout this thesis there are some orthographic conventions that should be understood²².

²¹These are two allophones of the one phoneme. I have included the symbols for both allophones, even though this is essentially a phonemic chart.

- (i) The homorganic nasal-stop cluster [=ɖ] is written *rnd*.
- (ii) The homorganic nasal-stop cluster [=ʈ] is written *nj*.
- (iii) The sequence [ng] is written *nk* to distinguish it from the phoneme [N] which is written *ng*. The homorganic nasal-stop sequence [Ng] is written *ngg*.
- (iv) The orthographic sequence *rng* represents the phonetic sequence [=g]. It never represents the phonetic sequence [ʀ3 N] as this is not a permissible sequence in the language.
- (v) [i] and [ji] are in free variation word initially. This initial element is consistently written *i*.
- (vi) [u] and [wu] are likewise in free variation word initially. This initial element is consistently written *wu*.

Chadwick (1978:9-11) discusses the existence of a dorso-palatal stop (his term is 'palatovelar') which he says is found in all of the West Barkly languages apart from Wambaya. In Jingili and Ngarnga he attributes it phonemic status, in Binbinka and Gudanji he claims it is the result of the two-stop sequences /jg/ and /gj/. He mentions the existence of a dorso-palatal nasal only as a member of a homorganic nasal plus stop cluster. This stop is absent in Wambaya, which usually has just a laminal stop corresponding to the dorso-palatal stop in other dialects. Some cognate pairs are given below. The Ngarnga examples are from Chadwick (1971) and the Gudanji one is from Chadwick (1978:11). I have altered Chadwick's orthography slightly so that the dorso-palatal stop is consistently written *gj* and the tap/trill is written *rr*.

	Ngarnga/Gudanji	Wambaya	Gloss
(W)	alagji (Ng)	alaji	boy
	gurigja (Ng)	gurija	fat (n)
	ngigjinama (Ng)	ngijininima	morning (Ng), tomorrow
	burriyigji (G)	burriiji	bird sp.

2.1.1 Consonants

Voicing is not phonemically distinctive - each stop has two allophones, one voiced and one voiceless (unaspirated). The voiced allophones are predictably found intervocally and before or after another consonant (ie. between two voiced sounds). In word-initial position the voiced and voiceless allophones are in free variation, although the voiced allophone is probably the most common, especially in fast speech. The only exception to this is the velar stop /g/ which is usually voiceless and sometimes slightly aspirated in word initial position.

²²This orthography was devised through consultation with members of the Wambaya community at the literacy workshop (taught by Gavan Breen) in Tennant Creek, April 1993 and supersedes an earlier version in which *k* was used instead of *g* and *nj* was written *nyj*.

Apico-alveolar sounds are made by placing the tongue tip on the alveolar ridge. The apico-postalveolar sounds are made by curling the tongue tip back to touch the back of the alveolar ridge with the underside of the tongue tip, hence the term 'retroflex'.

The contrast between the two series of apical consonants is most easily perceptible following a stressed low vowel. Retroflexion is less pronounced following high vowels, and unstressed vowels. A similar pattern of perceptibility of contrast is reported by Chadwick (1978:15). Another interesting aspect of the apical contrast is that speakers are less likely to correct me with regard to these sounds, than they are with regard to other contrasts in the language. Thus, unless the distinction is crucial in distinguishing one word from another, I have found that speakers will tend to accept my pronunciation of a word regardless of whether I have a retroflex or an apico-alveolar consonant. The reason for this could simply be the increased tolerance of imperfection that there is for beginners in the language, or it could reflect a more interesting fact about the phonology of the language and the relationship between these two series of consonants. Unfortunately there is little more that can be said given my limited data and research in this area.

The distinction between the apico-alveolar and retroflex series is neutralised in word-initial position. The neutralisation of the apical contrast in this environment is very common in Australian languages (eg. Dixon 1980:167) and the apical variant which occurs in this position is usually described as being retroflex (eg. Dixon (1980:167), Austin (1981b) for Diyari, Evans (1985) for Kayardild, among others). Although initial apicals sound more retroflex than apico-alveolar in Wambaya, it is often hard to tell exactly what the realisation of this initial apical is, particularly when the word is given in isolation. However, I have adopted the standard convention of representing apicals in initial position with the apico-alveolar series of symbols: /d/, /n/ and /l/.

Butcher's (1992) instrumental analysis of the pronunciation of initial apicals by speakers of five different Australian languages (Warlpiri, Western Desert, Murrinh-Patha, Guugu Yimidhirr and Nyangumarta) yields some interesting results. While his study supports the generally-held acoustic impression that the two apical series are neutralised in initial position, he found that the apical sound which does occur is neither the apico-alveolar nor the retroflex version. Rather, he found that the phonetic realisation of the initial apicals is of a 'Mittelding' type - having an articulation somewhere between the unneutralised articulation of the two series (p.14). Thus, he found that initial apicals tended to be non-retroflex but have an articulation further back than the alveolar ridge, "often on the borderline between alveolar and postalveolar zones" (p.14). It is quite possible that this is also the case in Wambaya, although the distinction is not easily perceptible acoustically, and it is difficult to tell without the use of instruments.

The lamino-palatal stop /j/ has a fricative allophone [j] which occurs in free variation with the stop allophone in intervocalic position. This fricative allophone is only heard in fast speech. For example:

Phonemic form	Gloss	Phonetic Form
/bungmaji/	old man	{·bøNma ¹ fi}
		{·bøNma ¹ Ji} (fast speech)

Chadwick (1978:15) also recorded bilabial and velar fricative allophones in free variation with the respective stop allophones. I have not recorded such allophones, but given the existence of a lamino-palatal fricative allophone, their existence is not unlikely. It is possible that such allophonic variation is idiolectal.

The two velar consonants /g/ and /ng/ both have fronted, palatalised allophones [gʲ] and [ngʲ] before a front vowel, especially in word-initial position.

Phonemic Form	Gloss	Phonetic Form
/ginmanji/	this way	[·gʲɛnmaɪ̯ʲi]
/ngirra/	steal	[·Nʲɛ̯a]

The distinction between the two apical nasals /n/ and /ɲ/ is neutralised before the retroflex stop /ɽ/. In this environment it is always the retroflex nasal which is found. The distinction between /n/ and the lamino-palatal nasal /ny/ is similarly neutralised before the lamino-palatal stop; in this position it is usually /ny/ that occurs. While there are cases of /n/ occurring with /g/ in a consonant cluster, sometimes in this position it occurs in free variation with /ng/. The most common example of this is the dative suffix *-nka* which can be heard as either [nga] or [Nga].

The alveolar tap/trill /r/ is usually a tap, but is a trill preconsonantly:

Phonemic	Gloss	Phonetic
/mirra/	sit, be	[·mɛ̯a]
/marrgulu/	egg	[·margø̯]

The retroflex approximant /ɽ/, rather than being grouped with the alveolar tap/trill under the feature 'rhotic', as is a common analysis for many Australian languages (eg. see Dixon 1980:144-145), is grouped in Table 2.1 with the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/. This analysis was prompted by a similar analysis given by McGregor (1988a) for Gooniyandi and other languages in the north-west of Australia and is supported by the following phonetic and phonotactic evidence which shows /ɽ/ to pattern like /y/ and /w/ and unlike /rr/.

- (i) /ɽ/, like the other semi-vowels, can be the result of lenition of stops in reduplication or preceding or following /g/. Thus, /b/ can be realised as /w/; /j/ as /y/; and /rd/ (written *d* initially) as /ɽ/. Some examples are:

wugbardi	>	wugwardi	cook
junmi	>	junmi-yunmi	cut

daguma	>	dagu-ragu-ma	hit	
bardgu	>	bargu		fall

See 2.3.1 for a discussion of lenition and 2.3.6 for a discussion of reduplication.

- (ii) /r/, like /y/ and /w/, can be elided between two identical vowels, creating a long vowel:

manka-waji	>	mankaaji	deaf	
iriyiliji	>	iriiliji		father
baraj-bulu	>	baaj-bulu	old person-DUAL	

See 2.1.4 for a discussion of long vowels.

- (iii) /r/, like /y/ and /w/ but unlike /rr/, can never be the initial element in a consonant cluster.

See 2.2.3 for a discussion of consonant clusters.

The next obvious question, if /r/ is grouped with the semi-vowels and not with /rr/, is what is the status of /rr/? McGregor argues that in Gooniyandi the alveolar tap should be grouped with the laterals according to the feature [liquid] (although distinguished according to the feature [lateral]) (1988a:166, 169-171). There is some evidence to suggest that this may also be a possible analysis for Wambaya:

- (i) /rr/, /rl/ and /l/ behave as a class, being the only sounds that can precede /w/ in a consonant cluster (the other lateral /ly/ does not occur in consonant clusters).
- (ii) /rl/ and /rr/ are similar in that they both appear to condition lenition from /b/ to /w/ in the verbal non-future tense suffix *-bi* and the infinitive suffix *-barda*. See 6.1 for a discussion of verbal inflection.

ngaj-bi	'see-nF'	BUT	ngirr-wi	'growl-nF'
ard-barda	'call out-INF'	BUT	ngarl-warda	'talk-INF'

Note that there are no verb roots that end with either of the other laterals: /l/ or /ly/.

However, evidence of a different grouping is provided by Gavan Breen (personal communication) who claims that /rr/ is in fact closely related to /d/. Breen points out

that /r/ and /d/ only contrast in Wambaya when they occur intervocalically after a primary stressed vowel (and perhaps also as the initial member of a consonant cluster), but elsewhere seem to be in complementary distribution. Thus, /d/ is found word-initially and as the second member of a consonant cluster, while /r/ occurs intervocalically after a non-primary stressed vowel. Although there are a few exceptions to this distribution, most of them can be attributed to factors such as dissimilation and morphological structure.

In Table 2.1 above I avoid resolving this issue by placing /r/ on its own.

2.1.2 Vowels

There is quite a wide range of allophonic variation among the three vowels in Wambaya²³. The major vowel allophones tend to be slightly central and become more so in unstressed syllables. Vowels are fronted before palatal consonants and are often lowered or produced with a more back articulation when next to the labio-velar approximant /w/. The various allophones for each vowel phoneme and their environments are listed below:

/a/ has the allophone	[œ]	/ [f, ^]__ [j] eg. /jayili/ 'down': [·fœjÈli]
	[a ⁱ]	/ __[f, ^, ʔ, j] eg. /danya/ 'clothes': [·da ⁱ a]
	[>a]	/ [w]__ [m] eg. /wamba/ 'snappy gum':
[·w>amba]		/ __ [w] eg. /barrawu/ 'house':
[·ba>awø&]	[a]	elsewhere eg. /baba/ 'elder brother': [·baba]

In the language name, the phonetic realisation of the first /a/ is closer to [O] than [>a], which the above rules would suggest:

/wambaya/ 'Wambaya' [·wOmbaⁱja]

/i/ has the allophone	[i]	/ __ [j], # eg. /niyinama/ 'female skin name': [ni·jÈnama]
		eg. /ngajbi/ 'see': [·Na ⁱ fbi]
	[>i]	/ __ [w] eg. /maliwa/ 'big' (IV): [·mal>iwa]
	[È]	elsewhere eg. /ngijini/ 'yesterday': [·NÈfÈni]

The allophones [i] and [È] occur in free variation before the lamino-palatal consonants /j/ and /ny/:

/ilijbi/ 'alone'> [·ÈlÈfbi] or [·Èlifbi]

/u/ has the allophone	[ø ⁱ]	/ __ [j, f, ^, ʔ]	eg. /lujuluju/	'coolamon':
	[·lø ⁱ fø·lø ⁱ fø]			

²³The long vowels /aa/ and /ii/ are very unusual and are exemplified below and then discussed in more detail in 2.1.4.

		eg. /guyala/ 'nothing': [·kø ^h jala]
[ø&]	/ [w] ____	eg. /mawula/ 'play': [·m>awø&la]
[ø]	elsewhere	eg /jugu/ 'MB' : [·føgø]

Note that the phoneme /u/ generally has only a little lip-rounding.

Vowels can also be slightly rhoticised before a retroflex consonant. This is especially true of the low central vowel /a/.

In a small number of words a long vowel [a:] is found, and a couple of words have the long vowel [i:]. There are no examples of minimal pairs in which these long vowels contrast with the corresponding short vowels. These vowels are written *aa* and *ii* respectively. Some examples are:

jaabi		[·fa:bi]	wart
barraala	[ba·\a:la]	bird sp.	
Nganaara	[Na·na:\a]	Brunette Downs Station	
ngirnii	[NÈ·=i:]	south	
burriiji	[bø·\i:fi]	bird sp.	

The small number of examples of these vowels, and the absence of minimal pairs in which they contrast with the corresponding short vowels, suggests that they are not an original part of the Wambaya phonemic system. These vowels may have derived from an original sequence of vowel-semivowel-vowel, from which the semivowel was dropped (in fact this is known to be the case for *ngirnii*, see below). These vowels are discussed further in 2.1.4.

2.1.3 Phonemic Oppositions

Below are some minimal pairs (or near minimal pairs) which show the phonemic contrasts for some of the more similar pairs of phonemes. These examples are given in the practical orthography.

Vowels

i/u/a	ngi	'1sgS/A(Pres)'
	ngu	'1sgS/A:Fut'
	nga	'1sgS/A:Pst'

Apicals

d/rd	guda	'stone'
	gurda	'be sick'
n/rn	ganmami	'get close'

	garnmangga	'jaw'
l/rl	bulinja burlinja	'algae' 'to smoke'
r/rr	mira mirra	'hip' 'sit, be'
d/rr	nguda ngurra	'1sgS/A:IRR:Pst' '1plincACC/Obl'
rd/rr	gulugbarda gurrgharra	'sleep:INF' 'stare'
l/rr	bilimbila birrimbirra	'flat' (IV) 'plant sp.'
rl/rr	ngurluwani ngurruwani	'1duexcNOM/ERG' '1plincNOM/ERG'
rl/r	warlidaji warima	'magpie goose' 'hold on to'
l/r	alima warima	'OK, alright, goodbye' 'hold on to'
<i>Other Nasals</i>		
n/ng	najbi ngajbi	'burn' 'see'
n/ny	bunmajarda bunyma	'show-off' 'arse'
ng/ny	ngu nyu	'1sgS/A:Fut' '2sgS/A:Fut'
<i>Other Laterals</i>		
l/ly	iliga ilyirrga	'sore' 'leaf'
rl/ly	jarlu jalyu	'arm' 'bed'

2.1.4 Long vowels and vowel-semivowel-vowel sequences

Apart from in a few exceptional words such as *Nganaara* 'Brunette Downs Station', long vowels in Wambaya can generally be shown, at some stage of development, to be a reduction of a vowel-semivowel-vowel sequence (where the two vowels are identical).

Wambaya-internal evidence for this can be the morphological structure (as in (a) and (b)), or the fact that the two possibilities exist as alternatives (as in (c) and (d)).

(a)	[·manga ^a ai ⁱ fi]	<	/manka+waji/	'ear + PRIV' (I)
(b)	[·ɔ̃a\aN̄gø ^a ølo]	<	/darranggu+wulu/	'tree + DUAL'
(c)	[È·@3ÈÈÈfi], [È·@3ÈjÈÈfi]	<	/iriyiliji/	'father'
(d)	[·baa ⁱ f ^a bølo], [·ba@3ai ⁱ f ^a bølo]	<	/baraj+bulu/	'old person + DUAL'

Other evidence can come from the fact that a word which has a long vowel in Wambaya contains a semi-vowel in Gudanji. Some examples (in the practical orthography) are²⁴:

Wambaya	Gudanji	Gloss
garnaa	garnawa	long (IV)
ngirnii	ngirniwi	south
galaa	galawa	bone
gardaala	gardawala	gidgee tree

Stress patterns in Wambaya, however, distinguish two types of long vowels: phonetic and phonemic. Phonemic long vowels are those which occur within morphemes and have no alternative pronunciation in Wambaya. The examples such as *garnaa* and *ngirnii* above are phonemic long vowels. The fact that these long vowels can be seen to have derived originally from vowel-semivowel-vowel sequences does not alter their status in Wambaya. Long vowels as in (a) to (d) above, however, are phonetic long vowels, deriving from elision of a semi-vowel in a particular context (see 2.3.2). For a discussion of the different treatment of these two types of long vowels by Wambaya stress rules see 2.2.4.

Other vowel-semivowel-vowel sequences can sometimes be heard as diphthongs (when the second part of the sequence does not bear stress):

/ayigurru/	'afternoon'	>	[·aÈgø\ø]
/barrawu/	'house'	>	[·ba\>aø&]
/mimayi/	'son-in-law'	>	[·mÈmaÈ]

However, it is usually possible to demonstrate that these sequences are disyllabic and phonemically contain a semi-vowel. With /barrawu/ and /mimayi/ this becomes clear once morphological processes cause the second part of the phonetic diphthong to bear stress:

²⁴Note that all of these examples involve the semi-vowel /w/. I have no examples which involve either of the other semi-vowels, /r/ or /y/. The loss of /w/ in this environment in Wambaya may relate to the loss of initial /w/ before /a/. See 2.2.2 for examples of correspondences between /a/-initial words in Wambaya and /wa/-initial words in Gudanji and Binbinka.

/mimayirna/	'mother-in-law'	>	[·mÈma ⁱ ˢjÈ=a]
/barrawu+ni/	'house + LOC'	>	['ba\>a ^a wø&ni]

With /ayigurru/ this is shown by the fact that the stress patterns for the word behave as if it were four syllables, rather than three (which would be the case were there an initial diphthong). In this example it is sufficient to use a phonemic representation:

/ayigurru/ 'afternoon' > 'ayi^agurru

For a discussion of the stress placement rules in Wambaya see 2.2.4.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

All Wambaya words must contain a minimum of two syllables, can begin with either a vowel or a consonant, and must end with a vowel (see below for a discussion of the auxiliary which is the one exception to this). Although consonants (usually) cannot occur word finally, they can occur syllable finally when they are the first element in a consonant cluster. There are a few consonant-final nominal roots (involving /j/, /g/ and /ny/) and many of the verbal stems are consonant-final, ending in either /n/, /rd/, /rl/, /rr/, /j/, /ny/, /g/ or /ng/. Di-consonantal clusters are common, but there are no vowel clusters.

The auxiliary can be both consonant final and monosyllabic. Examples of monosyllabic auxiliaries include:

(2-1) Nyagaj-bi ngi.
be.tired-nF 1sgS(Pres)
I'm tired.

(2-2) Gaj-bi ny-a.
eat-nF 2sgA-Pst
You ate it.

However, as a monosyllabic auxiliary must encliticise to the preceding word (see 2.2.4), it is only monosyllabic from the grammatical point of view and does not constitute an exception to the rule that all phonological words must be polysyllabic.

That the auxiliary can be consonant-final, however, is an exception to the general phonotactic constraints in Wambaya. The auxiliary can be consonant-final if it contains

one of the three consonant-final suffixes: *-any* (direction away, past tense), *-amany* (direction towards, past tense), *-n* (progressive aspect). For example:

- (2-3) Yarru g-any manganymi-nka.
 go(nF) 3sgS-P:away tucker:III:nAbs-DAT
 He went (to get) some tucker.
- (2-4) Marlu-nngang-amany yarru.
 far-ABL 1sgS-P:twds go(nF)
 I came from a long way away.
- (2-5) Mirra irri-n jamba-ni.
 sit(nF) 3plS(nPst)-Pr ground:IV:nAbs-LOC
 They're sitting on the ground.

In non-singular imperative constructions, and transitive imperative constructions with a first person object, the auxiliary can again be consonant-final.

- (2-6) Ngarl-wa gurl!
 talk-Fut du:IMP
 You two talk!
- (2-7) Duga-j-ba girr!
 sit.down-TH-Fut pl:IMP
 You lot sit down!
- (2-8) Manganyma nyi-ng jiya-j-ba!
 tucker:III(ACC) 2sgA-1O give-TH-Fut
 Give me (some) tucker!

The full set of final consonants allowed in the auxiliary is: /rr/, /rl/, /n/, /ny/, /ng/. Final consonants are not allowed elsewhere in the language and will not be considered in the rest of this discussion on word and syllable structure.

2.2.1 Syllable structure

The following syllable types are found in Wambaya. Types (i) and (ii) can only occur word-initially and types (iv) and (v) do not occur word-finally. Type (iii) is the most common syllable type and the only one that is unrestricted in its occurrence.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|---------------------|-----------------|
| (i) | V | eg. | a .ya.ni | 'look for' |
| (ii) | VC | eg. | ang .ba.rdi | 'build' |
| (iii) | CV | eg. | ya .rru | 'go' |
| (iv) | CVC | eg. | garr .ga.lyi | 'plains lizard' |

(v) CVCC eg. **lurrg**.ba.nyi 'grab, snatch'

Type (v) is highly restricted and is only possible when, as in *lurrgbanyi*, it is part of the tri-consonantal cluster /rrgb/. This cluster is further exemplified in 2.2.3.

As well as constraints on the word position of different syllable types (mentioned above), there are different constraints on the onset of a syllable depending on its position within the word. Thus, while the syllable onset²⁵ that follows an open syllable (eg. CV.CV(C)(C)) can be any consonant, that which follows a closed syllable (eg. CVC.CV(C)(C)), or which occurs word-initially (CV(C)(C).CV...) is restricted as to the type of consonant that can occur. There are also restrictions on the possible coda of a syllable (eg. VC, CVC), depending on the consonant that follows it (ie. the onset of the following syllable). For this reason, word-initial consonants (CV(C)(C).CV...) and consonant clusters ((C)VC.CV...) are discussed separately, in 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 respectively.

However, there are some general things that can be said here about the nature of onsets and codas.²⁶ The frequency of occurrence for groups of segments as either onsets or codas in Wambaya is largely predicted by the continuum proposed by Hamilton (1992). This is a continuum of active articulators and is proposed by Hamilton as an explanation for phonotactic constraints in Australian languages; it is given below:

LABIAL DORSAL LAMINAL APICAL

The prediction is that permissible syllable onsets in any given Australian language will form a continuum of both frequency and possibility beginning from the left side, while permissible syllable codas form such a continuum beginning on the right side. Thus, according to this continuum, labials are more preferred as onsets than laminals and apicals, but are less preferred as codas (which are preferably apicals). Furthermore, if a language allows laminal onsets then it will allow dorsal and labial onsets; if it allows dorsal codas then it will allow laminal and apical codas, and so on.

²⁵Although aware of the arguments against such an analysis, I am assuming the internal structure of a syllable to consist of an onset and a rhyme, which in turn is divided into a nucleus and a coda (as argues for in Blevins (in press) for example).

²⁶It should be noted here that this discussion is concerned only with onsets that belong to either initial syllables, or syllables following a closed syllable. It is not concerned with syllable onsets that follow an open syllable (ie. those that occur intervocalically), as these are unrestricted in that any consonant is possible.

As will be seen in the ensuing discussion of word-initial segments and consonant clusters in Wambaya, the frequency of occurrence of segments as syllable onsets conforms to this continuum. Thus, although the constraints differ depending on the position of the syllable in the word, syllable onsets are most commonly peripherals (labials and dorsals). This preference is particularly striking for onsets following a closed syllable (ie. onsets that are the second element in a consonant cluster, see 2.2.3). Furthermore, the most highly restricted onsets, those which can only occur intervocalically, are either apical or laminal: /rr/, /r/, /ly/.

The case of codas in Wambaya is less striking, although it does not contradict the predications made by Hamilton. Of the five consonants that can occur finally in the auxiliary (/rr/, /rl/, /n/, /ny/, /ng/), three are apical, one laminal and one dorsal. Although all types of sounds are found as the coda of non-final syllables, labials in this position are severely restricted (only occurring in one homorganic nasal-stop cluster) as, to a slightly lesser extent, are dorsals. Apicals, on the other hand, are the least restricted and clearly the most preferred in this position.

More specific details of onset and coda constraints, and their relationship to both Hamilton's continuum and the sonority hierarchy will be discussed in 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 below.

2.2.2 Word Initial Position

Words in Wambaya can begin with any of the three vowels, [a], [i], [ø], or with a consonant. Of the seventeen consonants in Wambaya, eleven can occur in word initial position: /b/, /m/, /d/, /n/, /l/, /j/, /ny/, /y/, /g/, /ng/, and /w/. There are no examples of either the tap/trill /rr/ in initial position nor of the palatal lateral /ly/. There are also no Wambaya examples of the retroflex semi-vowel /r/ in initial position, although the corpus contains two Gudanji words with initial /r/ (*rimina* 'paddle, oar' and *rawuwanggu* 'type of shell') which suggests that this may be possible in Wambaya as well (albeit rare). The other consonants not found in initial position are the three retroflex consonants /rd/, /rl/ and /rn/. However, as discussed in 2.1.1 above, it is not the case that retroflex consonants do not occur initially and apico-alveolar consonants do, but that the distinction is neutralised in this position and that only one series of apicals is found word initially. That this series is represented by the apico-alveolar symbols is an orthographic choice and is not necessarily phonetically motivated.

Note that it is not at all unusual among Australian languages for /rr/ and /ly/ to be absent word-initially, and for words with initial /r/ to be small in number (Dixon 1980:168).

There is no contrast between [wø] and [ø] or [jÈ] and [È] in word-initial position. A particular word may be heard with an initial semivowel in one instance, and with an initial vowel in another. Very often the word will be vowel-initial when it is pronounced in isolation, yet have an initial semivowel when it occurs in continuous speech (as in this case it will usually follow a vowel given that almost all Wambaya words are vowel-final). Some words are typically heard in isolation with only one of the initial possibilities. For example: *ilyirrga* 'leaf' is always heard with an initial vowel, whereas *irda* 'father' is usually heard with an initial semivowel. Similarly *wujubi* 'tell a lie' usually has an initial semi-vowel while *wugbardi* 'cook' does not. However, in all of these cases the distinction is not significant and either possibility is acceptable. In Table 2.2 below there is no distinction made between initial high vowels and the respective sequences of semivowel and vowel; each pair of possibilities is considered together. Note that the orthographic system is odd in this respect as /(w)u/ initial words are written with *wu* as in *wurluwani* '3duNOM/ERG' while /(y)i/ initial words are written with *i* as in *irriyani* '3plNOM/ERG'.

The occurrence of each initial segment in a sample of just over 1200 words is given as a percentage in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2 Occurrence of Word-Initial Segments

<u>Labials</u>				<u>Apicals</u>	
/b/	13.75%			/d/	
	5.75%				
/m/	<u>13.05%</u>			/n/	2.8%
total	26.8%			/l/	<u>3.25%</u>
		<u>Peripherals</u> ²⁷		total	
11.8%	<u>Non-Peripherals</u>				
		total	58.1%		
		total	25.2%		
<u>Dorsals</u>				<u>Laminals</u>	
/g/	21.0%			/j/	
	11.7%				
/ng/	<u>10.3%</u>			/ny/	<u>1.7%</u>
total	31.1%			total	
13.4%					

²⁷It is common in Australian linguistics to use the term 'peripheral' to refer to labials and dorsals and 'non-peripheral' to refer to laminals and apicals. Thus, the term 'peripheral' corresponds with the more generally familiar term 'non-coronal'. (Note that 'non-coronal' usually includes palatals as well. However, as palatals in Australian languages are usually laminal, they involve raising the blade of the tongue from its neutral position and are therefore coronal.)

/w, u/	7.0%	
/y, i/	7.6%	<u>Non-Consonantal</u>
		total 16.7%
/a/	2.1%	

A striking feature of this table is the overwhelming predominance of peripherals in word initial position. In this sample of words, over half have an initial peripheral stop or nasal segment compared with only a quarter that have an initial apical or laminal consonant. Aside from the peripherals, the only other segment which occurs in initial position in over ten per cent of the sample is the laminal stop /j/. The apicals are relatively infrequent, /d/ having the highest occurrence rate at just under 6 per cent.

These figures correspond nicely with the predictions borne out by the active articulator continuum proposed by Hamilton (1992) and mentioned in 2.2.1 above. It is repeated here for convenience.

LABIAL DORSAL LAMINAL APICAL

The claim is that the permissible onsets of a language will form a continuum beginning from the left side: a labial consonant is the most preferred syllable onset, followed by a dorsal consonant, a laminal consonant and an apical consonant, which is the least preferred. The strong preference for word initial peripherals in Wambaya thus corresponds with the predictions of this continuum, although the figures in Table 2.2 show dorsals to be slightly more preferred word-initially in Wambaya than labials (at least in this lexical sample).

While words with initial high vowels may have an underlying initial semi-vowel (as discussed above), it is still possible in Wambaya for a vowel phoneme to occur in word initial position: the phoneme /a/. It is quite likely that all of the /a/-initial words in Wambaya result from the dropping of an original initial semi-vowel, /w/. In some cases the two forms still exist in free variation. For example, the word meaning 'to find' can be heard pronounced either *waliyulu* or *aliyulu*. In other cases, evidence of this initial /w/ comes from its presence in a cognate form from another dialect. Thus, *alima* meaning 'well, OK, goodbye' etc. is *iswalima* in Gudanji. Some other examples of Wambaya words with initial /a/ corresponding to words with initial /w/ in other McArthur dialects are²⁸:

²⁸Binbinka information is from Chadwick (1978:329), Gudanji information is from Chadwick (1978:329) and from my own field notes.

	Other dialect		Wambaya		Gloss
(I)	walaji	(G, B)	alaji		boy
	wanki	(B)		anki	alive
	wayani	(G)	ayani		look for
	wangawanga	(G)	angaanga	skin	
	wayigurrajbi	(G)	ayigurrajbi	all day	
	walalangmi	(G)	alalangmi	hunt	

This section discusses the consonant clusters possible in Wambaya. It begins with a discussion of clusters that are found within a morpheme, and then in 2.2.3.2 discusses clusters that occur across morpheme boundaries.

Word-medial clusters of two consonants are common in Wambaya. The di-consonantal clusters that are found in the corpus are shown in Table 2.3. The initial consonant of the cluster is shown along the vertical axis, and the second consonant is given along the horizontal axis. The consonants are given in the same order as Hamilton's continuum: labials, dorsals, laminals and apicals (alveolars and then retroflexes). Within each group the consonants are given in the order: stop, nasal, liquid, semivowel. Question marks indicate what may be accidental gaps in the table.

[illegible]

rrb	jurlurr burra	'ashes'
rrm	darr manji	'brolga'
rrg	marr gulu	'egg'
rrng (rare)	barr nganbi	'search for boyfriend/girlfriend'
rrw	ngarr wanji	'white man'
rdb	ward baji	'butterfly'
rdg	bard gu	'fall'
rdj (rare)	gard jadi	'stick on' (trans)
rnb (rare)	durn burra	'rubbish'
rnm	bir nmanma	'throat'
rng	bar nga	'cross cousin'
rnng (rare)	war nganji	'fly' (n)
rnj (rare)	Ngarn ji	
rlg (rare)	gurl gurli	'cough' (v)
rlw	barl wara	'outside'

As Table 2.3 clearly demonstrates, consonant clusters in Wambaya are constrained in a fairly systematic way. Thus, except for the homorganic nasal-stop clusters, all of the consonant clusters in Table 2.3 fall within a certain area of the chart: on the left hand side, and particularly in the lower left hand corner. It is exactly this sort of pattern that is predicted by the continuum of active articulators proposed by Hamilton (1992) (LABIAL DORSAL LAMINAL APICAL). According to this continuum, labials (followed by dorsals) are the preferred onsets and apicals (followed by laminals) are the preferred codas. The lower left hand corner of Table 2.3, where most of the Wambaya consonant clusters fall, is that part of the table where apical codas (the first element of the cluster) are coupled with labial and dorsal onsets (the second element of the cluster). Furthermore, labial codas and apical onsets (both of which are least preferred according to the continuum) only occur in homorganic nasal-stop clusters.

A second claim made by Hamilton, specifically directed at cluster phonotactics, is also supported by the Wambaya data. According to Hamilton, the first consonant in a consonant cluster must have a value further to the right on the continuum than the second consonant in order for the cluster to be permissible³⁰. Thus, a cluster consisting of a dorsal followed by a labial is well-formed (eg. /gb) while one consisting of a labial followed by a dorsal is not (eg. */bg/).

The consonant clusters in Wambaya (aside from the exceptional homorganic nasal-stop clusters) conform exactly with this constraint: labials never occur as the initial

³⁰This is excluding homorganic nasal-stop clusters.

consonant in a cluster (as they are the left-most member of the continuum), dorsals are only followed by labials, laminals are followed by dorsals and labials, and apicals are followed by all three (although there are only two examples of an apical followed by a laminal: /rnj/ and /rdj/).

Cross-cutting these cluster constraints based on active articulators are constraints based on sonority values. Consonant clusters in Wambaya are well-formed only if the second consonant has a value that is lower than or equal to that of the first on the sonority hierarchy: OBSTRUENT<NASAL<LIQUID<GLIDE³¹. This explains why it is that nasal-stop clusters are possible, but stop-nasal clusters are not, for example. There are three exceptions to this principle, all of which contain a liquid followed by a glide (glides are higher on the sonority hierarchy than liquids). Thus, /rrw/, /lw/, /rlw/ all contravene the above-mentioned principle of relative sonority for consonant clusters.

The principles governing well-formed consonant clusters in Wambaya can be formulated as follows ((i)-(iv) are taken from the above discussion, (v)-(vi) are additional constraints evident in Table 2.3):

- (i) All homorganic nasal-stop clusters are well-formed.
- (ii) The first member of a consonant cluster (excluding those in (i)) must be higher than the second member of the cluster on the following hierarchy (from Hamilton 1992):
LABIAL<DORSAL<LAMINAL<APICAL
- (iii) Despite the possibilities predicted by (ii), a laminal can only occur as the second element of a cluster (excluding those in (i)) if it is preceded by a retroflex stop or nasal.
- (iv) The first member of a consonant cluster must have a value higher than or equal to the second member on the following sonority hierarchy (from Clements 1990):
OBSTRUENT<NASAL<LIQUID<GLIDE
- (v) As an exception to (iv), clusters containing a liquid followed by the glide /w/ are well-formed.
- (vi) A lateral can only be the initial member in a consonant cluster if it is followed by a peripheral stop or the glide /w/.
- (vii) Neither /ly/, /y/ nor /r/ can occur in a consonant cluster.

³¹As given in Clements (1990). Note that the Wambaya pattern conforms with the Syllable Contact Law stated in Clements (1990:287) as follows:

In any sequence C_a \$ C_b there is a preference for C_a to exceed C_b in sonority.

These seven principles account for the well-formedness of all of the clusters contained in Table 2.3 as well as the ill-formedness of those corresponding to empty cells. The only exceptions to this are the three cells containing question marks which possibly reflect accidental gaps in the corpus.

This discussion of consonant clusters has so far centered only on clusters containing two consonants. However, there is one tri-consonantal cluster (/rrgb/) found in Wambaya. This cluster is found only in a small number of Wambaya words (in a sample of over 1200 words only 6 contain this tri-consonantal cluster intramorphemically). Examples of this cluster are:

bunj rrg barra	bend down (towards)
burr g banju	blow (on)
jarr g bardi	make string by rubbing hair/fur on leg with hand
lurr g banyi	grab, abduct
milirr g barna	blue tongue lizard
gurr g barra	stare

2.2.3.2 Intermorphemic Clusters

There are significantly fewer consonant clusters that are found across morpheme boundaries in Wambaya than are found within morphemes. There are some very simple reasons for this. Firstly, the phonotactic constraint that all words must end in a vowel means that a lot of stems are vowel-final.

gijilulu	money	gijilulu-ngunya	money-PROP (II)
jamba	ground	jamba-nmanji	ground:IV:nAbs-ALL

Secondly, although there are some consonant-final nominal and verbal roots which function as stems for the addition of suffixes, in all examples in the corpus the final consonant of the stem is either /j/, /g/, /ny/, /n/, /rd/, /ng/ or /rl/ and the initial consonant of the suffix is /b/ (or /w/ after liquids):

bungmaj-	old man	bungmaj-bulu	old man-DUAL	
gulug-	sleep	gulug-baji	sleep-PRIV	(I)
jany-	dog	jany-bulu	dog-DUAL	
garran-	stand	garran-barda	stand-INF	
agard-	wash	agard-barli	wash-AGNT (I)	
mirrang-	sit	mirrang-ba	sit-Fut	
ngarl-	talk	ngarl-waji	talk-PRIV (I)	

All of these consonant clusters are also found intramorphemically. Therefore, there are no clusters found across morpheme boundaries in Wambaya that are not also found within morphemes.

Note that the limited number of intermorphemic clusters is attributable to factors other than specific constraints on these clusters; it is possible that more research, and a larger corpus, would reveal other intermorphemic clusters.

2.2.4 Stress placement

The stress placement rules for Wambaya are similar to those for Warlpiri as reported in Nash (1986). Stress placement in Wambaya is sensitive to morphological structure; each polysyllabic morpheme constitutes a new domain for the placement of stress. Generally stress falls on the first syllable of stress domain and on each following alternate syllable, except that the final syllable usually does not carry any stress. Stress placement is also sensitive to syllable weight as heavy syllables (ie. those containing a phonemic long vowel) are always stressed whether they are in the first or second syllable of the stress domain (the only two positional possibilities for long vowels). Therefore, with the exception of a handful of words with a phonemic long vowel in their second syllable, primary stress normally falls on the first syllable of the word³².

Usually there is a one to one correspondence between a stress domain and a morpheme. This is not the case for monosyllabic suffixes however, which cannot constitute a stress domain on their own. Monosyllabic suffixes either combine with a following monosyllabic suffix to form a disyllabic stress domain or, if there is no following monosyllabic suffix, join the stress domain of the root. (This is discussed in more detail below). Monosyllabic roots, however, constitute a stress domain of their own. The auxiliary, although made up of more than one morpheme (see Chapter 5), is only a stress domain of its own if it is polysyllabic. When it is monosyllabic it must attach to the word to its left for the purposes of stress placement:

·bung.ma.nya ga > ·bung.ma. + ^anya. = gaold woman + II:Abs = 3sgS:Pst

The examples in Table 2.4 demonstrate the interaction between stress placement and morphological structure.

Table 2.4 Examples of stress placement

·bu.lyu.ngu little:IV:Abs > ·bu.lyu.^angu + rna little + II:Abs

³²In this respect I disagree with Chadwick who claims that primary stress in all of the West Barkly languages falls on the penultimate syllable of the word (eg. 1978:17).

·garn.gu. + ji	many + I:Abs	>	·garn.gu.+ ^a nyi + ni	many + I:nAbs+LOC
·ngu.rra. ^a ram.ba	night-time	>	·ngu.rra. ^a ram.ba + ni	night-time + LOC
·jam.ba	ground:IV:Abs	>	·jam.ba + n. ^a man.ji	ground:IV:nAbs + ALL
·da.gu.maj- ³³	hit	>	·da.gu.maj. + ^a ba.rli	hit + AGNT:I:Abs
·bung.ma. + ji	old man +I:Abs	>	·bung.ma+ nyi + m. ^a bi.li	old man + I:nAbs + COMMIT
·ga.gu.wi	fish:I:Abs	>	·ga.gu.wi. + ^a ni. + ni	fish + I:nAbs + LOC
·jany.-	dog (ROOT)	>	·jany. + ^a bu.lu	dog + DUAL

From a formal perspective, the stress placement rules in Wambaya can be described with reference to foot structure and principles of metrical phonology³⁴. I will assume Nespor and Vogel's (1986) definition of 'the foot' (a higher level grouping of syllables below the phonological word), which considers the foot to exist independently of stress placement, and the construction of feet to precede rules of stress placement.

The rules for constructing feet in Wambaya are given below, followed by some explanation and exemplification of their use. These rules account for all of the characteristics of Wambaya stress placement mentioned above. As will be clear in the following foot-building rules, feet in Wambaya are left-headed and are sensitive to morphological structure³⁵.

Wambaya rules of foot-formation:

- (i) a. Moving from left to right, assign quantity sensitive, left-headed binary feet to each morpheme. If the heavy syllable is morpheme-final, making a binary foot impossible, assign a strong degenerate foot.
- b. If there are no heavy syllables, scan again from left to right and assign left-headed binary feet to each morpheme, beginning with the first syllable. If the morpheme is monosyllabic, making a binary foot impossible, assign a strong degenerate foot.
- Note that at this point there may be syllables as yet unassigned to feet.
- (ii) a. Group two successive degenerate feet into one left-headed binary foot.
- b. Group a degenerate foot with a preceding unattached syllable of a different morpheme.
- (iii) Non-branching feet that are preceded within the word by at least one other foot are deleted.

³³This stem is segmentable into the verb root *daguma-* and the thematic consonant *j*, see 6.1.

³⁴The following discussion is based on the discussions of the foot and metrical phonology contained in Durand (1990), Goldsmith (1990) and Nespor and Vogel (1986).

³⁵Poser (1989) gives an account of the stress patterns in Diyari and Warlpiri without reference to specific morphological structure. In his analysis, stress assignment occurs cyclically and begins by moving from left to right. However, in order to account for the behaviour of successive degenerate feet which join together to make one foot, Poser postulates a rule termed Merger which links degenerate feet into binary feet, this time moving from right to left. Poser's account would also work for Wambaya, but the one given here is preferred as it avoids the need to be multi-directional. Furthermore, as the constraint against stress referring to specific morphological structure does not hold universally - eg. Mayali (Evans in press) - I do not think that there is a problem with morphologically sensitive stress placement rules.

- (iv) Stray syllable adjunction: unattached syllables are attached to the nearest foot to the left. (This is the only situation in which feet are more than binary). Initial unattached syllables (to which this rule can't apply) form a weak degenerate foot.

Rule (ia) accounts for the fact that a long vowel is stressed even when it is not in the initial syllable. Some examples follow; see example A below for a sample derivation:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------------|
| 1a. | Nga·naa.rra | Brunette Downs Station |
| b. | ga·laa | bone |
| c. | ga·rdaa.la | gidgee tree |

According to Rule (ia) foot formation will not begin with the first syllable of these words, but with the first heavy syllable (ie. the second syllable). The first syllable will at this stage remain unassigned, as in example A below.

Rule (ib) applies to morphemes that do not have heavy syllables (note that long vowels are very rare in Wambaya, so this type of morpheme is the most common). According to Rule (ib), if (ia) cannot apply (because there are no heavy syllables), foot formation begins with the initial syllable of the morpheme. As feet must be binary the final syllable of a morpheme having an odd number of syllables will remain unassigned. See examples B and C below for sample derivations.

Rules (iia) and (iib) account for the behaviour of monosyllabic suffixes which, by virtue of the second part of Rule (ib), all now belong to degenerate feet. It is important that (iia) precede (iib) as monosyllabic suffixes are only grouped with a preceding unattached syllable if there is not another monosyllabic suffix to their right with which they can group. The specification in (iib) that the unattached syllable belong to a different morpheme is included to account for a word such as *ga·laa*, the second syllable of which forms a degenerate foot (due to (ia)). If (iib) could apply within a morpheme, the degenerate foot in *ga·laa* would combine with the first (unattached) syllable to form a left-headed binary foot (ie. **ga.laa*). Sample derivations concerning Rules (iia) and (iib) are D and E below.

Rule (iii) is necessary to account for the fact that if a monosyllabic suffix (which belongs to a degenerate foot due to (ib)) is not part of a binary foot after the application of Rules (i) and (ii), it is unattached from foot structure at this stage and is later attached by Rule (iv). An example of the application of Rule (iii) is in example F below.

Rule (iv) attaches all remaining unattached syllables into feet. Examples of the application of this rule are in examples A, B, D, and F below.

Following are some sample derivations illustrating the application of these foot-building rules. Syllables attached to feet by Rule (iv) (Stray syllable adjunction) are shown with a broken line.

A. **ga.laa** 'bone'

(i) ga.laa
s

Σ

(ii)-(iii) N/A

(iv) ga.laa
w s

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$

B. **na.yi.da** 'woman'

(i) na.yi.da
s w

Σ

(ii)-(iii) N/A

(iv) na.yi.da
s w w

Σ

C. **jany. + bu.lu** 'dog + DUAL'

(i) jany. + bu.lu
s s w

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$

(ii)-(iv) N/A

D. **ju.gu.li. + ni. + ni** 'boomerang + I:nAbs + LOC'

(i) ju.gu.li. + ni. + ni
s w s s

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma \quad \Sigma$

(ii)a. ju.gu.li. + ni. + ni
 $\begin{matrix} s & w & & s & w \end{matrix}$

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$

(ii)b.-(iii) N/A

(iv) ju.gu.li. + ni. + ni
 $\begin{matrix} s & w & w & s & w \end{matrix}$

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$

E. **bu.ga.yi. + rna** 'big + II:Abs'

(i) bu.ga.yi. + rna
 $\begin{matrix} s & w & & s \end{matrix}$

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$

(ii)a. N/A

(ii)b. bu.ga.yi. + rna
 $\begin{matrix} s & w & s & w \end{matrix}$

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$

(iii)-(iv) N/A

F. **ga.lyu.rri.ngi. + ni + n.man.ji** 'water + I:nAbs + ALL'

(i) ga.lyu.rri.ngi. + ni. + n.man.ji
 $\begin{matrix} s & w & s & w & s & s & w \end{matrix}$

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma \quad \Sigma \quad \Sigma$

(ii) N/A

(iii) ga.lyu.rri.ngi. + ni + n.man.ji
 $\begin{matrix} s & w & s & w & s & w \end{matrix}$

$\Sigma \quad \Sigma \quad \Sigma$

(iv) ga.lyu.rri.ngi. + ni + n.man.ji
 $\begin{matrix} s & w & s & w & w & s & w \end{matrix}$

$$\Sigma \quad \Sigma \quad \Sigma$$

The feet that have been built by rules (i) to (iv) are then grouped into a word-level metrical structure according to the following rule:

(v) Group feet into a left branching word tree.

The word level structures of the six derivations given above are:

A. ga.laa
 $w \quad s$

$$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$$

$$w \quad s$$

Word

B. na.yi.da
 $s \quad w \quad w$

$$\Sigma$$

Word

C. jany. + bu.lu
 $s \quad s \quad w$

$$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$$

$$s \quad w$$

Word

D. ju.gu.li. + ni. + ni
 $s \quad w \quad w \quad s \quad w$

$$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$$

$$s \quad w$$

Word

E. bu.ga.yi. + rna
 $s \quad w \quad s \quad w$

$$\Sigma \quad \Sigma$$

$$s \quad w$$

Word

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{F.} \quad \text{ga.lyu.rri.ngi.} + \text{ni} + \text{n.man.ji} \\
 \text{\textit{s} \textit{w} \textit{s} \textit{w} \textit{w} \textit{s} \textit{w}} \\
 \\
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 \Sigma & \Sigma & \Sigma \\
 \text{\textit{s}} & \text{\textit{w}} & \text{\textit{w}}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

Word

The syllable which has primary stress is that which is dominated completely by *s* nodes.

Note that the stress placement rules, as given above, are only sensitive to phonemic long vowels. In 2.1.4 a distinction was made between these long vowels and phonetic long vowels which are derived through regular language-internal processes of elision. An example of a phonetic long vowel is that which is derived from the elision of the semi-vowel /w/ when the dual suffix is added to the nominal *darranggu* :

$$\text{darranggu} + \text{wulu} \quad \text{tree} + \text{DUAL} \quad > \quad / \text{darranggu} + \text{ulu} / \quad [\cdot \hat{\text{c}} \hat{\text{a}} \hat{\text{a}} \text{Ng} \text{a} \text{\textbf{0}} \text{\textbf{0}} \text{\textbf{0}}]$$

Note that the assignment of stress must precede the morphophonemic process of elision as these phonetic long vowels do not have primary stress (as a phonemic long vowel would, see above), and are treated as a sequence of two vowels, with the second carrying stress as it is the initial syllable of a polysyllabic morpheme.

The rules of stress placement in Wambaya are still not yet fully understood and further research may lead to a different analysis of stress placement than presented here. While the rules for foot and word construction given here account for the large majority of the corpus, there are some unpredictable forms that these rules do not account for. A couple of these exceptions follow (along with the expected pattern according to the above rules):

$$\begin{array}{lll}
 \cdot \text{wug.ba.}^{\text{a}} \text{rdij.} + \text{ba.}^{\text{a}} \text{rli.} + \text{rna} & (\text{expected: } \cdot \text{wug.ba.rdi.j.} + ^{\text{a}} \text{ba.rli.} + \text{rna}) & \text{cook} + \text{AGNT} + \text{II:Abs} \\
 \cdot \text{na.nga.na.}^{\text{a}} \text{nga.li} & (\text{expected: } \cdot \text{na.nga.}^{\text{a}} \text{na.nga.li}) & \text{sneak away}
 \end{array}$$

There is clearly the need for a lot more research to be done in this area.

2.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.3.1 Lenition

The initial /b/ of a suffix will always lenite to /w/ when it is added to a vowel-final stem, or to a stem ending in /rl/ or /rr/. Compare:

ngaj-barli	see-AGNT (I)	BUT	yugu-warli	cry-AGNT (I)
gulug-ba	sleep-Fut	BUT	ngarl-wa	talk-Fut
jany-baji	dog-PRIV (I)	BUT	darrangu-waji	stick-PRIV (I)
bungmaj-bulu	old man-DUAL	BUT	lagija-wulu	coolaman-DUAL
ard-bi	call out-nF	BUT	ngirr-wi	growl-nF

It seems likely that this lenition would also occur after other liquids, given that it occurs after /rl/ and /rr/, however there are no examples in the corpus.

In fast or casual speech this lenition can also occur within morphemes, particularly if the bilabial stop follows /g/, or if it is in a reduplicated syllable:

wugbardi	cook	>	wugwardi
bardibardi	"poor bugger"	>	bardiwardi

There are also a couple of examples in which /j/ lenites to /y/. This occurs in reduplications (see 2.3.6 for a discussion of reduplication):

junmi	cut	>	junmi-yunmi	RDP-cut
-------	-----	---	-------------	---------

and with the causitive suffix *-jirrimi* after a vowel-final stem:

gannga+jirrimi	return+CAUS	>	gannga-yirrimi
----------------	-------------	---	----------------

See 6.2.1.1 for a discussion of this suffix.

The retroflex stop /rd/ (written *d* word initially) lenites to /r/ in reduplication:

daguma	hit	>	dagu-raguma	RDP-hit
--------	-----	---	-------------	---------

and optionally before /g/ intramorphemically:

bardgu	fall	>	bargu / bardgu
--------	------	---	----------------

2.3.2 Elision

When two identical vowels are separated by a semi-vowel, the semi-vowel may be elided resulting in a long vowel (this process is discussed in more detail in 2.1.4 above). This can occur both within and across morpheme boundaries.

darranggu-wulu	tree-DUAL	>	/darranggu-ulu/	[·ɔa\aNgo ^a ølø]
ngara-waji	drink-PRIV (I)	>	/ngara-aji/	[Na@3a ^a a ⁱ fi]
baraj-bulu	old person-DUAL	>	/baaj-bulu/	[·baa ⁱ f ^a bølø]

2.3.3 Epenthesis

As /n/ cannot occur as the second member in a consonant cluster (see 2.2.3 for a discussion of permissible consonant clusters), an epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted between a consonant-final stem and any suffix beginning with /n/. The examples in the corpus all involve verbs and the suffixes *-nka* 'PURP' *-ni* 'SIMUL:SS' and *-nnga* 'PRIOR' (see 6.1 for a discussion of verbal morphology).

PURP	mawula-j- + -nka	>	mawula-j-i-nka	play-TH-EP-
	gulug- + -nka	>	gulug-i-nka	
	sleep-EP-PURP			
TH-EP-SIMUL:SS	ngirra-j- + -ni	>	ngirra-j-i-ni	steal-
	ngarl- + -ni	>	ngarl-i-ni	talk-EP-
SIMUL:SS				
PRIOR	alalangmi-j- + nnga	>	alalangmi-j-i-nnga	hunt-TH-EP-

In examples in this thesis I will generally not segment this epenthetic vowel, but will group it with the preceding morpheme (eg. *mawula-ji-nka*, *gulugi-nka*).

There is one example in the corpus in which /u/ is the epenthetic vowel. This example involves the addition of the allative suffix *-nmanji* to a place name *Junggurragurr* 'Tennant Creek'. This place name has been borrowed from Warumungu and doesn't fit Wambaya phonotactic constraints (by ending in a consonant), hence the need for an epenthetic vowel.

junggurragurr + -nmanji	>	junggurragurr-u-nmanji	Tennant Creek-ALL
-------------------------	---	------------------------	-------------------

2.3.4 Assimilation

2.3.4.1 /w/ > /y/

An intervocalic /w/ will assimilate to /y/ if it follows the high front vowel /i/. This process affects the dual suffix *-bulu/wulu* and the privative suffix *-baji/waji*.

/juguli-wulu/ boomerang-DUAL	>	/juguliyulu/ [[·] fəgəli- ^a	jələ]
/juguli-waji/ boomerang-PRIV (I)	>	/juguliyaji/ [[·] fəgəli- ^a	ja ⁱ fi]

This means that a morpheme which has an initial /b/ underlyingly can be realised with a /y/ (I will use orthography here for clarity):

juguli + bulu	>	juguli-wulu	>	juguli-yulu
---------------	---	-------------	---	-------------

Thus, an initial /b/ lenites to /w/ intervocalically (see 2.3.1), and then the /w/ assimilates to the 'frontness' and height of the preceding /i/, becoming /y/.

2.3.4.2 Of stops before /m/

The final stop of a root becomes a nasal when followed by the bilabial nasal /m/. The examples of this involve the Class III gender suffix *-ma* and the factitive suffix *-mi*:

<i>garnguj-</i>	many	+ <i>-ma</i>	Class III:Abs	>	<i>garngunyma</i>	many:III:Abs
<i>burnarig-</i>	wild orange	+ <i>-ma</i>	Class III:Abs	>	<i>burnaringma</i>	wild orange:III:Abs
<i>guri-</i>	good	+ <i>-mi</i>	FAC:nF	>	<i>gurinyimi</i>	good:FAC:nF

2.3.4.3 Vowel Harmony

Unlike Jingili, Wambaya does not have many instances of vowel harmony. While the process of vowel harmony in Jingili affects many nouns and most verbs (Chadwick 1975:10), systematic vowel harmony in Wambaya is only really found within the auxiliary, although there are a couple of marginal instances restricted to specific morphemes.

The ergative/locative suffix, usually *-ni*, has an allomorph *-nu* when the stem has final /u/. The use of this allomorph is not obligatory; the two allomorphs are in free variation in this environment. Some examples are:

(2-10)	Mirra	ngurru	manjungu- nu / manjungu- ni .
	sit(nF)	1plincS(nPst)	shade:IV:nAbs-LOC
	We'll sit in the shade.		

Nor does it affect the vowel(s) of the subject bound pronoun when it is added to an auxiliary containing an object bound pronoun (in this case the suffix marks non-future tense):

ngi-ny-a	1sgA-2O-nF
nyi-ng-a	2sgA-1O-nF
gini-ng-a	3sgmascA-1O-nF
ngiyi-ny-a	3sgnmascA-2O-nF

However, when the future tense suffix *-u* is added any preceding vowels within the auxiliary assimilate to the back vowel:

ngu-ny-u	1sgA-2O-Fut
nyu-ng-u	2sgA-1O-Fut
gunu-ngg-u	3sgmascA-RR-Fut
nguyu-ny-u	3sgnmascA-2O-Fut
murnd-u	1duincS/A-Fut

Any suffix with initial /u/ will also trigger this vowel harmony:

ngu-ny-uda	1sgA-2O-IRR:Pst
murnd-uba	1duincS/A-nP:away

The habitual non-past suffix *-ala* provides the only example of /a/ triggering vowel harmony:

nga-ngg-ala	1sgA-RR-Hab:nPst
gana-ng-ala	3sgmascA-1O-Hab:nPst
ngay-ala	3sgnmascA-Hab:nPst

In the above examples a /u/ in a tense/aspect/mood/directional suffix triggers regressive vowel harmony affecting the subject (and object) bound pronouns that precede it. However, the situation concerning the non-minimal subject bound pronouns (ie. all other non-singular subject bound pronouns, see 5.1.1) is exactly the opposite. In the case of these bound pronouns, it is the high vowel of the subject bound pronoun that triggers progressive vowel harmony, affecting any high vowels in the following tense/aspect/mood/directional suffixes.

Each of the non-minimal forms is disyllabic and has the same vowel in each syllable. The underlying forms of the non-minimal subject bound pronouns are as follows:

ngurlu	1duexcS/A
--------	-----------

ngurru	1plincS/A
ngirri	1plexcS/A
gurlu	2duS/A
girri	2plS/A
wurlu	3duS/A
irri	3plS/A

Consider the following examples in which suffixes that were triggering regressive vowel harmony in the discussion of the minimal subject pronouns above, are themselves affected by progressive vowel harmony triggered by the vowel(s) in the non-minimal subject bound pronoun.

BUT	ngurlu-ny-u	1duexcA-2O-Fut
	ngirri-ny-i	1plexcA-2O-Fut
BUT	gurl-uba	2duS/A-nP:away
	irr-iba	3plS/A-nP:away
BUT	wurlu-ngg-u	3duA-RR-Fut
	girri-ngg-i	2plA-RR-Fut

The habitual non-past suffix also does not trigger vowel harmony with these subjects, although it is not affected by vowel harmony itself:

irr-ala	3plS/A-Hab:nPst
girri-ng-ala	2plA-1O-Hab:nPst

2.3.5 Reduction of non-permissible clusters

When a morphological process creates a non-permissible consonant cluster (and the second element of the cluster is not /m/ - see 2.3.4.2 above) the first of the two consonants is omitted. This is the case if the two consonants are different:

<i>alag-</i>	child	+ <i>-ji</i>	Class I:Abs	>	<i>alaji</i>	boy:I:Abs
<i>alag-</i>	child	+ <i>-nga</i>	Class II:Abs	>	<i>alanga</i>	girl:II:Abs
<i>bungmaj-</i>	old person	+ <i>-nyi-</i>	Class I:nAbs	>	<i>bungmanyi-</i>	old man:I:nAbs
<i>murr-gun-</i>	three	+ <i>-rna</i>	Class II:Abs	>	<i>murrgurna</i>	three:II:Abs

or if the two consonants are identical:

<i>bungmaj-</i>	old person	+ <i>-ji</i>	Class I:Abs	>	<i>bungmaji</i>	old man:I:Abs
<i>-guny-</i>	PLURAL	+ <i>-nya</i>	Class II:Abs	>	<i>-gunya</i>	PLURAL:II:Abs

There are two examples in which a consonant-initial suffix is added to a stem with a final consonant cluster thereby creating a triconsonantal cluster. In both of these examples it is the middle consonant of the cluster - the final consonant of the stem - which is deleted.

<i>wawunyg-</i>	sugarbag	+ <i>-ji</i>	Class I:Abs	>	<i>wawunji</i>	sugarbag:I:Abs
<i>ginganj-</i>	drown	+ <i>-bi</i>	Non-future	>	<i>ginganbi</i>	drown:nF ³⁶

2.3.6 Reduplication

Reduplication in Wambaya is found mainly with verbs, with which it is used to indicate iterative or durative aspect (see 6.1.7). It is also used with a few nouns, usually marking plurality (see 4.5.3). Although Wambaya is a suffixing language, reduplication generally occurs to the left; that is, the reduplicated element is attached as a prefix. There are two main patterns of reduplication in Wambaya. The most common one copies (to the left) the first two syllables of the word (or the whole word if disyllabic). In the following examples, syllable boundaries are indicated by a period.

ngaj.bi	'see'	>	ngaj.bi-ngaj.bi
la.ja.rrri	'light fire'	>	la.ja-la.ja.rrri
ngun.ju.lu	'carry'	>	ngun.ju-ngun.ju.lu

If the first and second syllables of the word are identical, then only one syllable is copied:

nya.nya.yu	'move around'	>	nya-nya.nya.yu
di.di.ja	'carry'	>	di-di.di.ja

The coda of a closed second syllable is not copied:

nya.gaj.bi	'be tired'	>	nya.ga-nya.gaj.bi
lung.gany.mi	'make "cheeky"'	>	lung.gu ³⁷ -
lung.gany.mi			
la.barn.ga	'branch (of tree)'	>	la.ba-rla.barn.ga

If the word has an initial stop, this will often lenite to a glide in reduplicated forms. Thus, /rd/ (written *d* initially) lenites to /r/, /j/ lenites to /y/ and /b/ lenites to /w/. There are no examples of lenition of the velar stop /g/.

³⁶It is interesting that it is the alveolar nasal, rather than the palatal nasal, which appears in this form. This suggests that it is the alveolar nasal that is present before the palatal stop in the root (usually only the palatal nasal occurs in this position).

³⁷Note that this vowel seems to have assimilated to those on either side of it.

iii. σ + σ σ
 banymi (b)any mi

iv. σ + σ σ
 banymi (b)any mi

In a form such as *angbardi* there is no initial consonant to be made extramelodic, but the rest of the derivation remains the same:

i. σ σ σ
 ang ba rdi

ii. σ + σ σ σ
 ang ba rdi

iii. σ + σ σ σ
 angbardi ang ba rdi

iv. σ + σ σ σ
 angbardi ang ba rdi

In one Wambaya form, the template appears to be two syllables, rather than one syllable:

garriji 'be cold' > garrijarriji

i. σ σ σ
 (g)a rri ji

ii. σ σ + σ σ σ
 (g)a rri ji

iii. σ σ + σ σ σ
 garriji (g)a rri ji

iv. σ σ + σ σ σ

garriji

(g)a rri ji

Although these two reduplication patterns account for most of the reduplicated forms in Wambaya, there are a few other forms which are reduplicated in slightly different ways. In a couple of examples the reduplicated form is derived by copying the last two syllables of the word to the right:

yarruburdu 'walk around'
garr.ga.lyi 'plains lizard'

>

ya.rru.bu.rdu-bu.rdu
> garr.ga.lyi-ga.lyi

Some other reduplicated forms appear to be unpredictable:

alaji 'boy'
iligirra 'river'

alajaji
>

ililirri

Chapter 3 PARTS OF SPEECH and OTHER PRELIMINARIES

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

There are seven parts of speech (or 'word classes') that can be set up for Wambaya, based on the inflectional and distributional characteristics of each word. These classes are mutually exclusive³⁸: each root belongs to only one word class, although with the use of derivational suffixes, it is possible for a root to move its membership from one word class to another. These derivational suffixes are discussed under 4.5.2 (verb to nominal) and 6.2.2 (nominal to verb). The seven word classes in Wambaya are:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------------|
| (1) | NOMINALS | |
| | (i) | nouns |
| | (ii) | adjectives |
| | (iii) | free pronouns |
| | (iv) | demonstratives |
| | (v) | locational nominals |
| | (vi) | temporal nominals |
| | (vii) | ignoratives |
| (2) | VERBS | |
| (3) | AUXILIARY | |
| (4) | ADVERBS | |
| (5) | PARTICLES | |
| (6) | CLITICS | |
| (7) | INTERJECTIONS | |

Of these seven word classes, the two largest and most important are the open classes of verbs and nominals. These two classes have quite distinct morphological and syntactic characteristics. Nominals generally inflect for gender, number and case and usually function as the arguments of the clause³⁹. Verbs on the other hand are inflected for tense, co-occur with the auxiliary and typically function as the predicate of the clause. Both classes also have different derivational possibilities. Although word class membership is determined primarily on grammatical and functional grounds such as these, it is also possible to characterise the difference between these two word classes on semantic grounds. Thus, while verbs typically describe states, actions and events, nominals usually denote entities, objects and attributes.⁴⁰

³⁸See below for the one exception to this.

³⁹Although see 7.1 for a discussion of clauses in which nominals function as predicates.

⁴⁰As word class membership is not defined by semantic considerations, it is possible that either of these classes will contain members whose semantic characteristics will not comply with these generalisations.

In the following discussion I divide the word classes into 'inflecting' (nominals, verbs and the auxiliary) and 'non-inflecting' (adverbs, particles, clitics and interjections).

3.1.1 Inflecting word classes

3.1.1.1 Nominals

(i) and (ii) Nouns and Adjectives

For the most part adjectives and nouns in Wambaya can be considered the same. In this respect, Wambaya is typical for Australian languages in which there is generally little formal distinction between nouns and adjectives (Dixon 1980:272). Both nouns and adjectives are inflected for case, number and gender; can function as the head of a noun phrase; as a modifier qualifying the head; and can function as the predicate of a verbless clause (see 7.1).

However, there are differences between nouns and adjectives that support the treatment of them as two different subclasses even though they are both contained within the larger superordinate class of nominals. These differences are semantic, morphological and syntactic.

Semantically, nouns typically denote objects and entities while adjectives typically denote attributes. Furthermore, while nouns inherently belong to only one gender (or at most two, in the case of some animate and plant nouns), an adjective has no inherent gender but can potentially be marked for any of the four genders in agreement with the noun that it modifies (or in the case of an adjective functioning as the head of the phrase, in agreement with the referent). For example:

bugayi alaji 'big boy' (I)

bugayirna bayigina 'big bag' (II)

buguwama jigama 'big yam' (III)

buguwa darranggu 'big stick' (IV)

Morphologically, most of the inflectional suffixes are identical for both nouns and adjectives. However, there is at least one difference, again concerning gender: while

Class IV (the neuter gender) is generally not marked on nouns, it is marked on some adjectives by either *-a*, *-ga* or *-ja* ⁴¹:

Nouns:

balamurru spear (IV)
wunba wind (IV)
barrawu house (IV)

Adjectives:

gurijb-a good-IV
murr-gun-gathree-IV
bagi-ga bad-IV
garngu-ja many-IV

Note that this is simply a difference in the form of the marking, not in the number of gender possibilities for nouns and adjectives, which are exactly the same.

The difference between the semantics of nouns and adjectives also leads to different derivational possibilities. For example, the derivational suffix *-mi*, which can be attached to a nominal X to derive a factitive verb with the meaning 'cause to be X, make X' is only found with adjectives, not with nouns. Thus, *gurijbi* 'good' can become *guriny-mi* 'make good, make better', but a noun such as *juwa* 'man' cannot become **juwami* 'make into a man'⁴².

Syntactically, while it is possible for nouns to function as modifiers of the head noun, as in *bungmaji barnanggi* 'old man *barnanggi* ⁴³' and *lagurra juruma* 'deep/sunken stomach' (literally 'hole stomach'), this is relatively unusual and it is significantly more common for adjectives to have this function.

Thus, while there are many reasons for considering nouns and adjectives to be members of the same superordinate word class of nominals, there is adequate justification for considering them to be different subclasses of nominals, thereby allowing for them to behave and be treated slightly differently with respect to certain features of the grammar.

⁴¹However with most adjectives, as with nouns, Class IV is not overtly marked (see 4.2.2).

⁴²In dreamtime stories where this sort of a construction is common (eg. 'make oneself into a bird'), the verb *yardi* 'put' is used reflexively, along with an accusative object. Thus:

Ilarrana	wurlu-ngg-a	yardi	bungmaj-bulu.
eaglehawk:II(ACC)	3duA-RR-nF	put(nF)	old.person-DUAL(NOM)
The two old women turned themselves into eaglehawks.			

⁴³This is a type of bird, although I don't know what type - see Text A.2.

(3-1)	Bagijbi	ini	janji.
	bad:I(NOM)	this:I:sg:NOM	dog:I(NOM)
	This dog (male) is no good (ie. it is nasty).		
(3-2)	Manku	ngi-ngg-a	bagijbi.
	feel(nF)	1sgA-RR-nF	bad:I(NOM)
	I (male) feel no good.		
(3-3)	Gurijbirna	nana	alanga.
	good:II(NOM)	this:II:sg:NOM	girl:II(NOM)
	This girl is good.		
(3-4)	Gurijbirna	ngi-n	mirra.
	good:II(NOM)	1sgS(Pres)-Pr	sit(nF)
	I (female) feel good.		

(3-5) Gurijbi g-aji mirra.
 good:I(NOM) 3sgS-Hab:Pst sit(nF)
 He used to be a good boy.

For a more detailed discussion of verbless clauses and the use of *mirra* as a copula verb see 7.1.

⁴⁴These are the Class I forms of the adjectives.

⁴⁵Wierzbicka (1988:116-117) discusses such constructions in Japanese. However, in Japanese these experiential sentences are only possible in the first person.

⁴⁶The final consonant of the root is deleted regularly with the addition of the gender suffixes; see 2.3.5 for a discussion of this morphophonemic process and 4.2.2 for a discussion of gender marking.

Free pronouns form a small, closed class. They are referred to as 'free' to differentiate them from the 'bound' pronouns that form part of the auxiliary (discussed below). Free pronouns distinguish person (1st, 2nd and 3rd), number (singular, dual and plural) and make an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singular. There are no third person singular subject or object pronouns; demonstratives are used instead.

Free pronouns have a different system of case marking from nouns and adjectives. While nouns and adjectives have an ergative/absolutive system of case marking, free pronouns have a nominative/accusative system of case inflection with nominative and ergative case forms being homophonous. Free pronouns also have an oblique form which is used in the dative case and as the base for the addition of other case suffixes such as the comitative. In the case of non-singular pronouns, this oblique form is homophonous with the accusative case form. Singular pronouns have homophonous nominative, accusative and ergative case forms and then a different oblique form. Free pronouns are discussed in 4.8.

(iv) Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Wambaya make a two way spatial distinction which is roughly comparable to the distinction in English between 'this' and 'that'. Demonstratives must also agree with their referent in case, gender and number. Like nouns and adjectives, demonstratives can occur alone as the head of a NP, or occur as a modifier. Demonstratives are discussed in 4.6.

(v) Locational nominals

These nominals are inherently locative and include the compass directionals (*langga* 'north', *ngirni* 'south', *gagarra* 'east', *bayungu* 'west'), other general directionals (*gayangga* 'up', *jangi* 'down'), locational demonstratives (*gili* 'here', *giliyaga* 'there') and other locationals such as *murrugu* 'inside'. Although these locational nominals can be inflected with the allative and ablative cases, they are distinguished from other nominals by the fact that they do not take the locative case; they occur uninflected in a locative NP:

(3-8)	Mirra		gi-n		murrugu.
	sit(nF)	3sgS(Pres)-Pr		inside	
	She's sitting inside.				

(vi) Temporal nominals

Temporal nominals provide temporal information for the clause and thus tend to have co-occurrence restrictions with the tense of the clause. Temporal nominals are found in the corpus with only the locative and dative nominal case suffixes. For example *ngurraramba-ni* 'in the night' (night-LOC) and *ngijininima-nka* 'until tomorrow' (tomorrow-DAT).

(vii) Ignoratives

Cross-cutting this division of nominals is the subclass of ignoratives. There are ignorative pronouns (eg. *gayini* 'who/what'), ignorative quantifiers (eg. *yangulany-* 'how many'), ignorative locationals (eg. *injani* 'where'), and ignorative temporals (eg. *yangulu* 'when'). Ignoratives tend to occur initially in the clause. These nominals are discussed in 4.7.

3.1.1.2 Verbs

Most of the information that is traditionally associated with verbs such as tense, aspect and mood information is found in the auxiliary in Wambaya. Verbs themselves have comparatively few inflectional possibilities. In main clauses verbs make a future/non-future distinction. The future form is also used for imperative mood. The inflectional possibilities for verbs are discussed in 6.1. In non-finite subordinate clauses verbs can be inflected with either the infinitive suffix *-barda*; or one of three nominal suffixes - the ergative/locative *-ni*, the ablative *-nnga* or the dative *-nka* - which indicate whether the action described in the subordinate clause occurs concurrently, occurred previously, or will follow that of the main clause, respectively. The use of these suffixes with verbs is discussed in detail in sections 6.1 and 8.2. There is also a reduplication process for (some) verbs which provides some aspectual information (see 6.1.7). There are many derivational possibilities for verbs. Verbs can be made into transitive verbs; causative verbs; and various types of nouns, both agentive and instrumental. The verb to verb derivational processes are discussed in 6.2.1, and the verb to nominal processes in 4.5.2.

Syntactically, verbs in main clauses must always be accompanied by an auxiliary which registers the main arguments of the clause and often provides the only tense and aspect information. This is in contrast with nominal predicates which occur without the auxiliary. There is a tendency for verbs to occur in initial position in the clause: a

survey of texts showed that 61% of verbal clauses were verb initial, as opposed to 39% of verbal clauses in which the verb was not initial.

Semantically, verbs generally denote actions, events and states.

There is a group of verbs which, although clearly verbs in their own right, are usually found modifying another verb in the clause. The most common examples of this type of construction involve the verbs *gurinyimi* 'make good' and *ganjimi* 'finish' which can be used as modifiers meaning 'well, properly' and 'all' respectively. In these constructions it is only the main verb that takes the tense inflection; the modifying verb remains unmarked for tense. Some examples of these verbs functioning as modifiers, and also as verbs, are:

(3-9)

- (a) Guriny-mi ng-u gulug-ba.
good-FAC:nF 1sgS-Fut sleep-Fut
I will sleep well.
- (b) Guriny-ma ng-u.
good-FAC:Fut 1sgA-Fut
I will fix it.

(3-10)

- (a) Gaj-ba gun-u ganjimi.
eat-Fut 3sgmascA-Fut finish:nF
He will eat it all.
- (b) Ganjima g-u.
finish:Fut 3sgA-Fut
He'll finish it.

Examples of this type of construction with other modifying verbs include:

(3-11)

Barngala ngi-n
mirra.
have.legs.crossed(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF)
I'm sitting with my legs crossed (yoga style).

(3-12)

Jirrbali gi-n naniyaga
gulug-bi.
lie.on.stomach(nF) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr that:II:sg:NOM
sleep-nF
She's sleeping on her stomach.

The following examples demonstrate that these modifiers are verbs as well, since they are capable of taking the future tense inflection and appearing alone without another verb:

- (3-13) Barnkali-j-ba giliyaga!
have.crossed.legs-TH-Fut there
Sit down with your legs crossed over there!
- (3-14) Jirrbali-j-ba!
lie.on.stomach-TH-Fut
Lie on your stomach!

There is only one form that has doubtful status as a verb. This form, *darridarri* 'be in a line' is only ever found in the modifying function. It was not possible to get an example of *darridarri* occurring alone in the verb phrase.

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|-----------|------------|
| (3-15) | Darridarri irri-n | | mirra. |
| | be.in.a.line 3plS(nPst)-Pr | sit(nF) | |
| | They're sitting in a line. | | |
| (3-16) | Darridarri girr | | garran-ba! |
| | be.in.a.line pl:IMP | stand-Fut | |
| | Stand in a line! | | |

However, rather than place *darridarri* in a word class of its own, I will consider it part of the verb word class by analogy with other modifying verbs such as those in examples (3-11) and (3-12) above.

For a more detailed discussion of clauses containing two verbs see 7.3.1.

3.1.1.3 Auxiliary

The auxiliary is a fundamental constituent of Wambaya grammar. Its presence is obligatory in every main verbal clause⁴⁷ and most finite subordinate clauses. The auxiliary contains most of the important grammatical information for the clause. It contains bound pronouns which represent the core arguments of the clause and suffixes which indicate tense, aspect and mood. Although some information about tense and mood is marked on the verb, often that which is contained in the auxiliary is considerably more detailed and informative. There is also some information (such as progressive aspect and irrealis mood) which is only ever marked on the auxiliary, never

⁴⁷The auxiliary does not occur in verbless clauses (see 7.1).

on the verb. The auxiliary can also contain directional suffixes which indicate whether the action described by the verb occurs in a direction away from, or a direction towards a deictic centre (usually the speaker). The auxiliary almost always occurs in second position in the clause. A detailed discussion of the auxiliary and its component parts is found in Chapter 5.

Phonologically, the auxiliary has some unusual characteristics. It is the only grammatical word in Wambaya which can be monosyllabic, and the only word which can have a final consonant. For the purposes of stress, a polysyllabic auxiliary constitutes a separate stress domain, while a monosyllabic auxiliary cliticises to the preceding word and does not bear stress (see 2.2.4).

3.1.2 Non-inflecting word classes

3.1.2.1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Wambaya function to semantically modify the clause. They do not appear to have any positional restrictions. There are demonstrative adverbs such as *yununggu* 'like this/that'; manner adverbs such as *gajigajirra* 'fast' and *walalangarri* 'a lot, really hard (intensifier)'; and time adverbs such as *bibi* 'for a little while', *marndiji* 'soon' and *ayigurrajbi* 'all day'.

3.1.2.2 Particles

There are only a few particles in Wambaya. Particles have grammatical functions such as the expression of negation in both declarative and imperative clauses, and the linking of finite subordinate clauses to the main clause. They are formally distinguished from adverbs as they have strict positional restrictions: most particles occur initially in the clause. One particle, *ngaba*, occurs initially in a finite subordinate clause. Particles are discussed in 7.5.2.

3.1.2.3 Clitics

Clitics can be distinguished from other non-inflecting word classes as they are bound forms; they can not stand alone as words. There are three clitics in the corpus, *=miji*, *=nima* and *=minyī*. *=miji* (glossed 'INFER') indicates that the speaker considers the proposition to be probable or possible, but does not know for sure whether or not it is actual; it is an unrestricted clitic and is always encliticised to the initial word of the clause. *=nima* (glossed 'JUST') can be translated by English words such as 'just', 'only'

and 'still'. It is a restricted clitic which usually occurs with nominals, although can also occur with verbs. The other clitic =*minyi* (glossed 'AGAIN') is only used with verbs and means 'again'. It is encliticised to the verb over which it has scope. These three clitics are discussed and exemplified in 7.5.1.

3.1.2.4 Interjections

There are only a small number of interjections in Wambaya. Interjections can constitute a complete utterance on their own and are therefore distinguished from word classes such as adverbs and particles. Examples of interjections in Wambaya include *gunku* 'I/we don't know', *guyala* 'no, nothing' and *alima* 'OK, goodbye'.

Note that *guyala* is the only root in Wambaya that is a member of more than one word class. It is both an interjection meaning 'no, nothing' and a particle functioning to negate a clause, as in *guyala nguda yarru* 'I didn't go'. Interestingly Evans (1985) gives *warirra* 'nothing' as the only Kayardild word that may belong to more than one word class, serving both as a nominal and an interjection (p.47).

3.2 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

3.2.1 Core functions, adjuncts and complements

Grammatical relations (or grammatical functions), such as subject, object, indirect object, complement and adjunct, are important in describing many syntactic and morphological processes in Wambaya. While these functions all have close associations with semantic roles, the semantic roles are not necessarily invariant; a particular grammatical function may be associated with one semantic role with one verb, and with a different semantic role with another. The role of grammatical functions therefore, is to provide the link between the surface morphological and/or syntactic structure and the semantic level at which lexical predicates select arguments with specific semantic roles (Bresnan 1982:288).

Distinctions can be made within the grammatical functions according to two main parameters: whether or not the function is subcategorisable by a verb, and whether the function is semantically restricted, or semantically unrestricted.⁴⁸ The criterion of subcategorisability separates adjuncts from other types of grammatical relations. Adjuncts are never subcategorised for and can potentially occur with any verb. Adjuncts are semantically transparent in that an adjunct's meaning is consistent and predictable and is not affected by the verb with which it may occur.

Among the subcategorisable functions, namely subject, object, indirect object and complements, a distinction can be made according to whether or not the function is semantically restricted (ie. is only ever linked to a semantic argument having a particular semantic role) or semantically unrestricted (ie. can be linked to any type of argument) (Bresnan 1982:293-294). Thus we can distinguish core functions (subject, object, indirect object) from complements on this basis. Core functions are always subcategorisable and are semantically unrestricted in that their meaning (ie. their semantic role) is dependent upon the verb of which they are an argument. Thus, the subject of one verb may have the semantic role of agent, but that of another may be a perceiver or an undergoer. Similarly semantic roles such as patient, perceived entity and location may all be paired with the grammatical function of object subcategorised for by different verbs. Complements on the other hand, although subcategorisable⁴⁹, are

⁴⁸This terminology and the system of classification of grammatical relations is taken from Bresnan (1982:287).

⁴⁹Note that there is a slight difference here in the use of the word 'subcategorisable'. The subcategorisability of complements is different than that of core functions in that core functions are generally obligatory (ie. a transitive verb has an obligatory subject and object) while complements are

more closely linked with specific semantic roles and have a consistent and predictable way of contributing to the meaning of the sentence (Andrews 1985:92). Complements, therefore, form the middle ground so to speak, between semantically transparent and non-subcategorisable adjuncts on the one end and semantically non-transparent and subcategorisable core functions on the other.

Some examples and a brief discussion of the types of complements and adjuncts found in Wambaya follows. As the core functions are always subcategorised for, and are directly related to the verb of which they are an argument, they are discussed in 7.2 which deals with the syntax of simple verbal clauses, and verb argument structures.

Complements have invariant meanings which are related to, and easily characterised in terms of, their case marking. Yet, unlike adjuncts, they can combine with only certain verbs, and would therefore be part of a full dictionary entry for their governing verb. A verb such as *junmi* 'cut' can take a complement indicating the instrument used (3-17); motion verbs such as *bardgu* 'fall' and *yarru* 'go' can take a complement in the allative case (3-18) or the ablative case (3-19) denoting the direction or source of the movement; and a verb such as *didbidbunga* 'argue with' can have a complement in the dative case denoting the topic or cause of the action (3-20).

(3-17) Junmi wurlu-ngg-a jabarrini-ni.
cut(nF) 3duA-RR-nF knife:I:nAbs-LOC
They cut each other with a knife.

(3-18) Bardgu g-a jamba-nmanji.
fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst ground:IV:nAbs-ALL
He fell to the ground.

(3-19) Yarru ng-amany marlu-nnga.
go(nF) 1sgS-P:twds far-ABL
I came from a long way.

(3-20) Didbidbunga ngirri-ngg-a-n gijilulu-nka bungmanya-nka.
argue.with(nF) 1plexcA-RR-nF-Pr money:IV:nAbs-DAT old.woman:II:nAbs-DAT
We're arguing about the old woman's money.

Some verbs subcategorise for 'subject complements' - secondary predicates subcategorised for by the verb and agreeing in case, number and gender with the subject. An example of this is the verb *manku* in its sense 'to feel' which subcategorises

more often optional (ie. a verb of motion can have an optional ablative or allative complement indicating the source or the direction of the motion).

for a reflexive object and a subject complement denoting the state of affairs of the subject:

- (3-21) Manku ngi-ngg-a baginga.
 feel(nF) 1sgA-RR-nF bad:II(NOM)
 I feel no good.

Like complements, adjuncts have consistent meanings which remain unaffected by the nature of the verb with which they occur. However, unlike complements, adjuncts are not selected by verbs and can potentially co-occur with any type of verb in a clause. Typical examples of adjuncts include locative phrases (3-22), temporal phrases (3-23), benefactive dative phrases (3-24) and secondary predicates (3-25).

- (3-22) Ngaj-bi ngi-ny-a munjungu-nu.
 see-nF 1sgA-2O-Pst shade:IV:nAbs-LOC
 I saw you in the shade.

- (3-23) Ngijininima irri-ngg-i daguma-j-ba.
 tomorrow 3plA-RR-Fut fight-TH-Fut
 Tomorrow they will fight.

- (3-24) Yany-bi ng-a marnugujama alag-uli-ja.
 get-nF 1sgA-Pst conkerberry:III(ACC) child-DUAL:nAbs-DAT
 I got the conkerberries for the two children.

- (3-25) Mirra ngi ilijbirna.
 sit(nF) 1sgS(Pres) alone:II(NOM)
 I'm sitting alone.

A clause can contain more than one complement (3-26), more than one adjunct (3-27) or a mixture of complements and adjuncts (3-28)⁵⁰.

- (3-26) Junku g-a jalyu-nmanji
 jamba-nkanyi.
 crawl(nF) 3sgS-Pst bed:IV:nAbs-ALL ground:IV:nAbs-PERL
 He crawled along the ground to the bed.

- (3-27) Bungmaji g-a yarru manganyimi-nka ngurra.
 old.man:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst go(nF) tucker:III:nAbs-DAT 1plincObl
 The old man has gone for tucker for us.

⁵⁰I have not tested the limits of these combinations. For example, what is the limit on the number of non-core functions that can occur within a clause? And is it possible to have the complete set of dative functions within the one clause? eg. I talked to the woman (indirect object) about language (complement) for money (adjunct).

(3-28) Yabu gama gujiga-nmanji manganyimi-nka!
 have(Fut) sg:IMP:away mother:II:nAbs-ALL tucker:III:nAbs-DAT
 Take him to (his) mother for some tucker!

Because their meanings can be easily described in terms of their case marking, adjuncts and complements are discussed in Chapter 4 which deals with nominals and noun phrases.

3.2.2 Defining subject, object and indirect object

Following are the properties by which subjects, objects and indirect objects can be characterised and identified in Wambaya.

Subject⁵¹

- (i) Subject NPs take either the ergative case (A) or the nominative case (S).
- (ii) In a main verbal clause or a finite subordinate clause, the subject is represented by a bound pronoun in the first position in the auxiliary.
- (iii) In a non-finite subordinate clause the subject is the pivot and is obligatorily omitted, being identical to a core argument of the main clause (see 8.2).
- (iv) In a simultaneous non-finite subordinate clause in which the verb is inflected with the nominal suffix *-ni*, the main clause subject is that which is co-referential with the (omitted) subordinate clause subject.
- (v) In a reduced conjoined clause the subject is the pivot and is omitted, being co-referential with the subject of the preceding clause (see 8.3)⁵².

Object

- (i) Object NPs take the accusative case.
- (ii) First and second person objects are represented by a bound pronoun in the second position in the auxiliary. (Third person objects are not registered in the auxiliary, see 5.2).

⁵¹Note that this discussion does not help to identify or define the properties of a subject in a verbless clause. There are often difficulties with formally identifying the subject in such clauses (eg. see Morphy (1983) on Djapu), see 7.1.

⁵²Note that in a non-reduced conjoined clause, the subject can be identified from the auxiliary (as in (i)).

- (iii) The main clause object is that which is co-referential with the (omitted) subject of a simultaneous non-finite subordinate clause in which the verb is inflected with the infinitive suffix *-barda/-warda* (see 8.2).

Indirect object

The evidence for indirect object is considerably weaker than that for subject and object. Indirect objects are marked with the dative case and are never represented in the auxiliary and are thereby distinguished from subjects and objects. The only way that indirect objects can be distinguished from dative adjuncts and complements is that they are subcategorisable and semantically unrestricted, and are thereby core functions. It may be possible to distinguish indirect objects from dative adjuncts and complements due to the fact that indirect objects can feed reciprocal constructions (see 3-29 and 3-30). Unfortunately however, the present corpus lacks the data needed to exemplify this satisfactorily: (3-31) shows only that a dative adjunct can't feed a reflexive construction, but does not necessarily prove that it couldn't feed a reciprocal construction (as in 'they cooked each other meat', for example).

- (3-29) Ngarl-wi irri irra.
 talk-nF 3plS(nPst) 3plObl
 They're talking to them.

- (3-30) Ngarl-wi irri-ngg-a.
 talk-nF 3plA-RR-nF
 They're talking to each other.

- (3-31) Yabu ny-u nganga angarri-nka.
 have(Fut) 2sgA-Fut 2sgObl corroboree:IV:nAbs-DAT
 You'll keep it for yourself for a corroboree.

Chapter 4 NOMINALS

4.1 THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOMINAL WORD

The structure of the nominal word is⁵³:

Root + (deriv) + (adnom) + (number) + gender# + ([Gen + gender*]) + (case)

deriv	=	A derivational suffix (4.5)
adnom	=	The propriative suffix (4.4.1.10), privative suffix (4.4.1.11) or 'origin' suffix (4.4.1.12)
Gen	=	The genitive suffix (4.4.1.9)

* This gender slot must agree with the gender of the possessed noun.

The only situation in which this slot is not obligatory is when the dual number suffix is present.

Note that there are no examples in which case marking follows the genitive suffix although such constructions are accepted by speakers as grammatical. There are also no examples in which a derivational suffix is followed by an adnominal suffix, although it is conceivably possible in a word such as *?yugu-warli-ngunya* 'cry-AGNT-PROP:II(NOM)' meaning '(woman) having a crying (child)'.

Although there is not an example in which all of these slots are filled, the following few examples attest to the above ordering and degree of complexity.

ROOT + ADNOM + NUMBER + GENDER + CASE:

(4-1) Gijilulu-nguj-bali-ni-ni.
money-PROP-PLURAL-I:nAbs-LOC
The men with money (ergative/locative).

ROOT + DERIV + NUMBER + GENDER + CASE:

(4-2) Ngara-barli-marnda-nga-ni.
drink-AGNT-PLURAL-II:nAbs-LOC
The women drunks (ergative/locative).

ROOT + GENDER + GEN + GENDER:

(4-3) Bungma-nyi-niganka (maga).
old.man-I:nAbs-GEN:IV (camp:IV(NOM))
The old man's (camp) (nominative).

⁵³Note that this template does not represent the structure of demonstratives or pronouns. These nominal subtypes are discussed in 4.6 and 4.8 respectively.

Some of the adnominal and number suffixes are inconsistent as to the form of the nominal that they take as their stem. While most suffixes are attached to the root of the nominal, there are some examples in which such suffixes take the citation form of the nominal, including the gender suffix, as their stem. For example the number suffix -*rdarra* 'GROUP' (see 4.3.3.4) always follows gender marking, unlike other number suffixes which must precede gender marking (see 4-1 and 4-2 above):

- (4-4) Garngu-nya-rdarra.
 many-II:Abs-GROUP(NOM)
 A big group (of women) (nominative).

Other suffixes, such as the proprietive suffix, attach to the root of some nominals (4-5) and to the citation form of others (4-6). It is possible that the root functions as stem when the gender of the 'base' nominal is unimportant. It may therefore be possible to have alternative forms of (4-5) such as *ala-ji-ngunya* 'child-I:Abs-PROP:II(NOM)' meaning 'female with boy child' and *ala-nga-ngunya* 'child-II:Abs-PROP:II(NOM)' meaning 'female with girl child'. This is something that needs to be checked in the field.

- (4-5) Alag-unya.
 child-PROP:II(NOM)
 Female with child.
- (4-6) Mangany-ma-ngunya⁵⁴.
 tucker-III:Abs-PROP:II(NOM)
 Female with tucker.

These examples suggest that the above nominal template should include a provision in the root slot for another optional gender marker, with the restriction that it is only filled by some nominals that contain either the proprietive or privative suffix, or when the -*rdarra* number suffix is present. The revised nominal word template would then be as follows:

[Root (+gender)] + (deriv) + (adnom) + (number) + gender + ([Gen + gender]) + (case)

with the same conditions and abbreviations given above.

4.2 GENDER

⁵⁴Note that this is an example of gender stacking. In this nominal gender is marked twice: the inner gender suffix has scope over the 'base' nominal (*mangany-* 'tucker') and the outer gender suffix has scope over the whole derived nominal. Another example of gender stacking in Wambaya is in the possessive demonstrative forms (see 4.6.1). Gender stacking has also been discussed for Bantu (eg. Melcuk (no date)).

Nouns in Wambaya are divided into four grammatical genders⁵⁵ (or noun classes), marked by suffix. All nominal modifiers must agree with the gender of the noun that they modify although unlike nouns, they have no inherent gender of their own. This section discusses the different genders in general, and also deals with the gender marking that occurs with most nominals. The marking of gender on some nominals such as pronouns and demonstratives, to the extent that they differ from the marking of gender discussed here, is dealt with in the sections that discuss these modifiers (4.8 and 4.6 respectively).

The four genders are divided into two animate and two inanimate genders, which are then further divided, as follows:

A. Animate	
I. Masculine	
II. Feminine	
B. Inanimate	
III. Vegetable / Non-flesh food	IV. Residue /
Neuter	

In the following discussion, these will be glossed and referred to as Classes I, II, III and IV respectively.

The principles of gender assignment are primarily semantic, as the above labelling indicates. However, as with most noun classifying systems, a certain amount of gender assignment seems arbitrary, although it is possible that much of this apparent arbitrariness could be explained in terms of cultural and mythological considerations. The assignment of gender is considered in more detail below.

The gender system in Wambaya makes a distinction between 'absolute' and 'non-absolute' gender suffixes. The 'absolute' suffix occurs in the nominative and accusative cases and in the citation form of the noun and the 'non-absolute' suffix occurs in all other cases, ie. before a non-zero case suffix. This distinction between absolute and non-absolute gender suffixes is discussed in more detail below.

The most common gender suffixes are given in Table 4.1 (see Table 4.3 for a full list). A more detailed discussion of gender marking is found in 4.2.2.

⁵⁵The use of this term, for what have more traditionally been referred to as noun classes, follows Corbett (1991).

Table 4.1 Common Gender Suffixes in Wambaya

		Abs	nAbs
Class I		-ji	-nyi
		-Ø	-ni
Class II	-nga	-rna	-nga
		-nya	-nya
Class III	-ma		-mi
Class IV	-Ø		-Ø
		-a	-i

I will first discuss the principles by which nouns are divided into the four genders in the language (4.2.1) and will then discuss the ways in which the gender of a noun is marked on the noun and its modifiers (4.2.2).

4.2.1 Gender Assignment

The assignment of gender in Wambaya is based primarily on the semantics of the noun. The details of gender assignment for each gender are considered in detail below.

Animate classes

The membership of Classes I and II is semantically based according to the following criteria:

- (i) All nouns with animate referents belong to one of these two classes. There are no animate nouns that belong to either of Classes III or IV.
- (ii) All nouns referring to male humans belong to Class I and all nouns referring to female humans belong to Class II.
- (iii) Where a gender distinction is made for non-human animate nouns, the noun with the male referent will belong to Class I and the one with the female referent will belong to Class II.

As (iii) suggests, for some non-human animates it is possible to make a gender distinction with one form belonging to each class⁵⁶. For example:

janji	male dog (I)
janya	female dog (II)

However, most non-human animate nouns have a 'fixed' gender; they are classified consistently as either Class I or Class II regardless of sex. Whether there are cultural and/or mythological explanations for the classification of such animals, or whether the choice is semantically arbitrary, is unknown. Some examples are:

	Class I		Class II		
	garrgalyi	plains lizard	gulangunya	blue	tongue
lizard	mimarri	snake (generic)	bubuyirna	children's python	
	mamanggi	snail	majigina	crab	
	gululyi	maggot	mugunjana	louse	
	barnanggi	bird sp.	wirrilgarra	cockatiel	

It is worth noting that the terms for 'wild honey' or 'sugarbag' are included in the animate classes, and a distinction is made according to 'gender'⁵⁷. These terms do not seem to refer to the bees themselves; *warnnganji* 'fly' (I) is used instead.

wawunji	"boy-one sugarbag" (I)
wawunya	"girl-one sugarbag" (II)

While all animate nouns have either Class I or Class II gender, not all nouns of either Class I or Class II gender are animate. Thus, there is a 'leak' (Corbett 1991:13) from the semantic residue or neuter gender (Class IV) into Classes I and II. Most of these inanimate nouns refer to natural events or celestial bodies:

Class I	Class II
galyurringi water	galyurrungurna
rain ⁵⁸	

⁵⁶Although both gender forms are possible, the Class II (female) form is usually quite marked and it is the Class I form which is used with general reference, or if the gender is unknown or unimportant.

⁵⁷I asked why it is that one type is considered male and the other female and was told only that the male type is found high up in a tree and the female type is found on the ground. Although this explains how the two types differ, it does not provide any insight into the gender classification.

⁵⁸It is a common feature of all of the West Barkly languages that the word for 'rain' is the feminine form of the word for 'water'. Compare:

	Class I		Class II	
J	ibilga	water	ibilgirni	rain (Chadwick 1975:123)
Ng	nguwi	water	nguwirna	rain (Chadwick 1971:39)
G/B	nguwi	water	nguwirna	rain (Chadwick 1978:382, 387)

manganyma	tucker, bread
burnaringma	wild orange
jigama	wild yam
ngamandurruma	wild banana

Certain body part nouns also have Class III gender (all others are members of either Class I or Class IV). The majority of Class III body part nouns seem to have in common the fact that their shape is of a rounded nature:

bunyma	arse
jarndama	chin, beard
mabuluma	navel
galama	nose
lurranyma	testicles
juruma	stomach
gandaniyama	knee cap

For others this characteristic is not so obvious:

banjanganinma	tail
banduma	back
birnmanma	throat

However, some nouns referring to body parts with a rounded shape do not belong to Class III, such as *ngabulu* 'breast' (IV).

Class III also contains the nouns *gagama* and *ngangama*, both meaning 'faeces, shit'.

Class IV is the semantic residue class; it contains all of the nouns whose gender is not assigned on the basis of a positive semantic criterion (Corbett 1991:13). Therefore, Class IV contains all of the inanimate nouns that have not already been mentioned in the discussion of the membership of other genders. For example, all terms referring to and related to non-edible plants, rocks, features of the landscape, fire, most tools, language, European objects, etc. belong to Class IV. Some examples are:

darrangu	tree	
ilyirrga	leaf	
murlurru	turpentine tree	
namirra	stone	
maga		country, camp
ngangaba	fire	
balamurru	spear	
ngarlana	language	

danya	clothes
narunguja	car, vehicle

There are two examples in the corpus of plants with two forms: one for the fruit (belonging to Class III) and one for the tree (belonging to Class IV):

burnaringma	wild orange (fruit) (III)	burnariga	wild orange (tree) (IV)
marnugujama	conkerberry (fruit) (III)	marnuguja	conkerberry (tree) (IV)

For all other fruit trees I was given the same term that is used to refer to the fruit (and which therefore belongs to Class III).

Table 4.2 gives a brief description of the types of nouns that belong to each gender:

Table 4.2 Gender assignment

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
	male humans	female humans	most non-flesh food	trees, plants
	male animals	female animals	some body parts	most body parts
	kangaroos		(mostly round)	language
	most reptiles	few reptiles	faeces	
	rocks			
	some birds	some birds		
	landscape			
	most other	few other		fire
	creatures	creatures		most
tools	honey	honey		
	European objects			
				...
	moon	sun		
	REMAINDER			
	star	rain		
	water	lightning		
	cloud	bag		
	boomerang	needle		
	hook			
	few body parts			

The reptiles that are known to belong to Class I are: *bagarrinji* 'lizard sp.', *burrgunji* 'frog', *burrulyi* 'tadpole', *gaburri* 'left hand lizard', *ganburri* 'snake sp.', *garrgalyi* 'plains lizard', *gunbi/mankunyi* 'blanket lizard', *jurrugarri/mangirriji* 'plains goanna', *mardumbarra* 'saltwater crocodile', *mayinanji* 'goanna', *mimarri* 'snake (generic)', *nguluwayi* 'king brown snake' and *warriji* 'freshwater crocodile'. Those that are known to belong to Class II are: *bubuyirna* 'python', *gangbirna* 'gecko',

gulangunya/milirrbarna 'blue tongue lizard', *jalabanya* '(slippery?) lizard' and *judangunya* 'water snake'.

The birds that are known to belong to Class I are: *barnanggi* 'hobby(?)', *burriji* 'bird sp.', *dalwarranji* 'diver duck', *darrmanji* 'brolga', *danidani* 'dollar bird', *didilayi* 'kite', *dirdibulyi* 'peewee', *galunji* 'black kite', *garninyanji* 'bush turkey', *garrgarrgayi* 'chickenhawk', *garrinji* 'jabiru', *iburraji* 'magpie', *gurrgunji* 'owl', *janbalyi* 'bird sp.', *jirrbilijirrbili* 'cuckoo', *ngadijirri* 'budgerigar', *nganyanggali* 'brown goshawk', *nyinimirri* 'finch', *wagalamarri* 'crow', *walanybirri* 'pelican', *warlidaji* 'magpie goose' and *wirringarri* 'barn owl'. Those that are known to belong to Class II are: *barraala* 'white cockatoo', *burrunjuna* 'quail', *danmurrana* 'kingfisher', *ganbagaguna* 'heron', *garnanganjana* 'emu', *gilyinkilyida* 'galah', *gulugugurna* 'diamond dove', *gulugulinya* 'tawny frogmouth', *gunawurruna* 'partridge pigeon', *ilarrarna* 'eaglehawk', *indilyawurna* 'curlew', *jibilyawuna* 'duck', *jindirrijbirrinya* 'willy wagtail', *jugujuguna* 'fantail', *larrana* 'spinifex pigeon', *lirrada* 'black cockatoo', *marrababina* 'peaceful dove', *wirrilgarra* 'cockatiel' and *yagurragurrana* 'native hen'.

Other creatures that are known to belong to Class I are: *dajbidajbi* 'grasshopper', *gaguwi* 'fish', *ganybulanyi* 'cat', *garruji* 'big black spider', *gudingi* 'rat', *gululyi* 'maggot', *jagugayi/nguyiminji* 'freshwater mussel', *magami* 'leech', *mamanggi* 'snail', *marawunji* 'spider', *wardbaji* 'butterfly', *warnganji* 'fly' and *wurumbumbi* 'dragon fly'. Those that are known to belong to Class II are: *burruburrurna* 'caterpillar', *majigina* 'crab', *mugunjana* 'louse', and *nyilangunya/wayimila* 'echidna'.

Many of these gender classifications are common for Australian languages: 'sun' is often feminine and 'moon' often masculine; 'echidna' is commonly feminine as is 'emu', and 'shit' commonly belongs to the vegetable class. For discussions of noun classification in other Australian languages see for example Dixon (1972 and 1982), Harvey (no date) and Evans (to appear) among many others.

4.2.2 Gender Marking

This section will discuss the marking of gender on nouns and their modifiers in Wambaya. See Appendix B for a comparative discussion of gender marking in the languages of the Mindi group.

Class III is the only gender which has a single suffix that is consistently present on all members of the gender. For other genders there are a number of different suffixes, and it is not always straight-forward to determine the form of the gender suffix on any given

noun. Table 4.3 lists all the gender suffixes found on nouns and their modifiers. The conditioning environments of phonologically conditioned allomorphs are given in the table. Suffixes in smaller font are less common and occur on only a small number of forms.

Table 4.3 Gender marking in Wambaya

	Abs		nAbs	
Class I	-ji	\C__	-nyi-	\j, ny__
			-ngi-	\g, ng__
			-di-	
	-Ø	\V__ (•) \i__ (*)	-ni-	\V__
			-di-#	
			-na-#	
	-i* -yi*	\a, u__ (*)	-ni-	\V__
Class II	-nya	\j, ny__ -nya-	\j, ny__	
	-nga	\g, ng__	-nga-	elsewhere
	-rna	elsewhere	-nga-	elsewhere
			-ga-#	
	-rda•		-nga-	elsewhere
	-Ø•		-nga-	elsewhere
Class III	-ma		-mi-	
Class IV	-Ø		-Ø-	
	-a	\i__ (*) -i-		
	-ja*	\j, ny__ (*)	-ji-*	
	-ga*	after other Cs	-gi-*	
	-wa*		?	

Occurs with kinship nouns only.

* Occurs with nominal modifiers and nominal suffixes only.

• Occurs with nouns only.

Gender suffixes on nominal modifiers and nominal suffixes (eg. *-baja-* 'PRIV') are easily identified with the comparison of the different gender forms. The gender suffixes on nouns, however, are not always obvious from the form of the noun, but can be identified with the use of three tests which isolate the gender suffix from the root of the noun. These three tests involve (i) the comparison of related forms belonging to different genders, (ii) the comparison of absolute and non-absolute forms and (iii) the comparison of singular forms and forms with the dual suffix⁶¹.

(i) The comparison of related forms belonging to different genders

Some nouns can belong to more than one gender. For example, many human nouns and some higher animate nouns have Class I and Class II counterparts, according to the sex of the referent. And a couple of Class III nouns referring to types of fruit have

⁶¹Note that any of the nominal suffixes that attach to the root of the nominal, such as the privative suffix or the plural suffixes, could be used instead of the dual suffix with the same results.

Class IV counterparts that refer to the tree on which the fruit is found. Where such related pairs exist, comparison of the two forms allows for the isolation of the root and the identification of the gender suffix. Some examples of Class I and Class II correspondences are:

Class I		Class II	
ngajimiji	woman's SS	ngajiminya	woman's SD
bungmaji	old man	bungmanya	old woman
alaji	boy	alanga	girl
marndaji	white man	marndanga	white woman
abajabaji-Ø	crazy person (male)	abajabajirna	crazy person (female)
marunki-Ø	male countryman	marunkirna	female countryman
ngarrinybi-Ø	male friend	ngarrinybirna	female friend

The two examples given above of the Class III and Class IV counterparts are repeated here.

Class III		Class IV	
burnaringma	wild orange (fruit)	burnariga ⁶²	wild orange (tree)
marnugujama	conkerberry (fruit)	marnuguja-Ø	conkerberry (tree)

(ii) The comparison of absolutive and non-absolutive forms of the noun

A non-absolutive suffix replaces the absolutive suffix on the noun⁶³. Thus, a comparison of the absolutive and non-absolutive forms of a noun can help to identify the gender suffixes:

Non-Absolutive Form		Absolutive Form	
indilyawunga-	<	indilyawurna	curlew (II)
gulangunya-	<	gulangunya	blue tongue lizard (II)
yangadi-	<	yangaji	meat (I)
gaguwini-	<	gaguwini-Ø	fish (I)

(iii) The comparison of the singular and dual forms of a noun

The dual suffix (morphophonemically *-bulu*) is usually added to the root of a noun (minus the gender suffix). Thus the dual form of a noun can provide evidence as to the root of the

⁶²The alternation in the final consonant of this root can be explained by normal morphophonemic processes whereby a stop becomes a nasal when followed by a suffix with initial /m/ (see 2.3.4.2).

⁶³Note that this is usually the case for all nominals, the one exception being the Class I non-absolutive suffix *-ni* when it occurs with Class I modifiers. In just this case the non-absolutive suffix is added to the absolutive form of the noun, therefore it does not replace the absolutive suffix:

gunyi-i other-I:Abs > *gunyi-ni* other-I:nAbs

noun which, when compared with the singular form, allows for the identification of the gender suffix:

Dual form		Singular form	
jany-bulu	<	jan ji	dog (I)
ilarra-wulu	<	ilarr arna	eaglehawk (II)
gaguwi-yulu	<	gaguwi- Ø	fish (I)

This test, however, is not as solid as the previous two, since there is a certain amount of inconsistency as to whether the dual suffix attaches to the form of the noun minus the gender suffix, or to the form of the noun which includes the gender suffix. For example, the dual suffix always attaches to the full citation form of a Class III noun, including the gender suffix:

Singular form		Dual form
jigama yam (III)	>	jigama-wulu

See 4.3.2.1 for a discussion of the dual suffix.

Looking at the three nouns *abajabaji* 'crazy person' (I), *bungmaji* 'old man' (I) and *nayida* 'woman' (II) we can see how these three tests for identifying gender suffixes interact.

<i>abajabaji</i>		crazy person (I)
(i) abajabaji	>	abajabaji rna crazy person (II)
(ii) abajabaji	>	abajabaji ni- crazy person:I:nAbs-
(iii) abajabaji	>	abajabaji-yulu crazy person-DUAL

Tests (i) and (ii) shows that the Class II suffix and the non-absolute suffix (respectively) are attached to the citation form of the noun, thereby suggesting that the gender suffix in this form is zero. Test (iii) confirms this analysis since the dual suffix is again attached to the citation form of the noun. Thus, all tests suggest that there is no overt gender suffix included in the Class I absolute form, the gender suffix being -Ø.

<i>bungmaji</i>		old man (I)
(i) bungmaji	>	bungma nya old woman (II)
(ii) bungmaji	>	bungma nyi- old man:I:nAbs-
(iii) bungmaji	>	bungmaj-bulu old man-DUAL

Test (i) shows that the suffix that differentiates *bungmaji* from its Class II counterpart is *-ji* and test (ii) supports this as it shows that the non-absolutive suffix replaces the final *-ji* of the Class I absolutive form. However, test (iii) shows that the root of the noun is in fact *bungmaj-*, which would suggest that the gender suffix in the absolutive form is *-i*. However, the morphophonemic rule which requires that one consonant be omitted from a sequence of two identical consonants (see 2.3.5) means that *bungmaj- + -ji* would be realised as *bungmaji*. Thus, test (iii) does not contradict the results of tests (i) and (ii) which show the absolutive gender suffix to be *-ji*.

nayida woman (II)

- (i) N/A (there is no Class I form with the same root)
(ii) *nayida* > *nayidanga-* woman:II:nAbs-
(iii) *nayida* > *nayida-wulu* woman-DUAL

Both applicable tests show the absolutive gender suffix of this noun to be *-Ø*.

Having described the ways in which gender suffixes can be identified, the next issue to consider is the distribution of the different allomorphs. As Classes I and II have the largest number of allomorphs, I will discuss them first, and will then discuss the gender marking on Class IV nouns.

The distribution of some of the Class I and II allomorphs is predictable on phonetic grounds, while other allomorphs appear to be lexically conditioned. The Class I and II allomorphs from Table 4.3 above are repeated here.

	Abs		nAbs	
Class I	<i>-ji</i>	\C__	<i>-nyi-</i>	\j, ny__
			<i>-ngi-</i>	\g, ng__
			<i>-di-</i>	
	<i>-Ø</i>	\V__ \i__	<i>-ni-</i>	\V__
			<i>-di-</i>	
			<i>-na-</i>	
Class II	<i>-i</i>	\a, u__	<i>-ni-</i>	\V__
	<i>-yi</i>			
	<i>-nya</i>	\j, ny__	<i>-nya-</i>	\j, ny__
	<i>-nga</i>	\g, ng__	<i>-nga-</i>	elsewhere
	<i>-rna</i>	elsewhere	<i>-nga-</i>	elsewhere
			<i>-ga-</i>	
	<i>-rda</i>		<i>-nga-</i>	elsewhere
	<i>-Ø</i>		<i>-nga-</i>	elsewhere

The common Class II absolutive allomorphs and the common non-absolutive allomorphs for both Classes I and II are phonologically conditioned on the basis of

assimilation of the nasal to the place of articulation of the preceding consonant (ie. the final consonant of the root). Thus:

Class II absolutive:	UR = <i>-rna</i>		
-rna	>	-nya	\ j, ny ____
	>	-nga	\ g, ng ____
	>	-rna	elsewhere
Class I non-absolutive:	UR = <i>-ni-</i>		
-ni-	>	-nyi-	\ j, ny ____
	>	-ngi-	\ g, ng ____
	>	-ni-	elsewhere
Class II non-absolutive:	UR = <i>-nga-</i>		
-nga-	>	-nya-	\ j, ny ____
	>	-nga-	elsewhere

This allomorphic variation is shown in the following examples in which the dual form of the nominal is provided as evidence for the form of the root and the underlying allomorphs are given between percentage signs.

'Old person': root *bungmaj-*

	DUAL	I:Abs	I:nAbs -ji	II:Abs	II:nAbs %-ni-%	%-
rna%	%-nga-% bungmaj-bulu bungmanya-	bungmaji	bungmanyi-		bungmanya	

'White person': root *marndag-*

	DUAL	I:Abs	I:nAbs -ji	II:Abs	II:nAbs %-ni-%	%-
rna%	%-nga-% marndag-bulu	marndaji ⁶⁴	marndangi-	marndanga	marndanga-	

'Crazy person': root *abajabaji-*

	DUAL	I:Abs	I:nAbs -Ø	II:Abs	II:nAbs %-ni-%	%-
rna%	%-nga-% abajabaji-yulu abajabajinga-	abajabaji-Ø	abajabajini-		abajabajirna	

'PLURAL': root *-guny-*

⁶⁴For a discussion of the morphophonemic processes by which the final consonant of the root is dropped see 2.3.5.

	DUAL	I:Abs	I:nAbs -ji	II:Abs	II:nAbs %-ni-%	%-
rna%	%-nga-%					
	N/A		-gunji		-gunyi-	-
gunya	-gunya					

'AGNT': root *-barli-*

	DUAL	I:Abs	I:nAbs -Ø	II:Abs	II:nAbs %-ni-%	%-
rna%	%-nga-%					
	-barli-yulu	-barli-Ø	-barlini-	-barlirna	-barlinga-	

This pattern of allomorphic alternation holds for most of the nominals and nominal suffixes for which there is sufficient data in the corpus. However there are some nouns which have, for example, the Class II suffix *-nya* in their citation form, but for which there is no evidence that the root has a final palatal consonant (although there is also no evidence that it doesn't). An example of such a noun is *gulangunya* 'blue tongue lizard' (II). It would be necessary to obtain the data on such nouns required to apply the tests discussed above to determine the form of the root.

There are a few other Class II nouns which have the *-nya* absolutive suffix, but for which it would seem (on the basis of the Class I counterpart) that the root does not have a final palatal consonant. All of these examples are of kinship nouns and, as there are other examples of kinship nouns behaving differently with respect to gender marking (see below), these are not considered to invalidate the rules of distribution of allomorphs outlined above. Some examples of these nouns are:

Class I	Class II
gugu-Ø MMB	gugunya MM
barnga-Ø male cross cousin	barnganya female cross cousin
ganggu-Ø FF	ganggunya FFZ

The Class I absolutive allomorphs are mostly phonologically conditioned. For clarity of exposition I will begin with a discussion of the two allomorphs that occur with nouns, *-ji* and *-Ø*, and will then relate the allomorphs *-i* and *-yi* which are found only with modifiers and nominal suffixes.

The distribution of the two Class I allomorphs for nouns is as follows:

- ji after consonant final roots
- Ø after vowel final roots

Examples are *bungmaji* and *abajabaji* respectively, given above.

One of the striking features about the -Ø Class I gender suffix is that almost all of the forms that take this suffix have final /i/. Some examples are:

barnanggi	bird sp.
burrulyi	tadpole
dirdibulyi	peewee
abajabaji	crazy person (male)
marunki	male countryman
ngarrinybi	male friend
galyurringi	water
wardangarri	moon
gaguwi	fish
gudingi	rat
juguli	boomerang
wardangarri	moon
gayini	who/what
-barli-	AGNT

If the Class I suffix *-ji* originally had an allomorph *-yi* which occurred after a vowel final root (note that lenition of /j/ to /y/ between vowels is common in Wambaya - see 2.3.1), the existence of a final /i/ and no overt gender suffix in the above forms could be due to a coalescence of the gender suffix with the root such that the final vowel of the root and the initial semi-vowel of the suffix (*-yi*) were elided, resulting in the /i/ final modern day forms. This hypothesis is advantageous as it helps to explain two things: (i) why it is that all of the forms that take the -Ø absolutive gender suffix take the *-ni* non-absolutive suffix, while those that take the *-ji* gender suffix do not; and (ii) why it is that almost all of the forms taking the -Ø absolutive gender suffix are /i/ final. According to this hypothesis, (i) is explained by the fact that these forms had vowel final roots which conditioned the use of the non-absolutive suffix *-ni*, while nouns that had consonant final suffixes took the absolutive suffix *-ji* and a non-absolutive suffix in which the initial nasal of *-ni* assimilated to the place of the final consonant of the root. And (ii) is accounted for by the fact that the original allomorph that occurred with vowel final roots, *-yi*, has coalesced with the root, and been absorbed in the modern day form which now appears to have no overt absolutive gender suffix.

The distribution of Class I allomorphs on modifiers and nominal suffixes supports this analysis. With these nominals the allomorph -Ø occurs only with /i/-final roots and the allomorph *-i* is found with other vowel final roots. Thus:

Root		Class I form	Gloss
-barli-	>	-barli-Ø	AGNT

gurijbi-	>	gurijbi-Ø	good
gunya-	>	gunyi	other
-baja-	>	-baji	PRIV
mundurru-	>	mundurri	short, little

The analysis given above accounts for this allomorphy in the following way. Modern day forms with /i/ final roots now appear to have a zero Class I suffix as the coalescence of original *-yi* with the vowel of the root (/i/) has yielded the same form as the root. Roots with other final vowels, however, now appear to have the Class I suffix *-i* as the final vowel of the root and the semi-vowel of the original suffix *-yi* have elided, leaving only the vowel /i/ of the suffix to mark Class I gender.

Other evidence for an original Class I allomorph *-yi* is the fact that it has been preserved in two Class I adjective forms (note that these forms are now synchronically irregular):

Root		Class I form	Gloss
garna-	>	garna-yi	long
buga-	>	buga-yi	big

and that one old man (POK) preserves it in the Class I noun *mardumbarra*- 'saltwater crocodile', pronouncing it *mardumbarrayi*. For all other speakers this noun has a zero absolutive gender suffix and is pronounced *mardumbarra*.

Although there is potential for some interesting historical investigations here, for the purposes of this synchronic analysis I have not posited an underlying Class I absolutive allomorph and in Table 4.3 have simply listed each allomorph separately.

The Class I and II gender suffixes not yet covered by this discussion are the Class I non-absolutive suffixes *-di* and *-na*, the Class II absolutive suffixes *-rda* and *-Ø*, and the Class II non-absolutive suffix *-ga*. These suffixes are all rather uncommon and cannot be accounted for phonologically on the basis of any information contained in the corpus.

The Class I non-absolutive suffix *-di* is found with the noun *yangaji* 'meat':

Absolutive form	Non-absolutive form
yangaji	yangadi-

and with a few masculine kinship nouns that have a *-Ø* absolutive suffix (note that this non-absolutive suffix has also been heard with the retroflex stop /rd/):

	Absolutive form	Non-absolutive form	Gloss
cousin	barnga-Ø	barngadi-	male cross
	gari-Ø	garidi-	husband
	ganggu-Ø	ganggudi-	FF

This suffix, along with the *-rda* absolutive suffix found on some Class II kinship nouns (see below), may be related to the wide-spread kinship affix **-rti* discussed by Nash (1992).

The Class II absolutive form *-rda* is found with only a few nouns in the corpus such as *gambarda* 'sun' and *gujinganjarda* 'mother'. A number of female kinship terms have an alternative form that contains this suffix:

gugunya	gugurda	MM
ngayijinya	ngayijirda	FM
gambaranya	gambararda	MZ
jaminjilinya	jaminjilirda	MFZ

The Class II absolutive suffix *-Ø* occurs with only a few nouns, such as *nayida* 'woman' and *wirrilgarra* 'cockatiel'. That this is the absolutive gender suffix for *nayida* was exemplified above. Following are dual and non-absolutive forms for *wirrilgarra* which show that it too has a zero absolutive gender suffix.

Dual form	Non-absolutive form
<i>wirrilgarra-wulu</i>	<i>wirrilgarranga-</i>

The other two non-absolutive suffixes as yet undiscussed, *-na* (Class I) and *-ga* (Class II), are found only on kinship nouns. These two non-absolutive suffixes condition the irregular ergative/locative suffix *-yi* (see 4.4.1.3), but otherwise take regular case suffixes. Following is the list of kinship nouns in the corpus that take one of these non-absolutive suffixes:

-na Class I non-absolutive:

Absolutive form	Non-absolutive form	Gloss
jugu	juguna-	
MB		
baba	babana-	
elder brother		
irda	irdina-	
father		
gagulu	gaguluna-	
younger brother		

-ga Class II non-absolutive:

	Absolutive form	Non-absolutive form	Gloss
	gugunya	guguga-	MM
	gujinya	gujiga-	
	mother		
	babanya	babaga-	elder
sister	jajilinya	jajiliga-	D
(m ego), BD (f ego)	gulinya	guliga-	D (f
ego), ZD (m ego)	ngayijinya	ngayijiga-	FM
	irdinya	irdiga-	FZ

The discussion so far has concentrated on Class I and Class II gender suffixes. The Class III gender suffixes are straightforward as they are consistent on all members of the class, but there is some variation in the gender suffixes for Class IV. For the large part, Class IV nominals are not formally marked in either the absolutive or the non-absolutive. This is shown by the following dual and non-absolutive forms for a few Class IV nouns and modifiers:

<i>darranggu</i>	tree:IV:Abs			
	darranggu-wulu	tree-DUAL	darranggu-	tree:IV:nAbs-
<i>lagija</i>	coolaman:IV:Abs			
	lagija-wulu	coolaman-DUAL	lagija-	coolaman:IV:nAbs-
<i>gujarra</i>	two:IV:Abs			
	gujarra-wulu	two-DUAL	gujarra-	two:IV:nAbs-
<i>-baja</i>	PRIV:IV:Abs			
	-baja-wulu	PRIV-DUAL	-baja-	
	PRIV:IV:nAbs-			

However, there are a small number of Class IV nominals which appear to have an overt gender suffix *-a*. The evidence for the existence of this suffix is that it is replaced in the non-absolutive form with the suffix *-i*:

	mag-a	camp-IV:Abs	mag-i-nmanji	camp-IV:nAbs-ALL
	iligirr-a	river-IV:Abs	iligirr-i-nnga	river-IV:nAbs-
ABL				

However, there is no synchronic evidence for the existence of *mag-* or *iligirr-* as a root. For example, the dual suffix attaches to the absolutive form of the noun:

maga-wulu	camp-DUAL
iligirra-wulu	river-DUAL

The absolutive suffix *-a* is also present in the Class IV noun *burnariga* 'wild orange tree', as shown by comparison with the Class III counterpart *burnaringma* 'wild orange (fruit)', and it is the Class IV suffix used with /i/-final modifiers/suffixes:

Root	Class IV form	Gloss
-barli-	barl-a	AGNT
gayini	gayin-a	who/what
guriybi-	guriyb-a	good

The other Class IV absolutive gender suffixes: *-ga*, *-ja* and *-wa*, are only found on modifiers and nominal suffixes. The palatal initial allomorph, *-ja*, occurs with palatal final roots:

-guny-	PLURAL	>	-gun ja	PLURAL:IV:Abs
garnguj-	many	>	garng uja	many:IV:Abs

And the velar initial allomorph *-ga* appears with roots ending with any other consonant:

murrgun-	three	>	murr gunga	three:IV:Abs
bagig- ⁶⁵	bad	>	bagi ga	bad:IV:Abs

In the non-absolutive case these suffixes become *-ji-* and *-gi-* respectively.

The Class IV absolutive suffix *-wa* is found with only two adjectives: *garnawa* ⁶⁶ 'long:IV:Abs' and *buguwa* 'big:IV:Abs'. These two adjectives are unusual in many respects: they both take an irregular Class I absolutive suffix *-yi* (discussed above), the Class II form of each of them is formed by adding the Class II suffix to the Class I form rather than to the root, and the Class III form of each of them is formed by adding the Class III suffix to the Class IV form, rather than to the root.

Root	Gloss	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
------	-------	---------	----------	-----------	----------

⁶⁵The fact that this root has a final velar consonant is attested only by the fact that the Class II form takes the allomorph *-nga* which appears with velar final roots. There is no independent evidence that this is the root although the fact that it takes the *-ji* Class I absolutive allomorph (*bagiji*) and the *-ga* Class IV absolutive allomorph supports the fact that the root ends in a consonant.

⁶⁶In Wambaya this form is actually *garnaa*, although it is *garnawa* in Gudanji. The elision of a semi-vowel between two identical vowels is common in Wambaya (see 2.3.2) and there are many examples in which a word containing a long vowel in Wambaya has a medial semi-vowel in Gudanji (see 2.1.4).

garna-	long	garnayi	garnayirna	garnawama	garna(w)a
buga-	⁶⁷ big	bugayi	bugayirna	buguwama	buguwa

For the purposes of clarity and simplicity, I will not segment the roots and gender suffixes in the examples in this thesis. Instead, I will specify the morphological structure in the interlinear glosses in the way that it has been done in the above discussion. For example:

bungmanyi-	old.man:I:nAbs-
bungmanya-	old.woman:II:nAbs-

To avoid cluttering, I will omit the gloss ':Abs' before the gloss for a zero case suffix (which is given in parentheses). Thus, *bungmaji* in the nominative case will be glossed 'old.man:I(NOM)' rather than 'old.man:I:Abs(NOM)'. Wherever there is no specification as to whether the gender suffix is 'Abs' or 'nAbs' (as in the example above), it can be assumed to be 'Abs'.

4.2.3 Odd Agreement

The usual case is for a Class I noun to require Class I agreement on a modifier, a Class II noun to require Class II agreement, and so on. However, there are times when the gender of a modifier does not agree with the gender of the noun that it modifies. Examples of this 'odd agreement' can be classified into two different types: 'unmarked gender agreement' and 'natural semantic agreement'.

Natural semantic agreement

This is the less common of the two types of odd agreement. As the name implies, in this type of agreement the gender of the modifier agrees with the natural semantic 'gender' of the noun (Class IV), rather than the grammatical gender to which the noun belongs (Class I or Class II). What is interesting about this type of agreement is that, while it is made by speakers in casual speech, it is generally judged ungrammatical when repeated back to them. Thus, it would seem that this agreement is not 'good' or 'proper' Wambaya, though found in informal speech.

Two examples of this type of agreement involve the nouns *wawunji* 'honey, sugarbag' (I) and *bayigina* 'bag' (II). These are inanimate nouns which belong to animate noun classes. In the following examples a Class IV modifier occurs with these nouns, thus

⁶⁷Note that the final vowel of this root becomes back before the /w/ in the Class III and Class IV forms.

agreeing with the inanimate semantics of the noun, rather than the animate grammatical gender.

- (4-9) Aliyulu ng-a bulyungu wawunji.
 find(nF) 1sgA-Pst little:IV(ACC) sugarbag:I(ACC)
 I found a little sugarbag.
- (4-10) Yany-ba yaniyaga bayigina guguga-nka!
 get-Fut that:IV:sg:ACC bag:II(ACC) MM:II:nAbs-
 DAT
 Get that bag for granny!

When repeated, both of these examples were given with modifiers that agree with the grammatical gender of the noun:

- (4-11) Aliyulu ng-a bulyingi wawunji.
 find(nF) 1sgA-Pst little:I(ACC) sugarbag:I(ACC)
 I found a little sugarbag.
- (4-12) Yany-ba naniyaga bayigina guguga-nka!
 get-Fut that:II:sg:ACC bag:II(ACC) MM:II:nAbs-
 DAT
 Get that bag for granny!

Unmarked Gender Agreement

It appears that Class IV is the unmarked inanimate gender and that Class I is the unmarked animate gender. The evidence for this is that Class III nouns often occur with Class IV modifiers, and that Class I is always used to refer to mixed animate groups, or in situations where the sex of the referent is unknown. Thus, these two genders appear to be considered more 'unmarked' or 'basic' than the others and therefore have a wider distribution of concord. Unlike the natural semantic agreement discussed above, these examples are grammatically acceptable. In fact, in the case of the animate classes, the use of Class I agreement in mixed or unknown situations is obligatory. In the case of the inanimate classes, either Class III or Class IV agreement can occur in a given example, although Class III agreement is often said to be more correct.

Evans (1991) discusses a similar type of agreement in Mayali. Interestingly however, in Mayali the unmarked inanimate gender is the vegetable class (Class III) instead of the neuter class (Class IV) as in Wambaya (p.110).

Class IV modifiers can be used to modify both Class III and Class IV nouns. Some examples are:

- (4-13) Jiya-j-ba yana manganyma
 naniyaga.
 give-TH-Fut this:IV:sg:ACC tucker:III(ACC)
 that:II:sg:ACC
 Give this tucker to that woman.
- (4-14) Yaniyaga burnaringma ng-a
 nawu.
 that:IV:sg:ACC wild.orange:III(ACC) 1sgA-Pst step.on(nF)
 I stood on that (wild) orange.

It is even possible for one modifier to have Class III agreement and another Class IV:

- (4-15) Ngarrga manganyma mamiyaga.
 1sgPOSS:IV(NOM) tucker:III(NOM) that:III:sg:NOM
 That's my tucker.

These Class III nouns however, can also be modified completely by Class III modifiers:

- (4-16) Ngarrima manganyma mamiyaga.
 1sgPOSS:III(NOM) tucker:III(NOM) that:III:sg:NOM
 That's my tucker.
- (4-17) Buguwama mamiyaga burnaringma.
 big:III(NOM) that:III:sg:NOM wild.orange:III(NOM)
 That's a big orange.

Class I is unmarked for the animate classes and is therefore used when the NP denotes a mixed group of males and females:

- (4-18) Garnguji juwarramba nayirrundurna.
 many:I(NOM) men:I(NOM) women:II(NOM)
 Lots of men and women.

and when the gender of the referent is unknown:

- (4-19) Gunyini-nka gi bundurri-jbi.
 other:I:nAbs-DAT 3sgS(Pres) full-INCH:nF
 She's pregnant with another (child).

Note however that despite its unmarked status, Class I agreement can never occur when the NP refers to females only.

4.3 NUMBER

The number of a nominal can be indicated either with the use of a number marking suffix (dual and plural only), or with a separate numeral modifier; or sometimes both. I will discuss each number in turn, first the suffix and then the free form numeral.

Singular number is morphologically unmarked. A singular nominal occurs in its citation form, with any necessary case suffixes simply added.

- As mentioned above, this singular form is also used for general number and is thus used in general constructions that are unmarked for number (4-21 and 4-22); can be used in plural constructions (4-23); and can (less frequently) be used in dual constructions (4-24).

- (4-24) Aliyulu ng-a yagama janga ngarrga.

find(nF) 1sgA-Pst that:IV:sg:ACC foot:IV(ACC) 1sgPOSS:IV(ACC)
I found my (two) shoes.

If it is necessary to clearly specify that a nominal is singular, the free form numeral *garndawuga*- 'one' can be used. The use of this numeral ensures that the general reading is not possible:

(4-25) **Garndawuga** ngiy-a wankurradi marrgulu.
one:IV(ACC) 3sgnmascA-Pst lay(nF) egg:IV(ACC)
She laid one egg.

4.3.2 Dual

4.3.2.1 The dual suffix

Dual marking (either in the form of the dual suffix, or the numeral *gujarra*- 'two') is usually obligatory when semantically required. The dual suffix has two main allomorphs: *-bulu* with consonant final roots and *-wulu* with vowel final roots. According to the morphophonemic processes of elision and assimilation described in 2.3.2 and 2.3.4.1 respectively, *-wulu* becomes *-yulu* after a final /i/ and *-ulu* (optionally) after a final /u/. The dual suffix attaches to the root of both Class I and II nouns (which may also be the citation form) (4-27) and to the citation form of Class III and Class IV nouns (4-26). It attaches to the root of nominal modifiers and suffixes. Gender is not marked with the dual suffix; this is true for both nouns and for their modifiers. If the speaker wants to specify the gender of a dual-inflected noun it is necessary to use modifiers such as demonstratives which inherently express gender (4-26). Some examples of the dual suffix are:

(4-26) Yany-ba ng-u darranggu-**wulu**.
get-Fut 1sgA-Fut stick-DUAL(ACC)
I'll get two sticks.

(4-27) Naniyawulu bungmaj-**bulu**
wurlu-n yarru.
that:II:du:NOM old.person-DUAL(NOM) 3duS(nPst)-Pr
go(nF)
Those two old women are coming.

There is one very common and irregular dual form in the corpus: *alag-ulu* 'child-DUAL'. This form is irregular in that the dual allomorph is *-ulu* rather than *-bulu*, which would be the expected form with a consonant final root. The irregular use of this allomorph is probably due to a simplification of the consonant cluster /gb/ which would

4.3.2.1.1 Case marking and the dual suffix

(4-28) Jany-**buli-ji** wurlu-ng-a nyurrunyurru.
 dog-DUAL:nAbs-LOC 3duA-1O-nF chase(nF)
 Two dogs chased me.

4.3.2.2 The numeral *gujarra-*

The use of some form of *gujarra-* in a dual noun phrase is fairly common. The effect of using *gujarra-*, instead of simply a dual-inflected noun on its own, seems to be one of emphasis on the duality of the NP, although the use of *gujarra-* in such cases is not nearly as emphatic and marked as the use of *garndawuga-* 'one' in singular NPs.

There are two 'versions' of *gujarra-* : one which is inflected with the dual suffix (and is used with nouns of all genders), and one which is inflected for gender (agreeing with the gender of the noun it modifies) and is not inflected for dual number. The different forms of *gujarra-* are given in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Forms of *gujarra-*

	'dual version'	'gender version'
Class I	gujarrawulu	gujarri
Class II	gujarrawulu	gujarrarna
Class III	gujarrawulu	gujarrama
Class IV	gujarrawulu	gujarra

Gujarra- takes the regular dual suffix and regular gender suffixes (see 4.2.2).

These two 'versions' of *gujarra-* are in free variation to a certain extent (and are described as such by Chadwick (1978:197)), although there is a strong tendency for the 'dual version' to be used when the noun also has dual marking and for the 'gender version' to be used when the noun does not have dual marking. Some examples are:

- (4-30) **Gujarrawulu** **alag-ulu** **ngi** **yabu.**
two(ACC) child-DUAL(ACC) 1sgA(Pres) have(nF)
I have two kids.
- (4-31) **Gujarrawulu** **marndag-bulu** **inuwuliyaga.**
two(NOM) white.person-DUAL(NOM) that:I.du:NOM
There are two white men.
- (4-32) **Gujarrarna** **nyilangunya** **ng-a** **yany-bi.**
two:II(ACC) echidna:II(ACC) 1sgA-Pst get-nF
I got two echidnas.
- (4-33) **Gujarri juguli** **gini-n** **yabu.**
two:I(ACC) boomerang:I(ACC) 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr
have(nF)
He has two boomerangs.

The above four examples exemplify the two most common cases: either both the numeral and the noun have the dual suffix (4-30 and 4-31), or neither do (4-32 and 4-33). However, the other two logical possibilities are possible (although rare). Thus, the numeral can have dual marking while the nominal does not:

- (4-34) **Gujarrawulu** **jigama** **ng-a** **yany-bi.**
two(ACC) yam:III(ACC) 1sgA-Pst get-nF
I got two yams.

or the nominal can have dual marking while the numeral does not (although note that this is a slightly different construction in that the nominal appears to have been 'fronted').

- (4-35) **Juguli-yulu,** **gugarri** gini-n
 yabu.
 boomerang-DUAL(ACC) two:I(ACC) 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr
 have(nF)
 He has two boomerangs (or maybe: Boomerangs, he has two (of them)).

The numeral can also occur alone in the NP, without the noun that it refers to. Either of the versions can be used in this type of construction:

- (4-36) **Gujarrawulu** ng-a yabu.
 two(ACC) 1sgA-Pst have(nF)
 I had two (sticks).

- (4-37) **Gujarra** ng-a aliyulu.
 two:IV(ACC) 1sgA-Pst find(nF)
 I found two (eggs).

4.3.2.3 The use of singular for dual

Example (4-24) above gave an example of the use of singular nominals in dual NPs. There are another two rather similar examples in the corpus in which a dual noun phrase is treated formally as if it were singular. In both of these examples the dual number of the NP is quite clear from the semantics of the whole phrase. These noun phrases are probably best translated as 'pair of X':

- (4-38) Dirdibila iniyaga juguli!
 clap:Fut that:I:sg:ACC boomerang:I(ACC)
 Clap the (pair of) boomerangs!
- (4-39) Dirdibila yaniyaga danmuga!
 clap:Fut that:IV:sg:ACC clapping.stick:IV(ACC)
 Clap the (pair of) clapping sticks!

Thus, it would seem that the singular form can be used in dual NPs when the referents of the NP form a natural pair as do shoes (4-24), clapping sticks and boomerangs (in the context of clapping them together).

4.3.3 Plural

(4-40)	Gagulu- marndi y.brother-PLURAL:I(NOM) The brothers.				
(4-41)	Ngaj-barli- marndarna see-AGNT-PLURAL:II(NOM) Those women are staring (at me).	nanagunya. this:II:pl:NOM			
(4-42)	Jany- bali . dog-PLURAL:I(NOM) The (male) dogs.				
(4-43)	Murrgun- balarna ngarli-ni. three-PLURAL:II(NOM) SIMUL:SS The women are sitting talking.	irri-n 3plS(nPst)-Pr		mirra sit(nF) talk-	

Table 4.6 shows the distribution of the plural suffixes in my corpus. As the use of these plural suffixes is relatively uncommon (it is more common to indicate plurality with the use of the free form numeral *garnguj-* 'many', with which the noun can just occur in its unmarked form (see 4.3.3.3)), the list is not extensive. Within my corpus, *-marnda-* occurs after vowels and *-bala-* after consonants.

Table 4.6 Distribution of plural suffixes.

		-marnda-			-bala-	
		gagulu	y.brother	garnguj-	many	
		marunki	country man		jany-	
	dog					
		iriyiliji	father		marndag-	white
person						
		ilijbi		alone		
	gujiny-	mother				
		ngarri-	1sgPOSS	ngayang-	3sgfemPOSS	
		-baja-		PRIV		-
nguj-		PROP				
		gurijbi-	good		murrgun-	three
		gunya-	other			
		-barli-		AGNT		

Irregular plural forms

There are a few irregular plural forms in the corpus:

(4-50) Garnguji g-a gingga-bi.
 many:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst drown-nF
 Many drowned.

(4-51) Garnguji ini gi-n yarru.
 many:I(NOM) this:I:sg:NOM 3sgS(Pres)-Pr go(nF)
 Many (of them) are going.

4.3.3.4 -*rdarra* 'GROUP'

The suffix *-rdarra* is slightly different than the other plural suffixes in that, as well as indicating plural number, it expresses a notion of collectiveness, or a defined group and is usually best translated into English with the phrases 'all of' or 'a/the group of'. *-rdarra* has just one allomorph which occurs with nominals of all genders. It is suffixed to the full citation form of the nominal, following the absolutive gender suffix. Unfortunately, all of the examples that I have of this suffix are in either the nominative or the accusative case so it is not possible to tell whether case marking follows or precedes *-rdarra*. For the purposes of this thesis I will assume that case marking follows *-rdarra*, as it does with all other number suffixes.

(4-52) Gannga ngirr-iba banjani Wambaya-**rdarra**.
 return(Fut) 1plexcS-nP:away back wambaya-
 GROUP(NOM)
 All of us Wambaya people are going to go back (home).

(4-53) Yarru irr-aji alaji-**rdarra**.
 go(nF) 3plS-Hab:Pst boy.I:Abs-GROUP(NOM)
 All the men used to go.

This suffix can also be used with *garnguj-* to emphasise the fact that it is a big group:

(4-54) Garnguji-**rdarra** irri-n mirra narunguji-nka.
 many:I:Abs-GROUP(NOM) 3plS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF) car:IV:nAbs-
 DAT
 A big group of people are sitting (waiting) for the bus.

(4-55) Yarru irr-aji garngunya-
 rdarra.
 go(nF) 3plS-Hab:Pst many:II:Abs-
 GROUP(NOM)
 A big group (of women) used to go.

In Jingili *rdarra* is a free form that can be placed after a noun to mark plurality (Chadwick 1975:16). The fact that it is a free form in Jingili may explain why it is that it follows gender marking in Wambaya, rather than inflecting for gender itself (as number suffixes usually do).

4.4 NOMINAL CASE MORPHOLOGY

4.4.1 Form and function of cases

The forms of the Wambaya case suffixes are given in Table 4.9. These suffixes occur with all types of nominals except for free pronouns and singular demonstratives. These nominal subtypes inflect slightly differently for case and are discussed in 4.8 and 4.6 respectively. A detailed discussion of the functions of each case and any allomorphic variation follows the table.

Wambaya is a 'split-ergative' language: free pronouns have a nominative/accusative system of case marking and all other nominals have an ergative/absolutive case marking system. Although there is no nominal which makes a three-way case marking distinction, following Goddard (1982) the system as a whole can be seen to be tripartite on the basis of the interaction between the two case marking systems. Thus, there are three core cases: (i) that for which the citation form of either a pronoun or an 'other' nominal can be substituted (S), (ii) that for which either the citation form of a pronoun or a marked 'other' nominal can be substituted (A) and (iii) that for which either a marked pronoun or the citation form of an 'other' nominal can be substituted (O). Following Goddard (1982) these cases will be referred to as nominative, ergative and accusative respectively. The following discussion concerns case marking on 'other' nominals; free pronouns are discussed in 4.8.

Table 4.9 Wambaya Case Suffixes

Case (GLOSS)	Forms	Distribution of allomorphs
NOMinative	-Ø	All
environments		
ACCusative	-Ø	All
environments		
ergative/LOCative	-yi	Some kinship
nouns		
	-ji	The dual number
suffix		
	-ni	All other
environments		
	-nu	Optional after <i>u</i> -
final stems (in free		
variation with <i>-ni</i>)		
DATive	-ja ~ -janka	The dual number suffix

variation)		(in	free
~ -ngga	All other environments		-nka
variation)		(in	free

[continued next page]
[Table 4.9 cont.]

ALLative	-nmanji	All environments	
ABLative	-ngani		
Directional/locational nominals			
	-nnga	All	other
environments			
COMITative	-mbili	All	
environments			
PERLative	-nkanyi	All environments	
GENitive*	-nigan-	After <i>i</i> - final stems	
	-nugan-	After <i>u</i> - final stems	
	-nagan-	After <i>a</i> - final stems	
PROPriative*	-uj-	After <i>g</i> -	final
stems			
	-nguj-	All	other
environments			
PRIVative*	-aja-	After <i>a</i> -	final
stems (in free variation			with
-waja-)			
	-yaja-	After <i>i</i> -	final
stems			
	-waja-	After	other
vowel final stems			
	-baja-	After	consonant
final stems			
ORIGin*	-iny-	All	
environments			

*These suffixes inflect for gender. Only the uninflected root is shown here.

4.4.1.1 Nominative case

The nominative case is always marked with a zero suffix and primarily functions to mark intransitive subject. Some examples are:

- (5-56) Alaji-Ø gi-n yugu.
boy:I:Abs-NOM 3sgS(Pres)-Pr cry(nF)
The little boy is crying.
- (5-57) Bungmanya-Ø g-a yandu
nganga.

old.woman:II:Abs-NOM 3sgS-Pst wait(nF) 2sgObl
The old woman waited for you.

The nominative case is also used in the function of address:

- (5-58) Junmi-j-ba nyu-ng-u, baba-Ø!
 cut-TH-Fut 2sgA-1O-Fut e.brother:I:Abs-NOM
 Cut my (hair), brother!

As with all zero suffixes, the nominative zero case suffix is usually not included in the example sentences in this thesis. Its presence, however, is signalled by its interlinear gloss, given in parentheses. For simplicity, the ':Abs' of the gloss of the gender suffix is not included before the nominative case gloss. Thus, *baba'e.brother:I(NOM)* represents *baba-Ø 'e.brother:I:Abs-NOM'*.

4.4.1.2 Accusative case

The accusative case marks transitive object. It is always marked with a zero suffix. Some examples are:

- (5-59) Ngaj-bi ng-a lunggaji-Ø
 gulug-barda.
 see-nF 1sgA-Pst policeman:I:Abs-ACC sleep-INF
 I saw the policeman sleeping.
- (5-60) Waliyulu irr-a marrgulu-Ø.
 find(nF) 3plA-Pst egg:IV:Abs-ACC
 They found (some) eggs.

As with the nominative case suffix, the accusative case suffix is not usually included in the example sentences in this thesis, but is represented in the interlinear glosses in parentheses. The ':Abs' of the gloss of the gender suffix is not included before the gloss for the accusative case suffix. Thus, *marrgulu 'egg:IV(ACC)* represents *marrgulu-Ø 'egg:I:Abs-ACC'*.

4.4.1.3 Ergative/Locative/Instrumental case

There is one case that covers all of the ergative, locative and instrumental functions. This case suffix is consistently glossed 'LOC' and is referred to in discussion as the 'ergative/locative' case. 'LOC' has been chosen to gloss this case suffix as the locative function seems more semantically basic: extensions of locative to instrumental (eg. Pitjantjatjara (Blake 1977:44)) and of instrumental to ergative (eg. Kune (Nick Evans, p.c.) are widely attested, but it seems more unlikely that an ergative suffix would have

been extended to cover locative functions. Although there is formally just one case, the ergative, locative and instrumental functions can be distinguished from each other on functional and syntactic grounds. This is discussed in more detail below.

The Jaminjung languages also have one case morpheme which covers all three of ergative, locative and instrumental functions (Hoddinott and Kofod 1976:397). In Ngaliwuru and Jaminjung the basic form is the same as in Wambaya: *-ni*. In Nungali, in which the situation is a little more complicated, the most common forms of the ergative/locative case affix are either the prefix *nyi-* or the suffix *-ni* (Hoddinott and Kofod 1976:397).

Wagaya, a language spoken immediately to the south-east of Wambaya, also has one form which is used for ergative, instrumental and locative cases (Breen 1976:340), although this suffix (*-ŋ* or *-dy*) is very different in form from the Wambaya suffix. And in Warumungu (spoken immediately to the south of Wambaya) the ergative case marks instrumental and locative functions (Simpson and Heath 1982:20).

Chadwick (1976:393) suggests that in an earlier stage of the West Barkly languages, nouns may not have been marked for ergative function and that the modern ergative (/locative) case suffixes may have developed from a gender marker of a third person element in the noun phrase. The fact that *-ni* is also a common Class I non-absolutive gender suffix in Wambaya may lend some support to this theory, as does the fact that both Jingili (Chadwick 1975:16-17) and Nungali (Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod 1971a:68-69) have portmanteau forms that mark both gender and case. While Wambaya makes a distinction in the gender suffixes between absolutive case and non-absolutive case, in Wambaya, unlike in Jingili and Nungali, it is necessary to also affix a separate case suffix to these gender suffixes.

One difficulty with the analysis of one case covering all three of ergative, locative and instrumental case functions is that there are no examples of free pronouns in the locative function and it is therefore not known whether they too collapse these three functions into the one case category. If it is found that free pronouns formally distinguish locative and ergative cases, this should be extended to the class of nominals as a whole, and the above analysis will have to be changed such that there are two distinct ergative and locative cases which have homophonous case suffixes. For the purposes of this thesis however, I will consider there to be just one ergative/locative case and will gloss it 'LOC'. Among the free pronouns however, I will gloss the ergative form 'ERG' as there is no evidence that it can also mark locative function.

a) Form

The ergative/locative suffix has 4 allomorphs with *-ni* being the basic, general form. Of the other three allomorphs, one is phonologically conditioned (*-nu*) and two are morphologically conditioned, occurring in very restricted environments.

The allomorph *-nu* follows *u* -final stems. Its occurrence is optional in this environment; it is equally as acceptable to use the regular form *-ni*. Thus:

- (4-61) Ngabulu-**nu** ngiyi-ng-agba dawu
 murlu.
 milk:IV:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-1O-IRR:Fut bite(nF)
 eye:IV(ACC)
 The sap might sting my eyes.

BUT

- (4-62) Darrangu-**ni** ngiyi-ng-a irrijabi.
 stick:IV:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-1O-nF scratch(nF)
 The stick scratched me.

The ergative/locative suffix *-ji* is only found after the dual suffix. There does not seem to be any phonological motivation for the irregular form of this suffix.

- (4-63) Bungmaj-buli-**ji** wurl-aji daguma
 juwarramba.
 old.person-DUAL:nAbs-LOC 3duA-Hab:Pst hit(nF) men:I(ACC)
 The old women had been killing all the men.

- (4-64) Barraala dunggala wurlu-n baba-wuli-**ji**.
 white.cockatoo:II(ACC) chase.away(nF) 3duA(nPst)-Pr e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-LOC
 LOC
 The two brothers are disturbing the white cockatoos.

- (4-65) Mirra ngi gayangga-ni
 darrangu-wuli-**ji**.
 sit(nF) 1sgS(Pres) top-LOC stick-DUAL:nAbs-LOC
 I'm sitting on two sticks.

Some kinship nouns condition an irregular ergative/locative allomorph: *-yi*. The occurrence of this allomorph is dependent on the form of the non-absolutive gender suffix of the kinship noun. Class II nouns which take the irregular non-absolutive gender suffix *-ga* and Class I nouns which take the irregular non-absolutive gender suffix *-na* condition the ergative/locative allomorph *-yi*.⁷⁰ All other kinship nouns take the regular ergative/locative suffix *-ni*. Some examples are:

- (4-66) Guguga-**yi** ngiy-a wugbardi
 ngarra.
 MM:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst cook(nF) 1sgObl
 Grandmother cooked (dinner) for me.
- (4-67) Juguna-**yi** gin-amany yabu.
 MB:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-P:twds bring(nF)

⁷⁰See 4.2.2 for a discussion of non-absolutive gender suffixes and a list of kinship nouns taking irregular forms.

Uncle brought him.

Note that in fast speech, the sequence *-ga-yi* 'II:nAbs-LOC' can be reduced to *-gi*.

In all other environments *-ni* is the only ergative/locative allomorph that occurs.

b) Function

The ergative/locative case covers a large range of functions: from marking the subject of a transitive clause to marking the location of an event. The distinction between ergative, locative and instrumental functions can be made on functional and syntactic grounds. Functionally, the ergative function always marks the subject of a transitive or ditransitive verb; the instrumental function marks an instrument and the locative function marks the location or position of an entity or event. Syntactically, a NP in the ergative function is always represented in the auxiliary with a bound pronoun, while a NP in either the locative or instrumental functions is never represented in the auxiliary. The locative function can be distinguished from the instrumental function on the basis of co-occurrence restrictions: a NP in the locative function can include locational nominals such as *jangi* 'down' (4-77) and can be replaced with locative demonstratives such as *giliyaga* 'there', while a NP in the instrumental function can not.

The ergative function marks the subject of transitive and ditransitive verbs. An example of each is given below.

(4-68) **Gujiga-yi** **gurlaganga-ni** ngiyi-ny-a gurla yagu.
mother:II:nAbs-LOC 2duPOSS:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnascA-2O-nF 2duACC leave(nF)
Your mother has left you two.

(4-69) **Bungmanyi-ni** gini-ng-a jiyawu.
old.man:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgnascA-1O-nF give(nF)
The old man gave it to me.

The following examples demonstrate the use of the ergative/locative to mark instrument:

(4-70) Janji ng-a yurndu **guda-ni**.
dog:I(ACC) 1sgA-Pst hit(nF) stone:IV:nAbs-LOC
I hit the dog with a stone.

(4-71) Dudiyarri-j-ba ngu-ny-u **balamurru-nu**.
spear-TH-Fut 1sgA-2O-Fut
spear:IV:nAbs-LOC

I'm going to spear you with a spear.

- (4-72) Daguma ng-a wurla **darranggu-wuli-ji.**

hit(nF) 1sgA-Pst 3duACC stick-DUAL:nAbs-LOC
I hit them (two) with two sticks.

- (4-73) Wunjugu ny-u nij-bi **Wambaya-ni?**

how 2sgA-Fut sing-nF wambaya-LOC
How do you say it in Wambaya? [Lit: How do you sing (it) with Wambaya?]

The ergative/locative case suffix is used with a range of locative functions. The main locative function is to indicate the place or location of an entity or an event. Thus, it expresses a meaning usually expressed in English with the use of one of the prepositions 'in', 'at', 'on', etc. If further specification is needed as to orientation (eg. 'under', 'above') a locational nominal such as *jangi* 'down, below' or *gayangga* 'high, up, above' can be included (4-77). Some examples of the ergative/locative case in this function are:

- (4-74) **Gumayangu-ni** wurl-aji andajarri galaa.
cave:IV:nAbs-LOC 3duA-Hab:Pst hide(nF) bone:IV(ACC)
They'd been hiding (all) the bones in a cave.

- (4-75) Gulug-bi g-a **magi-ni.**
sleep-nF 3sgS-Pst camp:IV:nAbs-LOC
He slept at camp.

- (4-76) Mirrang-ba **jamba-ni!**
sit-Fut ground:IV:nAbs-LOC
Sit on the ground!

- (4-77) Ngaj-bi ng-a **jangi galyurringini-ni.**
see-nF 1sgA-Pst down water:I:nAbs-LOC
I saw (it) under the water.

The ergative/locative case is also used with time nominals:

- (4-78) **Ngurraramba-ni** ng-u gulug-ba.
night-LOC 1sgS-Fut sleep-Fut
I will sleep in/during the night.

- (4-79) Gannga ng-ulama **garnumba-yarra-ni.**
return(Fut) 1sgS-nP:twds wet.season-NEXT-LOC
I will come back next wet season.

In the following example the use of the ergative/locative case expresses the duration of time:

- (4-80) **Gujarra-ni** ngi-n yandu nanga marndanyi-nka.
 two:IV:nAbs-LOC 1sgS(Pres)-Pr wait(nF) 3sgmascObl white.man:I:nAbs-DAT
 I've been waiting for the white man for two (days).

The ergative/locative case can also be used to express a comitative meaning. Note that this is possible despite the existence of a separate comitative case suffix (see 4.4.1.8).

- (4-81) Mirra ng-u **ngankagunya-ni.**
 sit(nF) 1sgS-Fut this:II:pl-LOC
 I'll sit with these women.

Like the dative and ablative suffixes (see 4.4.1.4 and 4.4.1.6 respectively), the ergative/locative suffix can be used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses. This use of the suffix indicates that the action/state described by the subordinate clause occurs simultaneously with that referred to by the main clause, and that the subjects of the two clauses are co-referential. In this case it is glossed 'SIMUL:SS' to indicate its significantly different function. One example is given below; for a more detailed discussion see 6.1.5 and 8.2.

- (4-82) Mirra ngirri-n **ngarli-ni.**
 sit(nF) 1plexcS(nPst)-Pr talk-SIMUL:SS
 We're sitting talking.

If a transitive subject NP is fronted then it does not have to have ergative/locative case marking. That the NP has been fronted in the following examples is shown not only by the absence of case marking, but also by the position of the auxiliary which is not in second position in the clause (see 5.4 for a discussion of the position of the auxiliary in the clause).

- (4-83) Inja darrangu, iyarrg-bi ngiyi-ny-a?
 which:IV(NOM) stick:IV(NOM) scrape-nF 3sgnmascA-2O-nF
 Which stick scraped you? [Lit. Which stick, it scraped you.]

- (4-84) Gagulinya ngarrirna, murrgunji ngiyi-n yabu.
 y.sister:II(NOM) 1sgPOSS:II(NOM) three:I(ACC) 3sgnmascA(Pres)-Pr have(nF)
 My younger sister has three (kids). [Lit. My younger sister, she has three (kids).]

4.4.1.4 Dative case

The dative case is used in a large variety of functions. It marks the indirect object of intransitive, semitransitive and some ditransitive verbs; purpose; beneficiary; and NPs marked in English with prepositions such as 'about' and 'until' (as in 'they're fighting about money', 'I'll leave it until tomorrow'). The dative suffix can also be used to mark possession, although there is also a separate genitive suffix (see 4.4.1.9). Except for with some ditransitive verbs (see 7.2.1.5), a dative NP is never represented in the auxiliary. Thus, indirect objects of semi-transitive verbs are not represented:

(4-86) Ayani g-a nganga.
look.for(nF) 3sgS-Pst 2sgObl
He looked for you.

The major allomorph of the dative suffix is *-nka*. This can also be pronounced *-ngka* with the initial nasal having assimilated to the place of articulation of the following velar stop. For examples of the use of *-nka* see (4-91) etc. below.

(4-87) Yany-bi ng-a marnugujama bungmaj-buli-**ja**.
 get-nF 1sgA-Pst conkerberry:III(ACC) old.person-DUAL:nAbs-DAT
 I got conkerberries for the two old people.

(4-89) Angbard-a gurl baba-wuli-**janka** ngaba wurlu gulug-ba.

build-Fut du:IMP e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-DAT THEN 3duS(nPst) sleep-Fut
 Make (a windbreak) for (your) brothers so that they can sleep.

- (4-90) Gaj-bi wurlu ganjimi alag-uli-**janka**.
 eat-nF 3duA(nPst) finish:nF child-DUAL:nAbs-DAT
 They eat all (the food) for the two children.

b) Function

i) Indirect Object

The dative case is used to mark the indirect object of semi-transitive verbs (4-91); the indirect object that occurs optionally with some intransitive verbs (4-92); the indirect object of some ditransitive verbs (other ditransitive verbs have two absolutive objects - see 7.2.1.5) (4-93); and the optional indirect object of some transitive verbs (4-94). For a detailed discussion of the argument structures of Wambaya verbs and a list of verbs belonging to each type, see 7.2.1.

- (4-91) **Juwa-nka** gi-n ayani
 babanya.
 man:I:nAbs-DAT 3sgS(Pres)-Pr look.for(nF)
 e.sister:II(NOM)
 (My) sister's looking for a man.

- (4-92) Durra ngi-n
 (**janyi-nka**).
 be.frightened(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr (dog:I:nAbs-DAT)
 I'm frightened (of the dog).

- (4-93) Janganja gini-ng-a ngurra **yangadi-nka** wagalamarrini-ni.
 ask(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-nF 1plincACC meat:I:nAbs-DAT crow:I:nAbs-LOC
 The crow's asking us for meat.

- (4-94) Andajarri irr-a (**alangi-nka**).
 hide(nF) 3plA-Pst (boy:I:nAbs-DAT)
 They hid (it) (from the boy).

ii) Purpose

- (4-95) Yarru g-any **ngangaba-nka**.
 go(nF) 3sgS-P:away wood:IV:nAbs-DAT
 He's gone for firewood.

- (4-96) Gannga ny-ulama **gijilulu-nka**.
 return(Fut) 2sgS-nP:twds money:IV:nAbs-DAT

You'll come back for money.

The dative suffix can also be used with verbs to indicate purpose or intended action (see 6.1.4 and 8.2 for a more detailed discussion of the use of the dative suffix with verbs). In this case it is glossed 'PURP' to indicate its substantially different function.

- (4-97) Ngankagunyani irri-ng-a nyurrunyurru **daguma-ji-nka.**
this:II:pl:LOC 3plA-1O-nF chase(nF) hit-TH-PURP
The women chased me to fight (me).

iii) Beneficiary

- (4-98) Wugbardi-j-ba ng-u manganyma **gujiga-nka**
cook-TH-Fut 1sgA-Fut tucker:III(ACC) mother:II:nAbs-DAT
I will cook some dinner for (my) mother.

- (4-99) Yany-bi ng-a marnugujama **alag-uli-ja.**
get-nF 1sgA-Pst conkerberry:III(ACC) child-DUAL:nAbs-DAT
I got the conkerberries for the two kids.

- (4-100) Yabu ny-uba nunaga **marndanyi-nka.**
take(Fut) 2sgA-nP:away this:I:sg:DAT
white.man:I:nAbs-DAT
You'll take it for the white man.

iv) 'about'

The dative case is used in Wambaya to express meanings that would be expressed in English by the preposition 'about'. In these examples the dative case is being used to indicate the reason or cause for the action/event.

- (4-101) Didbidbunga ngirri-ngg-a-n **gijilulu-nka**
argue.with(nF) 1plexcA-RR-nF-Pr money:IV:nAbs-DAT
bungmanya-nka.
old.woman:II:nAbs-DAT
We're arguing with each other about the old woman's money.

- (4-102) Ngarl-wi irri-n **bungmanya-nka.**
talk-nF 3plS(nPst)-Pr old.woman:II:nAbs-DAT
They're talking about the old woman.

- (4-103) Manngurru ngi-ngg-a **maliwa-nka** **jawarraja-nka.**
be.ashamed(nF) 1sgA-RR-nF big:IV:nAbs-DAT trousers:IV:nAbs-DAT
I'm embarrassed about his big trousers.

v) 'until'

The dative case is used with some time nominals to express the meaning of 'until':

(4-104) Gulug-ba gurl **ngijininima-nka.**
sleep-Fut du:IMP tomorrow-DAT
Sleep (here) until tomorrow.

(4-105) Yagu ng-a **marndiji-nka.**
leave(nF) 1sgA-Pst later-DAT
I left (it) until later.

vi) Possession

The dative suffix is often used to indicate possession, despite the fact that there is a separate genitive suffix (see 4.4.1.9). In this function, the dative suffix is affixed to the possessor.

(4-106) **Alangi-nka** yana jalyu.
boy:I:nAbs-DAT this:IV:sg:NOM bed:IV(NOM)
This is the boy's bed.

(4-107) Ngarl-wi ngi **ngarringa-nka** **guguga-nka** ngarlana.
talk-nF 1sgS(Pres) 1sgPOSS:II:nAbs-DAT MM:II:nAbs-DAT language:IV(ACC)
I speak my grandmother's language.

The case of the possessive phrase is marked only on the head noun; case suffixes do not attach to the dative suffix. While this is shown in examples such as (4-107) above, it is demonstrated more clearly when the possessive phrase is in a non-zero-marked case:

(4-108) Mirra ngi **gujinganjanga-mbili** **alangi-nka.**
sit(nF) 1sgS(Pres) mother:II:nAbs-COMIT boy:I:nAbs-DAT
I'm sitting with the boy's mother.

(4-109) Mirra ngi **jalyu-ni** **bungmanyi-nka.**
sit(nF) 1sgS(Pres) bed:IV:nAbs-LOC old.man:I:nAbs-DAT
I'm sitting on the old man's bed.

Note that the genitive suffix is also usually not followed by case suffixes (see 4.4.1.9).

(vii) Animate location

The dative suffix can be used to mark animate location or goal (although the allative suffix is more commonly used with this function, see 4.4.1.5).

- (4-110) Yarru ngurlu-n ginki **garngunyi-nka**.
 go(nF) 1duexcS(nPst)-Pr there many:I:nAbs-DAT
 We're going to that group (of people) over there.

4.4.1.5 Allative case

The allative case indicates direction towards an object, person or destination. It has only one allomorph: *-nmanji*.

The Gudanji form of the allative suffix is *-nma* as in:

Yarru gi-ma magi-**nma**.
 go(nF) 3sgS-Pst camp:IV:nAbs-ALL
 He went to the camp.

Some examples are:

- (4-111) Ngurluwani ngurlu yarru **nganggi-nmanji** **barrawu-nmanji**.
 1duexcNOM 1duexcS(nPst) go(nF) 2sgPOSS:IV:nAbs-ALL house:IV:nAbs-ALL
 We two are going to your house.

- (4-112) Bardgu g-a **murlu-nmanji**.
 fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst eye:IV:nAbs-ALL
 It fell into my eye.

- (4-113) Yarru gama **guguga-nmanji!**
 go(Fut) sg:IMP:away MM:II:nAbs-ALL
 Go to grandmother!

Some ditransitive verbs such as *yardi* 'put' and *bulugardi* 'soak' take an allative complement:

- (4-114) Garnguja ng-a yardi manganyma **nganggarrgi-nmanji**.
 many:IV(ACC) 1sgA-Pst put(nF) tucker:III(ACC) mouth:IV:nAbs-ALL
 I put too much food in my mouth.

- (4-115) Bulugardi ngi-n **galyurringini-nmanji**.
 soak(nF) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr water:I:nAbs-ALL
 I'm soaking in it water.

4.4.1.6 Ablative case

The ablative case has two allomorphs: *-ngani* with directional and locational nominals, and *-nnga* with all other nominals. The ablative case is used to indicate direction away from a location or object.

(4-116) Yarru g-amany **gagarra-ngani**.
 go(nF) 3sgS-P:twds east-ABL
 He came from the east.

(4-117) Ilanji gin-a dulanymi **jangi-ngani**
 cooked:I(ACC) 3sgmascA-Pst raise(nF) down-ABL
 He took out the cooked one from underneath.

(4-118) Yarru ng-amany **magi-nnga**
 go(nF) 1sgS-P:twds camp:IV:nAbs-ABL
 I came from camp.

(4-119) Milarra gi-n bard-bi
 murlu-nnga.
 tears:IV(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr run-nF eye:IV:nAbs-ABL
 Tears are falling from his eyes.

(4-120) Ngirra irr-a **ngarrgi-nnga**
 magi-nnga.
 steal(nF) 3plA-Pst 1sgPOSS:IV:nAbs-ABL camp:IV:nAbs-ABL
 They stole it from my camp.

The ablative case is sometimes used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses to indicate that the event of the subordinate clause occurred/existed before the event of the main clause. To mark this specialised function, in this case it is glossed 'PRIOR'. One example is given below, see 6.1.6 and 8.2 for a more detailed discussion of this use of the ablative suffix.

(4-121) Dulanymi nyi-ng-any **gulugi-nnga**.
 raise(nF) 2sgA-1O-P:away sleep-PRIOR
 You woke me up (from sleep).

4.4.1.7 Perlative case

The perlative case expresses the local meanings of 'across, along, through'. There is only one allomorph: *-nkanyi*.

(4-122) Milarra gi-n bard-bi
 wara-nkanyi.

tears:IV(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr run-nF face:IV:nAbs-
 PERL

Tears are running down (his) face.

(4-123) **Galami-nkanyi** nyi-n

ngarl-wi!

nose:IV:nAbs-PERL 2sgS(Pres)-Pr talk-nF

You're talking through (your) nose!

(4-124) Junku g-a jalyu-nmanji

jamba-nkanyi.

crawl(nF) 3sgS-Pst bed:IV:nAbs-ALL ground:IV:nAbs-PERL

He crawled along the ground to the bed.

(4-125) Ginkanyi ngurr-uba **garugi-nkanyi** yarru.
 this.way 1plincS-nP:away bush:IV:nAbs-PERL go(Fut)

We'll go this way through the bush.

4.4.1.8 Comitative case

The comitative case expresses accompaniment and has only one allomorph: *-mbili*. It is used only with animate nouns. Some examples are:

(4-126) Mirra ngi-n **gujiga-mbili** **irdina-mbili.**
 sit(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr mother:II:nAbs-COMIT father:I:nAbs-
 COMIT

I'm sitting with my mother and father.

(4-127) Gulug-bi g-a **marndanyi-mbili.**

sleep-nF 3sgS-Pst white.man:I:nAbs-COMIT

She slept with the white man.

Note that the locative case can also be used with this function (this example is repeated from above):

(4-81) Mirra ng-u **ngankagunya-ni.**
 sit(nF) 1sgS-Fut this:II:pl-LOC
 I'll sit with those women.

The suffix *-mbili* in Jingili is used to mark both locative and comitative case functions (Chadwick:1975:20).

4.4.1.9 Genitive suffix

The genitive suffix, along with the proprietive (4.4.1.10), the privative (4.4.1.11) and the origin (4.4.1.12) suffixes, is different from the case suffixes discussed above in that

it functions to relate one NP to another within one constituent (ie. has an adnominal function), as opposed to the case suffixes discussed above which have a 'relational' function in that they indicate the role of a NP within a simple clause (Dench and Evans 1988:2). Formally these suffixes differ from other case suffixes as they are inflected for gender and (except for the genitive) can themselves be inflected for case.

The genitive suffix marks the possessor of a possessive NP and agrees in gender with the possessed (head) noun. Almost all of the examples in the corpus have Class IV agreement, but there is one example of Class II agreement. The forms of the genitive suffix are *niganka* (IV) and *nigarna* (II). The first vowel of the suffix assimilates to the preceding vowel of the stem, giving the alternative forms *nuganka* and *naganka*. The genitive suffix is attached to the non-absolute gender form of the noun. Some examples are:

(4-128) *Nayidanga-ni* *guyala* *nguy-udi* *ngaj-bi, juwa-niganka.*
 woman:II:nAbs-LOC NEG 3sgn mascA-IRR:Pres see-nF man:I:nAbs-GEN:IV
 Women can't see (the dance), (it) belongs to men.

(4-129) *Yana* *balamurru* *bungmanyi-niganka.*
 this:IV:sg:NOM spear:IV(NOM) old.man:I:nAbs-GEN:IV
 This spear belongs to the old man.

(4-130) *Murlu-nuganka* *mijangga.*
 eye:IV:nAbs-GEN:IV medicine:IV(NOM)
 Eye medicine.

The case suffix of the possessive phrase occurs only on the head noun (ie. on the possessed noun); there is no case marking that follows the genitive suffix. This is true whether the head noun precedes or follows the genitive noun. Some examples of genitive phrases with non-zero case suffixes are:

(4-131) *Yarru* *ngi* *bungmanya-naganka* *magi-nmanji.*
 go(nF) 1sgS(Pres) old.woman:II:nAbs-GEN:IV camp:IV:nAbs-ALL
 I'm going to the old woman's camp.

(4-132) *Ayani* *ngi* *magi-nka* *bungmanya-naganka.*
 look.for(nF) 1sgS(Pres) camp:IV:nAbs-DAT old.woman:II:nAbs-GEN:IV
 I'm looking for the old woman's camp.

However, speakers accept as correct examples in which both the possessed noun and the genitive noun are inflected for case:

(4-133) *Mirra* *ngi* *alangi-niganka-ni* *jalyu-ni.*
 sit(nF) 1sgS(Pres) boy:I:nAbs-GEN:IV-LOC bed:IV:nAbs-LOC

I'm sitting on the boy's bed.

More commonly, the dative suffix is used to mark possession (see 4.4.1.4).

4.4.1.10 Proprietary suffix

The proprietary suffix is used to indicate that one noun 'has' another. Its use in Wambaya is rather restricted and, although it is occasionally used to indicate alienable possession (as in 'I have a spear'), it is most frequently used to indicate physical characteristics of a person (eg. 'She is pregnant'), an object (eg. 'tea with milk') or a place (eg. 'place with trees').

a) Form

The proprietary suffix agrees in gender with the noun that it modifies:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (4-134) Alaji
boy:I(NOM)
A boy with (a) stick. | darrangu- nguji .
stick-PROP:I(NOM) |
| (4-135) Alanga
girl:II(NOM)
A girl with (a) stick. | darrangu- ngunya
stick-PROP:II(NOM) |
| (4-136) Maga
camp:IV(NOM)
A camp with trees. | darrangu- nguja .
tree-PROP:IV(NOM) |

The absolute and non-absolute forms for each gender are given in Table 4.10. The gender marking with the proprietary suffix is regular for nominals (see 4.2.2) and the different gender forms are all derivable from the root *-nguj-*. A noun with the proprietary suffix must also agree with the case (eg. 4-137) and number (eg. 4-139) of the noun or referent that it modifies.

Table 4.10 The gender forms of the proprietary suffix

	Absolute form	Non-Absolute form
Class I	-nguji	-ngunyi-
Class II	-ngunya	-ngunya-
Class III -ngunyma	-?	
Class IV -nguja	-nguji-	

Number suffixes are added to the root, *-nguj-*. The proprietive suffix takes the *-bala* plural suffix (see 4.3.3.1).

Some examples of the proprietive suffix co-occurring with other suffixes are:

(4-137) Wurrudbanyi ngiy-a maganja **murlu-ngunya-ni**.
 pull(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst digging.stick:IV(ACC) eye-PROP:II:nAbs-LOC
 The one that could see got the yam stick.

(4-138) Nanawulu nayida-wulu **gijilulu-nguj-bulu**.
 this:II:du:NOM woman-DUAL(NOM) money-PROP-DUAL(NOM)
 These two women have money.

(4-139) Ngirriyani **manganyma-nguj-balarna**.
 1plexcNOMtucker:III:Abs-PROP-PLURAL:II(NOM)
 We've got tucker.

There is some inconsistency in the corpus as to the form of the noun to which the proprietive suffix is affixed. The usual case is to simply add it to the full citation form of the noun (including the gender suffix). Thus:

(4-140) Manganyma-nguja.
 tucker:III:Abs-PROP:IV(NOM)
 Tucker-having (IV).

(4-141) Janji-ngunya⁷¹
 dog:I:Abs-PROP:II(NOM)
 Dog-having (II).

However, in other examples it seems that the proprietive suffix is added to a nominal root. In these examples the root ends in /g/ and the initial consonant of the suffix is omitted:

(4-142) Alag-unya (citation form of noun: *alaji* (I) or *alanga* (II))
 child-PROP:II(NOM)
 Pregnant (II).

(4-143) Garlangg-uja (citation form of noun: *garlangga* (IV))
 sand-PROP:IV(NOM)

⁷¹It would be interesting to see whether this form would contrast with a form *janya-ngunya* in which the dog is marked as female and not male. This is something that needs to be checked in the field.

Sand-having (IV).

For some nouns either alternative is possible. For example, the proprietary form of *marnarrga* 'mud' (IV) (here with Class II agreement) was given in two different ways:

- (4-144) Marnarrga-ngunya AND Marnarrg-unya
 mud:IV:Abs-PROP:II(NOM) mud-PROP:II(NOM)

Similarly, there are two different ways in which the nouns *iliga* 'sore' (IV) and *wawunji* 'sugarbag' (I) can be inflected with the proprietary suffix:

- (4-145) Iliga-nguji AND Ilig-uji
 sore:IV:Abs-PROP:I(NOM) sore-PROP:I(NOM)
 Sore having (I).

- (4-146) Wawunji-nguja AND Wawunyg-uja
 sugar.bag:I:Abs-PROP:IV(NOM) sugar.bag-PROP:IV(NOM)
 Sugar bag-having (IV).

If a noun retains an overt gender suffix (eg. 4-140) I will represent it in the interlinear glosses. If there is no overt gender suffix, however, I will not represent the gender of the 'base' noun in the gloss. For example, *janji-ngunya* will be glossed 'dog:I:Abs-PROP:II:Abs' but *darranggu-ngunya* will just be glossed 'stick-PROP:II:Abs'.

b) Function

The most common use of the proprietary suffix is to express a physical characteristic or state of a person (4-147 and 4-148), an object (4-149 and 4-150) or a place (4-151).

- (4-147) Ilarra-wulu: gunyarna **murlu-ngunya** gunyarna
 eaglehawk-DUAL(NOM) other:II(NOM) eye-PROP:II(NOM) other:II(NOM)

murlu-wajarna.
eye-PRIV:II(NOM)
Two eaglehawks: one with sight, one blind.

- (4-148) Bardgu g-a **ilirri-ngunya.**
 fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst blood-PROP:II(NOM)
 She fell down bleeding.

- (4-149) Yana gunju **gurija-nguja.**
 this:IV:sg:NOM meat:IV(NOM) fat-PROP:IV(NOM)
 This meat's fatty.

- (4-150) Yaniyaga darranggu **manganyma-nguja.**

that:IV:sg:NOM tree:IV(NOM) tucker:III:Abs-
 PROP:IV(NOM)
 That tree's got fruit.

(4-151) **Guda-nguja** maga.
 stone-PROP:IV(NOM) country:IV(NOM)
 (It's) stony country.

Another use of the proprietive suffix is to express alienable possession:

(4-152) Yandu ngi-n bungmany-nka **gijilulu-ngunya-nka.**
 wait(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr old.woman:II:nAbs-DAT money-PROP:II:nAbs-DAT
 I'm waiting for the old woman with money.

(4-153) Ngaj-bi ng-a buguwa narunguja **garlangg-uja.**
 see-nF 1sgA-Pst big:IV(ACC) car:IV(ACC) sand-
 PROP:IV(ACC)
 I saw a big truck with sand (in it).

The proprietive suffix can also be used to express accompaniment.

(4-154) Bungmaji iniyaga g-uba yarru **balamurru-nguji.**
 old.man:I(NOM) that:I:sg:NOM 3sgS-nP:away go(Fut) spear-
 PROP:I(NOM)
 That old man will go with a spear.

Interestingly, some speakers restrict the proprietive suffix to word scope, and others use it with phrasal scope, marking the proprietive on all words of the NP. Thus, while some speakers considered the following examples perfectly grammatical:

(4-155) Alaji buguwa-nguji darranggu-nguji.
 boy:I(NOM) stick:IV:Abs-PROP:I(NOM) stick-PROP:I(NOM)
 The boy has a big stick.

(4-156) Yarru ng-a bayigi-ngunya ngarrirna-ngunya.
 go(nF) 1sgS-Pst bag-PROP:II(NOM) 1sgPOSS:II:Abs-PROP:II(NOM)
 I went (taking) my bag.

one speaker in particular (MG), felt that they were completely ungrammatical and that it was necessary to use a verbal clause instead, such as:

(4-157) Yabu gini-n buguwa darranggu.
 have(nF) 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr big:IV(ACC)stick:IV(ACC)
 He has a big stick.

One might expect that this difference may be due to factors such as an age difference in the speakers, or a difference in their second languages. However, two of the speakers who disagreed on this issue were both about the same age and both claimed to speak no (Australian) language other than Wambaya.

Note that Dench and Evans (1988) give phrasal scope as an essential characteristic of case suffixes, as opposed to derivational suffixes. As the privative suffix can have phrasal scope for some speakers it is considered to meet this criterion for casehood.

4.4.1.11 Privative suffix

The privative suffix is the converse of the propriative suffix; it is used to indicate that one nominal 'lacks' or is 'without' the other. The privative suffix is also very commonly used with verbs to derive a nominal meaning 'one who cannot/does not do X'.

a) Form

There are a number of different allomorphs of the privative suffix. Firstly, the form of the privative suffix must agree in gender with the noun or referent that it modifies. Secondly, there are a number of different phonologically conditioned allomorphs in which the initial segment of the suffix changes depending on the final segment of the stem⁷². The different absolutive gender forms are listed in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 The absolutive gender forms of the privative suffix

	C-final stem	u-final stem	a-final stem*	i-final stem
Class I	-baji	-waji	-aji	-yaji
Class II	-bajarna	-wajarna	-ajarna	-yajarna
Class III	-bajama	-wajama	-ajama	-yajama
Class IV	-baja	-waja	-aja	-yaja

*These forms are in free variation with *-waji*, *-wajarna* etc. in this environment.

The non-absolutive forms of the Class I and II suffixes are *-bajini/-wajini-* (etc.) and *-bajanga/-wajanga* (etc.), respectively. The Class IV non-absolutive forms are the same as the Class IV absolutive forms given above. For a more detailed discussion of gender marking see 4.2.2.

⁷²The morphophonemic processes that generate these forms are discussed in section 2.3.

The root of the privative suffix, which is used as the stem for the addition of number suffixes, is *-baja-/-waja-* (etc.). The privative suffix takes the *-marnda-* plural suffix (see 4.3.3.1).

As with the proprietive suffix, there is some inconsistency in the data as to the form of the stem to which the privative suffix is attached. For most nouns (particularly those belonging to either Class III or Class IV) the privative suffix is attached to the citation form of the nominal, including the gender suffix (if present). Some examples are:

(4-158) Yurula-ajarna.
name-PRIV:II(NOM)
Without a name (II).

(4-159) Gijilulu-waji.
money-PRIV:I(NOM)
Without any money (I).

(4-160) Darima-aja.
plum:III:Abs-PRIV:IV(NOM)
Without any plums (IV).

With other nouns, the privative suffix is attached to the root (minus the gender suffix):

(4-161) Gurij-baja. (citation form of noun: *gurija* (IV))
fat-PRIV:IV(NOM)
Without fat (IV).

(4-162) Alag-bajarna (citation form of noun: *alaji* (I) or *alanga* (II))
child-PRIV:II(NOM)
Without children (II).

(4-163) Jany-baji (citation form of noun: *janji* (I) or *janya* (II))
dog-PRIV:I(NOM)
Without a dog (I).

However, it seems that some nouns may be able to form the privative in either way. Thus the (Class I) privative form of *iliga* 'sore' (IV) was given in the following two ways:

(4-164) Ilig-baji	AND	Iliga-aji
sore-PRIV:I(NOM)		sore:IV:Abs-PRIV:I(NOM)

There is also one example in the corpus in which the (Class I) privative form of *janji* 'dog' (I) is:

(4-165) *janji-yaji*
dog:I:Abs-PRIV:I(NOM)

Compare this with (4-160) given above.

Interestingly, there are a number of similarities between the proprietive suffix and the privative suffix with regard to the form of the particular noun that they take as their stem. Firstly, in both cases the suffix usually attaches to the full citation form of Class IV and Class III nouns. Secondly, both suffixes always attach to the root of the nominal *alaji/alanga* 'child' (I/II) and can attach to either the root or the citation form of the nominal *iliga* 'sore' (IV). Although noteworthy, these observations do not greatly help in arriving at an explanation for the difference in the form of the stem with different nominals but do suggest that the base form for adnominal inflection is lexically determined and some forms (such as *iliga* 'sore' (IV)) are undergoing reanalysis.

In glossing, I will follow the same principle as for the proprietive suffix: where there is an overt gender suffix on the base nominal, I will represent it in the interlinear gloss; where there is no overt gender suffix I will not. Thus *manganyma-aji* 'tucker:III:Abs-PRIV:I:Abs' but *gunju-waji* 'meat-PRIV:I:Abs'.

b) Function

The privative suffix has two functions: the first with nominals (i), and the second with verbs (ii).

(i) The privative suffix is used to negate the presence or existence of an entity.

(4-166) Ngirriyani **gijilulu-waja-marndarna.**
1plexcNOM money-PRIV-PLURAL:II(NOM)
We (women) have no money.

(4-167) Ngarrirna babanya **juwa-ajarna.**
1sgPOSS:II(NOM) e.sister:II(NOM) man-PRIV:II(NOM)
My sister doesn't have a man / My sister is single.

(4-168) Yarru g-a **manganyma-aji.**
go(nF) 3sgS-Pst tucker:III:Abs-PRIV:I(NOM)
He went off without any tucker.

A privative form can also be used to identify a person:

(4-169) Yandu ngi-n **murlu-wajanga-nka.**
 wait(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr eye-PRIV:II:nAbs-DAT
 I'm waiting for the blind woman.

or a place:

(4-170) Mirra irr-a **nguwi-yaja-ni.**
 sit(nF) 3plS-Pst water-PRIV:IV:nAbs-LOC
 They lived in the desert.

As with the propriative suffix, speakers disagree as to whether or not it is grammatically correct for the privative suffix to occur on all words in a NP. Thus, while some speakers (eg. MH) consider (4-171) to be a fully grammatical sentence, for at least one other speaker (MG) it is impossible, a verbal clause such as (4-172) being necessary instead.

(4-171) Alaji buguwa-aji darranggu-waji.
 boy:I(NOM) big:IV:Abs-PRIV:I(NOM) stick-PRIV:I(NOM)
 The boy doesn't have a big stick.

(4-172) Yangula gini yabu buguwa
 darranggu.
 NEG 3sgmascA(Pres) have(nF) big:IV(ACC)
 stick:IV(ACC)
 He doesn't have a big stick.

(ii) The privative suffix has a very important function in which it is used with any verb X to derive a nominal meaning 'one who cannot/does not do X'. The suffix is attached to either the root of the verb or follows the thematic consonant (depending on the conjugation class of the verb, see 6.1). Some examples of the use of the privative suffix in this function are:

(4-173) Ngawurniji **langan-bajarna.**
 1sgNOM climb-PRIV:II(NOM)
 I can't climb (that tree) (II).

(4-174) Iniyaga **dawi-j-baji.**
 that:I:sg:NOM bite-TH-PRIV:I(NOM)
 That (dog) won't bite (I).

(4-175) Aliyulu ng-u gurijbi ngaya, **daguma-j-baji.**
 find(nF) 1sgA-Fut good:I(ACC) 3sgfemObl hit-TH-PRIV:I(ACC)
 I'm going to find her a good (man), who doesn't hit.

(4-176) Nananga ngiyi **ngarl-wajarna.**

care.for(nF) 3sgnmascA(Pres) talk-PRIV:II(ACC)
 She looks after the mute woman.

- (4-177) Manku-j-baja maga.
 hear-TH-PRIV:IV(NOM) camp:IV(NOM)
 (It is a) noisy camp.

There are two examples of the privative suffix occurring with the verb *manku* 'hear', each with a different form: one contains the thematic consonant /j/, and in the other the verb is in its citation form.

- (4-178) **Manku-j-baji** / **manku-waji**
 hear-TH-PRIV:I(NOM) / hear-PRIV:I(NOM)
 (He is) deaf.

4.4.1.12 Origin suffix

The 'origin' suffix marks origin or usual habitat. There are only a limited number of examples of this suffix in the corpus, all of which describe the country of origin of a person or the typical habitat of an animal. The form of the suffix is *-inji* (I), *-inya* (II) and *-inja* (IV); it replaces the final vowel of the citation form of the nominal to which it is affixed. The gender of the suffix agrees with that of the referent. There are no examples of a Class III form, although there is no logical reason why it would not be possible; in the discussion of fruits for example. In all of the examples in the corpus the nominal inflected with the 'origin' suffix is used predicatively, is in the nominative case and is alone in the NP.

- (4-179) Guyala ng-uda ngaj-bi, **manggur-inya**
 ngawurniji.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pst see-nF plains-ORIG:II(NOM) 1sgNOM
 I've never seen (that animal), I'm from the plains country.

- (4-180) **Murlurr-inji** buringi.
 turpentine.tree-ORIG:I(NOM) witchetty.grub:I(NOM)
 Witchetty grubs (live in) turpentine trees.

- (4-181) **Gagarr-inji**.
 east-ORIG:I(NOM)
 (He's) from the east.

Note that in the following example the particular areas of the country are identified with reference to a salient feature of the landscape:

(4-182) Ngawurniji **manyinil-inya**, iniyaga **gardaal-inji**.
 1sgNOM gutta.percha-ORIG:II(NOM) that:I:sg:NOM gidgee-ORIG:I(NOM)
 I'm from Gutta Percha country (Anthony Lagoon) and he's from Gidgee
 country (Brunette Downs).

The word for 'underneath': *jayilnji*, is possibly made up of *jayili* 'down' and this suffix (with a slight semantic extension).

4.4.1.12.1 *Guyaliny*- 'lacking'

A suffix identical in form to the origin suffix occurs on the particle *guyala* 'nothing' to derive a nominal meaning 'lacking'. It is difficult to say whether this is actually the same suffix. The semantics are slightly different, although it may be possible to relate them as in these examples the suffix is still serving to identify the referent with a particular characteristic (like the suffix in the above examples identifies the referent with a particular place or object). For the present I will simply gloss the whole *guyala*-nominal as 'lacking' and therefore not make any claim as to the nature of the suffix.

The gender forms of the suffix are the same as the origin suffix: *-inji* (I), *-inya* (II) and *-inja* (IV). I have no examples of a Class III form.

The most common occurrence of this '*guyala*-nominal' is as a predicate. Thus, if someone were to ask for something (ie. money), the reply might be:

(4-183) Ngawurniji **guyalinya!**
 1sgNOM lacking:II(NOM)
 I don't have (any)/ I've got nothing!

However, it can also function as a secondary predicate on the subject in a more complex clause:

(4-184) **Guyalinji** ngi-n yarrungawurniji galyurringi-yaji.
 lacking:I(NOM) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr go(nF) 1sgNOM water-
 PRIV:I(NOM)
 I'm going with nothing, no water.

The specific entity that is lacking can be expressed with a dative NP:

(4-185) *Guyalinya* *gijilulu-nka*.
 lacking:II(NOM) money:IV:nAbs-DAT
 (She's) got no money.

- (4-186) Guyalinja darranggu-nka.
 lacking:IV(NOM) tree:IV:nAbs-DAT
 (That country) has no trees.

There is one example of the *guyala* -nominal with plural number. In this case the stem of the nominal is *guyaliny-* and it is the *-bala-* plural suffix which occurs.

- (4-187) Guyaliny-balarna.
 lacking-PLURAL:II(NOM)
 (Those women) have got nothing.

4.5 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

4.5.1 Nominal to nominal morphology

4.5.1.1 *-jarra/-yarra* 'next, another'

This suffix, *-jarra/-yarra*, occurs with only four words in the corpus. Three of them are time nominals with which the suffix expresses the meaning 'next'. The other is the noun *maga* 'camp, country' (IV) with which the suffix expresses the meaning 'another'. There does not appear to be any phonological conditioning as to the form of the suffix. The allomorph with the initial stop occurs with *maga* 'camp, country' and that with the initial glide occurs with the time nominals.

bulinama	'tomorrow'	>	bulina-yarra	'day after tomorrow'
ngijininima	'tomorrow'	>	ngijini-yarra	'day after tomorrow'
garnumba	'wet season'	>	garnumba-yarra	'next wet season'
maga	'camp'	>	maga-jarra	'another place'

This suffix may be related to the Kayardild suffix *-yarrad-* 'another' (Evans 1985:140).

4.5.1.2 Reflexive-possessive suffix

The form of this suffix is *-liji* and it is found only with masculine kinship nouns⁷³. The function of this suffix is still unclear and more data is needed before its function and use can be accurately described. However, there is an alternation among some kinship terms in the corpus between plain forms, as given in 1.2.3.2, and forms suffixed with *-liji*. For example:

⁷³It can presumably occur with feminine nouns too (probably having a form such as *-linya*), but there are no examples in the corpus.

- (4-188) Ngaj-bi gin-a ganggu yarru-warda.
see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst FF:I(ACC) go-INF
He saw (his?) grandfather walking (along).
- (4-189) Ngaj-bi gin-a ganggu-liji
yarru-warda.
see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst FF:I:Abs-REFL:POSS(ACC) go-INF
He saw his grandfather walking (along).

Although the semantic difference between these alternative forms is still unclear, *-liji* only ever occurs when the 'possessor' is third person and seems to be used to emphasise the fact that the 'possessor' of the kin in question is the subject (as opposed to the speaker, for example)⁷⁴.

A sentence such as (4-188), for example, is potentially ambiguous as to whose *ganggu* is in question: the subject's or the speaker's (as in 'He saw Grandfather walking along'). In sentence (4-189) however, the meaning can only be that the subject saw his own *ganggu*. Thus, *-liji* appears to be a reflexive possessive marker, indicating that the possessor of the kin is the subject.

In fact it is not always the case that *-liji* emphasises the subject as possessor (although this is its usual function). In one example *-liji* marks a kinship term as belonging to the topic of the clause.⁷⁵ In (4-190) the kin term *gulu-liji* is not governed by the subject of its clause (which is 'I'), but is governed by the 'she' that has been discussed in the previous two clauses and is clearly the topic of the discourse.

- (4-190) Gurda ngiyi-ngg-a. Yarru=miji g-ulama marndiji.
be.sick(nF) 3sgnmascA-RR-nF go(Fut)-INFER 3sgS-nP:twds later
She's sick. She might come later.

Gulu-liji	ng-a	didima	yarru	g-ulama
son:I:Abs-REFL:POSS(ACC)	1sgA-Pst	tell(nF)	go(Fut)	3sgS-nP:twds

ginmanji.
this.way
I told (her) son (to tell her) to come [Lit. I told her son (that) she will come].

⁷⁴Note that it is only a question of emphasis; it is quite possible to have this meaning without the use of *liji*.

⁷⁵This is the only morphological process in the language that appears to be sensitive to topic.

Unfortunately there are not enough examples of this suffix in the corpus to more accurately characterise its semantics. Furthermore, there are also examples of kin terms which have final *-liji* in their citation form in which there does not seem to be this added meaning:

iriyiliji	father
bayiliji	elder brother
gaguliji	younger brother

Perhaps this is simply a coincidence of form, or perhaps there is no semantic difference between forms ending in *-liji* and those without, and the limited data has just led to an analysis that is incorrect. Until more research is done it is not possible to tell.

4.5.1.3 Dyadic suffix

The dyadic suffix, *gulanji* (I) or *gulanga* (II), is added to a kinship term X to derive a noun meaning 'a pair of people one of whom calls the other X'. It is attached to the 'base' form of the kinship term (ie. the form minus the gender suffix). When the relationship between the people is such that there is no common base term, the term for the senior member of the pair is used. The Class II form of the suffix is used when both members of the pair are female, the Class I form is used in all other cases. Note that the use of the base form (which makes no gender distinction) means that these dyadic terms collapse some of the distinctions that the standard kinship terms make. Some examples involving the kinship terms *barnga/barnganya* 'male/female cross-cousin', *gugu/gugunya* 'MMB/MM' and *baba/babanya* 'elster sister/brother' are:

barnga-gulanji	two cross-cousins (at least one is male)
barnga-gulanga	two female cross-cousins
gugu-gulanji	MM and DS / MMB and DS / MMB and DD
gugu-gulanga	MM and DD
baba-gulanji	elder brother and younger sister / brother
baba-gulanga	elder sister and younger sister

4.5.2 Verb to nominal morphology

There are three derivational suffixes in the corpus which derive a nominal from a verb. One of them, the privative suffix, has already been discussed in 4.4.1.11 above. The other two - the agentive nominaliser and the instrument nominaliser - are discussed below.

4.5.2.1 Agentive nominaliser

The agentive suffix is added to a verb X to derive a nominal with the meaning 'one who/which does X' or 'one who does a lot of X'. It is added to either the verb root or the verb root plus thematic consonant, depending on the conjugation class of the verb (see 6.1). The agentive suffix must show gender agreement with the referent of the derived nominal and each gender form has two phonologically conditioned allomorphs: the initial bilabial stop is lenited to /w/ following a vowel or a lateral consonant (see 2.3.1 for a discussion of lenition). The different absolutive gender forms of the agentive suffix are given in Table 4.12. There are no Class III forms in the corpus.

Table 4.12 Absolutive gender forms of the agentive suffix

		After Vowels and Laterals	Elsewhere
barli	Class I	-warli	-
	Class II	-warlirna	-barlirna
	Class III	?	?
	Class IV	-warla	-
barla			

The non-absolutive Class I and II forms are *-barlini/-warlini-* and *-barlinga/-warlinga-* respectively. There are no examples in the corpus of a Class IV agentive noun inflected for case. The base form of the suffix which is used as the stem for the addition of number suffixes is *-barli/-warli-*. The agentive suffix takes the *-marnda-* plural suffix:

- (4-191) **Yugu-lumi-j-barli-marndarna.**
 cry-CAUS-TH-AGNT-PLURAL:II(NOM)
 [re a group of drunk women who scared a baby] Women who make (him) cry.

This suffix is extremely productive and common. An agentive noun has normal nominal possibilities: it can be used as a nominal predicate (4-192); as the head of a NP (4-193 and 4-194) or as a modifier (4-195).

- (4-192) Iniyaga **wugbardi-j-barli** ngurra.
 that:I.sg:NOMcook-TH-AGNT:I(NOM) 1plincObl
 He's a cook for us/ he's our cook.

- (4-193) **Daguma-j-barlini-ni** gini-ng-a daguma.
 hit-TH-AGNT:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-1O-nF hit(nF)

The "cheeky" man hit me.

- (4-194) Ayani ngi-n **ngarl-warlinga-**
nka.
look.for(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr talk-AGNT:II:nAbs-DAT
I'm looking for the talkative woman.
- (4-195) Janji ng-a daguma **dawi-j-barli.**
dog:I(ACC) 1sgA-Pst hit(nF) bite-TH-AGNT:I(ACC)
I hit that 'biting' dog. [given as a translation for 'I hit the dog that bit me']

An agentive nominal derived from a transitive, semi-transitive or ditransitive verb can take a dative complement expressing what would be the object in a normal verbal clause. This is only possible when the nominal functions as a predicate. The subject in these constructions takes the nominative case:

- (4-196) Ngawurniji aliyulu-j-barlirna mayinanyi-nka.
1sgNOM find-TH-AGNT:II(NOM) goanna:I:nAbs-DAT
I found the goanna. [Lit. I am the finder of the goanna.]
- (4-197) Naniyaga jiya-j-barlirna danya-nka (ngurla).
that:II:sg:NOM give-TH-AGNT:II(NOM) clothes:IV:nAbs-DAT (1duexcObl)
She always gives (us) clothes.

Note that this dative complement is optional. It is only present if the speaker wants to indicate specifically what the object of the action is. The two examples above could also occur without the complement in which case they would mean 'I (always) find (things)' and 'She always gives (us) (things)', respectively.

4.5.2.2 Instrument nominaliser

I have only four examples of this suffix so far in the corpus. The suffix is *-ana* and can be added to a verb *X* to derive a noun with the meaning: 'that by means of which one *Xs*'. These four examples are highly lexicalised and it may be that the suffix is no longer productive.

mawula-j-	play-TH	>	mawula-j-ana	(card) game.
ngarag-	drink	>	ngarag-ana	grog
ngarajag-	shape boomerangs	>	ngarajag-ana	boomerang-shaping

instrument

In the fourth example the form of the verb to which the suffix is added is slightly irregular. The future form of this verb (*durnajarri-j-ba*) would suggest that the verb

stem (for the purposes of inflection, see 6.1) is *durnajarri-j-*, but it is only part of this stem which functions as the stem for the addition of the suffix:

durnajarri cover up > durnaj-ana blanket

Due to the fact that the few examples there are of this suffix are so highly lexicalised, I will not segment this suffix in the examples in this thesis, and will gloss these nominals using the English translations given for each example above.

4.5.3 Nominal reduplication

There are only a very small number of examples of nominal reduplication in the corpus. In four of the six examples, reduplication is used to indicate plural number (although note that there are other ways to mark plurality as well - see 4.3.3). In the other two examples, the function of the reduplication is not so clear. The four examples of nominal reduplication used to indicate plurality are given in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13 Examples of nominal reduplication

	Unreduplicated form	Reduplicated form	
	bungmaji old man:I:Abs	bungmungmaji	old men:I:Abs
	bungmanya old woman:II:Abs	bungmungmanya	old
women:II:Abs	iligirra river:IV:Abs	ililirri	
	rivers:IV:Abs		
	alaji boy:I:Abs	alajaji	
	children:I:Abs		

The first two of these four examples are reduplicated according to a pattern common for Wambaya and described in 2.3.6. The second two examples have reduplicated forms which are unpredictable according to the Wambaya patterns of reduplication.

The other two examples of nominal reduplication involve the noun *labarnga* 'branch' (IV), which is pronounced by some people as *labarlabarnga*, but appears to have the same meaning in either its reduplicated or its unreduplicated form, and *garrgalyi* 'plains lizard' (I) which is given as *garrgalyigalyi* in Text A.7. Perhaps the reduplication in this last example is for the purposes of emphasis.

4.6 DEMONSTRATIVES

Wambaya has a two-way system of demonstratives roughly comparable to *this* and *that* in English. Like all nominal modifiers, demonstratives must agree with the noun that

It was said in the discussion of nominal case above, that nominals have only one case which marks both the ergative and locative case functions (see 4.4.1.3). This appears to be the case for demonstratives as well, although I have only one example of the same form being used for both ergative and locative case functions:

(4-199) Mirra ng-u ngankagunyani.
sit(nF) 1sgS-Fut this:II:pl:LOC
I'll sit with these women.

⁷⁶Not all of the possible combinations are attested in the corpus. In fact, I have only been able to get a complete set of these different case forms for Classes I and II. I have not been able to get ergative/locative or dative forms of Class III or Class IV demonstratives. The main reasons for these gaps are the infrequency with which Class III or Class IV nouns occur in either the ergative/locative or dative cases, and the difficulty in forcing the demonstrative to be present on the rare occasions that these nouns do occur in these cases. In the few examples in which I succeeded in forcing a Class IV demonstrative in a transitive subject NP, the nominative form of the demonstrative was used:

Chadwick (1978) also does not give ergative/locative or dative demonstratives for Classes III and IV, so it's unclear if it's a gap in the data or a gap in the system.

As nominative and accusative demonstrative forms are homophonous, in the following discussion I will group them together, referring to 'nominative/accusative' forms.

4.6.1 Form

The demonstratives in Wambaya have remained morphologically conservative, retaining the original prefixing system. Thus, gender in the demonstratives is indicated by prefixes, most of which correspond with the gender suffixes found on Wambaya nominals (see 4.2.2 and Appendix B for a discussion of gender marking). The following table gives both the gender prefixes found on demonstratives and the main gender suffixes found on other nominals.

Table 4.14 Gender marking

	Demonstratives		Other nominals	
	Abs	nAbs	Abs	
				nAbs
Class I	i-	ni- [=i]	-ji	-nyi, -ngi, -Ø
	-ni			
Class II	na- [=a]	nga-	-rna	-nga -nya -nga
	-nya			
	-nga			
Class III	ma-	?	-ma	-mi
Class IV	ya-	?	-Ø	-Ø
	-i			-a

It can be seen in the above table that the Class II prefixes on demonstratives correspond exactly with the first pair of Class II noun suffixes (*-rna* and *-nga*). The Class III absolutive prefix also corresponds exactly with the Class III absolutive noun suffix. The Class I absolutive prefix *-i* and the noun suffix *-ji* are very similar and probably both derive from an original prefix *-ji*, the initial consonant of which has lenited in the present day forms. That this is the original prefix is supported by the fact that the prefix *ji-* occurs on some Class I demonstratives in Binbinka, such as *jirriga* 'remote singular nominative/accusative Class I'. The Class IV prefix *-ya* is probably related to the suffix *-a* found on some Class IV nouns and modifiers. The fact that the gender prefixes on demonstratives are similar to the suffixes found on other nominals adds support to the theory that gender suffixes on nominals may have developed from the reduction of

postposed demonstratives (see Appendix B for a comparative discussion of gender marking).

I first discuss the morphological structure of demonstratives and then, in Table 4.15 below, give the forms of demonstratives in Wambaya and (for comparison) in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects.

The demonstrative system, although extensive, is easily analysable. All dual and plural forms can be derived from the singular forms, and the singular forms are made up of a gender prefix, a stem and either a proximate or a remote marker. The complete structure of a demonstrative can be schematised as follows:

Gender prefix + Stem + 'Distance' + Number(.Gender) + Case

- Notes: (i) 'Distance' refers to 'proximate' vs. 'remote'.
(ii) The 'number' slot only contains gender marking in plural number.
(iii) There are two forms in which the order of the 'number' and the 'distance' suffixes are reversed: *inuwuliyaga* 'remote dual nominative/accusative Class I' and *nanawuliyaga* 'remote dual nominative/accusative Class II'.

The different forms for each of these categories are as follows:

Gender prefixes (Abs; nAbs)

- Class I: {i-; ni-}
Class II: {na-; nga-}
Class III: {ma-; ?}
Class IV: {ya-; ?}

Stem

- Nominative, Accusative: {-ni- (I); -na- (II, IV); -ma- (III)}⁷⁷
Ergative/Locative: {-nki- (I, II), -nka- (II)}⁷⁸
Dative: {-naga- (I, II)}

⁷⁷It is probably possible to explain the variation in stem in terms of vowel harmony and analogic nasal assimilation. Thus, if the underlying form is taken to be *-na-*, then the Class I form (*-ni-*) could be explained in terms of vowel harmony triggered by the preceding high vowel in the prefix, and the Class III form (*-ma-*) as assimilation of the alveolar nasal in the stem to the bilabial nasal of the prefix. There is no evidence that these assimilation processes are productive synchronically (most vowel harmony is regressive (see 2.3.4.3) and there are no other known instances of such nasal assimilation). However, the presence of the alveolar nasal in the stem of the two Class III Binbinka demonstratives *maniga* 'remote singular nominative/accusative Class III' and *manigula* 'remote dual nominative/accusative Class III' adds support to the theory that the Wambaya Class III stem may have derived from one containing an alveolar nasal.

⁷⁸Note that this stem becomes *-nka-* in Class II proximate non-singular forms, but elsewhere remains *-nki-*.

Note that when the remote suffix *-yaga* is added to the stem, the final low vowel of the stem becomes high. Thus, *-na-* becomes *-ni-yaga*; *naga* becomes *-nagi-yaga*, and so on.

(Evans 1990) discusses the tendency in Australian languages for demonstratives to derive from verbs of stance (ie. 'sit', 'stand' or 'lie') or verbs of perception (ie. 'see, look'). Thus, it is possible that the nominative and accusative demonstrative stems in Wambaya, if their underlying form is taken to be *-na-* (see footnote 25), may have developed from the common non-Pama-Nyungan verb *na* meaning 'see, look' (Evans 1990:144).

The dative stem *-naga* appears to be made up of the nominative/accusative stem *-na-* followed by the suffix *-ga* which occurs on all non-singular object and oblique free pronouns in Ngarnga and Gudanji (Chadwick 1978:51), and appears in Wambaya non-singular oblique pronouns with the addition of the comitative suffix: eg. *mirndiga-yili* '1duincObl-COMIT'.

Distance

Proximate: {-Ø}

Remote: {-yaga/-ya; -ma}

The remote suffix *-yaga* is reduced to *-ya* when it is followed by either the dual or the plural suffix. The remote suffix *-ma* is only found in the singular nominative/accusative forms.

There are a couple of examples in the corpus in which both remote suffixes are used. Thus:

i-na-ma-yaga ⁷⁹	remote singular nominative/accusative Class I
na-na-ma-yaga	remote singular nominative/accusative Class II

There does not appear to be any difference in meaning between these forms and the corresponding forms in which only one remote suffix is present.

⁷⁹The high vowel of the Class I nominative/accusative stem is lowered before the remote suffix *-ma*. This is presumably attributable to vowel harmony. Similarly, when this stem is immediately followed by the dual suffix *-wulu*, the high front vowel of the stem becomes back, in harmony with the back vowels of the suffix. Thus: *i-ni* 'proximate singular nominative/accusative Class I' but *i-nu-wulu* 'proximate dual nominative/accusative Class I'.

Number

Singular: {-Ø}

Dual: {-wulu (Abs), -wuli (nAbs)}⁸⁰

Plural: {-gunji (I, Abs), -gunyi (I, nAbs); -gunya (II, Abs and nAbs);
-gunyima (III, Abs); -gunja (IV, Abs)}⁸¹

Note that the plural number markers also indicate gender.

Case

Although the stems indicate case, case is also separately marked again at the end of the demonstrative. Except for with the nominative and accusative cases, the form of the case suffix is dependent on the number of the demonstrative.

Nominative, Accusative:		{-Ø}
Ergative/Locative:	sg	{-Ø}
	du	{-ji}
	pl	{-ni}
Dative:	sg	{-Ø}
	du	{-ja}
	pl	{-nka}

The dual and plural case suffixes are regular for nominals: the regular nominal suffixes are -Ø for both the nominative case and the accusative case, -ni for the ergative/locative case and -nka for the dative case, and nominals inflected with the dual suffix take -ji in the ergative/locative case and -ja in the dative case. The only aspect of case marking that is unusual to demonstratives is that the singular forms have a zero inflection for the ergative/locative case and the dative case. Usually a singular nominal would take the regular ergative/locative and dative case suffixes.

Below are some selected Class I forms illustrating this morphological structure.

	prefix+	stem+	distance+	number+	case	
ini	i	ni	Ø	Ø	Ø	= prox:sg:NOM/ACC
iniyaga	i	ni	yaga	Ø	Ø	= rem:sg:NOM/ACC
ninagawulija	ni	naga	Ø	wuli	ja	= prox:du:DAT
ninkiyawuliji	ni	nki	ya	wuli	ji	= rem:du:LOC
inigungji	i	ni	Ø	gunji	Ø	= prox:pl:NOM/ACC

⁸⁰Note that gender is not marked with the dual number suffix (see 4.3.2.1).

⁸¹This morpheme can be segmented into a root -guny- followed by the regular gender marking suffixes -ji (I, Abs), -nyi (I, nAbs); -nya (II, Abs and nAbs); -ma (III, Abs); -ja (IV, Abs). Note that there is a regular morphophonemic rule which deletes one of two sequential identical consonants (ie. -guny- 'plural' + -nya 'II (Abs)' > -gunya), see 2.3.5.

ninkiyagunyini ni nki ya gunyi ni = rem:pl:LOC

For the purposes of simplicity however, I will not segment the demonstratives in the examples in this thesis. Instead, I will give them in an unsegmented form and simply indicate in the gloss the morphological structure. For example:

naniyaga that:II:sg:NOM, that:II:sg:ACC
 ninagawulija this:I:du:DAT

Table 4.15 gives the forms of the demonstratives in Wambaya. They are organised with the proximate forms first (singular, dual then plural) followed by the remote forms (singular, dual then plural). For comparison, the demonstratives given in Chadwick (1978) for the other Eastern Group languages/dialects are given following each set of Wambaya forms. As the nominative and accusative forms are always homophonous in all languages, I have listed them together under the heading NOM/ACC.

Table 4.15 Wambaya demonstratives

Proximate ('this')

Singular

		NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	ini	ninki, (nunku) ⁸²	ninaga, (nunaga)	
Class II	nana	nganki, (nganku)	nganaga, (nganuga)	
Class III	mama	—	—	
Class IV	yana	—	—	

The proximate singular forms in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects (from Chadwick (1978:203) are:

			NOM/ACC	LOC⁸³	DAT
Class I	G	yini		rninki	
	rninaga				
	B		yiniwa, yini	rninki	
	rninaga				
	Ng		ina, inaalu	rninka	
	rninaga				
Class II	G	rnana		nganki	
	nganaga				

⁸²These forms in parentheses are alternative forms, less commonly used, that do not fit in with the structural characteristics outlined in the discussion above. They are very similar to the corresponding remote forms in Binbinka: *rnunkuwa* 'that:I:sg:LOC', *ngankuwa* 'that:II:sg:LOC', *rnunaga* 'that:I:sg:DAT' and *nganaguwa* 'that:II:sg:DAT', and may therefore be borrowed from Binbinka. Note however, that they have a proximate, rather than a remote, meaning in Wambaya,

⁸³I have called this case 'LOC' on analogy with the Wambaya case although it is not exactly the same in all languages/dialects. While all the Eastern Group languages/dialects have one case suffix that is used to mark both ergative and locative case functions (-*ni*), both GudANJI and NgARNGA have an alternative case suffix that can also be used to mark locative case (-*nbi*). NgARNGA also has a separate instrumental case suffix, -*warndu*, unlike the McARTHUR dialects which use the ergative/locative case suffix in this function (Chadwick 1978:161).

		B	rnana	ngankiwa
	nganaga	Ng	arna, arnaalu,	nganka,
	nganagaalu			
	arnaala		ngankaalu	
Class III	G		mama	_____
	_____	B	mama	_____
	_____	Ng	ama, amaalu	_____
Class IV	G		yana	_____
	_____	B	yana	_____
	_____	Ng	arnaalu	_____

Dual

	DAT	NOM/ACC	LOC
Class I	inuwulu	ninkiwuliji / ninkuliji	ninagawulija / ninagulija
Class II	nanawulu	ngankawuliji / ngankuliji	nganagawulija / nganagulija
Class III	mamawulu	_____	_____
Class IV	yanawulu	_____	_____

Note that in the ergative/locative and dative forms the initial /w/ of the dual suffix, along with the preceding vowel, can be elided in fast or casual speech.

The proximate dual forms in Ngarnga that are given by Chadwick (1978:217) are as follows (Chadwick has no proximate dual forms for Binbinka or Gudanji):

		NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	rniyawula	_____		rminagawulija, rminagawulijanji
Class II	rnayawulu	nayawuliji	nganagawulija	
Class III	amawulu	_____	_____	
Class IV	arnawulu	_____	_____	

Plural

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	inigungji	ninkigungyini	ninagagunyinka
Class II	nanagunya	ngankagunyani	nganagagunyanka
Class III	mamagunyma	_____	_____
Class IV	yanagunja	_____	_____

The proximate plural forms for the other Eastern Group languages/dialects that are present in Chadwick (1978:217-218) are:

	DAT	NOM/ACC	LOC
Class I	G	yigungji	_____

		Ng		inagunja, niyagunja	rninkagunyini
Class II	G	rninagunyinka	_____		_____
		Ng		rnayagunya	nganagunyani
		nganagunyanka			

Remote ('that')

Singular

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	iniyaga / inama	ninkiyaga ninagiyaga	
Class II	naniyaga / nanama	ngankiyaga nganagiyaga	
Class III	mamiyaga / mamama	_____	_____
Class IV	yaniyaga / yanama	_____	_____

Note the existence of two nominative/accusative forms for each class. There are two remote suffixes: *-yaga* and *-ma*. *-ma* is only found with singular nominative/accusative forms, whereas *-yaga* (in its reduced form *-ya*) can occur with all forms. There does not appear to be any semantic distinction between these suffixes.

The remote singular forms in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects (taken from Chadwick (1978:203) are:

			NOM/ACC	LOC
Class I	DAT			
	G	yiniya	rinkiya	riniagiya
	B	jirriga	rnunkuwa	rnunaga
Class II	Ng		niyanga, igayi,	rinkiyanga,
		rninagiyanga, rninagiya		niyanggala
	G	rnaniya	ngankiya	nganagiya
Class III	B	nganaguwa	rnaniga	ngankuwa
	Ng	nganagiya	rnayanga, rnayi	ngankiyanga
	G	mamiya	_____	_____
Class IV	B	_____	maniga	_____
	Ng	_____	mayanga, mayi _____	_____
	G	yaniya, yanaba	_____	_____
	B	_____	garriga	_____
	Ng	_____	rnayanga, _____	_____
		_____	anaaga	_____

Dual

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	ininiyawulu / inuwuliyaga	ninkiyawuliji	ninagiyawulija
Class II	naniyawulu / nanawuliyaga	ngankiyawuliji	nganagiyawulija
Class III	mamiyawulu	_____	_____
Class IV	yaniyawulu	_____	_____

Note that the remote suffix *-yaga* shortens to *-ya* when another suffix (either dual or plural) is added and that there are alternative nominative/accusative forms for both Classes I and II that differ from the regular forms only in the order of occurrence of the remote and dual suffixes.

The remote dual forms in the other Eastern Group languages/dialects that are given by Chadwick (1978:216) are:

			NOM/ACC	LOC
Class I	DAT			
	G	_____	_____	_____
	B	rnunagulija	jirrigula	_____
Class II	Ng		igayulu, igayuliji	_____
			rninyanggawula	_____
	G	rnaniyawulu	ngankiyawuliji	_____
Class III	B		rnanigula	ngankuwuliji
	Ng		nayangawulu	ngankuwuliji
	G	ngankuwulijanji	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____

		B	manigula	_____
	_____	Ng	mayawulangga	_____
Class IV	G	_____	_____	_____
	_____	B	_____	_____
	_____	Ng	nayanggawula	_____

Plural

	NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	iniyagunji	ninkiyagunyini	ninagiyagunyinka
Class II	naniyagunya	ngankiyagunyani	nganagiyagunyanka
Class III	mamiyagunyma	_____	_____
Class IV	yaniyagunja	_____	_____

The remote plural forms for the other Eastern Group languages that are present in Chadwick (1978:217-218) are:

		NOM/ACC	LOC	DAT
Class I	G	yigigunji	_____	_____
	B	jirrigunja	rnunkugunyini	rnunagunyinka
	Ng	rniyanggagunja	niyanggagunyini	_____
Class II	G	_____	_____	_____
	B	rnanigunya	ngankugunyani	_____
	Ng	rnayanggagunya	rnayanggagunyani	ngankagunyanka
Class III	G	_____	_____	_____
	B	_____	_____	_____
	Ng	mayanggagunyma	_____	_____
Class IV	G	_____	_____	_____
	B	_____	_____	_____
	Ng	rnayanggagunja, _____	_____	_____
		rnayanggunja		

Other Demonstratives

There are two other types of demonstratives found in the corpus: demonstratives in the comitative case and possessive demonstratives. As there are only a few examples of each type, I have chosen to discuss them separately, instead of including them in the tables and discussion above.

(i) Demonstratives in the comitative case:

In these examples, the regular comitative case suffix (*-mbili*) replaces the ergative/locative suffix on the ergative/locative form of the demonstrative. There are only two examples of this type of demonstrative, both of which have plural number:

(4-200) Mirrang-ba ng-u ngankagunyambili / ninkigunyimbili.
 sit-Fut 1sgS-Fut this:II:pl:COMIT / this:I:pl:COMIT
 I'm going to sit down with these women/men.

The fact that these demonstratives are based on the respective ergative/locative forms, suggests that what has been described as the ergative/locative stem, may in fact be a more general oblique stem (although it doesn't occur in the dative forms).

(ii) Possessive demonstratives.

These demonstratives are made up of a non-absolutive gender prefix agreeing with the possessor, the nominative/accusative demonstrative stem *-na-*, the possessive suffix *-gan-*⁸⁴ (this suffix is also found on possessive pronouns - see 4.8) and a gender suffix agreeing with the possessed noun. Thus, these demonstratives agree in gender with both the possessor and the possessed. In the remote forms, the remote suffix *-yaga* occurs after the gender suffix. The only examples of these demonstratives are in the nominative case, and have both singular possessor and singular possessee nouns. A lot more work is needed in order to obtain all the other forms of these demonstratives. Table 4.16 gives the forms that are present in the corpus:

Table 4.16 Possessive Demonstratives

	POSSESSED NOUN			
	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
Proximate Class I	ni-na-gan-ji	ni-na-ga-rna		ni-na-gang-ga
Proximate Class II		nga-na-ga-rna	nga-na-gan-ma	
Remote Class I	ni-na-gan-ji-yaga			
Remote Class II	nga-na-gan-ji-yaga			

Thus, the gender suffixes are regular and are the same as for possessive pronouns (see 4.8): *-ji* (I), *-rna* (II), *-ma* (III), *-ga* (IV).

The *-ga* which occurs on the dative demonstratives (as in *ninaga* 'this:I:sg:DAT') is considered to be different (although probably related) to the *-gan-* which derives possessive pronouns and demonstratives. The reason for this is that the presence of the nasal before the gender suffix in possessive forms suggests that the preceding suffix contains a final nasal (as in *ni-na-gan-ji*). However, if the *-ga* of the dative demonstratives were the same as this suffix, we would expect this nasal to appear in dative demonstratives where the *-ga* is not word-final (as in *ni-na-ga-gunyi-nka* 'this:I:pl:DAT'). However, it does not appear. If these two are the same suffix, it is difficult to explain why a nasal would appear in some circumstances and not in others.

⁸⁴The final nasal of this suffix is dropped before another apical nasal (such as in the Class II suffix *-rna*) and assimilates to the place of articulation of a following palatal or velar stop.

Some examples of these possessive demonstratives are:

(4-201) **Ninagarna** gujinganjarda
injani?
this:I.sg:POSS:II(NOM) mother:II(NOM) where
Where is this (boy's) mother?

(4-202) Irda **nganaganji**
injani?
father:I(NOM) this:II.sg:POSS:I(NOM) where
Where is this (boy's) father?

(4-203) Dirdibulyi⁸⁵ **ninagangga**
buwarraja.
peewee:I(NOM) this:I.sg:POSS:IV(NOM)
dreaming:IV(NOM)
This peewee's dreaming.

(4-204) Alaji **nganaganjiyaga.**
boy:I(NOM) that:II.sg:POSS:I(NOM)
That woman's little boy.

4.6.2 Function

Demonstratives can be used as deictic determiners qualifying a noun (4-205 and 4-206), or as deictic demonstrative pronouns alone in the NP (4-207 and 4-208).

(4-205) **Ngankiyaga** janya-ni ngiyi-ng-a dawu.
that:II.sg:LOC dog:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgn mascA-1O-nF bite(nF)
That (female) dog bit me.

(4-206) **Mama** burnaringma ng-a
nawu.
this:III.sg:ACC wild.orange:III:ACC 1sgA-Pst step.on(nF)
I sat on this orange.

(4-207) Daguma irri-ngg-a **inigunji.**
hit(nF) 3plA-RR-nF this:I:pl:NOM
These ones are fighting.

(4-208) Ngarl-warlirna **nanamayaga.**
talk-AGNT:II(NOM) that:II.sg:NOM
That woman's a chatterbox.

⁸⁵It is strange that there is no genitive case marking here. I have no explanation for this.

In this function, the difference between the two types is very similar to the difference between 'this' and 'that' in English. The proximate forms are usually used to refer to things that are close to the speaker, while the remote forms are used for things that are further away from the speaker. The proximate forms can also be used to refer to a perceived event; similar to the use of 'here' in an English sentence such as 'here's something interesting going on'. Thus in the following example, taken from Text A.1, the fire is referred to with the demonstrative *yana* despite the fact that it is a considerable distance from the speaker.

(4-209) "Ngangaba **yana** gi-n naj-bi ."
 fire:IV(NOM) this:IV:sg:NOM 3sgS(Pres)-Pr burn-nF
 "There's a fire burning (there)."

Demonstratives also perform an important discourse function: they are used in the organisation of information and tracking of reference. Demonstratives can be used to refer to things previously mentioned or alluded to in discourse. The difference between the proximate and remote demonstratives is metaphorically extended in which case the 'proximate' meaning is metaphorically extended into this function. Proximate forms are used when the antecedent or topic is close (in terms of time of utterance) to the utterance of the demonstrative (generally in either the same or preceding clause, but no more than two clauses back):

(4-210) Indirra wurrudbanyi-j-ba, ngujari-j-ba **yana**.
 root:IV(ACC) pull-TH-Fut break-TH-Fut this:IV:sg:ACC
 Pull up the root, (and) break it.

(4-211) Garndarndawuga barrawu g-aji mirra.
 few:IV(NOM) house:IV(NOM) 3sgS-Hab:Pst sit(nF)

 Yana irr-a yardi garnguja.
 this:IV:sg:ACC 3plA-Pst put(nF) many:IV(ACC)
 There used to be a few houses. (Now) they've built lots of them.

The following example is taken from Text A.1. In the clauses leading up to this one, the two eaglehawks are telling their two sons that they should prepare a bed for the two boys who have to leave early in the morning. Then there is one short sentence in which it is said that the two eaglehawks pick up a round stone and a digging stick (by now all four other characters are asleep) and:

(4-212) Bunjunymi wurlu-n **inuwulu** wurlu-n gulug-bi.
sneak.up(nF) 3duA(nPst)-Pr this:I:du:NOM 3duS(nPst)-Pr sleep-nF
They sneak up on the two boys (who) are sleeping.

When the thing being referred to was uttered more than a couple of clauses away, or if there is another intervening topic between the anaphoric element and its antecedent, a remote demonstrative is used. The following sequence is taken from Text A.6. The remote demonstrative refers to 'the moon', mentioned a few clauses back. As there is an intervening topic (*indilyawurna*), a remote demonstrative is used.

(4-213) Indilyawurna g-a bard-bi. Bard-bi g-a.
curlew:II(NOM) 3sgS-Pst run-nF run-nF 3sgS-Pst
The curlew ran. She ran.

Ninkiyaga gin-a nyurrunyurru
banjangani.
that:I:sg:LOC 3sgmascA-Pst chase(nF) behind
The (moon) chased after her.

4.6.3 *Ga* ⁸⁶ series

There is another set of forms in Wambaya which complicate the system of demonstratives discussed above in that sometimes they seem to act like demonstratives, but at other times appear to be more like nouns. When behaving like demonstratives, these forms occur in place of the remote forms. The use of these forms is so common that Chadwick (1978) gives the dual and plural forms as the only remote dual and plural Class I and II demonstratives in Wambaya. These forms are as follows⁸⁷:

Class I	NOM/ACC	sg	igima	
		du	iguwulu	
		pl		igigunji
	LOC	sg	?? ⁸⁸	
		du	iguwuliji	
		pl		igigunyini
Class II	NOM/ACC	sg	nagarna	
		du	nagawulu	
		pl		nagagunya
	LOC	sg	??	

⁸⁶So called as these forms are characterised by what appears to be a stem of the form *-gi-* (I) or *-ga-* (II, IV).

⁸⁷There are no Class III forms in the corpus and no other case forms apart from ergative/locative, nominative and accusative. As the latter two case forms are homophonous I have listed them together.

⁸⁸I was unable to obtain ergative/locative singular forms; a regular ergative/locative demonstrative was always used instead.

Class IV	NOM/ACC	du	nagawuliji
		pl	nagagunyani
		sg	yagama
		du	yagawulu
		pl	yagagunja

In form, these appear to be demonstratives. All forms contain the appropriate gender prefix: *i-* (I), *na-* (II) and *ya-* (IV). Furthermore, the plural suffix that is used (*-gunji/-gunya*) is that which occurs with demonstratives, not with nouns (see 4.3 for a discussion of number marking on nouns). However, *igima* and *nagarna*, which are extremely common, are translated by speakers as meaning 'boy' and 'girl' respectively and often seem to be functioning more like nouns than demonstratives. Consider the examples below.

In examples (4-214) and (4-215) it is not clear whether the forms in question are functioning as nouns or as demonstratives. However, particularly in (4-214) where there is modification by adjectives, they seem to be rather 'noun-like' in function.

- (4-214) Jinkiji-yulu: bulyingi **igima**, bugayirna **nagarna**.
star-DUAL(NOM) little:I(NOM) big:II(NOM)

Two stars: the little one's a man and the big one's a woman.

- (4-215) Munji wurl-a. Ngaj-bi wurl-a **nagawulu** duwa.
hide(nF) 3duS-Pst see-nF 3duA-Pst get.up(nF)
They hide. They watch the two (ladies) get up.

Examples (4-216), (4-217) and (4-218), on the other hand, seem to indicate that it would be better to consider these forms to be demonstratives as in these examples they are used to modify nouns.

- (4-216) Dirrag-bi g-a jarlu-nmanji **igima** burriiji.
jump-nF 3sgS-Pst arm:IV:nAbs-ALL bird.sp:I(NOM)
The bird jumped on his arm.

- (4-217) Dudiyarri wurl-a **nagawulu** bungmaj-bulu.
spear(nF) 3duA-Pst old.person-DUAL(ACC)
They speared the two old ladies.

- (4-218) Aliyulu ng-a **yagama** janga ngarrga.
find(nF) 1sgA-Pst shoe:IV(ACC) 1sgPOSS:IV(ACC)
I found my shoes.

Example (4-219), however, makes things even more interesting as in this example there are three elements to the NP: a demonstrative, *nagawulu* and a head noun. As there are no other examples in which two demonstratives occur together in the same NP, this suggests that *nagawulu* can't be a demonstrative, at least in this example.

(4-219) Naniyawulu **nagawulu** baraj-bulu duwa wurlu-n.
that:II:du:NOM old.person-DUAL(NOM) get.up(nF) 3duS(nPst)-Pr
The two old ladies are getting up.

In the following sequence taken from Text A.2 in which the *barnanggi* is hiding under the water watching the *jabiru*, the use of *igima* indicates a change in subject from *jabiru* to *barnanggi*.

(4-220) Gannga g-a alalangmi-ji-nnga *Jabiru* .
 return(nF) 3sgS-Pst hunt-TH-PRIOR
 The *Jabiru* returned from hunting.

Wugbugbardi	gin-a	yangaji.
cook:RDP(nF)	3sgmascA-Pst	meat:I(ACC)
He cooked some meat.		

Gulug-ardi	gini-ngg-a.
sleep-CAUS(nF)	3sgmascA-RR-nF
He lay down.	

Gulug-bi g-a,
sleep-nF 3sgS-Pst
He slept,

yandu	yangaji	nanga	naj-barda.
mind(nF)	meat:I(ACC)	3sgmascObl	burn-INF
(and) looked after his meat that was cooking.			

Igima g-a yarru.
3sgS-Pst go(nF)
(The *Barnanggi*) came (out of the water).

Such examples suggest that *igima* is a remote demonstrative since, as mentioned above, remote demonstratives are used to refer to something mentioned in earlier discourse that is either a substantial distance away, or when another topic has intervened.

Perhaps these are generic nouns, meaning something along the lines of 'male being', 'female being' and 'thing' that can either modify a noun (perhaps for the purposes of emphasis or clarification), or can stand alone in the NP, in which case they are interpreted as third person markers (eg. remote demonstratives). This would explain the

fact that they can modify a head noun in the NP; themselves be modified by adjectives as the head of an NP and co-occur with both a noun and a demonstrative within the one NP. It does not explain, however, the fact that their form (ie. the existence of a gender prefix and the demonstrative form of the plural suffix) is more like a demonstrative than a noun. Except for the singular forms, which differ in their suffix from singular demonstratives, these forms only differ from true demonstratives in their stem: *-gi-/-ga-*:

		prefix+	stem+	number+	case	
iguwulu	i		gu ⁸⁹		wulu	Ø
	I:du:NOM/ACC					
igigunyini	i		gi		gunyi	ni
	I:pl:LOC					
nagawuliji	na		ga		wuli	ji
	II:du:LOC					
nagagunya	na		ga		gunya	Ø
	II:pl:LOC					
yagagunja	ya		ga		gunja	Ø
	IV:pl:NOM/ACC					

Due to this similarity of form I will gloss these forms in the examples of this thesis in the same way that I gloss remote demonstratives, except that I will use 'that.one' instead of 'that'. Thus, *igima* is glossed 'that.one:I:sg:NOM/ACC', *nagarna* is glossed 'that.one:II:sg:NOM/ACC', and so on.

4.7 IGNORATIVES⁹⁰

There are five ignorative roots in the corpus which, when combined with their various inflections, cover the meanings 'who', 'what', 'which', 'why', 'where', 'where from', 'how many/how much', 'when' and 'how'. There is a strong tendency for ignoratives to be initial in the clause.

4.7.1 *gayini* 'who/what'

⁸⁹Note the alternation in the vowel of the stem triggered by the following high back vowel of the dual suffix.

⁹⁰I follow Karcevski (1969) and more recently Wierzbicka (eg. 1980) in using this term for this word class. Mushin (1991 and 1993) has pointed out that there are two components to these words: an ignorative component (which indicates that knowledge is at issue) and an epistemological component (which characterises the type of knowledge at issue). As the term 'ignorative' reflects only one of these components, Mushin proposes the term 'episteme' for this word class. While I accept this aspect of Mushin's analysis, I will stay with a more familiar term for the word class. In other grammars of Australian languages these words have been referred to with terms such as 'interrogatives' (eg. Dixon 1972 and 1977), 'interrogative/indefinite pronouns' (eg. Morphy 1983) and 'indeterminates' (eg. Donaldson 1980).

Like any other nominal modifier, this ignorative is inflected to agree with the noun it refers to in gender, case and number: when it is inflected with an animate gender suffix it is translated 'who' and when it is inflected with an inanimate gender suffix it is translated 'what' or 'which'. The forms found in the corpus are given in Table 4.17, followed by a discussion of the form and function of these ignoratives, and some examples of their use. As the nominative and accusative case forms are homophonous, I have listed them together in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17 *Gayini* , singular forms

	NOM/ACC		LOC	DAT
Class I	gayini		gayinini-ni	gayinini-nka
Class II	gayinirna	gayininga-ni		gayininga-nka
Class III	—		—	—
Class IV	gayina	gayinani	—	—

The Class I ergative/locative form *gayininini* is often reduced to *gayinini* in fast or casual speech.

Thus, the case suffixes are regular for nominals: *-Ø* 'NOM and ACC', *-ni* 'LOC', and *-nka* 'DAT', as are the gender suffixes: *-Ø/-ni-* 'I:Abs/nAbs', *-rna/-nga-* 'II:Abs/nAbs', *-a* 'IV:Abs and nAbs'. See 4.4.1 for a discussion of nominal case suffixes, and 4.2.2 for a discussion of gender suffixes.

The non-singular forms of this ignorative are formed regularly with the addition of the number suffixes *-yulu* 'DUAL' or *-guny-* 'PLURAL'⁹¹. Some examples are:

gayinigunji	plural nominative/accusative Class I
gayiniyulu	dual nominative/accusative ⁹²
gayiniyuliji	dual ergative/locative
gayinigunyani	plural ergative/locative Class II

Following are examples of some these forms in context.

(4-221) **Gayini-yuli-ji** alag-uli-ji wurlu-ny-a yurndu?
what-DUAL:nAbs-LOC child-DUAL:nAbs-LOC 3duA-2O-nF hit(nF)
Which two kids hit you?

(4-222) **Gayina-ni** ng-u daguma?
what:IV:nAbs-LOC 1sgA-Fut hit(nF)

⁹¹This is the same plural suffix that is used with demonstratives. The forms for each gender are: *-gunji* (I), *-gunya* (II), *-gunyma* (III) and *-gunja* (IV).

⁹²Gender is not marked with the dual number suffix.

With what will hit (him)?

- (4-223) **Gayinini-ni** gini-n lajarri guyiga?
what:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr light(nF) fire:IV(ACC)
Who's (the man) lighting the fire?

- (4-224) **Gayinirna** ngangirna gujinya?
what:II(NOM) 2sgPOSS:II(NOM) mother:II(NOM)
Who's your mother?

- (4-225) **Gayinini-nka** gi-n ayani
lunggaji?
what:I:nAbs-DAT 3sgS(Pres)-Pr look.for(nF)
policeman:I(NOM)
Which boy is the policeman looking for?

- (4-226) **Gayini-gunji** g-a yarru?
what-PLURAL:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst go(nF)
Which mob went?

- (4-227) **Gayina** yurula nyamirniiji?
what:IV(NOM) name:IV(NOM) 2sgNOM
What's your name?

When the referent is unknown, such that it is not possible to determine the gender, the Class I form is used:

- (4-228) **Gayini** irri-n ngannga?
what:I(ACC) 3plA(nPst)-Pr bark.at(nF)
What are they barking at?

The Class IV form is used to refer to non-nominal entities, such as events, activities etc.

- (4-229) **Gayina** ngiyi-ny-a didima?
what:IV(ACC) 3sgnmascA-2O-nF tell(nF)
What did she tell you?

Gayini can be inflected with the same possessive-deriving suffix that is used with possessive pronouns and possessive demonstratives (-*gan-*), followed by a gender suffix agreeing with the possessed noun, to derive a possessive ignorative meaning 'whose'. In the following example the final nasal of the suffix -*gan-* has assimilated to the place of articulation of the velar stop of the following Class IV gender suffix, -*ga*.

- (4-230) Yana narunguja gayinagangga⁹³?
 this:IV:sg:NOM car:IV(NOM) whose:IV(NOM)
 Whose car is this?

See 4.6 and 4.8 for a discussion of this possessive-deriving suffix with demonstratives and free pronouns respectively.

4.7.1.1 *gayinanka* 'why'

Gayini can also be inflected with the dative suffix *-nka* to form the ignorative 'why'. This ignorative is used both with the meaning 'why, with what purpose' and 'why, what cause'.

In this respect Wambaya differs from many Australian languages which express these two meanings with different forms. Often the 'what cause' form is derived with the ablative suffix (eg. Diyari (Austin 1981b) and Bilinara (Nordlinger 1990)).

Some examples are:

- (4-231) **Gayinanka** gi-n yugu nanama?
 why 3sgS(Pres)-Pr cry(nF) that:II:sg:NOM
 Why is she crying?
- (4-232) **Gayinanka** nyi-n gami?
 why 2sgS(Pres)-Pr laugh(nF)
 Why are you laughing?
- (4-233) **Gayinanka** irri-ngg-a daguma?
 why 3plA-RR-nF hit(nF)
 Why are they fighting?

4.7.2 *injani* 'where'

Injani is used with the meanings of 'where' and 'where to' (although it is always glossed 'where'). It does not inflect for either number or gender.

- (4-234) **Injani** g-a yarru alaji?
 where 3sgS-Pst go(nF) boy:I(NOM)
 Where did the boy go?
- (4-235) **Injani** darrangu ngarrga?
 where stick:IV(NOM) 1sgPOSS:IV(NOM)
 Where is my stick?

⁹³Note that in this form, as in the derived form *gayinanka* 'why', the final vowel of the root (/i/) has lowered to /a/. Perhaps this is due to assimilation with the vowel in the following suffix.

This ignorative can be combined with the ablative suffix *-nnga* to mean 'where from'.

(4-236) **Injannga** ini julaji gi-n ngarra bard-bi?
where.from this:I:sg:NOM bird:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr 1sgObl run-nF
Where is this bird coming (to me) from?

(4-237) **Injannga** nanawulu nayida-wulu?
where.from this:II:du:NOM woman-DUAL(NOM)
Where are these two women from?

These two forms are clearly comprised of a root *inja-* followed by either the ergative/locative case suffix *-ni* or the ablative case suffix *-nnga*. The form *inja* is attested in one example in the corpus in which it means 'which':

(4-238) **Inja** darranggu ny-a aliyulu?
which stick:IV(ACC) 2sgA-Pst find(nF)
Which stick did you find?

Note that it is very common in Australian languages for 'which' and 'where' to be expressed with the same root (Mushin 1993:18).

4.7.3 *yangulu* 'when'

Yangulu is the ignorative meaning 'when'. Some examples of its use are:

(4-239) **Yangulu** ny-amany yarru?
when 2sgS-P:twds go(nF)
When did you arrive?

(4-240) **Yangulu** g-uba yarru,
gujinya?
when 3sgS-nP:away go(Fut) mother:II(NOM)
When will you go, mother?

4.7.4 *yangulany-* 'how many'

Yangulany- 'how many' agrees in gender with the noun that it modifies. The different gender forms are *yangulanji* (I), *yangulanya* (II), *yangulanyma* (III) and *yangulanja* (IV). There are only a few examples of this ignorative in the corpus. It is likely that further examples will show that it also agrees with the head noun in case, but the only examples I have so far are in the accusative case.

(4-241) **Yangulanja** ngarlana nyi nyamirniiji ngarl-wi?
how.many:IV(ACC) language:IV(ACC) 2sgS(Pres) 2sgNOM talk-nF
How many languages do you speak?

(4-242) **Yangulanji** nyi yabu alaji?
 how.many:I(ACC) 2sgA(Pres) have(nF) boy:I(ACC)
 How many children do you have?

Chadwick (1978:201) gives the Class I and Class II forms of this ignorative as *wananggalaji* and *wananggalanya* respectively. I have not heard either of these forms. The Class III and Class IV forms that he gives are the same as those that I have given above.

4.7.5 *wunjugu* 'how'

The ignorative *wunjugu* is used with the meaning 'how'. There are very few examples of this form in the corpus, one of which is:

(4-243) **Wunjugu** irr-ala ngarl-wi?
 how 3plS-Hab:nPst talk-nF
 How do they always say it?

4.7.6 Functions of ignoratives

Ignoratives in my corpus have two functions: an interrogative (questioning) function and an indefinite function⁹⁴. The examples given above illustrate the use of ignoratives with an interrogative function; in the following discussion I exemplify the use of Wambaya ignoratives with an indefinite function.

The indefinite function differs semantically from the interrogative function in that, while both encode a lack of knowledge, the interrogative function expresses a desire for knowledge while the indefinite function does not. An ignorative in the indefinite function, therefore, encodes the fact that the speaker lacks a particular piece of information, but does not express a desire to know what it is. Thus the speaker makes a statement, rather than asking a question. This difference is reflected in English in the difference between the two clauses 'Who ate my dinner?' (interrogative) and 'Someone (but I don't know who) ate my dinner' (indefinite).

Ignoratives in the indefinite function in Wambaya are generally marked with the inferential clitic *=miji* 'INFER'⁹⁵ (see 4-245 to 4-249), but can occur without it (4-244).

(4-244) **Gayinini-ni** gin-a wurrudbanyi irra ginging-ardi.

⁹⁴Note that there are many other functions that ignoratives commonly have in languages (see for example Mushin (1991, 1993), Wierzbicka (1980) and Karcevski (1969)), however these are the only two functions that are found in my corpus for Wambaya.

⁹⁵It is not obvious from the semantics of this construction (ie. ignorative + *=miji*) how it comes to have this indefinite meaning.

what:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst pull(nF) 3plACC drown-
CAUS(nF)

Someone (but I don't know who) pulled them down and drowned (them).

(4-245) **Gayina=miji** irr-a didima.

what:IV(ACC)=INFER 3plA-Pst tell(nF)

I don't know what they told him.

(4-246) Darrgulumi irr-a ngarra banjangani **gayinini-ni=miji**.

crack(nF) 3plA-Pst 1sgObl behind what:I:nAbs-LOC=INFER

Someone (I don't know who) let the water out behind me.

(4-247) **Gayinanga=miji** g-a yugu.

why=INFER 3sgS-Pst cry(nF)

I don't know why she cried.

(4-248) **Injani=miji** g-a yarru.

where=INFER 3sgS-Pst go(nF)

I don't know where she's gone.

(4-249) **Wunjugu=miji** irr-a gigan-bi garnguji-rdarra.

how=INFER 3plS-Pst drown-nF many:I:Abs-GROUP(NOM)

I don't know how they all drowned.

4.8 FREE PRONOUNS

While nominals generally operate on an ergative-absolutive system of case marking, free pronouns (except for the possessive forms) have a nominative-accusative case marking system; thus, ergative and nominative case forms are homophonous. There is also an oblique pronoun form which is used in the dative case and serves as the base for other case forms. Possessive pronouns, like all other nominals, have homophonous nominative and accusative forms. They agree in gender, number and case with the possessed noun that they modify and are the only pronoun forms that can occur as a modifier in a NP.

As was discussed in 4.4.1.3 above, there appears to be just one nominal case that covers both ergative and locative case functions. While there are no nominals in the corpus that make a formal distinction between ergative and locative cases, there are no examples of free pronouns in the locative case at all. Thus, it is not possible to tell whether pronouns also collapse the two cases, as all other nominals do. If it is found that pronouns formally distinguish ergative and locative cases, this should be extended to the class of nominals as a whole, and the analysis proposed here for all nominals will have to be changed such that there are two distinct cases that simply have homophonous

case marking. As there is no evidence that ergative free pronouns can occur in a locative function, I will gloss them 'ERG' rather than 'LOC' like other nominals.

Nominative and ergative free pronouns are relatively uncommon and are largely used for emphatic purposes, as are singular accusative free pronouns. Dual and plural accusative pronouns, however, are used more frequently as object bound pronouns in the auxiliary only register person, and the free object pronouns are therefore required to provide information as to the number of the object (this is discussed in greater detail in 5.1).

Table 4.18 gives non-possessive pronoun forms. The possessive pronouns are given in Table 4.19 below. Note that the language does not have any third person singular non-oblique pronouns; when necessary, demonstratives are used instead (this is quite common in Australian languages, see Dixon (1980)). As ergative and nominative forms are homophonous, I have listed them together in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 Free Pronouns

	NOM/ERG	ACC	Obl(ique)
1sg	ngawurniji, ngawu	ngawurniji, ngawu	ngarra
2sg	nyamirniyi, nyami	nyamirniyi, nyami	nganga
3sg.m	—	—	nanga
3sg.f	—	—	ngaya
1duinc	mirndiyani	mirnda	mirnda
1duexc	ngurluwani	ngurla	ngurla
2du	gurluwani	gurla	gurla
3du	wurluwani	wurla	wurla
1plinc	ngurruwani	ngurra	ngurra
1plexc	ngirriyani	ngirra	ngirra
2pl	girriyani	girra	girra
3pl	irriyani	irra	irra

Note that there are no more than two forms for each pronoun. The singular pronouns have homophonous nominative, ergative and accusative forms, and a different form for oblique, while the non-singular pronouns have one form that covers nominative and ergative cases and another one that is used for both accusative and oblique.

The non-singular accusative/oblique forms are clearly derived from the non-singular nominative/ergative forms. The non-singular nominative/ergative forms are made up of a pronoun base followed by either *-wani* (after /u/) or *-yani* (after /i/). The accusative/oblique forms are derived by replacing the final vowel of the pronoun base with /a/. Thus:

	Pronoun Base	NOM/ERG	ACC/Oblique
1duinc	mirndi-	mirndi-yani	mirnd-a
3du	wurlu-	wurlu-wani	wurl-a

While the singular nominative, ergative and accusative forms are a little unpredictable, the oblique forms can also be seen to be made up of a pronoun base of which the final vowel is replaced by /a/:

	Pronoun Base ⁹⁶	Oblique Form
1sg	ngarri-	ngarr-a
2sg	ngangi-	ngang-a
3sg.m	nangi-	nang-a

In the third person singular feminine, which has a consonant final root, the final consonant of the root is dropped to form the oblique pronoun:

3sg.f	Pronoun Base ngayang-	Oblique Form ngaya
--------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------

The pronoun forms are basically the same for all three dialects of the McArthur language. However, in Gudanji the non-singular accusative and oblique forms all contain the additional final syllable *-ga*: *mirndaga* '1duincACC/Obl', *wurlaga* '3duACC/Obl', etc. It would appear that the Wambaya forms originally contained this syllable too, as it appears before the comitative suffix (see below), and is present in the stem of the dative demonstratives (see 4.6.1).

Many examples of the use of these pronouns can be found throughout this thesis. Some more follow.

(4-250) **Ngirriyani** ngirri-n mirra.
 1plexcNOM 1plexcS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF)
We're sitting here.

(4-251) Ngaj-bi ng-a **irra**.
 see-nF 1sgA-Pst 3plACC

⁹⁶Evidence for the existence of the final vowels of these roots comes from the analysis of possessive pronouns and is discussed below.

I watched them.

- | | | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------|----------------|
| (4-252) | Ard-bi | irri-n | | | ngarra. |
| | call.out-nF | 3plS(nPst)-Pr | 1sgObl | | |
| | They're calling out to me. | | | | |
| (4-253) | Dagama | ng-a | igima | | |
| | gurla. | | | | |
| | hit(nF) | 1sgA-Pst | that.one:I:sg:ACC | 2duObl | |
| | I killed him for you (two). | | | | |

The oblique forms are used in the dative case (as in (4-252) and (4-253)), and serve as the base for the comitative case forms. In the comitative case the suffix *-yili* is added to the oblique form of the pronoun. In the singular forms, the final vowel of the oblique pronoun assimilates to the vowel of the suffix:

- (4-254) Alaji gi-n mirra **ngarri-yili.**
 boy:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF) 1sgObl-COMIT
 The boy lives with me.
- (4-255) Mirrang-ba ng-u **ngangi-yili.**
 sit-Fut 1sgS-Fut 2sgObl-COMIT
 I'll sit with you.

In the non-singular forms the *-ga* present in the GudANJI accusative and oblique forms (and presumably originally in Wambaya) appears before the comitative suffix:

- (4-256) Mawula g-a **irriga-yili.**
play(nF) 3sgS-Pst 3plObl-COMIT
He played with them.
- (4-257) Yarru g-u **mirndiga-yili.**
go(Fut) 3sgS-Fut 1duincObl-COMIT
He'll go with us.

Interestingly, the comitative case form serves as the base for other case forms such as the allative:

- (4-258) Yabu gama **irriga-yili-nmanji!**
 take(Fut) sg:IMP:away 3plObl-COMIT-ALL
 Take it to them!

The possessive pronouns, like most nominals, have an ergative/absolutive case marking system; nominative and accusative case forms are homophonous. Table 4.19 lists the nominative/accusative forms of the possessive pronouns, which agree in gender,

number and case with the noun that they modify (ie. the possessed noun). A question mark indicates that the corresponding form is not present in the corpus.

Table 4.19 Possessive pronouns (with singular, nominative/accusative agreement)

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1sg	ngarri, ngarradi	ngarrirna	ngarrima	ngarrga
2sg	ngangi, ngangadi	ngangirna	ngangima	ngangga
3sg.m	nangi	nangirna	nangima	nangga
3sg.f	ngayanji	ngayanga	?	ngayangga
1duinc	mirndiganji	mirndigarna	?	mirndigangga
1duexc	ngurluganji	ngurlugarna	ngurlugama	ngurlugangga
2du	gurluganji	gurlugarna	?	gurlugangga
3du	wurluganji	wurlugarna	wurlugama	wurlugangga
1plinc	ngurruganji	ngurrugarna	?	ngurrugangga
1plexc	ngirriganji	ngirrigarna	?	ngirrigangga
2pl	girriganji	girrigarna	?	girrigangga
3pl	irriganji	irrigarna	?	irrigangga

Thus the possessive pronouns are derived from the pronoun bases discussed above. With first and second person singular, the forms for Classes I, II and III are formed by adding the appropriate gender suffix: *-Ø/-ni-* 'I Abs/nAbs', *-rna/-nga-* 'II Abs/nAbs' and *-ma/-mi-* 'III Abs/nAbs' respectively. The Class IV gender suffixes *-ga/-gi-* 'IV Abs/nAbs' replace the final vowel of the pronoun base. Third person singular masculine behaves in the same way as first and second person singular. Third person singular feminine however, takes the Class I suffix *-ji* (and *-nyi-* in the non-absolutive), and the Class II suffix *-nga* (both in the absolutive and non-absolutive). The final nasal of the pronoun base becomes palatal before the palatal stop of the Class I suffix and is dropped before the nasal of the Class II suffix, *-nga*.

Singular nominative/accusative forms

	Pronoun Base	I	II	III	IV
1sg	ngarri-	ngarri-Ø	ngarri-rna	ngarri-ma	ngarr-ga
2sg	ngangi-	ngangi-Ø	ngangi-rna	ngangi-ma	ngang-ga
3sg.m	nangi-	nangi-Ø	nangi-rna	nangi-ma	nang-ga
3sg.f	ngayang-	ngayan-ji	ngaya-nga	?	ngayang-ga

The fact that these are the forms to which dual and plural number suffixes are attached is evidence for the forms of these pronoun bases (see 4.3 for a discussion of number and number suffixes):

ngarri-yulu	1sgPOSS-DUAL
ngangi-yulu	2sgPOSS-DUAL
nangi-marndi	3sgmascPOSS-PLURAL:I(NOM/ACC)
ngayang-bali	3sgfemPOSS-PLURAL:I(NOM/ACC)

Some non-singular nominative/accusative forms

	Pronoun Base	I	II	III	IV
1duinc	mirndi-	mirndi-gan-ji	mirndi-ga-rna	mirndi-ga-ma	mirndi-gang-ga
2du	gurlu-	gurlu-gan-ji	gurlu-ga-rna	gurlu-ga-ma	gurlu-gang-ga
3pl	irri-	irri-gan-ji	irri-ga-rna	irri-ga-ma	irri-gang-ga

The non-singular possessive pronouns are derived by adding to the pronoun base the possessive-deriving suffix *-gan-*, inflected for gender: *-ji/-nyi-* 'I Abs/nAbs', *-rna/-nga-* 'II Abs/nAbs', *-ma* 'III Abs' and *-ga/-gi-* 'IV Abs/nAbs'. The final nasal of the suffix *-gan-* assimilates to the place of articulation of the following palatal or velar stop (ie. with the Class I and Class IV suffixes), and is dropped before an alveolar or bilabial nasal (ie. before the Class II absolutive suffix and the Class III suffix)⁹⁷.

Simpson (1990) notes the similarity between the *-ga* accusative/oblique element in Wambaya, and an inversion marker in Warumungu *-ngki* or *-ngku*. As well as having a slight similarity of form, these two morphemes are similar in occurring with non-singular accusative pronouns and possessive pronouns (although whether the form that occurs on possessive pronouns in Wambaya is the same as that on accusative/oblique pronouns is unclear, see the discussion in 4.6). However, the Warumungu morpheme has an additional function of marking inversion of subject and object bound pronouns that the Wambaya element does not have.

In Wambaya, as in many Australian languages, there is a contrast between two types of possession: alienable possession and inalienable possession. The possessive constructions discussed so far in this thesis, in the discussion of possessive demonstratives (4.6.1), the genitive suffix (4.4.1.9) and the possessive use of the dative

⁹⁷This suffix is also used to derive possessive demonstratives. However, in the one example of a Class III possessive demonstrative in the corpus the alveolar nasal of the possessive-deriving suffix is retained before the bilabial nasal of the Class III gender suffix: *nganaganma* 'this:II:sg:POSS:III:NOM/ACC'.

suffix (4.4.1.4), have all involved alienable possession; cases in which the possessed item is considered separate and detachable from the possessor. The nature of inalienable possession, on the other hand, is that of a part-whole relationship where two entities are considered to be inseparable such that what is happening to one nominal (the 'part') is conceived of as simultaneously happening to the other nominal (the 'whole') (see for example McGregor (1985) and Hale (1981) for a discussion of constructions of inalienable possession in other Australian languages). The semantic contrast between these two construction types is shown in the following English examples:

The dog bit my hand = The dog bit me (inalienable (or part-whole))
 The dog ate my dinner ≠ The dog ate me (alienable)

The dative and genitive suffixes and the possessive demonstratives can only be used in constructions of alienable possession, which is also the most usual use of possessive pronouns (see 4-261 to 4-264). However, for purposes of emphasis (4-265) or in verbless clauses (4-266), it is possible to use possessive pronouns in constructions of inalienable possession.

Some examples of the use of possessive pronouns follow. For a discussion of inalienable possession see 4.9.

(4-259) Ngaj-bi ng-a **nangi-marndi** alangmiminji
 see-nF 1sgA-Pst 3sgmascPOSS-PLURAL:I(ACC) children:I(ACC)
 I saw his children.

(4-260) Wugbardi ng-a manganyma **ngarringa-nka** gujiga-nka.
 cook(nF) 1sgA-Pst tucker:III(ACC) 1sgPOSS:II:nAbs-DAT mother:II:nAbs-DAT
 I cooked tucker for my mother.

(4-261) **Ngayanga-ni** janya-ni ngiyi-ng-a
 dawu.
 3sgfemPOSS:II:nAbs-LOC dog:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-1O-nF
 bite(nF)
 Her dog (female) bit me.

(4-262) Iniyawulu **gurlugan-bulu** alag-ulu.
 that:I:du:NOM 2duPOSS-DUAL(NOM) child-
 DUAL(NOM)
 There are your (dual) two children.

(4-263) Junmi nyi-ng-a **ngarrga** nyungga!
 cut(nF) 2sgA-1O-nF 1sgPOSS:IV(ACC) hair:IV(ACC)
 You cut my hair!

(4-264) Yana **ngarrga** labirra.

this:IV:sg:NOM 1sgPOSS:IV(NOM) hand:IV(NOM)
This is my hand.

It is very common for an oblique pronoun to be used in a context where a possessive pronoun would usually be expected. The examples of this are all in constructions of alienable possession. Some examples are:

(4-265) Gaj-bi gin-a manganyma
 ngarra.
eat-nF 3sgmascA-Pst tucker:III(ACC) 1sgObl
He ate my tucker.

(4-266) Yarru irr-agba **nganga** magi-nmanji.
go(nF) 3plS-IRR:Fut 2sgObl camp:IV:nAbs-ALL
They might go to your camp.

(4-267) Lurd-bi irr-a **ngarra** barrawu.
pound-nF 3plA-Pst 1sgObl house:IV(ACC)
They bashed on my door [Lit. house].

The fact that oblique pronouns can be used in possessive constructions parallels the common use of the dative case with nominals in genitive phrases, instead of the genitive suffix (see 4.4.1.4 and 4.4.1.9).

4.9 NP STRUCTURE

A Wambaya noun phrase consists of a head and, optionally, one or more modifiers. All members of the NP must agree in terms of gender, number and case (where morphologically possible). However, the members of a NP need not be contiguous in the clause. Work on some Australian languages (eg. Hale 1981 and 1983 on Warlpiri and Blake 1983 on Kalkatungu) has suggested that these languages do not have NP constituents, and that apparent NPs can just be treated as apposed nominals. I will not review the arguments for this analysis here, and for the purposes of this thesis I will consider the NP to be a constituent in Wambaya on the basis of the following two (admittedly shaky) criteria:

- (i) Usually the auxiliary must follow the initial word of a clause. However, it is possible for the auxiliary to follow a complex NP, thereby providing evidence

for its existence as a constituent. The position of the auxiliary can then be described as being after the initial constituent of a clause⁹⁸.

- (ii) In possessive phrases in which the possessor is marked with either the genitive or dative case, extra case marking is found only on the head of the NP. As case marking is not found on the possessor nominal in this situation, the case marking found on the head nominal also refers to the modifying nominal, thereby providing evidence that the two nominals in such phrases form a single NP constituent.

The structure of Wambaya NPs is an area in which a lot of work is still needed to be done. The following discussion, while covering the basic characteristics of the NP, is not necessarily all that there is to say about NPs in Wambaya.

The structure of a Wambaya NP is as follows.⁹⁹

(MODIFIERS)	HEAD	(MODIFIER)
(Dem)(POSS)(Num)(Adj)	Nom	
Dem = Demonstrative		
POSS = Possessive pronoun or possessive demonstrative		
Num = Numeral		
Adj = Adjective		
Nom = Nominal		

Note that (i) all modifiers are optional; (ii) any one of the modifiers listed in the position before the head can optionally be postposed to follow the head; and (iii) the head is usually a noun; if there is no noun present then the head slot can be filled by a modifier. Although the tendency is for NPs to be contiguous, it is possible for members of a NP to be separated in the clause. In almost all examples of this one member appears initially in the clause (see 4-277 and 4-278), but this is not always the case (see 4-279).

A NP can also be made up of a pronoun. A pronoun is always the head of a phrase, and usually occurs alone (although see below for some possible exceptions to this).

Some example NPs are:

Dem + Noun + POSS

⁹⁸Note however, that this also occurs in Warlpiri where nominals are considered to form higher level constituent only in this construction (eg. Hale 1983, Simpson 1991).

⁹⁹Note that this is the same structure as in Kayardild (Evans 1985) and is very similar to the Gooniyandi structure (McGregor 1990).

(4-268) Janganja **iniyaga** **gagulu** **ngangi!**
 ask(Fut) that:I.sg:ACC y.brother:I(ACC)
 2sgPOSS:I(ACC)
 Ask your brother!

Dem + Num

(4-269) **Inuwulu** **gujarrawulu** wurl-uba
 yarru.
 this:I:du:NOMtwo(NOM) 3duS-nP:away go(Fut)
 These two will go.

Dem + POSS, and then Num + Dem

(4-270) **Nganki** **ngayanga-ni** ngiy-a aliyulu
 this:II.sg:LOC 3sgfemPOSS:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst find(nF)

garndawugi **iniyaga.**
 one:I(ACC) that:I.sg:ACC
 This (daughter) of hers has that one (son).

Num + Adj + Noun

(4-271) **Garndawugini-ni** **bugayini-ni** **galalarrinyi-ni** gini-ng-a dawu.
 one:I:nAbs-LOC big:I:nAbs-LOC dog:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-1O-nF bite(nF)
 One big dog bit me.

Dem + Noun + Adj

(4-272) Ayani ngi **ninaga** **galalarrinyi-nka** **bugayini-nka.**
 look.for(nF) 1sgS(Pres) this:I.sg:DAT dog:I:nAbs-DAT big:I:nAbs-DAT
 I'm looking for the big dog.

POSS + Num + Noun

(4-273) **Ngarri-yulu** **gujarrawulu** **alag-ulu.**
 1sgPOSS-DUAL(NOM) two(NOM) child-DUAL(NOM)
 My two children.

Num + Noun + Dem

(4-274) Ngaj-bi g-a **gujarrawulu** **marndag-bulu** **inuwuliyaga.**
 see-nF 3sgA-Pst two(ACC) white.person-DUAL(ACC) that:I:du:ACC
 He saw those two white men.

Pro (NOM)

(4-275) **Ngawurniji** ng-uba yarru.
 1sgNOM 1sgS-nP:away go(Fut)

I'll go.

Pro (Obl)

- (4-276) Yandu ngi **ngaya.**
wait(nF) 1sgS(Pres) 3sgfemObl
I'm waiting for her.

Examples of discontinuous NPs are:

- (4-277) **Garngunya** gin-aji yabu **garirda-rdarra**
many:II(ACC) 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst have(nF) wife:II:Abs-GROUP(ACC)

garndawugini-ni.
one:I:nAbs-LOC
One (man) used to have many wives.

- (4-278) **Ngaragana-nguji** ngiy-a gujinganjanga-ni jiyawu **ngabulu.**
grog-PROP:I(ACC) 3sgnmascA-Pst mother:II:nAbs-LOC give(nF) milk:IV(ACC)
(His) mother gave (him) milk with grog in it.

- (4-279) Babaga-yi nyi-n **jundurra** mirnda **bajbaga**
sister:II:nAbs-LOC 2sgA(Pres)-Pr dust:IV(ACC) 1duincObl
big:IV(ACC)

yardi.
put(nF)
Sister you're making lots of dust for us.

A small set of nouns can also be used as modifiers, modifying a head noun. The most common examples of this are with the noun *bungmaji* 'old man' (I) (4-280 and 4-281) .

- (4-280) **Garidi-ni** **bungmanyi-ni** gin-amany yany-bi.
husband:I:nAbs-LOC old.man:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-P:twds get-nF
(Her) old man husband came and got (her).

- (4-281) **Ngarri** **bungmaji** **jugu** g-a yarru
1sgPOSS:I(NOM) old.man:I(NOM) MB:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst go(nF)

mawula-ji-nka.
play-TH-PURP
My old man uncle came to play (cards).

Another example involves the noun *lagurra* 'hole'. Note that, despite the fact that it belongs to a different gender, *lagurra* shows no gender agreement with the head noun in this example:

(4-282) Yabu ng-aji lagurra juruma.
 have(nF) 1sgA-Hab:Pst hole:IV(ACC) stomach:III(ACC)
 I used to have a deep stomach (ie. I was very thin).

In a couple of examples, an oblique pronoun co-occurs with a noun. In these examples it is difficult to determine whether the two belong to one NP or to different NPs. However, the fact that pronouns usually occur alone in a NP suggests that it may be better to treat these examples as containing two apposed NPs, as in the English translations.

(4-283) Yandu irri ngaya bulungunga-nka.
 wait(nF) 3plS(nPst) 3sgfemObl young.woman:II:nAbs-DAT
 They wait for her, the young woman.

(4-284) Yangula g-a yarru naniyaga mujuju-ngunya
 NEG 3sgS-Pst go(nF) that:II:sg:NOM menstruation-PROP:II(NOM)
 irriga-yili-nmanji juwa-nmanji.
 3plObl-COMIT-ALL man:I:nAbs-ALL
 That menstruating woman can't go near them, the men.

Inalienable possession

As mentioned in 4.8 above, Wambaya makes a formal distinction between two types of possessive constructions: alienable and inalienable. In constructions of alienable possession the possessor is expressed by either a possessive pronoun or demonstrative, or by a nominal inflected with either the dative or genitive case. In constructions of inalienable possession, however, there is no special marking on the possessor nominal and the two nominals occur in juxtaposition. Examples of constructions of alienable possession are found in 4.8, 4.6, 4.4.1.4 and 4.4.1.9. Constructions of inalienable possession are discussed here.

Constructions of inalienable possession are the most common type of what are commonly referred to as part-whole constructions¹⁰⁰. These constructions are thus opposed to those of alienable possession which encode two entities as being associated, but easily separable. Inalienable possession in Wambaya is most commonly used with body parts (4-286, 4-287, 4-289), but is also used with other entities such as tracks (4-290) and names (4-288).

¹⁰⁰Although, as pointed out by Chappell and McGregor (1989:28), constructions of inalienable possession encode not so much a part-whole relation, but rather one in which two entities are seen to be inextricably linked. See also McGregor (1985) and Hale (1981) for a discussion of part-whole relations in other Australian languages.

As mentioned above, the construction of inalienable possession differs from that of alienable possession in that the two nominals are simply juxtaposed without any special morphological marking. These two constructions also differ in the way that they are registered in the auxiliary. In alienable constructions, it is the possessed noun (the head of the phrase) which is registered in the auxiliary. In inalienable constructions, however, it is the 'possessor' nominal which is registered. This difference is shown in the following two examples of which the first is an alienable construction and the second is one of inalienable possession.

- (4-285) Daguma ng-a ngangi janji.
 hit(nF) 1sgA-Pst 2sgPOSS:I(ACC) dog:I(ACC)
 I hit your dog.
- (4-286) Nyami ngi-ny-a daguma labirra.
 2sgACC 1sgA-2O-nF hit(nF) hand:IV(ACC)
 I hit your hand.

If the inalienable construction is considered to be made up of 2 NPs: one which contains the 'possessor' nominal and bears the grammatical relation, and another which contains the 'possessed' entity and is a complement of the first NP, then this difference in the cross-referencing behaviour of the two possessive constructions is easily explained. Under this analysis it is simply the head of the NP bearing the grammatical relation which is registered: *janji* 'dog' (I) in (4-285) and *nyami* '2sgACC' in (4-286). The nominal *labirra* in (4-286) cannot be registered as it belongs to a NP which does not bear the grammatical relation (but is simply a complement); and the possessor nominal in (4-285) cannot be registered as it is not the head of the NP in which it occurs.¹⁰¹

The behaviour of inalienable constructions in reflexive/reciprocal clauses also supports the analysis that considers the 'possessed' entity to be a complement to the 'possessor' NP. Usually a reflexive/reciprocal construction contains no overt object NP, only the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun in the auxiliary. However in constructions of inalienable possession, it is possible to have an overt NP representing the object:

- (4-287) Langanjardi-j-ba ngu-ngg-u janga.
 hang.up-TH-Fut 1sgA-RR-Fut foot:IV(NOM)
 I'll put my feet up.

¹⁰¹Note that this makes predictions about auxiliary placement in inalienable constructions: if the 'possessor' and the 'possessed' belong to different NPs one would expect that it is not possible for both to precede the auxiliary in one clause. Unfortunately the corpus does not contain the relevant data to check this.

This suggests that the overt NP, here *janga*, is not the object (as the object is represented by the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun), but a complement to the object.

A few other examples of inalienable constructions are:

(4-288) Gayina nyamirniyi yurula?
 what:IV(NOM) 2sgNOM name:IV(NOM)
 What's your name?

(4-289) Warima gini-ng-a labirra.
 hold(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-nF hand:IV(ACC)
 He held my hand.

(4-290) Janga ng-a ngaj-bi yarru-warda
 mayinanyi.
 foot:IV(ACC) 1sgA-Pst see-nF go-INF goanna:I(ACC)
 I saw the goanna's tracks going along.

The auxiliary in Wambaya contains bound pronouns that represent the subject and object (if present) of the clause, as well as affixes that provide tense, aspect, mood and directional information. The auxiliary occurs in second position and is usually obligatory in every main verbal clause; it can only be omitted under highly restricted conditions (see 5.4). The basic structure of the auxiliary is as follows:

Subject + (Object) +
Tense/aspect/mood/directional

A maximum of two arguments can be registered in the auxiliary. With ditransitive verbs, some of which have two accusative objects and others of which have an accusative object and a dative indirect object (see 7.2.1.5), it is the recipient which is registered. In all examples in the corpus, this argument is animate while the other argument that is not registered is inanimate. Some examples are:

(5-1) Didima ngiyi-ng-a marranya.
 tell(nF) 3sgnmascA-1O-nF yarn:IV(ACC)
 She told me a yarn.

(5-2) Jiyawu ngi-ny-a danya.
 give(nF) 1sgA-2O-nF clothes:IV(ACC)
 I gave you clothes.

The indirect objects of such ditransitive verbs are the only arguments other than subject and direct object that can be represented in the auxiliary. Indirect objects of semi-transitive verbs, for example, are not registered:

(5-3) Yandu ng-a nganga.
 wait(nF) 1sgS-Pst 2sgObl
 I waited for you.

As evident in the above structural template, the auxiliary in Wambaya contains no verbal root (at least synchronically). Although it is sometimes claimed that an auxiliary, by definition, must be verbal, Schachter (1985) argues that it is possible for the class of auxiliaries to include non-verbs, as in languages such as Hausa (p.41). I thereby follow the arguments of Schachter in describing the Wambaya part of speech as an auxiliary despite the fact that it is synchronically non-verbal. Following are some examples of auxiliaries in Wambaya.

- (5-4) Daguma **ng-a.**
 hit(nF) 1sgA-Pst
 I hit him.
- (5-5) Yarru **ng-uba.**
 go(Fut) 1sgS-nP:away
 I will go.
- (5-6) Yarru **ng-amany.**
 go(nF) 1sgS-P:twds
 I came.
- (5-7) Mirra **ny-ala.**
 sit(nF) 2sgS-Hab:nPst
 You always sit.
- (5-8) Ngaj-bi **ngi-ny-a.**
 see-nF 1sgA-2O-nF
 I saw you.

The absence of a verbal root makes the structure of the auxiliary a little difficult to characterise: are the bound pronouns prefixed to the tense markers, or are the tense markers suffixed to the bound pronouns? Historically, one would expect that the bound pronouns were prefixed to an auxiliary verb which has since been reduced, or lost completely, and is now represented only by the tense/aspect/mood and directional markers. However strictly speaking, it is no longer valid to say that the bound pronouns are prefixes in Wambaya as there is no verbal root to which they are prefixed.

In this respect I disagree with Blake (1990) who argues that the West Barkly languages can be reanalysed as prefixing on the basis of the fact that bound pronouns are prefixed in the auxiliary to, what he calls, a verbal stem (p.54). This analysis is based on examples from Chadwick (1979:681) such as the following from Wambaya (I have retained Blake's glosses):

- (a) nguba
 I:go:FUT
 I shall go.
- (b) ngajbi nguba
 see I:go:FUT
 I'll go and see.

Blake claims that (a) contains a verb prefixed with a bound pronoun which in (b) functions as a grammatical verb governing a non-finite lexical verb (p.54). It is possible that the language may have changed since the time that Chadwick did his fieldwork, but in present day Wambaya the form in (a) is not a verb but the auxiliary, and can only be a complete utterance in a context where it is clearly understood which verb has been ellipsed. Thus, the more correct version of (a) would be *yarru nguba* in which the auxiliary occurs with the verb *yarru* meaning 'go'. The form *nguba* is made up of the bound pronoun *ng(i)-* representing first person singular subject, and the suffix *-uba* which indicates that the tense is non-past and the action/event involves movement in a direction away from the speaker (see below).

I therefore disagree with Blake's claim that Wambaya¹⁰² has verbs with pronominal prefixes (p.55), and can subsequently be reclassified as synchronically prefixing (p.64). Although it can certainly be seen to have been prefixing diachronically (the demonstratives, for example, retain old gender prefixes, see 4.6), synchronically it has no productive prefixing and can only be considered suffixing.

In this thesis, I will call the pronominal elements 'bound pronouns' and will refer to the tense/aspect/mood and directional markers as 'suffixes', while acknowledging this term's slight inaccuracy.

In this chapter I begin with a discussion of the bound pronouns in the auxiliary (5.1), then discuss the tense, aspect and mood marking (5.2) and the directional suffixes (5.3). At the end of this chapter I deal with syntactic and functional aspects of the auxiliary: its position in, or absence from, the clause (5.4) and its behaviour in imperative constructions (5.5).

Appendix C gives the forms of the auxiliaries in the other Eastern Group languages (from Chadwick 1978).

5.1 BOUND PRONOUNS

Every auxiliary (except for some directional imperative auxiliaries, see 5.3) must contain a bound pronoun that registers the subject of the clause, and if there is a first or second person object, then the auxiliary must also contain a bound pronoun registering the object of the clause. (Third person objects are not registered in the auxiliary. This is discussed in more detail in 5.2.1) The presence of bound pronouns in the auxiliary means that it is possible, and indeed usual, to omit the overt NP if all the necessary information is included in the bound pronoun itself, or if it is evident from context or previous discourse.

The bound pronoun system as a whole makes a three-way distinction between transitive subject (A), intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) (Table 5.1), although it is only in the third person singular that all three core functions are formally distinguished; all other bound pronouns have homophonous A and S forms. While the subject bound pronouns register person and number, object bound pronouns register person only. When the object is non-singular, the appropriate accusative free pronoun is used to indicate the number of the object (see below).

¹⁰²Blake talks about the West Barkly languages as a whole and, although I am just talking about Wambaya here, I am confident that these same arguments would hold for at least Gudanji, Binbinka and Ngarnga, and probably for Jingili as well. I don't think there is good synchronic evidence to classify any of these languages as synchronically prefixing.

Table 5.1 Subject and object bound pronouns

		A		S		O
1sg		ngi-		ngi-		-ng-
2sg		nyi-		nyi-		-ny-
3sgmasc	gini-		gi-		—	
3sgnmasc	ngiyi-		gi-		—	
1duinc	mirndi-	mirndi-	-ng-			
1duexc	ngurlu-	ngurlu-	-ng-			
2du		gurlu-		gurlu-		-ny-
3du		wurlu-	wurlu-	—		
1plinc	ngurru-	ngurru-	-ng-			
1plexc	ngirri-		ngirri-		-ng-	
2pl		girri-		girri-		-ny-
3pl		irri-		irri-		—

Note that a gender distinction is made only in the third person transitive subject forms. This distinction is between masculine, which only refers to Class I nominals, and non-masculine, which refers to nominals belonging to the feminine gender, Class II, as well as nominals belonging to the two inanimate genders, Classes III and IV.

- (5-9) Darranggu-nu ngiyi-ng-a irrijabi.
 stick:IV:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-1O-nF scratch(nF)
 The stick scratched me.

As mentioned above, object bound pronouns distinguish only person, not number, and are based on the singular subject forms. When the object is singular it is enough to have just the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary (5-10). When the object is non-singular however, the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary must be accompanied by a noun phrase containing the appropriate accusative free pronoun (5-11, 5-12):

- (5-10) Jiya-j-ba ngu-**ny**-u gijilulu.
 give-TH-Fut 1sgA-2O-Fut money:IV(ACC)
 I will give you (sg) money.
- (5-11) Jiya-j-ba ngu-**ny**-u **gurla** gijilulu.
 give-TH-Fut 1sgA-2O-Fut 2duACC money:IV(ACC)
 I will give you two some money.
- (5-12) Daguma gini-**ng**-a **ngirra**.
 hit(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-nF 1plexcACC
 He hit us.

When the object is third person non-singular it is not represented in the auxiliary (see 5.2.1), and must be expressed by either an accusative free pronoun (5-13), a noun-headed NP (5-14), or (less commonly) both (5-15):

(5-13) Ngaj-bi ng-a **wurla.**
 see-nF 1sgA-Pst 3duACC
 I saw them (two).

(5-14) Ngaj-bi ng-a **alag-ulu.**
 see-nF 1sgA-Pst child-DUAL(ACC)
 I saw the two children.

(5-15) **Alag-ulu** ngi-n yandu
wurla.
 child-DUAL(ACC) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr mind(nF) 3duACC
 I'm minding the two children.

Note that the object free pronoun does not have to follow the auxiliary immediately; see (5-15) and:

(5-16) Guyala ngurr-uji ngaj-bi **irra.**
 NEG 1plincA-IRR:Pres see-nF 3plACC
 We've never seen them.

As indicated in Table 5.1, third person objects are not registered in the auxiliary. While a more typical analysis of the data would be to analyse the third person object morpheme to be zero, a common situation in both Australian languages and other languages of the world, the behaviour of auxiliaries of clauses with third person objects with respect to tense marking indicates that they are best analysed as containing no object bound pronoun at all. The arguments for this are given in Nordlinger (forthcoming) and in the discussion of tense marking in 5.2.1.

There are a few examples in which a plural bound pronoun is used with dual reference. The following extract is taken from Text A.1 in which other examples can also be found (eg. lines 7-10, 14 and so on). The subject of this extract is two boys and it begins with one of them talking to the other:

(5-17) "Ngaj-bi **ngurr-uba** yana ngangaba naj-bi gi-n."
 see-nF 1plincA-nP:away this:IV:sg:ACC fire:IV(ACC) burn-nF 3sgS(Pres)-Pr
 "Let's go and look at the fire that's burning."

Yarru **irr-a** ngaj-bi nanawulu ilarra-wulu
 go(nF) 3plS-Pst see-nF this:II:du:ACC eaglehawk-DUAL(ACC)
 They went and (they) saw the two eaglehawks

buyunku-nu wurlu-n mirra.
middle-LOC 3duS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF)
(who) were sitting in the middle (of their camp).

The third person plural form *irri* is used with non-specific or general reference, as is 'one' or 'they' in English.

(5-18) Ngarringga irr-a narunguja.
take.from(nF) 3plA-Pst car:IV(ACC)
[when explaining that my car had been sent on a truck to Adelaide] They've
taken (her) car.

The reflexive/reciprocal pronoun

In reflexive and reciprocal constructions, the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun (glossed 'RR') occurs in the object position in the auxiliary. The form of this bound pronoun is *-ngg-*¹⁰³ and it is followed by regular tense/aspect/mood suffixes (see 5.2.1). Some examples are:

(5-19) Gurda ngiyi-**ngg**-a.
be.sick(nF) 3sgnascA-RR-nF
She is sick.

(5-20) Daguma-j-ba irri-**ngg**-i.
hit-TH-Fut 3plA-RR-Fut
They all will fight.

(5-21) Daguma-j-ba wurlu-**ngg**-u.
hit-TH-Fut 3duA-RR-Fut
They two will fight.

Note that, although the transitive forms of the subject bound pronouns are used in these constructions, a subject NP takes nominative case marking, rather than ergative/locative case marking (as would usually be expected of a transitive subject, see 4.4.1.3):

(5-22) Janji gini-**ngg**-a wagardbi.
dog:I(NOM) 3sgmascA-RR-nF wash(nF)
The dog is washing himself.

¹⁰³Note that the Gudanji form of this pronoun is *-ngga* as in:

Ngaj-bi wurlu-ngga-ma.
see-nF 3duA-RR-Pst
They saw each other.

This is presumably the underlying form of the Wambaya suffix also; the tense suffix replacing the final vowel.

- (5-23) Alag-bulu wurlu-ngg-a nyurrunyurru.
 child-DUAL(NOM) 3duA-RR-nF chase(nF)
 The two children are chasing each other.

This is the only case in which there is a mismatch between transitive subject bound pronouns and ergative/locative case marking. In all other types of constructions, a NP represented by a transitive subject bound pronoun must have ergative/locative case marking.

5.1.1 First person dual inclusive as an ambiguous category

The category of first person dual inclusive in Wambaya is interesting as it patterns both with non-singular forms and with singular forms. In terms of object marking in the auxiliary, first dual inclusive is treated like all other non-singular forms (eg. 5-11, 5-12), requiring that the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary be accompanied by the free form accusative pronoun (5-24). This is as opposed to singular categories which only require the object bound pronoun in the auxiliary (5-25)¹⁰⁴.

- (5-24) Ngaj-bi gini-ng-a-n mirnda.
 see-nF 3sgmascA-1O-nF-Pr 1duincACC.
 He's watching us two.

- (5-25) Ngaj-bi gini-ng-a-n.
 see-nF 3sgmascA-1O-nF-Pr
 He's watching me.

In other respects, however, first dual inclusive patterns with the singular categories. *Mirndi*-, like singular subject bound pronouns, is affected by regressive vowel harmony triggered by /u/-initial suffixes: *mirndi*- + *-uba* 'nP:away' > *murnduba* '1duincS/A:nP:away'. Non-singular subject bound pronouns, however, themselves trigger progressive vowel harmony, affecting the vowel of the suffix: *irri*- '3plS/A' + *-uba* 'nP:away' > *irriba* '3plS/A:nP:away'¹⁰⁵.

Mirndi also patterns like singular bound pronouns with respect to tense marking (this is discussed in more detail in 5.2.1). When the auxiliary has no object, *mirndi*, like the singular subject forms, makes a three way tense distinction:

- (5-26)

¹⁰⁴Note also that the first dual inclusive free pronouns pattern consistently with the other non-singular forms (see 4.8).

¹⁰⁵See 2.3.4.3 for a detailed discussion of vowel harmony in the auxiliary.

- (a) Bard-bi mirnd-a / ng-a.
run-nF 1duincS-Pst / 1sgS-Pst
We/I ran.
- (b) Bard-bi mirndi / ngi.
run-nF 1duincS(Pres) / 1sgS(Pres)
We/I run.
- (c) Bard-ba murnd-u / ng-u.
run-Fut 1duincS-Fut / 1sgS-Fut
We/I will run.

Other non-singular forms (such as the first dual exclusive), however, only make a two-way tense distinction, between past tense and non-past tense:

- (5-27)
- (a) Bard-bi / bard-ba ngurlu.
run-nF / run-Fut 1duexcS(nPst)
We run / we will run.
 - (b) Bard-bi ngurl-a.
run-nF 1duexcS-Pst
We ran.

The category of first person dual inclusive is thus ambiguous in Wambaya between treatment as a dual category (patterning with non-singular forms) and treatment as a minimal category (patterning with singular forms). This ambiguity of first person dual inclusive is not uncommon in other languages and is discussed by Greenberg (1988) and then by McGregor (1989) and Greenberg (1989).

As the system of number in Wambaya as a whole distinguishes singular, dual and plural number, *mirndi* is considered essentially a dual category. In the discussion of the instances in which it patterns with the singular forms, I will use the term 'minimal' to refer to the group containing the singular bound pronouns and *mirndi*, and 'non-minimal' to refer to the group consisting of the other non-singular forms. For a discussion of 'minimal' in pronominal systems see Conklin (1962) and McKay (1975 and 1978), among others.

5.2 TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD

The auxiliary has another important role, apart from representing the subject and object NPs of the clause. It also provides tense, aspect and mood information. As there is very little inflection found on the verb (see 6.1), the auxiliary often provides the only

tense, aspect and mood information for the clause. I will begin by discussing the marking of 'simple'¹⁰⁶ tense in the auxiliary (5.2.1) and will then discuss the aspect and mood suffixes (5.2.2 - 5.2.4).

5.2.1 'Simple' tense

The marking of tense in the auxiliary is a little complicated as different types of auxiliaries mark tense slightly differently. Intransitive auxiliaries that have a minimal subject (ie. those that have either a singular subject or a first person dual inclusive subject, see 5.1.1) have a three-way tense system, distinguishing present tense (-Ø), past tense (-a) and future tense (-u) (5-28). Intransitive auxiliaries that have a non-minimal subject (ie. those that have any other non-singular subject, see 5.1.1) have a two-way tense system, distinguishing past tense (-a) from non-past tense (-Ø) (5-29).

(5-28)

- (a) Bardgu gi-Ø.
fall(nF) 3sgS-Pres
He/she/it is falling.
- (b) Bardgu g-a.
fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst
He/she/it fell.
- (c) Bardgu-j-ba g-u.
fall-TH-Fut3sgS-Fut
He/she/it will fall.

(5-29)

- (a) Bard-bi ngurr-a.
run-nF 1plincS-Pst
We ran.
- (b) Bard-bi ngurru-Ø.
run-nF 1plincS-nPst
We're running.
- (c) Bard-ba ngurru-Ø.
run-Fut 1plincS-nPst
We will run.

Transitive auxiliaries with first or second person objects also have a two-way system of tense marking, however in this case the distinction is between future tense (-u,-i) and

¹⁰⁶By this I mean tense marking that has no extra aspect or mood information. The interaction of tense marking with aspect and mood marking will be discussed separately for each type of aspect/mood suffix.

non-future tense (-a). The future tense allomorph *-i* appears when the subject bound pronoun is *ngirri-* '1plexc', *girri-* '2pl' or *irri-* '3pl'.

(5-30)

- (a) Ngaj-ba nguyu-ny-**u**¹⁰⁷.
 see-Fut 3sgnmascA-2O-Fut
 She will see you.
- (b) Ngaj-bi ngiyi-ny-**a**.
 see-nF 3sgnmascA-2O-nF
 She is looking at you / She saw you.

(5-31)

- (a) Bardganyi-j-ba irri-ng-**i**.
 follow-TH-Fut 3plA-1O-Fut
 They will follow me.
- (b) Bardganyi irri-ng-**a**.
 follow(nF) 3plA-1O-nF
 They are following me / They followed me.

Auxiliaries of clauses with a third person object pattern in the same way as intransitive auxiliaries: when the subject is minimal there is a three-way tense distinction (5-32) and when the subject is non-minimal there is a two-way tense distinction between past tense and non-past tense (5-33).

(5-32)

- (a) Wugbardi gini-**Ø**.
 cook(nF) 3sgmascA-Pres
 He is cooking it.
- (b) Wugbardi gin-**a**.
 cook(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst
 He cooked it.
- (c) Wugbardi-j-ba gun-**u**. 3sgmascA-Fut
 cook-TH-Fut
 He will cook it.

(5-33)

- (a) Ngara-bi ngurr-**a**.
 drink-nF 1plincA-Pst
 We drank it.

¹⁰⁷Note that all tense/aspect/mood suffixes with initial /u/ trigger regressive vowel harmony in minimal subject bound pronouns. For a full discussion of vowel harmony in the auxiliary see 2.3.4.3.

- (b) Ngara-bi ngurru-Ø.
 drink-nF 1plincA-nPst
 We're drinking it.
- (c) Ngara-ba ngurru-Ø.
 drink-Fut 1plincA-nPst
 We will drink it.

These different patterns of tense marking are summarised in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Tense distinctions in the auxiliary

	Past	Present	Future
Transitive 1 & 2 obj	-a		-u
Intransitive min. subj	-a	-Ø	-u
With 3 obj min. subj	-a	-Ø	-u
Intransitive non-min. subj	-a	-Ø	
With 3 obj non-min. subj	-a	-Ø	

The fact that auxiliaries with a third person object behave in the same way as intransitive auxiliaries suggests that, rather than third person object being marked in the auxiliary with a zero morpheme (as a more standard analysis might say), it is not marked in the auxiliary at all. This being the case, it is unproblematic to account for why it is that auxiliaries with a third person object behave in the same way as intransitive auxiliaries: they are the same in that they do not contain an object bound pronoun. Thus, the tense marking system in the auxiliary is not based on whether an auxiliary is transitive or intransitive, but whether or not the auxiliary contains an object bound pronoun. Table 5.3 is the revised table of tense distinctions in the auxiliary.

Table 5.3 Tense distinctions in the auxiliary (revised)¹⁰⁸

	Past	Present	Future
With Obj	-a		-u
Without Obj min. subj	-a	-Ø	-u
Without Obj			

¹⁰⁸Table 6.5 shows the interaction between these and verbal tense categories.

non-min. subj	-a	-Ø
---------------	----	----

It is interesting that the same three inflections are used in slightly different ways to differentiate the three tense marking systems. While *-u*, if it occurs, is always future tense, *-a* can be either past or non-future, and *-Ø* can be either present or non-past. If the three-way system (see Table 5.3) is taken to be basic this can be described in the following way. If two tense categories are to be collapsed (as happens with auxiliaries with objects, and auxiliaries with non-minimal subjects and without objects) then the inflection that marks the most anterior tense (ie. that which would occur furthest to the left on a time scale going from past tense to future tense) is generalised to mark the new tense category. For example, when the auxiliary contains an object, the tense categories of 'past' and 'present' are collapsed into 'non-future'. The inflection for this new 'collapsed' category is that which is used for the most anterior of the two collapsed categories, ie. 'past', and is therefore *-a*. When the categories of 'present' and 'future' are collapsed, as they are when an auxiliary contains a non-minimal subject and no object, the inflection that would ordinarily mark present tense (*-Ø*) is generalised to mark the new category, non-past tense. This explains why it is that the future tense inflection is never used to mark anything except for future tense, as 'future' can never be the most anterior of two tense categories.

5.2.2 Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect is only marked in portmanteaux with tense: one marking past tense and the other marking non-past tense. The two forms are *-aji* and *-ala* respectively. Some examples of the two follow (note that the non-past suffix triggers regressive vowel harmony when the subject is minimal, see 2.3.4.3):

- (5-34) Marndija **ngiyi-ng-aji** nyurrunyurru.
long.ago 3sgnascA-1O-Hab:Pst chase(nF)
She used to chase me a long time ago.
- (5-35) Jiyawu **ngirr-aji** marndanga
nyanyalu.
give(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst white.woman:II(ACC) tea:IV(ACC)
We'd give tea to the white lady.
- (5-36) Janganja **girri-ng-ala.**
ask(nF) 2plA-1O-Hab:nPst
You always ask me.
- (5-37) Manku **nga-ny-ala** girra.
hear(nF) 1sgA-2O-Hab:nPst 2plACC

I will always be thinking about you.

The past tense form, *-aji*, is probably made up of the regular past tense marker *-a* and a habitual aspect suffix *-ji*. This is supported by the fact that in Gudanji the habitual past tense form of the auxiliary is formed using the regular past tense suffix as a base:

ngirri-ma '1plexcS/A-Pst' > ngirri-ma-ji '1plexcS/A-Pst-Hab'

However, as the non-past form can not be further segmented into tense and habitual aspect marking, and as the habitual aspect suffix *-ji* is only found in the past tense form, I will treat the habitual past tense marker as if it were a portmanteau, and gloss it 'Hab:Pst'.

5.2.3 The suffix *-n*

There is one suffix, *-n*, whose meaning is a little difficult to determine. Chadwick describes it as a progressive aspect marker (1978:63) that can follow present tense or past tense suffixes. While this is the case for some of the examples in my corpus (e.g 5-38 and 5-39), in some examples it appears to have a more durative function (eg. 5-40 and 5-41).

(5-38) Bard-bi irri-**n**.
run-nF 3plS(nPst)-Pr
They're running.

(5-39) Gaj-bi gini-**n**.
eat-nF 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr
He's eating.

(5-40) Bardganyi gini-ny-a-**n** nganybulanyini-ni.
follow(nF) 3sgmascA-2O-nF-Pr cat:I:nAbs-LOC
The cat keeps following you.

(5-41) Banymanymi irri-ng-a-**n** ngurra
narunguji-ni.
pass.by:RDP(nF) 3plA-1O-nF-Pr 1plincACC car:IV:nAbs-LOC
Cars were passing by us (all night).

The conditions of use of this suffix seem to differ from speaker to speaker. One speaker for example (MG), includes it in the present tense forms of all auxiliaries that do not

have an object bound pronoun. Thus for this speaker it seems to simply mark present tense in auxiliaries without objects (see 5-42 and 5-43).

- (5-42) Mirra irri-**n** jamba-ni.
 (not *irri*)
 sit(nF) 3plS(nPst)-Pr ground:IV:nAbs-LOC
 They're sitting on the ground.
- (5-43) Girundaj-binyi-**n**.
 (not *nyi*)
 sweat-nF 2sgS(Pres)-Pr
 You're sweating.

Other speakers (eg. MH) however, don't use this suffix in this way and restrict its use to constructions such as (5-38) to (5-41) above. Note however, that this suffix does not appear in all progressive constructions, and it is in fact more common (especially when the auxiliary contains an object) for it to be absent:

- (5-44) Nyurrunyurru ngiyi-ng-a.
 chase(nF) 3sgn mascA-1O-nF
 She's chasing me.
- (5-45) Daguma irri-ngg-a.
 fight(nF) 3plA-RR-nF
 They're fighting.

More work is needed in order to properly determine the meaning and function of this suffix. For the purposes of this thesis I will refer to it as a progressive marker (and gloss it 'Pr'), while acknowledging that this may not be the best characterisation of its meaning and function.

5.2.4 Irrealis mood

There are three irrealis mood suffixes in Wambaya which differ according to tense: -*udi/ -uji* marks irrealis present tense, -*uda/ -uja* marks irrealis past tense and -*agba* marks irrealis future tense. As the present and past tense forms are clearly related, and behave in much the same way, I will discuss them together. I will then discuss the future tense form.

The present tense and past tense irrealis suffixes each have two allomorphs: one with the alveolar stop and one with the palatal stop. The allomorphs with the alveolar stop (-*udi* 'irrealis present tense' and -*uda* 'irrealis past tense') occur when the subject pronoun

is singular (5-46, 5-47, 5-48). The other allomorphs occur when the subject is non-singular (5-49, 5-50).

(5-46) Guyala **ngu-ngg-udi** gurda.
 NEG 1sgA-RR-IRR:Pres be.sick(nF)
 I never get sick.

(5-47) Didima **nyu-ng-uda**.
 tell(nF) 2sgA-1O-IRR:Pst
 You should have told me.

(5-48) Guyala **g-udi** nagarna mirra magi-ni.
 NEG 3sgS-IRR:Pres that.one:II:sg:NOM sit(nF) camp:IV:nAbs-
 LOC
 She can't sit at the camp.

(5-49) Durnanjarri **irri-ng-uja** ngurra durnajana-ni.
 cover(nF) 3plA-1O-IRR:Pst 1plincACC blanket:IV:nAbs-LOC
 They would have covered us with a blanket.

(5-50) Guyala **wurlu-ngg-uji** daguma.
 NEG 3duA-RR-IRR:Pres hit(nF)
 They never fight each other.

The third person singular masculine transitive bound pronoun can occur with either form:

(5-51) Guyala **gunu-ny-udi** manku.
 NEG 3sgmascA-2O-IRR:Pres hear(nF)
 He isn't listening to you.

(5-52) Wugbardi **gun-uja** manganyma gujinganja-nka.
 cook(nF) 3sgmascA-IRR:Pst tucker:III(ACC) mother:II:nAbs-DAT
 He should have cooked some tucker for his mother.

When the present or past tense irrealis suffix is attached directly to one of the subject bound pronouns *ngirri* '1plexc', *girri* '2pl' or *irri* '3pl', it has the forms *-iji* and *-ija* respectively:

ngirriji	1plexcS/A-IRR:Pres
girrija	2plS/A-IRR:Pst
irriji	3plS/A-IRR:Pres

It is possible that these two irrealis suffixes are further segmentable (although I gloss them as if they were portmanteaux). The past tense forms appear to contain the regular past tense suffix *-a* and clearly share a root *-ud-/-uj-* with the present tense forms. This

would mean that the present tense marker is *-i*. An alternative analysis is that the root of the irrealis mood suffix is *-udi/-uji* and that the present tense suffix is *-Ø*. This solution is preferable as the regular present tense suffix is also *-Ø*.

The past tense and present tense irrealis markers are most commonly used with the negative particle *guyala* (5-46, 5-48, 5-50, 5-51). They can also be used without *guyala* however, to indicate that something that wasn't done should have been done (5-47, 5-52) or that something would have been done were it possible (5-49). They can also be used to express the meaning of 'want' (with the implication that what is wanted is not possible):

- (5-53) Gambanga-ni **ng-udi** mirra.
 sun:II:nAbs-LOC 1sgS-IRR:Pres sit(nF)
 I want to sit in the sun (but can't).

The future tense irrealis form is *-agba* and is clearly not related to the present tense and past tense forms. Apart from occurring with the negative particle *guyala* (as in 5-54), its most common function is in admonitive constructions, which warn of a possible danger (5-55 and 5-56).

- (5-54) Guyala **irr-agba** yarru.
NEG 3plS-IRR:Fut go(nF)
They won't go.
- (5-55) Alyu lingba-j-ba! Gingan-bi **ny-agba**!
NEG:IMP bogey-TH-Fut drown-nF 2sgS-IRR:Fut
Don't swim! You might drown!
- (5-56) Narunguji-ni **ngiyi-ny-agba**
nawu.
car:IV:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-2O-IRR:Fut step.on(nF)
A car might run you over. [Lit. A car might step on you.]

5.3 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The Wambaya auxiliary can also contain directional suffixes (Table 5.4) which are used to indicate whether the action takes place towards or away from a deictic centre, usually the speaker. These suffixes also mark tense - past and non-past - and occur in place of the tense suffixes discussed in 5.2.1 above. There are no examples in which the directional suffixes co-occur with any of the aspect or mood markers.

Table 5.4 Indicative directional suffixes

PL	SG	DU
TOWARDS	ga	gurlama
girrama		
AWAY	gama	gurli
		girri

Note that the dual and plural 'towards' forms contain the element *-ma* which is also contained in the non-imperative forms for direction towards. This element is not contained in the singular form for direction towards, but does strangely appear in the singular form for direction away.

Examples of these suffixes include:

- (5-61) Iligirri-nmanji ngurr-**uba** yarru. Lingba-lingba ngurr-**uba**.
river:IV:nAbs-ALL 1plincS-nP:away go(Fut) RDP-bogey(nF) 1plincS-nP:away
We're all going down to the river. We're going to swim.
- (5-62) Bungmanyi-ni gin-**amany** yany-bi.
old.man:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-P:twds get-nF
The old man came and got her.
- (5-63) Ngaj-bi wurlu-ng-**amany** ngurra ngarl-warda.
see-nF 3duA-1O-P:twds 1plincACC talk-INF
They came to watch us talking.
- (5-64) Gannga murnd-**ulama** ngarli-nka.
return(Fut) 1duincS-nP:twds talk-PURP
We will come back to talk.
- (5-65) Mawula **girri!**
play(nF) pl:IMP:away
Go and play!
- (5-66) Yabu **ga!**
bring(Fut) sg:IMP:twds
Bring it here!

Note that the use of these directional suffixes, even with verbs of motion, is optional and it is common for motion verbs to occur without one of these suffixes in the auxiliary. In these clauses, the direction is usually clear from context.

- (5-67) Yarru ngurlu nganggi-nmanji barrawu-nmanji.
go(nF) 1duexcS(nPst) 2sgPOSS:IV:nAbs-ALL house:IV:nAbs-ALL
We two are going to your house.

(5-68) Gannga g-a ngurraramba-ni.
 return(nF) 3sgS-Pst night-LOC
 He came back last night.

¹⁰⁹When the auxiliary is monosyllabic it attaches to the preceding word for the purposes of stress assignment. When it is polysyllabic it constitutes a stress domain on its own. For a more detailed discussion of this see 2.2.4.

The auxiliary is usually obligatory in every main verbal clause and finite subordinate clause. Non-finite subordinate clauses do not contain an auxiliary:

- (5-74) Aliyulu ng-a alaji gulug-barda.
 find(nF) 1sgA-Pst boy:I(ACC) sleep-INF
 I found the boy sleeping.

In some circumstances, however, it is possible for the auxiliary to be omitted from a main verbal clause. This is only possible in conjoined clauses where the subject of each clause is coreferential and the tense/aspect/mood information is the same. These examples usually involve two clauses (as in 5-75), but can involve three clauses (5-76). (See 8.3 for a discussion of conjoined clauses.)

- (5-75) Bard-bi wurl-a ngurraramba-ni, yagu alaji gulug-barda.
 run-nF 3duS-Pst night-LOC leave(nF) boy:I(ACC)sleep-INF
 They ran (away) during the night (and they) left the little boy sleeping.

- (5-76) Angbardi ngirr-a manjunga, nguya jamba,
 build(nF) 1plexcA-Pst shade:IV(ACC) dig(nF) ground:IV(ACC)
 wugbardi mayinanji.
 cook(nF) goanna:I(ACC)
 We built a shade, (and we) dug (a hole in) the ground (and we) cooked the goanna.

5.5 THE AUXILIARY IN IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In 5.3 I discussed the directional auxiliaries that occur in imperative constructions. In this section I discuss the behaviour of the auxiliary in motion-neutral imperative constructions.

In imperative constructions with a singular subject and no object bound pronoun (ie. intransitive constructions and those with a third person object) there is no auxiliary¹¹⁰.

- (5-77) Duga-j-ba!
 sit.down-TH-Fut
 Sit down!

- (5-78) Laji-j-ba!
 be.quiet-TH-Fut
 Shut up!

- (5-79) Gaj-ba (mama manganyma)!

¹¹⁰In imperative constructions the verb is inflected with the future tense suffix (see 6.1).

eat-Fut (this:III:sg:ACC tucker:III(ACC))
 Eat (this tucker)!

In Gudanji the auxiliary *nya* occurs in singular imperative clauses:

Jiyawu nya babanya!
 give(nF) sg:IMP sister:II(ACC)
 Give this to (my) sister!

Although this auxiliary is formally identical to the Wambaya past tense auxiliary *ny-a* '2sgS/A-Pst', the Gudanji past tense suffix is *-ma* so there is no such similarity in Gudanji.

When such clauses have a non-singular subject the imperative pronouns *gurl* 'du:IMP' and *girr* 'pl:IMP' occur immediately after the verb:

(5-80) Ngarl-wa **gurl!**
 talk-Fut du:IMP
 You two talk!

(5-81) Ngaj-ba **girr!**
 see-Fut pl:IMP
 You lot watch (him)!

In imperative constructions which have a non-third person object (note that this object must be first person) the regular subject and object bound pronouns occur (see 5.1) and the auxiliary can be either unmarked for tense (5-82 and 5-83) or can have non-future tense marking (5-84 and 5-85).

(5-82) Durnanjarri-j-ba **nyi-ng!**
 cover-TH-Fut 2sgA-1O
 Cover me!

(5-83) Manganyma **girri-ng** jiya-j-ba!
 tucker:III(ACC) 2plA-1O give-TH-Fut
 Give me (some) tucker!

(5-84) Ngaj-ba **nyi-ng-a!**
 see-Fut 2sgA-1O-nF
 Watch me!

(5-85) Didima-j-ba **gurlu-ng-a** ngirra!
 tell-TH-Fut 2duA-1O-nF 1plexcACC
 Tell us!

Thus, despite the fact that the verbal inflection is the same, imperative constructions can be distinguished from future tense constructions by the form of the auxiliary. In imperative constructions the auxiliary is either absent, unmarked for tense, or in the

non-future tense. In future tense constructions, the auxiliary is in future tense (see Table 6.5 for the interaction between auxiliary and verbal tense categories).

Note that future tense constructions are used for polite imperative constructions:

(5-86) Wugbardi-j-ba ny-u!
 cook-TH-Fut 2sgA-Fut
 Cook it! (polite)

(5-87) Durnanjarri-j-ba gurlu-ng-u!
 cover-TH-Fut 2duA-1O-Fut
 Cover me! (polite)

(5-88) Darridarri girri garran-ba!
 be.in.line 2plS(nPst) stand-Fut
 Stand in a line! (polite).

6.1 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

There is very little inflectional verbal morphology in Wambaya. In finite clauses verbs are inflected for either future tense or non-future tense, and in non-finite clauses they can be inflected with the infinitive suffix, or with one of the three nominal suffixes: the ergative/ locative *-ni*, the dative *-nka* and the ablative *-nnga*, which indicate the temporal relationship of the subordinate clause to the main clause. As these suffixes clearly have a very different function in these clauses than they do with nominals, they are glossed in this function as 'SIMUL:SS', 'PURP' and 'PRIOR' respectively (see 6.1.4 to 6.1.6 below). The four suffixes found in non-finite subordinate clauses are discussed here only very briefly. For a full discussion of their use see 8.2.

The regular verbs in Wambaya can be divided into two conjugation classes. I will refer to these two classes as the *J* conjugation class and the \emptyset conjugation class. Of the two classes the *J* class is certainly the most common and appears to be the unmarked class; it is the class to which most derived verbs belong, and some irregular verbs can take *J* Class suffixes (see Table 6.4 below). There are two differences between the two conjugation classes: (i) the *J* Class takes a zero non-future tense suffix and the \emptyset Class takes the non-future tense suffix *-bi*, and (ii) all of the non-zero inflections are preceded in the *J* Class by the thematic consonant /j/¹¹¹.

The verbal inflections are given in Table 6.1. In this table the thematic /j/ of the *J* Class is separated from the inflection with a hyphen. Note that all inflections apart from the non-future tense inflection are the same for both classes.

¹¹¹The thematic /j/ of *J* Class verbs also appears before derivational suffixes such as *-barli-* 'AGNT' and *-baja-* 'PRIV'. For example:

daguma-j-barli hit-TH-AGNT (I)
daguma-j-bajihit-TH-PRIV (I)

Table 6.1 Verbal inflections

	<i>J</i>	<i>Ø</i>
Non-future Tense ¹¹² - <i>Ø</i>		
Future Tense	-j-ba	-bi
Infinitive	-j-barda	-ba/ -wa*
SIMUL:SS	-j-ini	-barda/-warda*
ini		-
PURP	-j-inka	-inka
PRIOR	-j-innga	-innga

*The allomorphs with initial /w/ appear with stems having a final liquid.

Note that the three nominal suffixes: *-ni*, *-nka* and *-nnga*, are preceded here with /i/. This vowel is an epenthetic vowel which occurs between the final consonant of a verbal stem (whether this consonant is the final consonant of the root itself, or the thematic consonant /j/) and a following suffix with an initial nasal. The epenthetic vowel breaks up what would otherwise be an impossible consonant cluster. (A nasal can only be the second element of a consonant cluster when it is preceded by a hetero-organic nasal, see 2.2.3). When the details of verbal morphological structure are not significant I will not segment this epenthetic vowel in examples in this thesis, but will group it with the preceding morpheme. For example:

daguma-ji-nka	hit-TH-DAT	(NOT <i>daguma-j-i-nka</i>)
ngarli-nka	talk-DAT	(NOT <i>ngarl-i-nka</i>)

Some examples of inflected verbs from each class are given in Table 6.2. Due to lack of space, the inflection of only one of the nominal suffixes (*-nka*) is exemplified. Irregular verbs are given in Table 6.4 below. In all of the following tables an underline indicates that the corresponding form is not present in the corpus.

Table 6.2 Examples of inflected verbs

***J* Class**

Gloss	Root	Non-future	Future	Infinitive	PURP
hit	daguma-	daguma	dagumajba	dagumajbarda	dagumajinka
throw	banjarri-	banjarri	banjarrijba	banjarrijbarda	banjarrijinka
crawl	junku-	junku	junkujba	junkujbarda	junkujinka
play	mawula-	mawula	mawulajba	mawulajbarda	mawulajinka
bite	dawu-	dawu	dawujba	dawujbarda	dawujinka
put	yardi-	yardi	yardijba	yardijbarda	yardijinka

¹¹²The non-future tense form of a verb is also the citation form.

cook	wugbardi- wugbardijinka	wugbardi	wugbardijba	wugbardijbarda	
cut	junmi-	junmi	junmijba	junmijbarda	junmijinka
leave	yagu-	yagu	yagujba	yagujbarda	yagujinka

Ø Class

Gloss	Root	Non-future	Future	Infinitive	PURP
see	ngaj-	ngajbi	ngajba	ngajbarda	ngajinka
run	bard-	bardbi	bardba	bardbarda	_____
talk	ngarl-	ngarlwi	ngarlwa	ngarlwarda	ngarlinka
sleep	gulug-	gulugbi	gulugba	gulugbarda	guluginka
wash	agard-	agardbi	agardba	agardbarda	agardinka
get	yany-	yanybi	yanyba	yanybarda	_____
eat	gaj-	gajbi	gajba	gajbarda	gajinka
rub	nimij-	nimijbi	nimijba	nimijbarda	nimijinka
stand	garran-	garranbi	garranba	garranbarda	_____
drink	ngarag-*	ngarabi	ngaraba	ngarabarda	ngaraginka

*Note that the final consonant of this root is dropped before an inflection with initial /b/. I have no explanation for this as /gb/ is a permissible consonant cluster in Wambaya (eg. *gulugbi* 'sleep'). See 2.2.3 for a discussion of consonant clusters in Wambaya.

Table 6.2 highlights an important point about the membership of the two conjugation classes: all of the verbs of the *J* Class have vowel final roots, while the verbs of the *Ø* Class have consonant final roots. Thus it appears that the membership of each class is phonologically determined.

An alternative analysis for the verbs of the *J* Class would be to consider the /j/ to in fact belong to the verb root, rather than being thematic. Under this analysis the non-future suffix would still be -Ø, but the final consonant of the root would be dropped according to the general phonotactic constraint that words in Wambaya be vowel final (see 2.2). However, I believe that the analysis proposed here is preferable for the following reason.

If the roots of *J* Class verbs contain a final consonant (ie. /j/), then there is no obvious explanation as to why these verbs belong to a different class than other verbs such as *ngaj-* 'see' which also have /j/-final roots. Why would one /j/-final root take the non-future inflection -bi to become *ngajbi* 'see:nF' while another /j/-final root, *dagumaj-* 'hit', takes the -Ø non-future suffix, and thereby loses its final consonant, to become *daguma* 'hit:nF'? Under the 'thematic /j/' analysis however, this inconsistency is avoided as the roots of these two verbs are different: one (*daguma-*) is vowel final and the other (*ngaj-*) is consonant final. The membership

of the two conjugation classes can thus be defined on phonological grounds such that vowel final roots belong to the *J* conjugation class (and therefore take a $-\emptyset$ non-future inflection and a thematic /j/ before all other inflections) while consonant final roots belong to the \emptyset conjugation class (taking the *-bi* non-future inflection and no thematic consonant).

There is some evidence, however, to suggest that /j/ may have once been part of the verbal root, or even part of the non-future inflection, *-bi*. Thus, there is a suffix with the form *-jbi* that is used with adjectives to derive verbs (see 6.2.2.1). Furthermore, many of the verbs of the *J* Class have cognates in other languages/dialects of the Eastern Group that have final *-jbi* in the non-future form¹¹³:

baji (W)	bajijbi (Ng)	grow up (intrans)
baliji (W)	balijijbi (Ng)	be hungry
bardgu (W)	bardgujbi (Ng)	fall
durra (W)	durrajbi (Ng)	be frightened
duwa (W)	duwajbi (Ng)	get up
gami (W)	gamijbi (G)	laugh
murri (W)	murrijbi (Ng)	hurt, be sore
nawu (W)	nawujbi (Ng)	step on
nimi (W)	nimijbi (G)	rub
yagu (W)	yagujbi (G)	leave
yardi (W)	yardijbi (G)	put

One of the particularly interesting things about the Wambaya verbal inflections is their striking similarity to some of the verbal inflections in Garrwa, a language which borders Wambaya but to which Wambaya appears otherwise unrelated. According to the analysis of Garrwa verbs proposed by Belfrage (1992), Garrwa has five verbal conjugation classes (p.46). Of these five there are two which show substantial similarity to the two Wambaya classes and are also referred to by Belfrage as the *J* conjugation class and the \emptyset conjugation class. Table 6.3 gives the forms of the inflections for these two Garrwa verbal conjugation classes.

Table 6.3 Garrwa *J* and \emptyset conjugation classes (from Belfrage 1992:46)

	J	\emptyset
Unmarked	-jba	-ba
Purposive	-ji	-(bi)ji
Sequential	-jiwa	-(bi)jiwa
Same subject	-jina	-(bi)jina
Different Subject	-(j)kurri	-(bi)kurri

¹¹³The Ngarnga information is taken from Chadwick (1971). The Gudanji information is from my own field notes.

Infinitive

-(j)kanyi

-(bi)kanyi

Thus, Class J verbs in Garrwa have the same /jb/ sequence in their unmarked form that is so distinctive to verbs in Wambaya. Furthermore, the unmarked inflections of these two classes in Garrwa are identical to the future tense inflections that occur in the respective Wambaya classes. And the Wambaya non-future inflection, *-bi*, turns up (optionally) before the other inflections of the Ø Class in Garrwa. Another point of comparison is the Garrwa 'same subject' inflection which is very similar in form to the form of the SIMUL:SS inflection in the *J* Class in Wambaya: *-j-ini*. This inflection in Wambaya is used to mark same subject in non-finite clauses that are simultaneous with the main clause (see 8.2). In Wambaya this inflection is analysed as consisting of the thematic consonant /j/, followed by the epenthetic vowel /i/ and then the ergative/locative case inflection *-ni*. The Garrwa inflection also appears to be based on the locative inflection, which is *-na* in Garrwa (Belfrage 1992:13). Although it is not unusual for the locative case inflection to be used to mark same subject in this region (see Austin 1981a), it is interesting here that the two inflections both precede the locative suffix with the sequence /ji/. In Garrwa however, unlike Wambaya, the full form *-jina* is also used with the Ø Class. In Wambaya the form that occurs with the Ø Class is *-ini*. There is clearly need for more detailed comparative work between these two languages.

There are a number of irregular Wambaya verbs which do not belong to either of the two conjugation classes discussed here. Table 6.4 gives the forms of these verbs that are present in the corpus, along with a couple of regular verbs - *daguma* 'hit' and *ngajbi* 'see'- provided for comparison (given in italics). A question mark indicates that the form given is hypothesised, but not confirmed.

Table 6.4 Irregular verb forms

Gloss	Root	Non-future	Future	Infinitive	PURP
<i>hit</i>	<i>daguma-</i>	<i>daguma</i>	<i>dagumajba</i>	<i>dagumajbarda</i>	<i>dagumajinka</i>
<i>see</i>	<i>ngaj-</i>	<i>ngajbi</i>	<i>ngajba</i>	<i>ngajbarda</i>	<i>ngajinka</i>
sit (LOC)	mirrang-	mirra	mirrangba	mirrangbarda	mirranggini
cook	wugbardi-	wugbardi	wugbarda/ wugbardijba	wugbardijbarda	wugbardijinka
dance	gajurru-?	gajurru	gajurra	gajurrarda	—
sneak away	nanganangali-?	nanganangali	—	nanganangalarda	—
finish	ganjimi-?	ganjimi	ganjima	—	—
ask (LOC)	janganja-	janganja	janganja	—	janganjani
go	yarru-	yarru	yarru	yarruwarda/	yarrunka/

cry	yugu-	yugu	yugu	yarrujbarda	yarrujinka
have, take	yabu-	yabu	yabu	yuguwarda	yugujinka
return	gannga-	gannga	gannga	ganngajbarda	ganngajinka/ gannganka

The verb *mirra* is irregular in not taking the non-future tense inflection *-bi*, as other consonant final verb roots do. *Wugbardi* has an irregular alternative future tense form. Both *gajurru* and *nanganangali* have irregular infinitive forms and *gajurru*, along with *ganjimi*, has an irregular future tense form. The remaining five verbs are irregular in that they do not distinguish future and non-future tense. Furthermore, verbs such as *yarru* and *gannga* have alternative infinitive and/or PURP forms one of which contains the corresponding regular *J* Class inflection. *Yugu* takes the \emptyset Class infinitive inflection but the *J* Class PURP inflection.

Where the morphological segmentation of an irregular verb is not clear, I will gloss the whole form as if it were a portmanteau. For example:

ganjimi	finish:nF
ganjima	finish:Fut

6.1 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1.1 Non-future tense

As discussed above, the non-future suffix is either \emptyset (with vowel-final stems) or *-bi* (with consonant-final stems). The non-future tense form of the verb is also the citation form of the verb. The non-future tense is used in both past and present tenses and can also be used in the immediate future tense (6-1 and 6-2) in which case it is accompanied by future tense marking in the auxiliary. This is one case in which there is a mismatch between the tense marking in the auxiliary and that on the verb¹¹⁴.

- (6-1) Garndani-j-ba nyi-ngg-a! **Daguma** gunu-ny-u ninki!
 shield-TH-Fut 2sgA-RR-nF hit(nF) 3sgmascA-2O-Fut
 this:I:sg:LOC
 Shield yourself! He's going to hit you!
- (6-2) Yarru ga ginmanji ngaba
 murnd-u ngarl-wi!

¹¹⁴See Table 6.5 for the possible combinations of verbal and auxiliary tense categories.

go(Fut)	sg:IMP:twds	this.way	THEN	1duincS-Fut
talk(nF)				
Come here so that we can talk!				

The non-future tense form of the verb can also occur in some imperative constructions:

(6-3) Alyu nyi-ng-a **daguma!**
 NEG:IMP 2sgA-1O-nF hit(nF)
 Don't hit me!

(6-4) **Bardbi** gama!
 run(nF) sg:IMP:away
 Run over there!

Imperative constructions are discussed in more detail in 6.1.2.

6.1.2 Future tense

The future tense suffix is *-ba* or *-wa* after liquids. As well as being used in future tense clauses (6-5 and 6-6), the future tense suffix also marks imperative mood (6-7 and 6-8). Despite the fact that the verbal inflection is the same, an imperative construction is distinguished from a future tense construction by the fact that the auxiliary in an imperative construction usually carries non-future tense marking (6-7) while in a future tense construction it carries future tense marking (6-5) (see 5.5 for a discussion of the auxiliary in imperative constructions and Table 6.5 for the interaction between auxiliary and verbal tense and mood categories). Recall that a future tense construction, such as in (6-5), can have a polite imperative reading (see 5.5 for more examples).

(6-5) **Jiya-j-ba** nyu-ng-u manganyma.
 give-TH-Fut 2sgA-1O-Fut tucker:III(ACC)
 You will give me some tucker. / Give me some tucker (polite).

(6-6) **Angbardi-j-ba** irri ngirra
 barrawu.
 build-TH-Fut 3plA(nPst) 1plexcObl
 house:IV(ACC)
 They're going to build (new) houses for us.

(6-7) **Jiya-j-ba** nyi-ng-a manganyma!
 give-TH-Fut 2sgA-1O-nF tucker:III(ACC)
 Give me some tucker!

- (6-8) **Ngarl-wa** gujinganjanga-nka!
 talk-Fut mother:II:nAbs-DAT
 Talk to your mother!

In two types of imperative constructions - negative imperative constructions and constructions containing imperative directional suffixes - it is possible for the verb to occur without future tense marking. Examples include (6-3) and (6-4) above, and the following:

- (6-9) Alyu **junmi!** OR Alyu **junmi-j-ba!**
 NEG:IMP cut(nF)
 Don't cut it!

- (6-10) Alyu nyi-ng-a **daguma!** OR Alyu nyi-ng-a **daguma-j-ba!**
 NEG:IMP 2sgA-1O-nF hit(nF)
 Don't hit me!

- (6-11) **Wugbardi** gama! OR **Wugbardi-j-ba**
 gama!
 cook(nF) sg:IMP:away
 Go and cook it!

- (6-12) **Gaj-bi** girrama! OR **Gaj-ba** girrama!
 eat-nF pl:IMP:twds
 Come and eat!

The absence of future tense marking in these constructions can probably be accounted for by the fact that the negative particle and the directional suffixes are specifically imperative. Thus with their presence, the clause is already marked as imperative, rendering it unnecessary for this to be also indicated on the verb.

Verbs such as *yarru* 'go' and *yabu* 'take, have', which do not distinguish future and non-future tense (see Table 6.4 above), always co-occur with directional suffixes in the imperative mood. As these directional suffixes are inherently imperative, it is thus possible to make a distinction between imperative clauses and future tense clauses with these verbs¹¹⁵:

- (6-13) **Yarru** **gama** ginmanji!
 go(Fut) sg:IMP:twds this.way
 Come over here!

¹¹⁵Note that as these verbs make no distinction between future and non-future tenses, the glossing of them as 'Fut' in these examples is, to a certain extent, arbitrary.

- (6-14) **Yarru** **g-ulama** ginmanji.
 go(Fut) 3sgS-nP:twds this.way
 He will come over here.
- (6-15) **Yabu** **ga** gujinganjanga-nmanji!
 take(Fut) sg:IMP:away mother:II:nAbs-ALL
 Take her to (her) mother!
- (6-16) **Yabu** **gunu-uba** gujinganjanga-nmanji.
 take(Fut) 3sgmascA-nP:away mother:II:nAbs-ALL
 He will take her to (her) mother.

The fact that these verbs often occur with directional suffixes, which themselves mark imperative mood and tense (in indicative clauses), may explain why it is that they are not overtly inflected for tense themselves; we have already seen examples in which the verbal inflection is omitted when it co-occurs with directional suffixes (6-11 and 6-12 above). However, even in clauses without directional suffixes, these verbs are not overtly inflected for future tense:

- (6-17) **Yarru** ng-u marndiji.
 go(Fut) 1sgS-Fut later
 I'll go later.
- (6-18) **Yabu** ny-u garnguji alaji.
 have(Fut) 2sgA-Fut many:I(ACC) boy:I(ACC)
 You'll have lots of kids.

The future tense inflection is used both in imperative constructions (as discussed above) and in future tense constructions (as in 6-5 and 6-6). In clauses with immediate future tense however, and in negative future tense clauses, the verb often occurs in the non-future form. For examples of clauses with immediate future tense see (6-1) and (6-2). Some examples of future tense negative clauses are:

- (6-19) Yangula irr-agba **jiyawu.**
 NEG 3plA-IRR:Fut give(nF)
 They will not give it to him.
- (6-20) Yangula ng-agba **ngara-bi** ngijjinima.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Fut drink-nF tomorrow
 I will not drink tomorrow.

Table 6.5 shows the possible combinations of auxiliary and verbal tense categories.¹¹⁶ Recall that the tense categories of the auxiliary differ depending on the number of the subject bound pronoun and the presence/absence of an object bound pronoun (5.2.1). Thus, some auxiliaries will collapse some of the distinctions made in this table. Note also that some of these marking patterns are optional; ie. auxiliaries in imperative constructions can actually have no tense marking at all (see 5.5).

Table 6.5 Verbal and auxiliary tense categories

Auxiliary >	Past	Present	Future
VERB: Non-Future	Past tense	Present tense Neg. Imp	Immed.Future Neg. Future
VERB: Future	N/A	Imperative	Future tense Polite Imp.

6.1.3 Infinitive suffix

The form of the infinitive suffix is *-barda*, or *warda* following liquids and /u/. The infinitive suffix occurs with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses and is discussed in more detail in 8.2. Some examples of its use are:

- (6-21) Ngaj-bi ngi-ny-a yarru-**warda**.
 see-nF 1sgA-2O-Pst go-INF
 I saw you walking along.

- (6-22) Dawu gini-ng-a banggulyini-ni
 gulug-**barda**.
 bite(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-Pst mosquito:I:nAbs-LOC sleep-INF
 A mosquito bit me while (I was) sleeping.

- (6-23) Gannga ng-ulama ngaj-**barda** gurla.
 return(Fut) 1sgS-nP:twds see-INF 2duObl
 I will come back to see you two.

- (6-24) Yarru ng-uba magi-nmanji
 gulug-**barda**.
 go(Fut) 1sgS-nP:away camp:IV:nAbs-ALL sleep-INF
 I'm going home to sleep.

6.1.4 *-nka* 'PURP'

¹¹⁶This table is concerned only with simple tense marking in the auxiliary; it does not include aspect and mood marking nor directional suffixes.

Verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses can be inflected with the dative suffix *-nka* to give a purposive meaning to the complex clause. Thus, the presence of a dative-marked verb X indicates that the event of the main clause happens 'for the purpose of X' or 'in order to do X'. As discussed above, the addition of this suffix to a (consonant final) verb stem conditions the presence of the epenthetic vowel /i/. When in this function, the dative suffix is glossed 'PURP'. The use of this suffix with verbs is discussed in more detail in 8.2, but some examples of its use are:

- (6-25) Mawula-j-i-**nka** g-amany yarru.
 play-TH-EP-PURP 3sgS-P:twds go(nF)
 He came to play.
- (6-26) Yabu ngiy-a gijilulu jiya-j-i-**nka**
 have(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst money:IV(ACC) give-TH-EP-PURP
 marndangi-nka.
 white.man:I:nAbs-DAT
 She got money to give to the white man.

Verbs inflected with this suffix can also be used as predicates in ascriptive clauses. Thus:

- (6-27) Ini juguli banjarri-j-i-**nka**.
 this:I:sg:NOM boomerang:I(NOM) throw-TH-EP-PURP
 This boomerang is for throwing.
- (6-28) Ini juguli daguma-j-i-**nka**.
 this:I:sg:NOM boomerang:I(NOM) hit-TH-EP-PURP
 This boomerang is for fighting.

For further examples of these clauses see 7.1.1.

6.1.5 *-ni* 'SIMUL:SS'

The ergative/locative suffix *-ni* is used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses to indicate that the event described by the subordinate clause is simultaneous with the event described by the main clause. The use of this suffix also indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. (If the subject of a simultaneous subordinate clause is co-referential with the object of the main clause, the infinitive suffix *-barda/-warda* must be used instead, see 8.2). When this suffix follows a consonant final verb stem it is preceded by the epenthetic vowel /i/ (see the discussion above). To reflect its function in these

clauses, this suffix is glossed 'SIMUL:SS'. The use of this suffix is discussed in more detail in 8.2; some examples of its use follow.

- (6-29) Marrajini-nka ng-uba yarru
 alalangmi-j-i-**ni**.
 kangaroo:I:nAbs-DAT 1sgS-nP:away go(Fut) hunt-TH-EP-
 SIMUL:SS
 I'm going hunting for kangaroos.
- (6-30) Ngurruwani ngurru-n mirra
 gili ngarl-i-**ni**.
 1plincNOM 1plincS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF) here
 talk-EP-SIMUL:SS
 We're sitting here talking.
- (6-31) Ngirra-j-i-**ni** irr-agba
 yarru.
 steal-TH-EP-SIMUL:SS 3plS-IRR:Fut
 go(nF)
 They might go stealing (his water).
- (6-32) Bard-bi g-a nagarna durra-j-i-**ni**
 run-nF 3sgS-Pst that.one:II:sg:NOM be.frightened-TH-EP-SIMUL:SS
 wirrilgarra.
 cockatiel:II(NOM)
 The cockatiel ran away frightened.

6.1.6 -nnga 'PRIOR'

There is a small number of examples in the corpus in which the ablative suffix -*nnga* is used with verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses to indicate that the event described by the subordinate clause precedes that of the main clause. Like -*ni* and -*nka* this suffix is preceded by the epenthetic vowel /i/ when it is attached to a consonant final verb stem. In these clauses it is glossed 'PRIOR' to indicate its function. An example follows; others are given in 8.2.

- (6-33) Gangga g-amany alalangmi-j-i-**nnga**.
 return(nF) 3sgS-P:twds hunt-TH-EP-PRIOR
 He returned from hunting.

6.1.7 Verbal reduplication

Verbal reduplication marks either iterative aspect (6-34, 6-35) or durative aspect (6-36, 6-37), depending on the context. There are a couple of different patterns of reduplication, depending on the verb to be reduplicated (see 2.3.6). Following are some examples of the use of reduplication with verbs.

- (6-34) Alangi-ni gini-ng-a **dagu-raguma**¹¹⁷
 banduma.
 boy:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-1O-nF RDP-hit(nF)
 back:III(ACC)
 The boy kept hitting my back (because I was choking).
- (6-35) Barrawu-rdarra gini-n **ngajbi-ngaj-**
 bi.
 house:IV:Abs-GROUP(ACC) 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr RDP-see-nF
 He's inspecting all the houses.
- (6-36) Alaji gi-n **yugu-yugu**
 narunguji-nka.
 boy:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr RDP-cry(nF)
 car:IV:nAbs-DAT
 The boy is crying and crying for (his toy) car.
- (6-37) **Wugbugbardi**¹¹⁸=miji irri-n mayinanji.
 cook:RDP(nF)=INFER 3plA(nPst)-Pr goanna:I(ACC)
 They must be still cooking the goanna.

Note that examples such as (6-35) above demonstrate that verbal reduplication takes tense-marked forms as its input as the reduplicated part of the verb includes the non-future tense inflection.

The verb *ngajbi* 'see', when reduplicated, often has a slightly different meaning than in its unreduplicated form and is usually translated as 'look around'. Although still transitive (as shown by the use of the transitive bound pronoun) the object NP (presumably 'ground' or the like) is usually not expressed:

- (6-38) Ngajbi-ngaj-bi gin-a.
 RDP-see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst
 He looked around.

¹¹⁷Note that the initial consonant of the verb stem has been lenited to /r/. This lenition is regular in reduplication, see 2.3.1.

¹¹⁸The reduplication of this form is a little complicated. The stem is (*w*)*ugbardi* (note that the initial /w/ is an orthographic convention only) and the first syllable of the stem plus the initial consonant of the second syllable (ie. the sequence (*w*)*ugb-*) is prefixed to the stem to form the reduplication. See 2.3.6 for a more detailed discussion of this reduplication pattern.

A dative adjunct, however, usually expresses the purpose of the searching:

- (6-39) Ngajbi-ngaj-bi ng-u janga-nka
 gunyi-nka.
 RDP-see-nF 1sgA-Fut foot:IV:nAbs-DAT
 other:I:nAbs-DAT
 I'll look around for someone else's tracks.

although in the following example, taken from Text A.2, the NP referring to the entity being searched for is in the accusative case:

- (6-40) Ngajbi-ngaj-bi gin-a gayirra.
 RDP-see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst cooking.site:IV(ACC)
 He looked around for the cooking site.

6.2 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

6.2.1 Verb to verb morphology

6.2.1.1 Causative suffixes

There are three different causative suffixes that appear on verbs in Wambaya: *-ardi*, *-jirrimi* , and *-bulumi/-ulumi /-lumi*. A verb only ever appears with one of these suffixes, and there do not appear to be any conditioning factors as to which verb takes which causative suffix. I will discuss each suffix in turn.

-ardi

-ardi is attached to the root of the verb. If the verb root is vowel-final this suffix replaces the final vowel of the root. Some examples are:

Basic form	Gloss	Root	Causative form	Gloss
gugujbi	shift places	guguj-	guguj-ardi	push
gurijbi	feel good	gurij-	gurij-ardi	make feel good
barlaji	fall down	barlaji-	barlaj-ardi	make fall down
gulugbi	sleep	gulug-	gulug-ardi	make sleep, lay
down				
garlarli	slip down	garlarli-	garlarl-ardi	drop something
down				

Verbs inflected with this suffix belong to the *J* conjugation class. Thus, they take the -*Ø* non-future suffix and include the thematic /j/ in their future tense form:

guguj-ardi 'shift-CAUS(nF)
guguj-ardi-j-ba 'shift-CAUS-TH-Fut'

-jirrimi

-jirrimi is only found with vowel-final roots and is attached to the root of the verb followed by the thematic consonant (if applicable). Some examples are:

Basic form	Gloss	Root	Causative form	Gloss
bardgu	fall	bardgu-	bardgu-jirrimi	fell
lingba	bathe	lingba-	lingba-jirrimi	make bathe
durra	be frightened	durra-	durra-jirrimi	frighten
gurda	be sick	gurda-	gurda-jirrimi	make sick

Although the presence of the thematic consonant is not obvious in the above examples, it can be shown to be underlyingly present by the fact that the initial consonant of the suffix is not lenited. When this suffix is added to a vowel final stem, such as the verb *gannga* 'return' the initial stop is lenited to /y/: %*gannga-jirrimi*% > *gannga-yirrimi* 'bring/take back'. This lenition does not occur with the *J* Class verbs above as the thematic consonant makes the verb stem consonant-final, removing the conditioning environment for lenition (lenition only occurs between vowels, see 2.3.1). Thus, the underlying form of a derived verb such as *bardgu-jirrimi* is %*bardgu-j-jirrimi*% (the thematic /j/ is subsequently deleted according to the morphophonemic process which deletes the first of two consonants in an impossible consonant cluster, see 2.3.5). Note that this means that lenition must precede the process of impossible consonant cluster reduction.

The future tense form of this causative suffix is *-jirrima/-yirrima* :

gannga-yirrimi 'return-CAUS:nF'
gannga-yirrima 'return-CAUS:Fut'

-bulumi/-ulumi/-lumi

This suffix has three allomorphs: *-ulumi* which occurs with lateral-final stems, *-bulumi* which occurs with stems ending in other consonants and *-lumi* which follows vowel-final stems. Some examples are:

Basic form	Gloss	Root	Causative form	Gloss
ngarlwi	talk	ngarl-	ngarl-ulumi	make talk
ngangbi	be open	ngang-	ngang-bulumi	open (trans)
yugu	cry	yugu-	yugu-lumi	make cry
manngurru	be ashamed	manngurru-	manngurru-lumi	make ashamed

The derived forms belong to the *J* conjugation class:

yugu-lumi 'cry-CAUS(nF)'
yugu-lumi-j-ba 'cry-CAUS-TH-Fut'

Some examples of the use of these causative verbs follow.

- (6-41) Gulug-**ardi** ng-u ini alaji. Yugu gi-n.
sleep-CAUS(nF) 1sgA-Fut this:I:sg:ACC boy:I(ACC) cry(nF) 3sgS(Pres)-
Pr

I'm going to put this boy to bed. He's crying.

- (6-42) Yurndu irri-n jugulini-ni julaji
bardgu-**jirrimi**.
hit(nF) 3plA(nPst)-Pr boomerang:I:nAbs-LOC bird:I(ACC)
fall-CAUS:nF

They hit the bird with a boomerang (and) make (it) fall.

- (6-43) Yugu-**lumi** ngiy-a
alaji.
cry-CAUS(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst boy:I(ACC)
She made the boy cry.

6.2.1.2 Transitivity suffix

The form of the transitivity suffix is *-barra* and it is attached to the root of the verb. While the causative suffixes discussed above also derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, this suffix differs from causative suffixes as it does not add a meaning of causation. There are only a couple of examples of this suffix in the corpus. These are:

- (6-44) From *ardbi* 'call out (to)' (semi-transitive):

Gayinini-ni=miji gin-a
ard-**barra**.
what:I:nAbs-LOC=INFER 3sgmascA-Pst call-
TRANS:nF
Someone must have called her.

- (6-45) From *nguwaybi* 'be jealous' (intransitive ?):

Nguwaj-**barra** ngi-n naniyaga.
jealous-TRANS:nF 1sgA(Pres)-Pr that:II:sg:ACC
'I'm jealousying her' [ie. I am jealous of her].

There are no examples in the corpus of verbs derived with this suffix inflected for future tense.

The verb *ngarlajarra* 'chat', which is clearly derived from *ngarlwi* 'talk', may contain this suffix, although it is not clear that it is a transitive verb. The only example is in Text A.5:

(6-46) Ngarl-ajarra wurl-a
talk-TRANS:nF? 3duA?-Pst
They chatted.

6.2.1.3 Object-promoting suffix

The suffix *-bu* promotes a NP of accompaniment to object and thus derives a transitive verb from an intransitive verb. This suffix also expresses an anti-benefactive sense, usually translated into English with 'away'. Interestingly, this suffix is attached to the future tense form of the verb, regardless of the tense of the clause.

Merlan (1983:47-50) discusses two verbal prefixes in Ngalakan, *-bak-* and *-baTa-*, which have functions rather similar to *-bu* in Wambaya. Unlike *-bu*, these prefixes usually function in transitive clauses to promote an animate indirect object NP to object. However, *-bak-* can also be used to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb (p.47), and *-baTa-* often has an anti-benefactive sense, and is used in intransitive clauses to express association or accompaniment, sometimes with a nuance of forced accompaniment (like *-bu* in Wambaya) (p.49-50). Merlan terms these two prefixes 'object-promoting' prefixes, a term that I have borrowed to refer to *-bu* in Wambaya.

Blake (1987:74) discusses derivational suffixes in a number of languages which advance a "possessed" NP to direct object. However, he does not mention the anti-benefactive sense that *-bu* has.

Some examples of the use of *-bu* follow. Following Merlan (1983:48), I gloss this suffix 'OP' ('object-promoting').

(6-47) Dingbari-j-ba-**bu** ngiy-a gayangga wardangarringa-ni.
fly.off-TH-Fut-OP 3sgnmascA-Pst high moon:II:nAbs-LOC
The moon flew off with (the sun's baby) up (into the sky).

(6-48) Mawula-j-ba-**bu** ngiy-a ganjimi.
play-TH-Fut-OP 3sgnmascA-Pst finish:nF

She played all her money away.

- (6-49) Ngarri balamurru gin-a bard-
ba-**bu**.
1sgPOSS:I(ACC) spear:IV(ACC) 3sgmascA-Pst run-Fut-OP
He ran off with my spear.

In the following example the anti-benefactive sense isn't so obvious.

- (6-50) Yabu gan-ala gunyarna alalangmi-ji-ni,
take(nF) 3sgmascA-Hab:nPst other:II(ACC) hunt-TH-
SIMUL:SS

gannga-**bu** gan-ala yagu.
return(Fut)-OP 3sgmascA-Hab:nPst leave(nF)
He takes one (of his wives) hunting, then he comes back with her (and) leaves
her [then the next day he takes another one hunting].

The use of the transitive subject bound pronoun form in these examples demonstrates that the verb derived with *-bu* is transitive. Unfortunately there are no examples in which the promoted object NP is first or second person, so there are no examples in which it is registered in the auxiliary (note that third person objects are not registered, see 5.1). However, we would expect that first and second person objects would be registered.

6.2.2 Adjective to verb morphology

6.2.2.1 Inchoative suffix

The suffix *-jbi* derives from an adjective X a verb with the meaning 'get X, become X'. This suffix is clearly related to the system of verbal inflections, as it seems to consist of the thematic /j/ and the non-future tense suffix *-bi*. However, although there is clearly a diachronic relationship, for the purposes of this synchronic description, *-jbi* will be treated as a separate suffix and will be glossed 'INCH'. The future tense form of this suffix is *-jba*.

- (6-51) Mambulya-**jbi** ng-a nganjala
ngarli-nka.
soft-INCH:nF 1sgS-Pst tongue:IV(ACC) talk-PURP
My tongue has become (too) soft to talk (clearly).
- (6-52) Gaj-ba girri, bundurri-**jba**!
eat-Fut pl:IMP:away full-INCH:Fut
Go and eat (and) get full!

There is one example in which this suffix appears with an adverb: *jaburru* 'first, before'. In this case the derived verb, *jaburrajbi* ¹¹⁹ has the meaning 'start, begin' and takes a verbal complement inflected with the dative case.

- (6-53) Nagarna g-a jaburra-**jbi**
 barla-nka.
 that.one:II:sg:NOM 3sgS-Pst first-INCH:nF fight-PURP
 The woman started to fight.

Note that while the prototypical meaning of this suffix is inchoative, this meaning is not always obvious and in some cases it simply means 'be X':

- (6-54) (Gunyini-nka) gi bundurri-jbi.
 (other:I:nAbs-DAT) 3sgS(Pres) full-INCH:nF
 She's pregnant (with another (child)).

6.2.2.2 Factitive suffix

The suffix *-mi* derives from an adjective X a transitive verb with the meaning 'cause to be X, make be X'. If the root of the adjective has final /j/ this becomes /ny/ under the influence of the following bilabial nasal (see 2.3.4.2 for more examples of this morphophonemic process). Thus, *guri-j* 'good' + *-mi* 'FAC:nF' becomes *guriny-mi*. The future tense form of this suffix is *-ma*. Some examples are:

- (6-55) From *guri-jbi* 'good' (I)

Ngunybuluguni-ni gun-u guriny-**ma**.
 doctor:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Fut good-FAC:Fut
 The doctor's going to make (her) better.

- (6-56) From *abajabaji* 'mad, crazy' (I)

Abajabaja-**mi** gini-ng-a ngara-barlini-
 ni
 crazy-FAC:nF 3sgmascA-1O-nF drink-AGNT:I:nAbs-LOC
 (That) drunk is making me crazy.

- (6-57) From *yarduga* 'strong' (IV)

Yarduga-**mi** nguyu-ny-u mijangga-ni.
 strong-FAC:nF 3sgnmascA-2O-Fut medicine:IV:nAbs-LOC
 The medicine will make you strong.

¹¹⁹I have no explanation for this change in the final vowel of the stem.

(6-58) From *mambulya* 'soft' (IV)

Mambulya-**mi** ngiy-a jamba.
soft-FAC:nF 3sgnmascA-Pst
ground:IV:(ACC)
(The rain) softened the ground.

Wambaya has two basic clause types (divided according to their predicators): verbal and nominal. A verbal clause has a finite verb as predicate and always requires the presence of the auxiliary. Nominal clauses on the other hand, have nominal predicates and cannot contain an auxiliary. A simple sentence consists of a single clause of either type. I will begin with discussing verbless clauses - those with nominal predicates - and will then discuss verbal clauses in 7.2.

7.1 VERBLESS CLAUSES

For the purposes of this thesis I will assume verbless clauses to consist of a subject and a (usually nominal) predicate¹²⁰. Note that 'subject' in this context, in which it is opposed to 'predicate', is used differently than in verbal clauses, in which it is opposed to 'object'.

Verbless clauses do not contain an auxiliary, and thus do not indicate tense. The tense of these clauses is usually taken to be the same tense as the rest of the discourse or, if uttered in isolation, present tense. If it is necessary for a verbless clause to be marked for past or future tense, it can be made into a verbal clause with the use of *mirra* 'sit, be' and thereby contain an auxiliary. The use of *mirra* as a copula verb is discussed in 7.1.7.

As with other types of sentences, word order in verbless clauses is relatively free; the subject can either precede (eg. 7-1) or follow (eg. 7-4) the predicate. The subjects of these clauses are often modified with (or represented by) a demonstrative which can mark definiteness and therefore emphasises the subject. In all verbless clauses other than locative and existential verbless clauses, the predicate and the subject must agree in both gender and number (eg. 7-5).

7.1.1 Ascriptive clauses

The predicate of an ascriptive clause attributes a certain property to the subject. The predicate of such clauses can be an adjective (7-1 and 7-2); a full noun phrase (7-3); a

¹²⁰In the descriptions of some other Australian languages, these clause types are analysed as being made up of a 'topic' NP and a 'comment' NP (eg. Morphy (1983) on Djapu and Keen (1983) on Yukulta). Such a division is easily justified in these languages by the appearance on the 'topic' NP of the 'prominence marker' in Djapu and the 'stative clitic' in Yukulta, which are characteristic of topics in the respective languages.

nominal inflected with an adnominal suffix, such as the 'origin' suffix (7-4); or a nominal derived with the agentive or privative suffixes (7-5 and 7-6).

- (7-1) Iligirra yana buyurru.
river:IV(NOM) this:IV:sg:NOM dry:IV(NOM)
This river is dry.
- (7-2) Bulyungurna ngarrirna gagulinya, ngawurniji bayida
little:II(NOM) 1sgPOSS:II(NOM) y.sister:II(NOM) 1sgNOM e.sister:II(NOM)
bugayirna.
big:II(NOM)
My younger sister is little, (but) I, the elder sister, am big.
- (7-3) Gurijbirna marndanga ngirrigarna maliyirna.
good:II(NOM) white.woman:II(NOM) 1plexcPOSS:II(NOM) boss:II(NOM)
Our boss was a good white lady.
- (7-4) Manggur-inja yana
darrangu.
plains-ORIG:IV(NOM)this:IV:sg:NOM tree:IV(NOM)
This tree is from the plains country.
- (7-5) Ngaj-barli-marndarna nanagunya.
see-AGNT-PLURAL:II(NOM) this:II:pl:NOM
Those women are staring. [Lit. Those women are 'starers'.]
- (7-6) Iniyaga dawi-j-baji.
that:I:sg:NOM bite-TH-PRIV:I(NOM)
That (dog) won't bite. [Lit. That (dog) is a 'non-biter'.]

If the subject is clear from context or previous discourse it may be omitted, leaving just the predicate.

- (7-7) Gurda-j-bajarna.
be.sick-TH-PRIV:II(NOM)
(He's) never sick.
- (7-8) Gunju-waji-rdarra.
meat-PRIV:I:Abs-GROUP(NOM)
(They're) all skinny.

A special type of ascriptive clause is that which attributes a function or purpose to the subject. The examples of such clauses in the corpus contain a predicate that is a purposive non-finite subordinate clause. Though not strictly verbless, these clauses are similar to verbless clauses in that they do not contain a finite verb nor an auxiliary. Some examples are:

(7-9) Ngarli-nka yanama.
 talk-PURP that:IV:sg:NOM
 [re a tape recorder] That's for talking.

(7-10) Yagama bujili yardi-ji-nka guri-ji-nka.
 that.one:IV:sg:NOM bottle:IV(NOM) put-TH-PURP fat:IV:nAbs-DAT
 That bottle is for putting (goanna) fat (in).

7.1.2 Having/Lacking clauses

These clauses have as their predicate a nominal inflected with either the proprietive or the privative suffix. Semantically these clauses are similar to ascriptive clauses as they attribute a property to the subject of the clause.

(7-11) Ngawurniji gijilulu-wajarna.
 1sgNOM money-PRIV:II(NOM)
 I've got no money. [Lit. I am money-lacking.]

(7-12) Bulinja-nguji ini
 galyurringi!
 algae-PROP:I(NOM) this:I:sg:NOM water:I(NOM)
 This water's got algae in it! [Lit. This water is algae-having.]

In another example, a normal ascriptive clause takes a 'having' construction as a complement. In this example the subject has been omitted.

(7-13) Wawunyg-uji guri-ji
 ngabulu-nguji.
 sugar.bag-PROP:I(NOM) good:I(NOM) milk-
 PROP:I(NOM)
 It's good with milk and sugar.

One would expect that this type of construction is possible only with certain types of adjectival predicates. Thus one would expect it to be possible with predicates such 'full' (as in 'full with water'), but not with predicates such as 'hot'. I have no more examples of this type of construction in the corpus, so I cannot test these predictions.

There is another type of 'lacking' clause in which the predicate is the derived nominal *guyaliny-* 'lacking'. This nominal is derived from the negative particle *guyala* and is inflected for gender, agreeing with the subject of the clause.¹²¹ *Guyaliny-* can appear alone in the predicate (7-14), or be accompanied by a dative complement which expresses what it is that is lacking (7-15 and 7-16). When there is no dative

¹²¹See 4.4.1.11 for a more detailed discussion of this derived nominal.

complement (as in 7-14), the object that is lacking is considered to be clear from context

(7-14) Ngawurniji gyalinya!
1sgNOM lacking:II(NOM)
I have nothing! (when asked for money)

(7-15) Guyalinji manganymi-nka.
lacking:I(NOM) bread:III:nAbs-DAT
(He) has no bread.

(7-16) Guyalinja darranggu-nka yaniyaga maga.
lacking:IV(NOM) tree:IV:nAbs-DAT that:IV:sg:NOM camp:IV(NOM)
That country has no trees.

Guyaliny- is often used to negate existential clauses:

(7-17) Guyalinja yana janga-nka.
lacking:IV(NOM) this:IV:sg:NOM foot:IV:nAbs-DAT
There are no tracks here.

7.1.3 Comparative clauses

These are really just a slightly different type of ascriptive clause; the only difference is that in these clauses attributes are being compared rather than merely stated. Structurally, the only difference between this type of clause and an ascriptive clause is that this clause requires an oblique NP (here *ngarra*) representing the referent with which the comparison is being made.

(7-18) Bulyingi nyamurniji ngarra, (ngawurniji bugayi).
little:I(NOM) 2sgNOM 1sgObl (1sgNOM big:I(NOM))
You're littler than me, (I'm big).

7.1.4 Possessive clauses

These clauses have a subject that is the possessee and a possessor predicate that contains either a nominal inflected with the dative or genitive case (7-19) or a possessive pronoun (7-20).

(7-19) Bungmanya-nka /-naganka yaniyaga warnu.
old.woman:II:nAbs-DAT / -GEN:IV that:IV:sg:NOM tobacco:IV(NOM)
That tobacco belongs to the old woman.

(7-20) Yana ngarrga!

this:IV:sg:NOM 1sgPOSS:IV(NOM)
That (money) is mine!

7.1.5 Locative clauses

These clauses contain a locative predicate describing the location of the subject.

(7-21) Janji iniyaga jalyu-ni!
dog:I(NOM) that:I:sg:NOM bed:IV:nAbs-LOC
The dog's on the bed!

(7-22) Garnguji-rdarra injani=miji alaji-rdarra
many:I:Abs-GROUP(NOM) where=INFER boy:I:Abs-
GROUP(NOM)
The kids are somewhere, I don't know where.

7.1.6 Existential clauses

Existential clauses are similar to locative clauses (7.1.5) in that they consist of a subject and a locative predicate. However, locative clauses specify the location of a specific referent whereas existential clauses refer to a more general subject.

(7-23) Garnguji julaji-rdarra gayangga darranggu-ni,
many:I(NOM) bird:I:Abs-GROUP(NOM) high tree:IV:nAbs-
LOC

jibilyawurna-rdarra jangi galyurringini-ni.
duck:II:Abs-GROUP(NOM) down water:I:nAbs-LOC
There are lots of birds up in the trees and lots of ducks down in the water.

Another important distinction between existential clauses and locative clauses is that in locative clauses the focus is on the location whereas in existential clause it is on the locatee. This is demonstrated by the fact that the locative predicate of an existential clause can be deleted anaphorically, but that of a locative clause cannot.¹²²

(7-24) Garnguji warnnganji!
many:I(NOM) fly:I(NOM)
There's lots of flies (in here)!

BUT

*(7-21') Janji iniyaga!

¹²²We would expect that the converse would be the case for locative clauses; that it is the subject, rather than the predicate, which can be deleted anaphorically. Thus, we would expect that (7-21), if for example given as a response to the question 'Where is the dog?', could be simply *jalyu-ni* 'on the bed'. Unfortunately the corpus does not contain the data needed to exemplify this.

dog:I(NOM) that:I:sg:NOM
The dog (is on the bed)!

7.1.7 The use of *mirra* 'sit' as a copula

As in the examples above, it is possible for a clause to have a completely nominal predicate and contain no verb at all. However, it is also possible for these clauses to contain a copula verb, *mirra* 'sit, be', and an auxiliary. As tense is marked in the auxiliary and an auxiliary can only occur in a verbal clause, the copula verb construction is often used when it is necessary to specify the tense of the clause as being either past tense (7-25) or future tense (7-26):

- (7-25) Yarru g-amany irda ngarradi g-a anki
go(nF) 3sgS-P:twds father:I(NOM) 1sgPOSS:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst alive:I(NOM)

mirra.
sit(nF)
He came (when) my father was alive.

- (7-26) Garna g-u mirra irrilyi.
long:IV(NOM) 3sgS-Fut sit(nF) fingernail:IV(NOM)
The fingernail will grow long (but it's short now).

Two adjectives, *bagijbi* 'bad' (I) and *guriybi* 'good' (I), have a slight alternation in meaning depending on whether they occur in a verbless construction or in a construction with the verb *mirra*. When these adjectives occur in verbless clauses, without the copula verb, they must have an objective (or evaluative) meaning (7-27). Yet when they occur with the copula verb they usually have a subjective (or experiential) meaning (7-28). Note that in both types of clause the adjective must always agree in gender with the subject.¹²³

- (7-27) Guriybi / bagijbi ini alaji.
good:I(NOM) / bad:I(NOM) this:I:sg:NOM boy:I(NOM)
This boy is good/bad.
- (7-28) Alaji gi guriybi / bagijbi
mirra.
boy:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres) good:I(NOM) / bad:I(NOM)
sit(nF)
The boy feels good/bad.

¹²³ As has been pointed out to me by Bill McGregor and Lesley Stirling (personal communication), it is not surprising that a verbless clause will have an objective meaning and a verbal clause a subjective meaning. In verbless clauses the speaker is imputing a quality upon the subject (ie. 'objective') and in verbal clauses the speaker is describing a situation, event or state (such as that of 'feeling').

While it is possible for the copula construction to have an objective meaning, rather than a subjective meaning, this is less common and is usually only when it is necessary to specify the tense of the clause (7-29).

- (7-29) Gurijbi g-aji mirra, ngara-baji.
 good:I(NOM) 3sgS-Hab:Pst sit(nF) drink-PRIV:I(NOM)
 He used to be good (and) not drink [but now he drinks all the time].

The copula verb can also be used when the statement is emphatic, or one of exclamation or contrast. In the following example, MG had just taken a drink of what she was expecting would be tea:

- (7-30) Ini gi-n galyurringi mirra!
 this:I:sg:NOM 3sgS(Pres)-Pr water:I(NOM) sit(nF)
 This is WATER!

And in (7-31) (taken from Text A.7), the plains lizard is comparing the length of his hair with that of the blanket lizard who claims to have cut his hair short:

- (7-31) Ngarrga gi-n mirra garna.
 1sgPOSS:IV(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF) long:IV(NOM)
 Mine is (still) long.

In other examples there is no any obvious reason for the presence of the copula verb. In such cases it may be a stylistic choice.

- (7-32) Ngirriyani ngirri-n mirra marunki-marndarna.
 1plexcNOM 1plexcS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF) countryman-
 PLURAL:II(NOM)
 We're all fellow countrymen (female).

7.2 VERBAL CLAUSES

7.2.1 Argument structure

Verbal clauses can be characterised according to the types of arguments that are subcategorised for by their main verb: subjects, objects, indirect objects and complements (see 3.2 for a discussion of these grammatical functions). Table 7.1 shows the possible argument structures for verbs in Wambaya. A discussion and examples of the different types follows the table.

Table 7.1 Argument structures

1. Simple intransitive	S _{NOM}			<i>bardbi</i> 'run'
2. With optional dative argument	S _{NOM}		(IO _{DAT})	<i>ardbi</i> 'call out (to IO)'
3. With verbal complement ¹²⁴ want to VCOMP'	S _{NOM}		VCOMP _{DAT}	<i>garrajbi</i> 'to
4. <i>ngarlwi</i> 'talk'	S _{NOM}	(O _{ACC})	(IO _{DAT})	<i>ngarlwi</i> 'talk (language) (to IO)'
REFLEXIVE	S _{NOM}	O _{REFL}		<i>gurda</i> 'be sick'
SEMI-TRANSITIVE	S _{NOM}		IO _{DAT}	<i>ayani</i> 'look for IO'
TRANSITIVE				
1. Simple transitive	A _{ERG}	O _{ACC}		<i>ngajbi</i> 'see O'
2. With optional dative argument	A _{ERG}	O _{ACC}	(IO _{DAT})	<i>ngirra</i> 'steal O (from IO)'
DITRANSITIVE				
1. Simple ditransitive	A _{ERG}	O _{ACC}	O _{ACC}	<i>jiyawu</i> 'give O to O'
	A _{ERG}	O _{ACC}	IO _{DAT}	<i>didima</i> 'tell O to IO'
2. With allative complement	A _{ERG}	O _{ACC}	COMP _{ALL}	<i>yardi</i> 'put O on/in COMP',
3. With verbal complement	A _{ERG}	O _{ACC}	VCOMP _{DAT}	<i>dirndirrinymi</i> 'teach O to VCOMP'

7.2.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are all characterised by the fact that they subcategorise for an nominative subject NP and no object NP. Although some intransitive verbs can also have a dative indirect object argument (see below), this argument is optional (unlike the dative argument of semi-transitive verbs (see 7.2.1.3)).

Simple intransitive verbs

The most common type of intransitive verb is the simple intransitive verb which requires only a nominative subject NP. This type includes most verbs of movement - eg. *yarru* 'go', *wuru* 'dive down', *bardbi* 'run', *baba* 'fly', *ngarlu* 'dance'; verbs that describe bodily actions - eg. *birrirri* 'shiver', *bawurrbi* 'snore', *dirrbi* 'fart'; verbs of

¹²⁴This is a purposive non-finite subordinate clause. It usually consists of just a verb, but can also contain NP arguments (see 7-42). A few verbs in the corpus can optionally take a verbal complement instead of a nominal argument (see below).

stance - *garranbi* 'stand', *mirra* 'sit, be'; verbs that describe physical state - *nyagajbi* 'be tired', *garrankajbi* 'be short of breath', *murri* 'be sore', *linjarrbi* 'be hot'; and others such as *baji* 'grow', *buja* 'give off a smell', *ginganbi* 'drown', *gulugbi* 'sleep', *laji* 'be quiet, still', *yugu* 'cry' and *lumbulumbu* 'swell'.

(7-33) Nyagaj-bi ngi.
be.tired-nF 1sgS(Pres)
I'm tired.

(7-34) Baji gi-n bayinginga-ni
jangi.
grow(nF) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr bag:II:nAbs-LOC down
[re a baby kangaroo] He grows up down there in the pouch [Lit. bag].

(7-35) Bardgu g-a.
fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst
He fell.

Intransitive verbs with dative argument

There are a small number of intransitive verbs which optionally take a dative argument. These verbs differ from semi-transitive verbs with which the dative argument is obligatory. Examples of these verbs are *ardbi* 'call out (to IO)', *gami* 'smile (at IO)', *durra* 'be frightened (of IO)' and *bundurrijbi* 'be/get full (of IO), be/get pregnant (with IO)'.

(7-36) Ard-bi irri-n (nganga).
call.out-nF 3plS(nPst)-Pr (2sgObl)
They're calling out (to you).

(7-37) Gami gi-n (ngarra).
smile(nF) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr (1sgObl)
He smiling (at me).

(7-38) Durra ngi (janyi-nka).
be.frightened(nF) 1sgS(Pres) (dog:I:nAbs-DAT)
I'm frightened (of the dog).

(7-39) (Gunyini-nka) gi bundurri-jbi.
(other:I:nAbs-DAT) 3sgS(Pres) full-INCH:nF
She's pregnant (with another (child)).

Intransitive verbs with verbal complement

(7-40) Garraj-bi gi-n yarru-nka.
want-nF 3sgS(Pres)-Pr go-PURP
She wants to go.

(7-41) Gurij-bi ngi (gannga-nka).
feel.good-nF 1sgS(Pres) (return-PURP)
I'm happy (to be going back).

(7-42) Dabudaburri¹²⁵ gi-n nganga manku-nka.
be.unable(nF) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr 2sgObl hear-PURP
He can't hear you.

(7-43) Gudij-bi g-a iniyaga yugu-ji-nka.
 forget-nF 3sgS-Pst that:I:sg:NOM cry-TH-PURP
 [re a child who stopped crying to play] He forgot about crying.

Ngarlwi is unique in that it subcategorises for a nominative subject NP and two optional object arguments: an accusative object (which can only be the word *ngarlana* 'language, or a language name')¹²⁶ and a dative indirect object. It can also occur alone with only a subject argument.

¹²⁵This verb has a few different case frames and its meaning is a little difficult to characterise succinctly. It can occur with a verbal complement as in (7-42), and can also occur with a dative NP argument:

or with only a subject NP. In these examples it is usually translated as 'feel weak, no good':

Thus, although it is not obligatory to have the verbal complement in (7-42), its absence would change the meaning of the phrase to something more like 'he's no good' or 'he's weak'.

¹²⁶This type of argument is sometimes called a cognate object (eg. Austin 1982).

talk-nF 1plincS(nPst)-Pr
We're talking.

(7-45) Ngarl-wi gi ngarlana.
talk-nF 3sgS(Pres) language:IV(ACC)
He talks language.

(7-46) Ngarl-wi ngi-n nganga.
talk-nF 1sgS(Pres)-Pr 2sgObl
I'm talking to you.

(7-47) Ngarl-wi wurl-aji jingulu irra, gujinya irda.
talk-nF 3duS-Hab:Pst 3plObl mother:II(NOM) father:I(NOM)
My mother and father always spoke Jingulu to them.

Intransitive verbs in noun + verb idioms

Two intransitive verbs in the corpus can co-occur with a nominative noun which has a sort of adverbial function. The two such noun + verb idioms found in the corpus are:

yarru janga 'walk'
go foot:IV(NOM)

mirra murlu 'be awake'
sit(nF) eye:IV(NOM)

Examples of their use follow. Note that the two members of the idiom do not have to be contiguous.

(7-48) Janga irr-aji yarru marndija, narunguja-aji.
foot:IV(NOM) 3plS-Hab:Pst go(nF) long.ago car-
PRIV:I(NOM)
They used to walk in the old days, (when they) didn't have cars.

(7-49) Murlu gi-n mirra.
eye:IV(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF)
He's awake.

7.2.1.2 Reflexive verbs

There are two types of reflexive verbs: those that are derived from semi-transitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs (and can be either reflexive or reciprocal verbs), and those that are inherently reflexive. All reflexive/reciprocal verbs (regardless of type) have the same argument structure, subcategorising for a nominative subject NP and the reflexive object bound pronoun in the auxiliary. Although the subject of such verbs is

in the nominative case, the auxiliary must contain a transitive subject bound pronoun. This is the only situation in which a transitive subject bound pronoun does not represent an ergative NP. The inherently reflexive verbs include *gurda* 'be sick', *jagina* 'lie with one leg resting on other bent knee' and *barnamuluma* 'to flash lightning'. Examples are:

(7-50) Gurda ngiyi-ngg-a bungmanya.
 be.sick(nF) 3sgnmascA-RR-nF old.woman:II(NOM)
 The old woman is sick.

(7-51) Jagina gini-ngg-a.
 lie.on.back(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF
 He lay on his back with one leg across the other.

Barnamuluma is an impersonal verb (the only one in the corpus) in that it does not take any overt NP arguments, yet interestingly it still requires the reflexive object bound pronoun in the auxiliary.

(7-52) Barnamuluma ngiyi-ngg-a-n.
 flash.lightning(nF) 3sgnmascA-RR-nF-Pr
 There was lightning.

Derived reflexive/reciprocal verbs behave in the same way as these inherently reflexive verbs: they require a nominative subject, and the reflexive object bound pronoun in the auxiliary. When derived from a semi-transitive verb, the reflexive/reciprocal bound pronoun replaces the indirect object argument, and when derived from a transitive or ditransitive verb it replaces the object argument that is registered in the auxiliary. (Thus, in the case of transitive verbs this is the direct object and in the case of ditransitive verbs this is either the direct or the indirect object depending on the verb, see 7.2.1.5.). With these verbs, as with the inherently reflexive verbs, the nominative subject NP is registered in the auxiliary with a transitive subject bound pronoun. Note that this means that in the case of reflexivised semi-transitives, the derived reflexive has a transitive subject bound pronoun in the auxiliary (eg. 7-53a) but the underived form has an intransitive subject bound pronoun (eg. 7-53b). The form of the verb in derived reflexive/reciprocal constructions remains unchanged. Compare the following pairs of examples:

(7-53)
 (a) Ngarl-wi irri-n ngarra nanagunya.
 talk-nF 3sgS(nPst)-Pr 1sgObl this:II:pl:NOM
 The women are talking to me.
 (b) Ngarl-wi irri-ngg-a-n nanagunya.
 talk-nF 3plA-RR-nF-Pr this:II:pl:NOM

The women are talking to each other.

(7-54)

(a) Andajarri irr-a janji alangmiminyi-ni.
hide(nF) 3sgA-Pst dog:I(ACC) children:I:nAbs-LOC
The children hid the dog.

(b) Andajarri irri-ngg-a alangmiminji.
hide(nF) 3plA-RR-nF children:I(NOM)
The children are hiding (themselves).

A couple of verbs have slightly unusual reflexive constructions. Thus, *manku* 'hear' means 'feel' when used reflexively and requires the presence of a subject complement - a secondary predicate expressing the emotion attributed to the subject.

(7-55) Manku ngi-ngg-a gurijbirna.
hear(nF) 1sgA-RR-nF good:II(NOM)
I feel good.

The verb *yardi* 'put' when used reflexively means 'turn (oneself) into' (as in dreamtime ancestors turning themselves into animals, birds etc.). This verb requires both the reflexive bound pronoun and an accusative NP argument referring to the entity 'turned into'.

(7-56) Yardi gini-ngg-a barnanggi.
put(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF bird.sp:I(ACC)
He turned himself into a *barnanggi*.

7.2.1.3 Semi-transitive verbs

Semi-transitive verbs require an nominative subject and a dative indirect object. Unlike the intransitive verbs with optional dative arguments discussed above, the dative NP in these constructions is obligatory. There are only a few semi-transitive verbs in the corpus, including *ayani* 'look for IO', *yandu* 'wait for IO', *maranbi* 'feel around for IO' and *laji* 'be gone for a long time from IO'.

(7-57) Juwa-nka gi-n ayani
babanya.
man:I:nAbs-DAT 3sgS(Pres)-Pr look.for(nF)
sister:II(NOM)
(My) sister's looking for a man.

(7-58) Bungmaji g-a yandu nganga.
old.man:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst wait(nF) 2sgObl

The old man waited for you.

- (7-59) Laji wurlu-n ngarra iguwulu.
 be.absent(nF) 3duS(nPst)-Pr 1sgObl that.one:I:du:NOM
 They've been gone from me for a long time.

7.2.1.4 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are characterised by the fact that they subcategorise for an ergative subject argument and only one other obligatory object argument (in this respect they differ from ditransitive verbs which require two arguments other than the subject).

Simple transitive verbs

Most of the transitive verbs are of this type; they subcategorise for an ergative subject NP and an accusative object NP. It is very difficult to generalise about the semantic characteristics of simple transitive verbs as they are great in number and varied in meaning. Some examples are: verbs of physical impact or effect (whether desirable or undesirable) - *daguma* 'hit O', *anmurru* 'cuddle O', *bulalandu* 'blow O away, blow O about', *dudiyarri* 'spear O', *jarungbi* 'kiss O'; verbs of perception - *bujanga* 'perceive smell of O', *ngajbi* 'see O, look at O', *manku* 'hear O, listen to O, remember O'; verbs of transport - *didija* 'carry O', *nyanyayundi* 'move O'; verbs of movement which describe the relationship between the movement of two referents - *nyurrunyurru* 'chase O', *bardganyi* 'follow O', *jarrgi* 'track O', *dunggala* 'chase O away'; and others such as *yabu* 'take O, have O', *jiyanggi* 'know O', *janyi* 'answer O' and *gurdumi* 'be too noisy for O'.

- (7-60) Gurdumi irri-ng-a ngurra.
 be.noisy(nF) 3plA-1O-nF 1plincACC
 They're too noisy for us.
- (7-61) Wugbardi ngiy-a manganyma.
 cook(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst bread:III(ACC)
 She cooked some bread.
- (7-62) Lurrgbanyi irri-ng-agba.
 grab(nF) 3plA-1O-IRR:Fut
 They might grab me.
- (7-63) Muju-mujumi gin-a
 galaa-rdarra.
 RDP-put.together(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst bone:IV:Abs-GROUP(ACC)
 He joined all the bones together.

One transitive verb, *ganjimi* 'finish O', can take a non-finite subordinate clause in place of the object argument (ie. 'finish doing'). In this case the subordinate verb is inflected with the ergative/locative case suffix, which is usually used in simultaneous clauses to mark same subject (see 8.2).

- (7-64) Yangulu irr-a ganjimi mawula-ji-ni?
 when 3plA-Pst finish:nF play-TH-SIMUL:SS
 When did they finish playing?

Transitive verbs with dative argument

A few transitive verbs can optionally have a dative indirect object argument (in addition to the usual accusative object). The three such verbs in the corpus are *ngirra* 'steal O (from IO)' *andajarri* 'hide O (from IO)' and *inma* 'side with O (against IO)'.

- (7-65) Ngirra irr-agba (ngarra).
steal(nF) 3plA-IRR:Fut (1sgObl)
They might steal it (from me).
- (7-66) Andajarri irr-a (nganga).
hide(nF) 3plA-Pst (2sgObl)
They hid it (from you).
- (7-67) Juwa gurijbi ngaba gunu-ng-u inma
man:I(NOM) good:I(NOM) THEN 3sgmascA-1O-Fut side.with(nF)
(barli-ngunya-nka).
(fight-PROP:II:nAbs-DAT)
A man is good (to have) so that he can side with me (against a "cheeky" woman).

7.2.1.5 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs are those which subcategorise for two obligatory arguments other than the ergative subject NP.

Simple ditransitive verbs

Simple ditransitive verbs require three argument NPs and fall into two types: those with two accusative object arguments and those with one accusative object argument and one dative indirect object argument. Verbs of the former type are *jiyawu* 'give O to O' and *ngarringga* 'take O from O'. The argument registered in the auxiliary is the recipient NP of *jiyawu* and the source NP of *ngarringga*. In all the examples of these verbs in the corpus the recipient or source argument that is registered in the auxiliary is animate and

the other object argument is inanimate. It is thus not possible to tell whether it is the grammatical/semantic role of an argument, or its animacy, which selects it to be registered in the auxiliary. It would be necessary to get examples of clauses in which both arguments have the same animacy, as well as clauses in which the animacy of the arguments is the reverse of that found here, to determine this.

(7-68) Darrangu gin-a ngarringa alaji.
 stick:IV(ACC) 3sgmascA-Pst take.from(nF) boy:I(ACC)
 He took the stick from the boy.

(7-69) Jiyawu ngirr-aji nyanyalu marndanga.
 give(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst tea:I?(ACC)
 white.woman:II(ACC)
 We used to give tea to the white woman.

(7-70) Jiyawu gini-ng-a manganyma.
 give(nF) 3sgmascA-IO-nF tucker:III(ACC)
 He gave me some tucker.

Verbs of the second type are *didima* and *babarra* 'tell O to IO' and *janganja* 'ask O for IO'. These verbs subcategorise for an accusative object NP and a dative indirect object NP. The argument that is registered in the auxiliary is the indirect object NP of *didima* and *babarra* ¹²⁷ and the direct object NP of *janganja*. As with the other ditransitive verbs discussed above, in the examples in the corpus the registered argument is always animate and the other is always inanimate. It is thus not possible to tell whether these arguments are registered because of their grammatical role, or because of their animacy.

(7-71) Didima ngiyi-ng-a marranya.
 tell(nF) 3sgnmascA-IO-nF yarn:IV(ACC)
 She told me a yarn.

(7-72) Janganja girri-ng-ala warnu-nka.
 ask(nF) 2plA-IO-Hab:nPst tobacco:IV:nAbs-DAT
 You mob always ask me for tobacco.

(7-73) Buwarraja ng-a didima alangi-nka.
 dreaming:IV(ACC) 1sgA-Pst tell(nF) boy:I:nAbs-DAT
 I told the boy a dreaming story.

In some examples *didima* appears to have an argument structure like that for *jiyawu*, having two accusative objects instead of one accusative object and one dative indirect object. Thus, (7-73) was also given as (7-73'):

¹²⁷Note that this is the only case in which an argument other than subject and direct object can be cross-referenced in the auxiliary, see 5.1.

I put too much food in my mouth.

- (7-77) Bulugardi ngi-n galyurringini-nmanji.
soak(nF) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr water:I:nAbs-ALL
I'm soaking it in water.

- (7-78) Guyala ng-udi ganarnda gunyanga-nmanji.
NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres send:nF other:II:nAbs-ALL
I won't send her to another (girl).

In some situations, where the location is either clear or irrelevant, the allative NP of *yardi* and *bulugardi* may be omitted. In this case, *yardi* is interpreted as meaning 'put O down':

- (7-79) Yardi ng-a.
put(nF) 1sgA-Pst
I put it down.

- (7-80) Bulugardi ngi-n.
soak(nF) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr
I'm soaking it.

Ganarnda has an alternative case frame in which it occurs with a verbal complement, see below.

Ditransitive verbs with verbal complement

There are three ditransitive verbs which have a second case frame in which they occur with a verbal complement in place of one of the two non-subject arguments. There are no ditransitive verbs for which this is the only case frame. The ditransitive verbs that can occur with a verbal complement are *didima* 'tell O to VCOMP', *dirndirrinymi* 'teach O to VCOMP' and *ganarnda* 'send O to VCOMP'.

- (7-81) Wardangarringa-ni ngiy-a didima ngaragi-nka.
moon:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst tell(nF) drink-PURP
The moon told (the sun) to drink.

- (7-82) Ngarringa-ni guguga-yi ngiyi-ng-a dirndirrinymi
1sgPOSS:II:nAbs-LOC MM:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-1O-nF teach:nF
ngarli-nka.
talk-PURP
My grandmother taught me to speak (Binbinka).

- (b) Juwa-ni gini-n nij-bi jawala.
man:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr sing-nF name.of.ceremony(ACC)
The man is singing the *jawala* ceremony.

7.3 COMPLEX PREDICATES

7.3.1 Predicates with two verbs

It is possible for a predicate to contain two verbs; where one verb appears to have an adverbial function. In these predicates the 'adverbial' verb takes the non-future tense inflection regardless of the inflection of the main verb (7-88)¹²⁸. The most common examples of this are with the verbs *gurinyimi* 'make good' and *ganjimi* 'finish'. When functioning adverbially these verbs have the meanings 'well, properly' and 'all' respectively:

(7-87) Gaj-bi irr-a ganjimi.
eat-nF 3plA-Pst finish:nF
They ate (it) all.

(7-88) Ngarl-wa guriny-mi!
talk-Fut good-FAC:nF
Talk properly!

Note that it is also possible that *ganjimi* 'all' and *gurinyimi* 'well, properly' are simply separate lexemes, although homophonous with and derived from the verbs *ganjimi* 'finish' and *gurinyimi* 'make good' respectively. Under this analysis constructions as in (7-87) and (7-88) above are not complex predicates but simply contain a verb and a modifying adverb.

Examples of complex predicates involving other verbs follow. In these examples, all of which are in the non-future tense, it is often difficult to know which verb is the main verb and which is modifying. It would be necessary to get more examples of these constructions in the future tense so that the modifying verb could be identified (as it would be the one that remains uninflected), before the semantic aspects of this construction could be studied.

(7-89) Gayini g-a yarru ginkanyi
nanganangali?
what:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst go(nF) this.way sneak.away:nF
Who was it that snuck off this way?

(7-90) **Jirrbali** gi-n naniyaga
gulug-bi.
lie.on.stomach(nF) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr that:II:sg:NOM
sleep-nF
She's sleeping on her stomach.

(7-91) **Mirra** ngi **barngala.**

¹²⁸I have no examples of these predicates in non-finite subordinate clauses, and so don't know whether the modifying verb would remain in the non-future tense there as well.

sit(nF) 1sgS(Pres) have.crossed.legs(nF)
I'm sitting with my legs crossed.

It is often difficult to determine whether a given sentence contains a single clause with a complex predicate or two co-ordinate clauses, the second of which contains only a verb (see 8.3 for a discussion of co-ordinate clauses). Examples of clauses in which this distinction is unclear include:

(7-92) **Guruburr-ardi** ng-a **daguma.**
be.unconscious-CAUS(nF) 1sgA-Pst hit(nF)
I (hit and?) knocked him out.

(7-93) **Nawunawu** ngu-ngg-u **dirndiny-mi.**
stretch(nF) 1sgA-RR-Fut straight-FAC:nF
I'll stretch (and straighten?) my legs.

This is an area in which a lot more research is needed.

7.3.2 Secondary predicates

An ascriptive NP, usually an adjective, can appear as a second predicate for the subject of a finite clause. This secondary predicate provides information about the manner or state of the subject during the time of the main predicate. Like all nominal modifiers, this NP must agree in case and gender (and presumably number, although there are no relevant examples) with the subject NP that it modifies. Theoretically, any noun/adjective could serve as a secondary predicate co-occurring with any verb. Examples of secondary predication include:

(7-94) **Ilijbirna** g-a gulug-bi.
alone:II(NOM) 3sgS-Pst sleep-nF
She slept alone.

(7-95) Yangula ng-a yarru **alanga**
banggajarra-ni.
NEG 1sgS-Pst go(nF) girl:II(NOM)
another.place-LOC
I didn't go to another place as a girl [ie. I grew up in just the one place].

(7-96) Bardgu g-a **ilirri-ngunya.**
fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst blood-PROP:II(NOM)
She fell down bleeding.

(7-97) **Gurda-j-baji** gi-n yugu.
be.sick-TH-PRIV:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr cry(nF)
He's crying without being sick.

(7-98) **Bundurri** gi-n mirra gurijbi.
 full:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF) good:I(NOM)
 He's happy (when he's) full.

In the following example, the secondary predicates *bugayirna* and *ngabulungunya* are in the nominative case, although the clause is transitive and the subject is registered with an A bound pronoun (and is therefore an ergative subject). This is probably due to the fact that ergative NPs, when fronted in the clause, do not take ergative/locative case marking (see 4.4.1.3).

(7-99) **Bugayirna** **ngabulu-ngunya**, yagu ng-a ngarri
 big:II(NOM) breast-PROP:II(NOM) leave(nF) 1sgA-Pst 1sgPOSS:I(ACC)

 irda.
 father:I(ACC)
 (When I was) grown up, having breasts, I left my father.

The reflexive verb *manku* 'to feel', derived from *manku* 'to hear', subcategorises for a secondary predicate expressing the emotion attributed to the subject:

(7-100) **Manku** ngi-ngg-a **baginga**.
 feel(nF) 1sgA-RR-nF bad:II(NOM)
 I feel no good.

7.4 NEGATION

7.4.1 Sentential Negation

7.4.1.1 Negation of indicative clauses

There are two alternative constructions available for negating an indicative clause (negation in imperative clauses is discussed in 7.4.1.2). Although speakers claim that the two constructions have the same meaning, there appears to be a slight difference in their usage. I will discuss this difference in use below, but first I will explain and exemplify the structural characteristics of the constructions.

Both constructions involve the use of a negative particle (glossed NEG) which occurs initially in the clause. These particles are *yangula* and *guyala*.¹²⁹ *Guyala* is also used

¹²⁹The Gudanji negative particle is *gabi*. It behaves like *guyala* in requiring irrealis marking in the auxiliary and in being used as an interjection meaning 'no, nothing'.

alone to mean 'no, nothing'; *yangula* is never used in this function. There is one other respect in which the two constructions differ: when the particle *guyala* is used, the auxiliary must always contain an irrealis mood suffix. However, with *yangula* irrealis marking is restricted to the future tense; in past and present tense clauses the auxiliary has the same form that it would in the corresponding positive sentence.

(7-101) Guyala ng-uda gaj-bi manganyma.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pst eat-nF tucker:III(ACC)
 I couldn't eat any dinner.

(7-102) Guyala ngurr-uji ngaj-bi irra.
 NEG 1plincA-IRR:Pres see-nF 3plACC
 We never see them.

(7-103) Yangula irri-ng-a jiyawu.
 NEG 3plA-1O-nF give(nF)
 They didn't give me (my country).

(7-104) Yangula irri-n nananga guri-guriny-mi.
 NEG 3plA(nPst)-Pr care.for(nF) RDP-good-
 FAC:nF
 They're not looking after her properly.

Note that in future tense negative clauses with either particle the verb does not inflect for future tense:

(7-105) Yangula gurl-agba ganmami.
 NEG 2duS-IRR:Fut get.close(nF)
 You can't get close.

(7-106) Guyala ng-agba yandu bungmanya-nka.
 NEG 1sgS-IRR:Fut wait(nF) old.woman:II:nAbs-DAT
 I'm not going to wait for the old woman.

(7-107) Yangula nga-ngg-agba duga-jirrimi.
 NEG 1sgA-RR-IRR:Fut sit.down-CAUS:nF
 I'm not going to sit down.

When a negative indicative clause has immediate future tense, the auxiliary does not contain the future tense irrealis suffix. In this case *yangula* clauses have simple future tense marking (7-108) and *guyala* clauses have present tense irrealis marking (7-78, repeated here for convenience).

(7-108) Yangula ngu-ny-u daguma.
 NEG 1sgA-2O-Fut hit(nF)

I'm not going to hit you.

- (7-78) Guyala ng-udi ganarnda gunyanga-nmanji.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres send:nF other:II:nAbs-ALL
 I won't send her to another (girl).

As mentioned above, speakers say that there is no difference in meaning between *guyala* and *yangula* constructions and there are cases in which two sentences, one of each type of negative construction, are said to have the same meaning. Thus:

- (7-109) Guyala ng-udi yarru
 NEG 1sgS-IRR:Pres go(nF)
 I'm not going.

- (7-110) Yangula ng-u yarru.
 NEG 1sgS-Fut go(nF)
 I'm not going.

However, despite examples such as these in which it is seemingly neutralised, there does appear to be a semantic difference between the two particles. Thus, the use of *guyala* tends to imply or suggest that there are external factors that influence the negation of the proposition, whereas with *yangula* the implication tends to be that it is in the control of the actor, and is not determined by other factors. This difference is similar to that between 'can't' and 'not' or 'won't'¹³⁰ in English: the use of 'can't' (*guyala*) implies that there are reasons, beyond the actor's control that prevent the execution of the proposition¹³¹ whereas 'won't' (*yangula*) implies that it is merely a decision of the actor's not to (but that they probably could if they chose to)¹³². Some examples illustrating this semantic difference follow.

- (7-111) Guyala ng-uda gaj-bi manganyma.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pst eat-nF tucker:III(ACC)
 I couldn't eat tea (because I kept vomiting).

- (7-112) Guyala wurlu-ny-uda manku.
 NEG 3duA-2O-IRR:Pst hear(nF)
 They didn't hear you (because they were sleeping).

- (7-113) Guyala ng-udi ilinga.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres remember(nF)

¹³⁰Although 'won't' is usually used in conditional types of constructions.

¹³¹These reasons could be a physical or mental inability to; the fact that doing so may be contravening social rules or norms; the fact that someone else won't allow you to, etc.

¹³²Unfortunately this analysis does not provide any explanation for the fact that irrealis marking is always needed in one type of construction, but only in the future tense in the other.

I can't remember (it).

- (7-114) Guyala ng-udi ngunjulanyi.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres lift(nF)
 I can't lift (it).

- (7-115) Yangula ngi-ny-a-n ngaj-bi nyamirni.
 NEG 1sgA-2O-Pst-Pr see-nF 2sgACC
 I wasn't looking at you.

- (7-116) Yangula ng-a banjarri.
 NEG 1sgA-Pst throw(nF)
 I didn't throw it.

- (7-117) Yangula irri-ng-a jiyawu.
 NEG 3plA-1O-Pst give(nF)
 They didn't give me (my country).

However, counter-examples to this tendency include (7-78) and (7-105), repeated here for convenience.

- (7-78) Guyala ng-udi ganarnda gunyanga-nmanji.
 NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres send:nF another:II:nAbs-ALL
 I won't send her to another (girl) [because I don't want to].

- (7-105) Yangula gurl-agba ganmami.
 NEG 2duS-IRR:Fut get.close(nF)
 You can't get close [because it's too far].

Also, both *guyala* and *yangula* are used similarly to negate verbless clauses.

- (7-118) Guyala inama ngangi jugu,
 NEG that:I:sg:NOM 2sgPOSS:I(NOM) MB:I(NOM)

 inama ngangi gugu.
 that:I:sg:NOM 2sgPOSS:I(NOM) MMB:I(NOM)
 That's not your uncle, that's your great uncle.

- (7-119) Yana janga yangula
 ngarrga¹³³.
 this:IV:sg:NOM foot:IV(NOM) NEG
 1sgPOSS:IV(NOM)
 That's not my foot.

7.4.1.2 Negation of imperative clauses

¹³³Note that the negative particle is not initial in this clause.

Imperative clauses are negated by the negative imperative particle *alyu* (glossed 'NEG:IMP')¹³⁴. *Alyu* must always be clause initial. In negative imperative clauses the auxiliary (when present) appears in the non-future tense form and the verb can appear either with or without future tense marking. For a discussion of auxiliaries and verbs in imperative clauses see 5.5 and 6.1.2 respectively. Some positive and negative pairs are:

(7-120)

- (a) Daguma-j-ba nyi-ng(-a)!
 hit-TH-Fut 2sgA-1O(-nF)
 Hit me!
- (b) Alyu nyi-ng-a daguma / daguma-j-ba!
 NEG:IMP 2sgA-1O-nF hit(nF) / hit-TH-Fut
 Don't hit me!

(7-121)

- (a) Ngara-ba ini galyurringi!
 drink-Fut this:I:sg:ACC water:I(ACC)
 Drink the water!
- (b) Alyu ngara-bi / ngara-ba ini
 galyurringi!
 NEG:IMP drink-nF / drink-Fut this:I:sg:ACC water:I(ACC)
 Don't drink the water!

(7-122)

- (a) Jiya-j-ba irra warnu!
 give-TH-Fut 3plACC tobacco:IV(ACC)
 Give them (some) tobacco!
- (b) Alyu jiyawu / jiya-j-ba irra
 warnu!
 NEG:IMP give(nF) / give-TH-Fut 3plACC tobacco:IV(ACC)
 Don't give them (any) tobacco!

7.4.2 Constituent Negation

7.4.2.1 The use of the privative suffix

¹³⁴The Gudanji negative imperative particle is *durdami*. Note that, unlike in Wambaya, imperative clauses in Gudanji always have an auxiliary, even when singular (see 5.5). Thus, in a typical singular negative imperative clause, *durdami* is followed by the auxiliary *nya*.

Durdami	nya	nij-bi!
NEG:IMP	sg:IMP	sing-nF
Don't sing!		

This is equivalent to the Wambaya *Alyu nijbi!*

The privative suffix can be added to a verb X to derive a nominal with the meaning 'one who doesn't or is unable to X'. Thus, this suffix is used to negate a quality or action. Examples of the use of this suffix with verbs are given in 4.4.1.11. Some others are given here for further exemplification.

- (7-123) Yugu-waji, mirrang-ba g-u inama ayigurrajbi
 cry-PRIV:I(NOM) sit-Fut 3sgS-Fut that:I:sg:NOM all.day
 ngaji-ni ngurra.
 see-SIMUL:SS 1plincACC
 He doesn't cry, he'll (just) sit there all day looking at us.

- (7-124) Baralala ng-a mirra gulug-bajarna
 all.night 1sgS-Pst sit(nF) sleep-PRIV:II(NOM)
 I couldn't sleep all night [Lit. I was sleepless all night].

7.4.2.2 NP Negation

There are a few different techniques for negating the presence or existence of an entity. Most commonly, the derived nominal *guyaliny-* is used with the negated entity taking the dative case. The use of this nominal is discussed in detail in 4.4.1.12.1; an example is:

- (7-125) Guyalinya ngawurniji manganyimi-nka.
 lacking:II(NOM) 1sgNOM tucker:III:nAbs-DAT
 I've got no tucker.

In other examples, the negative particle *guyala* is used in its usual form and the negated NP appears in the dative case. In this construction *guyala* appears to function as an existential negator:

- (7-126) Gagulinya ngi yabu, guyala gaguluna-nka.
 y.sister:II(ACC) 1sgA(Pres) have(nF) NEG y.brother:I:nAbs-DAT
 I have a younger sister (and) no younger brothers.

In yet other examples, although *guyala* is used, the negated NP is not in the dative case. In this type of construction *guyala* appears to function as an argument negator. This construction differs from that in which *guyala* is used to mark sentential negation as the negative particle is not in initial position and there is no irrealis marking in the auxiliary.

- (7-127) Jiyawu irr-a manganyima
 guyala.

good:II(NOM)=INFER 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF)
 She might be feeling better.

- (7-133) Wugbardi=**miji** irri-n.
 cook(nF)=INFER 3plA(nPst)-Pr
 Perhaps they're cooking.

=*miji* is often used with ignoratives when they function as 'indefinites'; indicating a lack of knowledge without asking that the information be supplied. Thus function of ignoratives is discussed more fully in 4.7.6. One example is:

- (7-134) Gayinirna=**miji** nayida ng-u yany-ba agardi-nka.
 what:II(ACC)=INFER woman:II(ACC) 1sgA-Fut get-Fut wash-PURP
 I don't know which girl I'll get to wash (my clothes).

The use of =*miji* with ignoratives in this function is similar to the use of the ignorative clitic =*ga* in Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980:258ff). However, the clitic =*ga* in Ngiyambaa has a different meaning than =*miji* in Wambaya, as its use with other word classes is inferred to be a request for the hearer to affirm or deny the correctness of the statement (p.260). The use of =*miji* has no such implicature.

7.5.1.2 =*nima* 'JUST'

The clitic =*nima* is a restricted clitic that has an emphatic function, translating English words such as 'just', 'only' and 'still'. It is most commonly used with nouns and adjectives, but can also be used with other parts of speech such as verbs (7-137), locational nominals (7-138) and pronouns (7-139).

- (7-135) Gunju=**nima** ngiyi-ng-a jiyawu.
 meat:IV(ACC)=JUST 3sgnmascA-1O-nF give(nF)
 Guyalinja manganyimi-nka.
 lacking:IV(NOM) bread:III:nAbs-DAT
 She only gave me meat. There's no bread.

(7-136) Daguma irri-ngg-a; nagagunya nujungama=**nima**,
 hit(nF) 3plA-RR-nF that.one:II:sg:NOM alone=JUST
 igigunji nujungama=**nima**.
 that.one:I:sg:NOM alone=JUST
 They fought each other; the women with the women and the men with the men.

(7-137) Yarru=**nima** irri-n bibi.
 go(nF)=JUST 3plS(nPst)-Pr little.while
 They'll be still going for a little while yet [it's a long way].

(7-138) Gayangga=**nima** gambarda.
 high=JUST sun:II(NOM)
 The sun is still high [ie. it's not afternoon yet].

(7-139) Mirndiyani=**nima** mirndi-n mirra.
 1plincNOM=JUST 1plincS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF)
 There's just you and me here.

It is possible for both the head noun and a modifier to host =*nima* :

(7-140) Ngarrga=**nima** warnu=**nima** ngi di-didija.
 1sgPOSS:IV(ACC)=JUST tobacco:IV(ACC)=JUST 1sgA(Pres) RDP-carry(nF)
 I carry around my own tobacco.

In one example =*nima* appears within the word *giliyaga* 'there'. This word is made up of *gili* 'here' and the remote suffix *-yaga* (this suffix is found on most remote demonstratives, see 4.6).

(7-141) Mirra g-a gili=**nima**-yaga.
 sit(nF) 3sgS-Pst here=JUST-remote
 I stayed right there.

7.5.1.3 =*minyi* 'AGAIN'

The clitic =*minyi* 'again' is used only with verbs. It is attached to the verb over which it has scope. Some examples of the use of this clitic are:

(7-142) Bardgu-j-ba=**minyi** g-u galyurrungurna.
 fall-TH-Fut=AGAIN 3sgS-Fut rain:II(NOM)
 It'll rain again.

(7-143) Gannga=**minyi** g-ulama.
 return(Fut)=AGAIN 3sgS-nP:twds
 She'll come back again.

(7-144) Gulugi-nka=**minyi** gi-n
yugu.
sleep-PURP=AGAIN 3sgS(Pres)-Pr cry(nF)
He's crying to go back to sleep [ie. because he's tired].

7.5.2 Particles

There are five particles in the corpus: the negative particles *guyala* and *yangula*; *alyu* , the negative imperative particle; *ngaba* 'THEN' and *gubi* . The three negative particles are discussed in 7.4 above and *ngaba* is discussed in 8.1.4 below. The particle *gubi* is discussed in 7.5.2.1.

7.5.2.1 *gubi*

There are only a few examples of this particle in the corpus and I am so far unable to determine its meaning.¹³⁵ The examples of its use are:

(7-145) Bungmanya ngi-n mirra **gubi.**
old.woman:II(NOM) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF) ??
I'm getting old.

(7-146) Gaj-bi irri-n garngunyi-ni
gubi.
eat-nF 3plA(nPst)-Pr many:I:nAbs-LOC ??
????¹³⁶

The following example was uttered in the context of telling me what I should call an old woman who, according to her subsection, is my daughter.

(7-147) Ngayijinya ngangirna, bungmanya **gubi.**
FM:II(NOM) 2sgPOSS:II(NOM) old.woman:II(NOM) ??
(Call her) your grandmother, she's too old (to be your daughter).

I need to have many more examples of this morpheme before anything more interesting can be determined.

¹³⁵It is possible that this may even be a clitic. Due to the very limited data it is difficult to tell.

¹³⁶I'm not even sure what this sentence means. It was uttered in a discussion about how there are too many people living in the one house and there is never enough food.

A complex sentence contains more than one simple clause and can be divided into two types: those in which the clauses are simply co-ordinate (as in constructions linked with 'and' in English) and those in which one of the clauses can be seen to be subordinate to the other. Subordinate clauses are divided into finite and non-finite subordinate clauses and are discussed in 8.1 and 8.2 respectively. Co-ordinate clauses are discussed in 8.3 .

8.1 FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Finite subordinate clauses are usually identical to main finite clauses and are generally not marked with any subordinating device or conjunction. That the two clauses (main and subordinate) are syntactically linked is signalled by the fact that they are bound intonationally; when the subordinate clause follows the main clause falling intonation spans both clauses and when the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, it is marked with a slight rising intonation. There is, however, one linking particle *ngaba* which is used to introduce particular types of finite subordinate clauses. These clauses are discussed in 8.1.4.

Finite subordinate clauses share many properties with the 'adjoined relative clause' described by Hale (1976). As well as distinctive intonation (mentioned above), finite subordinate clauses have the same positional possibilities as the adjoined relative clause: they can occur before or after the main clause but not within it, and they have many of the same functions as will be discussed below.

There are three possible syntactic (and semantic) functions for finite subordinate clauses: (i) they can function as adjuncts to the main clause, supplying temporal, causal or purposive information (8.1.1), (ii) they can function adnominally, modifying a matrix NP (8.1.2) and (iii) they can function as arguments for certain transitive or ditransitive verbs (8.1.3). The former two functions are referred to by Hale (1976) as 'T-relative'¹³⁷ and 'NP-relative' respectively. As with the adjoined relative clause, none of these functions is distinguished formally and it is generally only contextual information which determines the specific interpretation for the clause.¹³⁸

¹³⁷In fact, Hale's 'T-relative' function is only when the two clauses make identical time reference (p.79), so does not cover the causal and purposive functions. Hale discusses these functions separately (p.81).

¹³⁸McGregor (1988b), in discussing subordinate clauses in Kuniyanti, shows many of the different types to be distinguished on the basis of such things as tense/mood sequences and differences in the significance of word order. More Wambaya data is needed before it can be determined whether such things are significant in Wambaya subordinate clauses.

Each of these three functions will be discussed separately below, followed by a discussion of finite subordinate clauses involving *ngaba* (8.1.4).

8.1.1 As adjuncts to the main clause

Finite subordinate clauses can function as adjuncts to the main clause providing temporal information (8-1 and 8-2) or causal information (8-3 and 8-4)¹³⁹. Finite subordinate clauses that provide purposive information involve the use of *ngaba* and are discussed in 8.1.4.

- (8-1) Yarru g-amany [irda ngarradi g-a anki
go(nF) 3sgS-P:twds father:I(NOM) 1sgPOSS:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst alive:I(NOM)
mirra].
sit(nF)
He came (when) my father was alive.

- (8-2) Ngaj-bi ng-a alaji [yarru ng-a magi-nmanji].
see-nF 1sgA-Pst boy:I(ACC) go(nF) 1sgS-Pst camp:IV:nAbs-
ALL
I saw the boy (when) I went to camp.

- (8-3) Yana jaga ngi-n murri [daguma gini-ng-a].
this:IV:sg:NOM leg:IV(NOM) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr be.sore(nF) hit(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-nF
My leg is hurting (because) he hit me.

- (8-4) Guyala ng-udi gulug-bi [bungmanya nana
NEG 1sgS-IRR:Pres sleep-nF old.woman:II(NOM) this:I:sg:NOM
gi-n bawurrbi].
3sgS(Pres)-Pr snore:nF
I can't sleep (because) the old woman is snoring.

In the above examples the subordinate clause follows the main clause. While this is its usual position, in future tense clauses the temporal adjunct often precedes the main clause:

- (8-5) [Gangga g-ulama igima bungmaji]
return(Fut) 3sgS-nP:twds that.one:I:sg:NOM old.man:I(NOM)
janganja ngurru.
ask:nF 1plincA(nPst)
(When) the old man comes back, we'll ask (him).

¹³⁹In this chapter I will use square brackets to identify the subordinate clause.

- (8-6) [Narunguja g-u bard-bi] ngawu ng-u gulug-ba.
 car:IV(NOM) 3sgS-Fut run-nF 1sgNOM 1sgS-Fut sleep-Fut
 (When) the bus starts moving, I'll fall asleep.

One type of main clause adjunct is the conditional subordinate clause. In this type of construction the subordinate clause (ie. the 'condition') precedes the main clause and both clauses have either future tense marking (8-7), or irrealis mood marking (8-8).

- (8-7) [Yurndu-j-ba ny-u banjanganinma] nyurrunyurru gunu-ny-u.
 hit-TH-Fut 2sgA-Fut tail:III(ACC) chase(nF) 3sgmascA-2O-Fut
 [re a King Brown snake] If you hit his tail, he'll chase you.

- (8-8) [Yabu ng-uda gijilulu] jiyawu ng-uda.
 have(nF) 1sgA-IRR:Pst money:IV(ACC) give(nF) 1sgA-IRR:Pst
 If I'd had the money I would have given (it to her).

Note that (8-5) and (8-6) could also be interpreted as conditional clauses in which case they would be translated 'If the old man comes back we'll ask him' and 'If the bus starts moving I'll fall asleep' respectively.

8.1.2 As NP modifiers

Finite subordinate clauses can also function adnominally, modifying a main clause NP.

- (8-9) Injani nagarna nayida [bajijurndu ng-a ngawurniji]?
 where that.one:II:sg:NOM woman:II(NOM) bring.up(nF) 1sgA-Pst 1sgERG
 Where's that woman that I brought up?

- (8-10) Daguma ng-u janji [dawu
 gini-ng-a].
 hit(nF) 1sgA-Fut dog:I(ACC) bite(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-
 nF
 I'm going to hit the dog that bit me.

- (8-11) Yarru irr-a, ngaj-bi nanawulu ilarra-wulu
 go(nF) 3plS-Pst see-nF this:II:du:ACC eaglehawk-DUAL(ACC)
 [buyunku-nu wurlu-n mirra].
 middle-LOC 3duS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF)
 They went (and they) saw the two eaglehawks (who) were sitting in the middle
 (of their camp).

Note that (8-10), in a different context, could be a causal adjunct to the main clause meaning 'I'm going to hit the dog because it bit me'.

The adnominal function can often be performed by a verb inflected with either the agentive or the privative suffix (both of which can derive a nominal from a verb). The difference between this type of relative clause and that which is expressed with a finite subordinate clause is that in this type the relative clause expresses a general characteristic rather than a specific action or event: 'he who is a fighter', rather than 'he who is fighting'. A couple of examples are:

Durra	ngi-n	marawunjini-nka	dawu-j-barlini-		
nka.					
be.frightened(nF)	1sgS(Pres)-Pr	spider:I:nAbs-DAT	bite-TH-AGNT:I:nAbs-DAT		
I'm frightened of that spider which bites.					
Yabu	ga	ngarra	iniyaga	alaji	yugu-waji!
bring(Fut)	sg:IMP:twds	1sgObl	that:I:sg:ACC	boy:I(ACC)	cry-
PRIV:I(ACC)					
Bring me that boy who doesn't cry!					

The clausal structure of (8-12) is ambiguous as the NP *inuwulu* functions both as the object of the main clause (*bunjunymi* is a transitive verb and, as the object is non-singular, there must be an overt NP representing the object, see 5.1) and the subject of the subordinate clause (as evidenced by the fact that it counts as a constituent for the purposes of placement of the subordinate clause auxiliary).

(8-12) Bunjunymi wurlu-n inuwulu wurlu-n
gulg-bi.
sneak.up(nF) 3duA(nPst)-Pr this:I:du:ACC/NOM? 3duS(nPst)-Pr sleep-nF
They're sneaking up on the two boys who are sleeping.

An alternative analysis of this example would be to consider the subordinate clause, including *inuwulu*, to, as a whole, be functioning as the object argument of the main clause verb *bunjunymi*. For simplicity, I will gloss the NP in such clauses as if this were the structure of the clause (ie. using 'NOM' rather than 'ACC'). See 8.1.3 for examples of subordinate clauses functioning as arguments of the main clause verb.

8.1.3 As arguments

Finite subordinate clauses can function as clausal arguments of a main clause verb such as *ilinga* 'hear, remember SCOMP', *didima* 'tell that SCOMP' and *janganja* 'ask if SCOMP'. In these constructions the subordinate clause always follows the main clause.

(8-13) Guyala ng-udi ilinga [injani g-a
yarru].
NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres remember(nF) where 3sgS-Pst go(nF)
I can't remember where he went.

(8-14) Didima irri ngaya [nganku ngiy-a ngirra
tell(nF) 3plA(nPst) 3sgfemObl this:II:sg:LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst steal(nF)

bungmanyanya-nka gijilulu].
 old.woman:II:nAbs-DAT money:IV(ACC)
 They told her (that) she'd stolen the old woman's money.

- (8-15) Gulu-liji ng-a didima, yarru g-ulama
 son:I:Abs-REFL:POSS(ACC) 1sgA-Pst tell(nF) go(Fut) 3sgS-nP:twds
 ginmanji.
 this.way
 I told (her) son (to tell her) to come [Lit. I told her son (that) she will come].

- (8-16) Inigunji ng-uba janganja ngaj-bi irr-a
 this:I:pl:ACC 1sgA-nP:away ask(nF)see-nF 3plA-Pst
 iguwulu alag-ulu.
 that.one:I:du:ACC child-DUAL(ACC)
 I'm going off to ask this mob (if) they've seen the two boys.

8.1.4 *ngaba* clauses

Ngaba is the one particle in Wambaya which links a finite subordinate clause and the main clause. *Ngaba* is used to introduce a purposive or consequential subordinate clause: given the main clause, the subordinate clause can/will/should occur. *Ngaba* is usually translated into English as 'and then' or 'so that' and is glossed 'THEN'. Note that *ngaba* counts as a constituent of the subordinate clause for the purposes of auxiliary placement. Some examples of its use are:

- (8-17) Yarru g-a ginmanji **ngaba** murnd-u ngarl-wi.
 go(nF) 3sgS-Pst this.way THEN 1duincS-Fut talk-nF
 She came here so that we can talk.

- (8-18) Yardi-j-ba ngurru magi-nmanji **ngaba** nguy-u
 put-TH-Fut 1plincA(nPst) camp:I:nAbs-ALL THEN 3sgnmascA-Fut

marndanga-ni nananga-j-ba.
 white.woman:II:nAbs-LOC care.for-TH-Fut
 We're going to put her in a home so that the white woman will take care of
 her.

- (8-19) **Ngaba** ny-uda yarru banganiga didima nyi-ng-uda.
 THEN 2sgS-IRR:Pst go(nF) this.way tell(nF) 2sgA-IO-
 IRR:Pst
 have [When told that someone had needed a lift the day before] Then you should
 come (and) told me.

There are a few examples in which the use of *ngaba* is not so easily characterised in this way, although it still introduces a subordinate clause:

- (8-20) **Ngaba** g-u gurij-bi gannga-yirrima irri.
 THEN 3sgS-Fut feel.good-nF return-CAUS:Fut
 3plA(nPst)
 When she is better they'll bring her back.

In (8-20) the clause introduced by *ngaba* is temporally prior to the main clause, rather than temporally following the event described by the main clause as in most *ngaba* clauses (such as 8-17 to 8-19).

Ngaba has another function in which it is used as an equative in constructions of comparison. Some examples of *ngaba* in this function follow.

- (8-21) Nana ngiyi-ngg-a-n manku gurijbirna,
 this:II:sg:NOM 3sgnmascA-RR-nF-Pr hear(nF) good:II(NOM)

 ngaba ngi-n ngawurniji gurijbirna mirra.
 THEN 1sgS(Pres)-Pr 1sgNOM good:II(NOM) sit(nF)
 She feels really good, like I feel good (now) too.

- (8-22) Ngarrangarra ngi-n **ngaba** nyamirniiji.
 be.hot(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr THEN 2sgNOM
 I'm hot like you.

- (8-23) Buja gi-n **ngaba** Vicks.
 smell(nF) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr THEN
 It smells like Vicks.

The use of *ngaba* in this function may be an example of the pragmatic ambiguity of conjunctions discussed by Sweetser (1990:76ff). Although Sweetser does not discuss 'so that, so then' conjunctions such as *ngaba*, the fact that she finds that other conjunctions function not only to link content items or logical premises, but to link speech acts as well (as in 'Where were you last night(?), **and** don't give me any nonsense about staying late at the office! (p.112)), makes this polysemy of *ngaba* less surprising.

8.2 NON-FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Non-finite subordinate clauses are reduced clauses. They are reduced in four ways: (i) they do not contain an auxiliary; (ii) they provide no information concerning tense, aspect and mood; (iii) they are marked as subordinate with either the infinitive suffix or one of three nominal case suffixes (see below); and (iv) their subject is deleted under co-reference with a main clause subject or object argument NP.

There are three types of non-finite subordinate clauses in Wambaya: prior (the subordinate clause situation precedes that of the main clause), simultaneous (the subordinate clause situation is concurrent with that of the main clause) and purposive (the situation described by the subordinate clause follows, and is the purpose of, that of the main clause). A system of switch-reference operates when the two clauses are simultaneous. There appears to be no switch-reference in purposive subordinate clauses, and there is not sufficient data to determine the what is the situation for prior subordinate clauses.

Table 8.1 shows the inflections that appear on verbs in non-finite subordinate clauses, where SS (Same Subject) means that the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with that of the main clause and DS (Different Subject) means that the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the direct object of the main clause¹⁴⁰. For a discussion of the form of these suffixes as verbal inflections see 6.1.

¹⁴⁰More research is needed to determine whether the subject of the subordinate clause can be co-referential with a main clause NP other than subject or direct object (as it can in Warlpiri for example (Hale 1976)).

Table 8.1 Verbal inflections in non-finite subordinate clauses

	SS	DS
PRIOR	-nnga/-barda	?
SIMUL. ¹⁴¹	-ni	-barda
PURP.	-nka/-barda	-nka

As is clear in Table 8.1, the pattern of verbal marking in these clauses is a little complex. The clearest case is when the two clauses are simultaneous. In this situation the ergative/locative case suffix *-ni* is used when the subjects of the two clauses are co-referential (8-24 and 8-25) and the infinitive suffix *-barda/-warda* is used when the subordinate subject is co-referential with the main clause direct object (8-26 and 8-27). Thus in this case there is switch-reference. These nominal suffixes, when in this function, are glossed as in Table 8.1.

(8-24) [Ngarli-**ni**] irri-ng-a ngurra abajabaja-mi.
 talk-SIMUL:SS 3plA-1O-nF 1plincACC crazy-FAC:nF
 [trying to work when surrounded by a noisy group of people] They make
 us confused (when they're) talking.

(8-25) Bungmaji gi-n mirra [yandu-ji-**ni** barrawu].
 old.man:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF) mind-TH-SIMUL:SS house:IV(ACC)
 The old man's staying (here) looking after the house.

(8-26) Ilinga-j-ba nguyu-ny-u gurla [ngarl-**warda**].
 hear-TH-Fut 3sgnmascA-2O-Fut 2duACC talk-INF
 She will listen to you two talking.

(8-27) Ngaj-bi ng-a [gaj-**barda**].
 see-nF 1sgA-Pst eat-INF
 I saw him eating.

Note that when there are no co-referential arguments it is not possible to use a non-finite subordinate clause; a finite clause must be used instead.

(8-28) Bungmanyi-ni gun-u nij-ba, nayida g-u gajurra.
 old.man:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Fut sing-Fut woman:II(NOM) 3sgS-Fut
 dance:Fut
 The men will sing (while) the women dance.

Dench and Evans (1988:30) argue that the use of what appears to be the locative case suffix to mark same subject occurs only in languages in which this suffix also marks ergative case and can therefore be seen to have arisen through a system of antecedant agreement with a main clause ergative subject, rather than being related to a locative function. Thus initially it would have

¹⁴¹There is one example in the corpus in which a verb with this inflection is not in a simultaneous subordinate clause. In this example, (7-64), it functions as an argument of the verb *ganjimi* 'finish doing'.

appeared only in subordinate clauses controlled by main clause ergative subjects, and would then have extended to all subject-controlled subordinate clauses. While this may explain the development of this pattern of marking in languages such as Wambaya, in which ergative and locative functions are marked with one case suffix, it does not explain the use of the locative suffix to mark same subject in languages such as Jingili (Chadwick 1975) and Bilinara (Nordlinger 1990) in which ergative case and locative case are marked with separate suffixes.

The ablative case suffix *-nnga* is used in prior clauses (8-29 and 8-30) (the few examples of this type of clause in the corpus all have co-referential subjects), and the dative case suffix *-nka* is used in purposive clauses (8-31 and 8-32) (note that NPs must also have dative marking in purposive subordinate clauses (8-32)). There is only one example in the corpus of a purposive subordinate clause in which the subject is co-referential with the object of the main clause (8-33) and in this example *-nka* is also used. Thus, there appears to be no switch-reference in purposive clauses.

(8-29) Gannga g-amany [alalangmi-ji-**nnga**].
 return(nF) 3sgS-P:twds hunt-TH-PRIOR
 He returned from hunting.

(8-30) Gumarra g-u nyagaj-ba [yarru-**nnga**].
 calf:IV(NOM) 3sgS-Fut be.tired-Fut go-PRIOR
 His calves will be tired from walking.

(8-31) Yarru ng-amany [ngaji-**nka** ngaya].
 go(nF) 1sgS-P:twds see-PURP 3sgfemObl
 I came to see her.

(8-32) Yabu ngiy-a gijilulu [jiya-ji-**nka** marndangi-**nka**].
 have(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst money:IV(ACC) give-TH-PURP white.man:I:nAbs-DAT
 She had money to give to the white man.

(8-33) Yabu ng-amany [ngarli-**nka**].
 bring(nF) 1sgA-P:twds talk-PURP
 I brought him to talk.

The interesting feature of this system of verbal marking however, is the fact that the infinitive suffix *-barda* can also be used in prior clauses (8-34) and purposive clauses (8-35 and 8-36) in which the subjects of the two clauses are co-referential. (Due to lack of data it is not possible to determine if it can also be used in these types of clauses when it is the main clause object that is the pivot). Thus, it is only when the two clauses are simultaneous that the infinitive suffix is restricted to different subject marking.

(8-34) Dulanyimi ngiy-a nganki
 [gulug-**barda**].
 raise(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst this:II:sg:LOC sleep-INF
 She woke him from sleep.

(8-35) Nyurrunyurru gini-n [dawu-j-
barda].

chase(nF) 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr bite-TH-INF
He's chasing her to bite (her).

(8-36) Yarru g-any [yany-barda manganymi-nka].
go(nF) 3sgS-nP:away get-INF tucker:III:nAbs-DAT
He's gone to get some tucker.

Austin (1981a) shows switch-reference to be an areal feature in Australia; languages which have some sort of switch reference system are spoken in a continuous area, extending from the Indian Ocean through to western Queensland (p.329). As Wambaya falls within this area, it is therefore predictable that it would have some form of switch-reference. In fact the switch-reference system in Wambaya is typical for languages of the area in that the ergative/locative suffix is used to mark same subject, and there is no switch-reference in purposive clauses; the switch-reference systems of surrounding languages such as Jingili, Garrwa, Wagaya and Alyawarra also have these characteristics (Austin 1981a:326-328). However, Wambaya differs from these surrounding languages, in terms of the generalisations made by Austin, in that the infinitive case suffix, rather than the allative case suffix, is used to mark different subject.

In all of the above examples of non-finite subordinate clauses the subordinate clause is peripheral to the main clause; it usually follows the main clause but can precede it (eg. 8-24). It is also possible for the subordinate clause to be embedded within the main clause. This is only possible when the subordinate clause contains only a verb.

(8-37) Murrugu irri mirra [gaji-ni] nagagunya.
inside 3plS(nPst) sit(nF) eat-SIMUL:SS
that.one:II:pl(NOM)

The women are sitting inside eating.

(8-38) Janga ng-a ngaj-bi [yarru-warda] mayinanji.
foot:IV(ACC) 1sgA-Pst see-nF go-INF goanna:I(ACC)
I saw goanna tracks going along.

(8-39) Ilinga ngi-n [ngarl-warda] gujinya ngarrirna.
hear(nF) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr talk-INF mother:II(ACC) 1sgPOSS:II(ACC)
I can hear my mother talking.

8.2.1 Sentential causatives

There are two examples of sentential causatives in the corpus. Both examples contain purposive non-finite subordinate clauses.

(8-40) Ganarnda gini-ng-a lingba-lingba-ji-nka.
 send:nF 3sgmascA-1O-nF RDP-swim-TH-PURP
 He let me go swimming/ he sent me to swim.

(8-41) Gayinirna=miji nayida ng-u yany-ba agardi-nka.
 what:II(ACC)=INFER woman:II(ACC) 1sgA-Fut get-Fut wash-PURP
 I don't know which girl I'll get to wash my clothes.

8.3 CO-ORDINATE CLAUSES

Wambaya has no conjunctive particles equivalent to the English 'and', 'then' or 'but'. Instead, co-ordinate clauses are simply juxtaposed:

(8-42) Bardgu g-a yanama darranggu ngarri-yili-
 nmanji,
 fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst that:IV:sg:NOM stick:IV(NOM) 1sgObl-COMIT-
 ALL
 yana¹⁴² ngiyi-ng-a daguma.
 this:IV:sg:NOM 3sgnmascA-1O-nF hit(nF)
 That stick fell down towards me and hit me.

(8-43) Balamurru gun-u banjarri-j-ba, dudiyarri-j-ba gunu-ny-u.
 spear:IV(ACC) 3sgmascA-Fut throw-TH-Fut spear-TH-Fut 3sgmascA-2O-Fut
 He's going to throw the spear and spear you.

(8-44) Ngajirri g-a, birrirri g-a, durnanjarri ng-a, ngarl-wi
 be.cold(nF) 3sgS-Pst shiver(nF) 3sgS-Pst cover(nF) 1sgA-Pst talk-nF

 g-a ngarra "girundaj-bi ngi-n, naj-bi ngi-n!"
 3sgS-Pst 1sgObl sweat-nF 1sgS(Pres)-Pr burn-nF 1sgS(Pres)-Pr
 She was cold (and) shivering (so) I covered her up (then) she said to me "I'm hot,
 I'm burning!"

In the above examples where the subject of each clause is the same, the auxiliary and any over subject NP is still expressed in the second clause. However, it is possible for the subject NP and auxiliary of the second clause to be omitted when the subject is co-referential with the subject of the main clause.

¹⁴²Note the use of the nominative demonstrative here, despite the fact that the subject is ergative. There do not appear to be separate ergative/locative demonstratives for Classes III and IV, the nominative forms being used instead, see 4.6.

(8-45) Ngaragana-nguja ngiy-a gujinganjanga-ni jiyawu ngabulu,
grog-PROP:IV(ACC) 3sgnmascA-Pst mother:II:nAbs-LOC give(nF) milk:IV(ACC)

baginy-mi ini alaji.
bad-FAC:nF this:I:sg:ACC boy:I(ACC)
His mother gave him milk with grog in it (and) made this little boy no good.

(8-46) Daguma ngiyi-ng-a galama bardgu-jirrimi ilirri.
hit(nF) 3sgnmascA-1O-nF nose:III(ACC) fall-CAUS:nF blood:I(ACC)
She hit my nose (and) made it bleed [Lit. (and) made the blood fall].

If both the subject and the object are the same, the second clause may consist of only a verb:

(8-47) Gayinini-ni gin-a wurrudbanyi irra, ginging-ardi.
what:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst pull(nF) 3plACC drown-CAUS(nF)
Something pulled them (under the water) (and) drowned (them).

Appendix A Texts

Following are eight texts, seven of them by Molly Grueman and one by Minnie Nimara, told to me on various field trips. The first seven texts are dreaming stories and the eighth is an informal monologue in which Molly Grueman talks about a certain time of her life when she was working as a housemaid on a cattle station. One of these stories - Gunbi and Garrgalyi (A.7) - was made into a picture book at the Wambaya literacy workshop in Tennant Creek in April 1993, and it is hoped that it will be possible to do the same with the others. All of these texts have been read back to the story tellers for checking and are printed here with their permission.

Throughout the texts, I make only a small number of references to grammatical features, as most of the issues are discussed in the main body of the thesis, often using extracts from these texts as examples. Lines are numbered in these texts for ease of reference only; this is not intended to reflect any aspects of discourse or clausal structure.

Text A.1

Ilarrawulu Gujarrawulu¹⁴³ The two Eaglehawks

*Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman
Elliott, April 1992*

- (1) "Ngangaba yana gi-n naj-bi . Ngaj-bi ngurr-uba¹⁴⁴.
fire:IV(NOM) this:IV:sg:NOM 3sgS(Pres)-Pr burn-nF see-nF 1plincA-nP:away
"There's a fire burning (there). Let's (us two) go and have a look.
- (2) Garnguji=miji irri-n mirra."
many:I(NOM)=INFER 3plS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF)
There must be a big group (of people)."
- ***
- (3) Ilarra-wulu, gunyarna murlu-ngunya
eaglehawk-DUAL(NOM) other:II(NOM) eye-PROP:II(NOM)
Two eaglehawks, one with sight
- (4) gunyarna murlu-wajarna, wurlu-n mirra.
other:II(NOM) eye-PRIV:II(NOM) 3duS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF)
(and) another blind, are there.
- (5) Baba-gulanga.
e.sibling-DYAD:II(NOM)
Two sisters.
- (6) Gajurru wurlu-n. Bumbujardi wurlu-n jamba.
dance:nF 3duS(nPst)-Pr stir.up?(nF) 3duA(nPst)-Pr dirt:IV(ACC)
They're dancing. They're stirring up the dirt¹⁴⁵.
- (7) Ngaj-bi irri: "Giliyaga irr-a duwa juwarramba ginngana.
see-nF 3plA(nPst) there 3plS-Pst get.up(nF) men:I(NOM) from.here They
[the two boys] see (the dust): "There (is where) all the people went from here.
- (8) Ngangaba gi-n naj-bi. Ngaj-bi ngurr-uba.
fire:IV(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr burn-nF see-nF
1plincA-nP:away
The fire's burning. Let's go and have a look.

¹⁴³Ilarra-wulu gujarrawulu
eaglehawk-DUAL(NOM) two(NOM)

¹⁴⁴Note the use of the plural subject pronoun, instead of the dual form. MG said it would also be possible to use the dual form, *murnduba*, here. The use of plural pronouns with dual meaning occurs in quite a number of places throughout this text and is discussed in 5.1.

¹⁴⁵I'm not sure how to translate this. The concept as explained to me by MG is this: the two eaglehawks are dancing and causing the dirt to rise up into the air ("like when you see a car down the road") so that from a distance it gives the impression of a fire burning on the horizon.

- (9) Ngaj-bi ngurr-uba yana ngangaba naj-bi gi-n."
 see-nF 1plincA-nP:away this:IV:sg:ACC fire:IV(ACC) burn-nF 3sgS(Pres)-Pr
 Let's have a look at the fire that's burning."

- (10) Yarru irr-a ngaj-bi nanawulu ilarra-wulu
 go(nF) 3plS-Pst see-nF this:II:du:ACC eaglehawk-DUAL(ACC)
 They went (and they) saw the two eaglehawks

- (11) buyunku-nu wurlu-n mirra.
 middle-LOC 3duS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF)
 (who were) sitting in the middle (of their camp).

[Meanwhile, the Eaglehawks say to their two sons: *Milinya* (parrot) and *Wagalamarri* (crow):]

- (12) "Ngaj-ba gurl garrinyma baba-wuli-janka. Yarru wurl-agba."
 see-Fut du:IMP road:III?(ACC) e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-DAT go(Fut) 3duS-IRR:Fut
 "You two watch the road for (your) two brothers. They might come."

- (13) Nagarna barraala wurlu-n dula.
 that.one:II:sg:ACC white.cockatoo:II(ACC) 3duA(nPst)-Pr
 disturb(nF)
 They [the two boys that are coming down the road] disturb the white cockatoos.¹⁴⁶

- (14) Ilinga irri-n¹⁴⁷barraala.
 hear(nF) 3plA(nPst)-Pr white.cockatoo:II(ACC)
 They (*Milinya* and *Wagalamarri*) hear the white cockatoos.

- (15) "Ahh barraala dunggala wurlu-n baba-wuli-ji"
 white.cockatoo:II(ACC) chase.away(nF) 3duA(nPst)-Pr e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-LOC
 "Ahh, the two brothers are chasing away the white cockatoos."

- (16) "Ngaj-ba gurl!"
 see-Fut du:IMP
 "You two watch (for them)!"

- (17) "Inuwulu wurlu-n yarru baba-wulu."
 this:I:du:NOM 3duS(nPst)-Pr go(nF) e.sibling-DUAL(NOM)
 "Here come the two brothers."

¹⁴⁶ie. thereby signalling their arrival.

¹⁴⁷Although glossed as a progressive suffix, there are a number of places in this text where this suffix, *-n*, appears in contexts where one would not expect a progressive suffix. The actual function of this suffix is difficult to determine and is discussed in 5.2.3.

- (18) "Gulyagulya ngarri, gulinya gurla¹⁴⁸. Injani gurlu-n yarru?"
 "my two sons" where 2duS(nPst)-Pr
 go(nF)
 "My two sons, where are you going?" [said by one of the Eaglehawks]
- (19) "Yarru ngurlu-n ginki. Ngangaba ngurl-a ngaj-bi.
 go(nF) 1duexcS(nPst)-Pr there fire:IV(ACC) 1duexcA-Pst see-nF
 "We're going over there. We saw a fire.
- (20) Bumbujardi irri-n ngangaba."
 stir.up?(nF) 3plA(nPst)-Pr fire:IV(ACC)
 The smoke's rising up."¹⁴⁹
- (21) "Juwarramba irr-aji¹⁵⁰ duwa marndija.
 men:I(NOM) 3plS-Hab:Pst get.up(nF) long.ago
 "(those) Men left (from here) a long time ago.
- (22) Marlunja maga. marlunja gulyagulya. Ngaligu bulyawu¹⁵¹.
 long.way camp:IV(NOM) long.way son "long way, another country"
 It's a long way. A long way, my son. It's another country (?).
- (23) Yangula gurl-agba ganmami.
 NEG 2duS-IRR:Futget.close(nF)
 You can't get close (to it) [because it's too far].
- (24) Gulug-ba gurl ngijininima-nka."
 sleep-Fut du:IMP tomorrow-DAT
 Sleep (here) until tomorrow."

[To *Milinya* and *Wagalamarri*]

- (25) "Alag-ulu, angbardi-j-ba gurl wurrungala
 child-DUAL(NOM) build-TH-Fut du:IMP windbreak:IV(ACC)
 "Kids, you build a windbreak
- (26) wurrgburrghi gurl maga.
 clean.up:RDP:nF du:IMP camp:IV(ACC)
 (and) clean up the camp (for them).

¹⁴⁸I'm not sure as to the structure of this phrase. I think that *gulyagulya* may mean 'son' although I have never heard it used outside of this text and while *ngarri* and *gurla* are clearly the pronouns '1sgPOSS:I(NOM)' and '2duACC' respectively, I don't understand the use of *gulinya*, which means 'daughter'. I have therefore just glossed it in the way that it was translated by MG: "my two sons, my two sons".

¹⁴⁹The translation here does not accurately reflect the structure of the Wambaya sentence, but I don't know how else it could be translated. As far as I can determine the meaning is that the people are causing the smoke to rise. I don't know why the word used is 'fire' and not 'smoke'.

¹⁵⁰I don't understand why the habitual past tense is used here - unless it can also function as a distant past. This is something to be checked.

¹⁵¹This phrase is important to the story but I'm not really sure of its meaning. MG translates it as "loooong way" and said that *bulyawu* is a name that the Eaglehawk has just created for a fictitious piece of country where she claims the men are.

(27) Angbardi-j-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka ngaba wurlu gulug-ba.
 build-TH-Fut du:IMP e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-DAT THEN 3duS(nPst) sleep-Fut
 Build it for (your) brothers so they can sleep.

(28) Gulug-ba gurl baba-wuli-ja ngarrinybi-yulu."
 sleep-Fut du:IMP e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-DAT friend-DUAL(NOM)
 You two sleep with (your) brothers as mates (for them)."

[*Wagalamarri* and *Milinya* are talking to the two boys. An Eaglehawk says:]

(29) "Yagu-j-ba gurl baba-wulu. Gulug-ba wurlu.
 leave-TH-Fut du:IMP e.sibling-DUAL(ACC) sleep-Fut 3duS(nPst)
 "Leave (your) two brothers. They've got to sleep.

(30) Marlu wurlu duwa-j-ba ngijininima.¹⁵²
 far 3duS(nPst) get.up-TH-Fut tomorrow
 They've got to go a long way tomorrow.

(31) Gambardarda wurlu duwa".
 early 3duS(nPst) get.up(nF)
 They've got to get up early."

[When they're all sleeping, the Eaglehawks . . .]

(32) Wurrudbanyi maganja, burulyi.
 pull(nF) digging.stick:IV(ACC) round.stone:I(ACC)
 (They) get the digging stick and the round stone.

(33) Bunjunymi wurlu-n inuwulu wurlu-n gulug-bi.
 sneak.up(nF) 3duA(nPst)-Pr this:I:du:NOM 3duS(nPst)-Pr sleep-nF
 They sneak up on the two boys (that) are sleeping.

(34) "Burulyini-ni nyamirniiji ini lurd-ba,
 round.stone:I:nAbs-LOC 2sgERG this:I:sg:ACC hit-Fut
 "You hit this one with the round stone,

(35) damangga nganggi-yili-nmanji.
 head:IV(NOM) 2sgObl-COMIT-ALL
 (his) head's near you.¹⁵³

(36) Ngawu ng-u ini dudiyarri-j-ba maganji-ni gurdurlu."
 1sgERG 1sgA-Fut this:I:sg:ACC spear-TH-Fut digging.stick:IV:nAbs-LOC heart:IV(ACC)
 I'll spear this one in the heart with the digging stick."

[When they've killed the boys, *Wagalamarri* and *Milinya* run up saying:]

¹⁵²Given another time as: Marlu wurl-uba duwa ngijininima.
 far 3duS-nP:away get.up(nF) tomorrow

¹⁵³This is the 'seeing' eaglehawk directing the blind eaglehawk as to the position of the boy so that she will know where to hit.

- (37) "Gujinya, gujinya, gujiny-buli-ji yangaji ngurruganji.¹⁵⁴
 mother:II(NOM) mother:II(NOM) mother-DUAL:nAbs-LOC meat:I(ACC) 1plincPOSS:I(ACC)
 "Mother, mother, you got some meat for us."

- (38) Daguma gurl-a ngurra yangaji."
 hit(nF) 2duA-Pst 1plincObl meat:I(ACC)
 You have killed some meat for us."

(*Milinya* asks:)

- (39) "Gayina ng-u gaj-ba mambulyaji-nka gujanya¹⁵⁵-nka?"
 what:IV(ACC) 1sgA-Fut eat-Fut be.soft-PURP tooth:IV:nAbs-DAT
 "What can I eat that will be soft for (my) teeth?"

- (40) "Wugbugbardi ngurlu-n. Gulug-ba gurl."
 cook:RDP(nF) 1duexcA(nPst)-Pr sleep-Fut du:IMP
 "We are going to cook (it). You two go to sleep." [say the Eaglehawks]

- (41) Alag-ulu wurlu-n gulug-bi.
 child-DUAL(NOM) 3duS(nPst)-Pr sleep-nF
 The two kids sleep.

- (42) Gaj-bi wurlu-n ganjimi alag-uli-janka.
 eat-nF 3duA(nPst)-Pr finish:nF child-DUAL:nAbs-DAT
 They [the Eaglehawks] eat all the food (that was) for the children.

[When *Wagalamarri* and *Milinya* wake up]

- (43) "Injani ngurra yangaji, guja?"
 where 1plincObl meat:I(NOM) mum
 "Where's the meat for us, mum?"

- (44) "Gaj-bi ngurl-a ganjimi.
 eat-nF 1duexcA-Pst finish:nF
 "We ate (it) all."

- (45) Ini ilirri gagama gurl gaj-ba.
 this:I:sg:ACC blood:I(ACC) guts:III(ACC) du:IMP eat-Fut
 You two eat this blood and guts.

- (46) Ngangga yanyiyaga ilirri¹⁵⁶, ngara-ba."
 2sgPOSS:IV(NOM) that:IV:sg:NOM blood:I(NOM) drink-Fut
 That blood is yours, drink (it)."

¹⁵⁴This seems to be an incomplete sentence; there is no verb or auxiliary, although the presence of ergative/locative case marking on the subject noun suggests that there should be. Perhaps line 38 is the correction. It is also strange how the subject NP starts off in the singular and is then put into the dual.

¹⁵⁵This non-absolutive form is very odd and needs to be double-checked as the citation form of the noun is *gужangga*.

¹⁵⁶Note that in this clause *ilirri* takes Class IV agreement whereas in line 45 it takes Class I agreement. This is an example of 'natural semantic agreement', see 4.2.3.

- (47) Milinya¹⁵⁷ wurlu jiyawu ilirri.
 parrot:I(ACC) 3duA(nPst) give(nF) blood:I(ACC)
 They give the blood to *Milinya*.
- (48) "Nyamirniiji gaj-ba mamiyaga gagama."
 2sgERG eat-Fut that:III:sg:ACC guts:III(ACC)
 "You eat the guts."
- (49) Gagama wurlu jiyawu Wagalamarri.
 guts:III(ACC) 3duA(nPst) give(nF) crow:I(ACC)
 They give the guts to *Wagalamarri*.
- (50) Jiyawu wurlu ilirri gagama.
 give(nF) 3duA(nPst) blood:I(ACC) guts:III(ACC)
 They give (the two boys) the blood (and) the guts.

[Then the Eaglehawks say to each other]

- (51) "Gajurra murnd-u yangadi-nka mirnda,
 dance:Fut 1duincS-Fut meat:I:nAbs-DAT 1duincObl
 "Let's dance (again) for meat for us,
- (52) ngaba g-u yarru yangaji mirnda."
 THEN 3sgS-Fut go(Fut) meat:I(NOM) 1duincObl
 so that some meat will come for us."
- (53) "Yu"
 yes
 "Yes"
- (54) "Nyami yarri babanya gajurra.
 2sgNOM first e.sister:II(NOM) dance:Fut
 "You dance first, sister. [said the blind Eaglehawk]
- (55) Ahh yangula ny-ajundurra bajbaga yardi¹⁵⁸.
 NEG 2sgA-Pst dust:IV(ACC) big:IV(ACC) put(nF)
 Ahh, you didn't make much dust.
- (56) Nyami ny-a yardi bulyungu jundurra."
 2sgERG 2sgA-Pst put(nF) little:IV(ACC) dust:IV(ACC)
 You (just) made a little bit of dust."

[So the blind Eaglehawk gets up and dances]

- (57) "Yuu, babaga-yi nyi-n jundurra mirnda bajbaga yardi."
 e.sister:II:nAbs-LOC 2sgA(Pres)-Pr dust:IV(ACC) 1duincObl big:IV(ACC) put(nF)
 "Yes, sister you're making lots of dust for us."

¹⁵⁷Usually this noun belongs to Class II, however in this text it refers to a male and is therefore glossed as Class I. That it is treated as a Class I noun in this text is shown by the non-absolutive gender form in line 77; if it were being treated as a Class II noun the non-absolutive form would be *milinya* (see 4.2.2).

¹⁵⁸Note the use of *yardi* here to mean 'make, create'.

[To *Milinya* and *Wagalamarri* now]

- (58) "Ngaj-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka alag-ulu!
 see-Fut du:IMP e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-DAT child-DUAL(NOM)
 "You two kids, go watch (the road) for (your) two brothers!"
- (59) Ngaj-ba gurl baba-wuli-janka yarru wurlu-n."
 see-Fut du:IMP e.sibling-DUAL:nAbs-DAT go(Fut) 3duS(nPst)-Pr
 You watch (the road) for (your) two brothers coming."
- (60) "Barraala wurlu-n dula!"
 white.cockatoo:II(ACC) 3duA(nPst)-Pr disturb(nF)
 "They're disturbing the cockatoos!"
- (61) Ngunybulugi-yulu wurlu-n yarru.
 doctor-DUAL(NOM) 3duS(nPst)-Pr go(nF)
 Two medicine men are coming.
- (62) Bungmaj-buli-ji ngankawuliji wurl-aji daguma juwarramba.
 old.person-DUAL:nAbs-LOC this:II:du:LOC 3duA-Hab:Pst hit(nF) men:I(ACC)
 (because) These two old ladies had been killing all the boys.
- (63) Daguma wurl-aji giliyaga wurl-aji gaj-bi juwarramba.
 hit(nF) 3duA-Hab:Pst there 3duA-Hab:Pst eat-nF men:I(ACC)
 They'd been killing them (and) eating the boys there.
- (64) Garnguji wurl-aji daguma.
 many:I(ACC) 3duA-Hab:Pst hit(nF)
 They'd been killing a lot of them.
- (65) Galaa wurl-aji nyalima.
 bone:IV(ACC) 3duA-Hab:Pst collect(nF)
 They were collecting all the bones.
- (66) Galaa wurl-aji bililardi.
 bone:IV(ACC) 3duA-Hab:Pst pile.up(nF)
 They were piling the bones up.
- (67) Gumayangu-ni wurl-aji andajjarri galaa.
 cave:IV:nAbs-LOC 3duA-Hab:Pst hide(nF) bone:IV(ACC)
 They were hiding the bones in a cave.
- (68) "Gujiny-bulu nanawuliyaga wurlu-n
 mirra"
 mother-DUAL(NOM) that:II:du:NOM 3duS(nPst)-Pr sit(nF)
 "The two mothers are sitting (over there)." [say the two medicine men]
- [They go over to the two Eaglehawks]
- (69) "Gulyagulya, gulyaagulya ngarri-yulu gulyaagulya,
 son son 1sgPOSS-DUAL(NOM) son
 "Ahh my two sons,

- (70) Injani gurlu-n yarru?"
 where 2duS(nPst)-Pr go(nF)
 "Where are you going?"
- (71) "Yarru ngurlu ginki garngunyi-nka."
 go(nF) 1duexcS(nPst) there many:I:nAbs-DAT
 "We're going to that big group (of people) over there."
- (72) "Yagu irri-ng-a ngirra marndija"
 leave(nF) 3plA-1O-nF 1plexcACC long.ago
 "They left us a long time ago."
- (73) "Yuu banyimi irri-ng-a ngurla marndija."
 yes pass.by(nF) 3plA-1O-nF 1duexcACC long.ago
 "Yes, they passed by us a long time ago."
- (74) "Marlunja maga, marlunja.
 long.way camp:IV(NOM) long.way
 "That camp's a long way."
- (75) Gulug-ba gurl ngijininima-nka."
 sleep-Fut du:IMP tomorrow-DAT
 Sleep here until tomorrow."

[The medicine men (knowing of the plans of the Eaglehawks), make preparations when they 'go to bed']

- (76) Darrangu wurl-a gulug-ardi:
 stick:IV(ACC) 3duA-Pst sleep-CAUS(nF)
 They laid down two logs:
- (77) ganjurradi wagalamarrini-nmanji, ganjurradi milinyi-nmanji.
 be.straight(nF) crow:I:nAbs-ALL be.straight(nF) parrot:I:nAbs-ALL
 (one) next to *Wagalamarri* (and one) next to *Milinya*.
- (78) Bard-bi wurl-a munji wurl-a.
 run-nF 3duS-Pst hide(nF) 3duS-Pst
 (then) They ran away (and) hid.
- (79) Munji wurl-a ngaj-bi wurl-a nagawulu duwa.
 hide(nF) 3duS-Pst see-nF 3duA-Pst that.one:II:du:NOM get.up(nF)
 They hid (and) watched the two (Eaglehawks) get up.

[whispered]

- (80) "Naniyawulu nagawulu baraj-bulu wurlu-n duwa.
 that:II:du:NOM that.one:II:du:NOM old.person-DUAL(NOM) 3duS(nPst)-Pr get.up(nF)
 "The two old women are getting up."
- (81) Bunjunymi wurlu-n mirnda maga."
 sneak.up(nF) 3duA(nPst)-Pr 1duincObl camp:IV(ACC)
 They're sneaking up to our camp."

- (82) Wurrudbanyi ngiy-a maganja murlu-ngunya-ni.
 pull(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst digging.stick:IV(ACC) eye-PROP:II:nAbs-LOC
 The sighted (Eaglehawk) got the digging stick.
- (83) Burulyi ngiy-a yany-bi gunyanga-ni, murlu-wajanga-ni.
 round.stone:I(ACC) 3sgnmascA-Pst get-nF other:II:nAbs-LOC eye-PRIV:II:nAbs-LOC
 The other one, the blind one, got the round stone.
- (84) "Nyamirniiji ini lurd-ba,
 2sgERG this:I:sg:ACC hit-Fut
 "You hit this one,
- (85) ngawu ng-u ini dudyarri-j-ba"
 1sgERG 1sgA-Fut this:I:sg:ACC spear-TH-Fut
 I'll spear this one." [said the sighted Eaglehawk]
- (86) Daguma wurl-a: "Darrangu yana! Darrangu-
 wulu!!"
 hit(nF) 3duA-Pst stick:IV(NOM) this:IV:sg:NOM stick-DUAL(NOM)
 They hit (them): "This is a log! (They're) both logs!!"
- (87) "Ahh, bard-bi wurl-a, bard-bi wurl-a!
 run-nF 3duS-Pst run-nF 3duS-Pst
 "Ahh, they've run away, they've run away!"
- (88) Ginyinka wurl-a namirrga!¹⁵⁹ Bard-bi wurl-a mirnda!"
 swear.word 3duA-Pst swear.word run-nF 3duS-Pst 1duincObl
 (SWEARING). They've run away from us!"
- (89) "Yununggu wurl-aji daguma juwarramba ngankawuliji
 thus 3duA-Hab:Pst hit(nF) men:I(ACC) this:II:du:LOC
 bungmaj-buli-ji."
 old.person-DUAL:nAbs-LOC
 "This is how these two old women killed all those people." [said the medicine men]
- (90) Andajjarri wurlu-ngg-a.
 hide(nF) 3duA-RR-nF
 They hid.
- (91) Dudyarri wurl-a nagawulu bungmaj-bulu.
 spear(nF) 3duA-Pst that.one:II:du:ACC old.person-DUAL(ACC)
 They speared the two old women.
- (92) Ilarrana wurlu-ngg-a yardi bungmaj-bulu.
 eaglehawk:II(ACC) 3duA-RR-nF put(nF) old.person-DUAL(NOM)
 The two old women made themselves into eaglehawks.

¹⁵⁹Nobody would translate these words except to say that they were swear words.

Text A.2

Barnanggi and Jabiru¹⁶⁰

*Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman
Tennant Creek, May 1992*

- (1) Bungmaji Barnanggi g-aji duwa.
old.man:I(NOM) bird.sp:I(NOM) 3sgS-Hab:Pst get.up(nF)
Old man *Barnanggi* would get up.
- (2) Wugbugbardi gin-aji yangaji
wurla.
cook:RDP(nF) 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst meat:I(ACC) 3duObl
He would cook meat for them [his two sons].
- (3) Iguwulu wurl-aji duwa ngijininima.
that.one:I:du:NOM 3duS-Hab:Pst get.up(nF) tomorrow
They would get up the next day.
- (4) "Irda, injani yangaji ny-a langanjardi?"
father:I(NOM) where meat:I(ACC) 2sgA-Pst hang.up(nF)
"Father, where did you hang up the meat?"
- (5) Ini gayangga ngaba ngurlu gajbi-gaj-bi.
this:I:sg:NOM high THEN 1duexcS(nPst)
RDP-eat-nF
This is it high up so that we (two) can eat it (and then)
- (6) Duwa ngurl-uba ginkanyi alalangmi-ji-ni."
get.up(nF) 1duexcS-nP:away this.way hunt-TH-SIMUL:SS
We'll get up and go hunting in this direction."
- (7) Jabiru-nu gin-a wurla aliyulu.
jabiru-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC find(nF)
The Jabiru found them [the two sons].
- (8) Daguma gin-a wurla.
hit(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC
He killed them.
- (9) Wugbardi gin-a wurla.
cook(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC
He cooked them.¹⁶¹
- (10) Gajbi-gaj-bi gin-a wurla
ganjimi.
RDP-eat-nF 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC finish:nF
He ate them all up.

¹⁶⁰I am not sure what type of bird the *barnanggi* is (I think it may be a Hobby), so will just gloss it 'bird sp.' in this text. The Wambaya word for the 'jabiru' is *garrinji*, however, only 'jabiru' was used in the telling of this story.

¹⁶¹He did this somewhere on Newcastle Waters station.

* * *

- (11) Yandu gin-a wurla.
wait(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst 3duObl
He [*Barnanggi*] waited for them.
- (12) "Laji wurlu-n ngarra iguwulu.
be.absent(nF) 3duS(nPst)-Pr 1sgObl that.one:I:du:NOM
"They've been gone from me for a long time.
- (13) Daguma=miji irr-a wurla."
hit(nF)=INFER 3plA-Pst 3duACC
They must have killed them."
- (14) "Burrij, burrij"

[These are bird noises that he hears coming]
- (15) Gannga wurl-amany burriji¹⁶²-yulu
return(nF) 3duS-P:twds bird.sp-DUAL(NOM)
They came back as two birds.
- (16) "Burrij"
- (17) "Gurluwani!"
2duNOM
"You two!"
- (18) "Burrij"
- (19) "Daguma irri-ny-a gurla?"
hit(nF) 3plA-2O-nF 2duACC
"Did they kill you?"
- (20) "Burrij"
- (21) Yugu g-a.
cry(nF) 3sgS-Pst
He cried.
- (22) "Ngarri-yulu irr-a wurla
daguma."
1sgPOSS-DUAL(ACC) 3plA-Pst 3duACC hit(nF)
"They killed my two (boys)."
- (23) Mara-maran-bi g-a janyi-nka
gagami-nka.¹⁶³
RDP-feel.around-nF 3sgS-Pst dog:I:nAbs-DAT shit:III:nAbs-DAT

¹⁶²I do not know what type of bird this is.

¹⁶³The dative marking on *janji* 'dog' marks possession and the dative marking on *gagama* 'shit' marks the whole NP as being the indirect object of the verb *maranbi* 'feel around', see 4.4.1.4.

He felt around for some dog shit¹⁶⁴.

- (24) Larlag-bi g-a galyurringini-nmanji,
enter-nF 3sgS-Pst water:I:nAbs-ALL
He got into the water,
- (25) murlu gini-ngg-a agard-bi gagami-ni.
eye:IV(NOM) 3sgmascA-RR-nF wash-nF shit:III:nAbs-LOC
(and) washed his eyes with the shit.
- (26) Bunybarrimi gini-ngg-a murlu.
open(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF eye:IV(NOM)
He opened his eyes.
- (27) "Ahh, ngaj-bi ngi-n!
see-nF 1sgA(Pres)-Pr
"Ahh, I can see!"¹⁶⁵
- (28) Ayani ng-uba ngarri-yuli-janka.
look.for(nF) 1sgS-nP:away 1sgPOSS-DUAL:nAbs-DAT
I'm going to go looking for my two (boys).
- (29) Ayani ng-uba wurla.
look.for(nF) 1sgS-nP:away 3duObl
I'm going to go looking for them.
- (30) Daguma=miji irr-a wurla."
hit(nF)=INFER 3plA-Pst 3duACC
They must have killed them."
- (31) Jarrgi gin-a wurla ginmanji gili iligirri-ni.
track(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC this.way here river:IV:nAbs-LOC
He tracked the two boys this way, to the river here.
- (32) Ngajbi-ngaj-bi gin-a.
RDP-see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst
He looked around (the ground).
- (33) "Jabiru-nu gin-a wurla dudiyarri alag-ulu ngarri-yulu"
jabiru-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC spear(nF) child-DUAL(ACC) 1sgPOSS-DUAL(ACC)
"The Jabiru speared my two kids."
- (34) Larlag-bi g-a galyurringini-nmanji.
enter-nF 3sgS-Pst water:I:nAbs-ALL
He got into the water.

¹⁶⁴This old man is blind (for some reason this information wasn't given in the Wambaya version).

¹⁶⁵An alternative given in another telling of the story:

Nimi-nimi gini-ngg-a jayili galyurringini-ni.
RDP-rub(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF down water:I:nAbs-LOC
He rubbed himself (with the shit) under the water.
"Ahh, ngawu ngi-n murlu-nguji!"
1sgNOM 1sgS(Pres)-Pr eye-PROP:I(NOM)
"Ahh, I can see!" [Lit. "I've got eyes!"]

- (35) Wara-nmanji gini-ngg-a yardi bulinja.
face:IV:nAbs-ALL 3sgmascA-RR-nF put(nF) algae:IV(ACC)
He put algae on his face.
- (36) Gannga g-a alalangmi-ji-nnga Jabiru.
return(nF) 3sgS-Pst hunt-TH-PRIOR jabiru(NOM)
The Jabiru returned from hunting.
- (37) Wugbugbardi gin-a yangaji.
cook:RDP(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst meat:I(ACC)
He cooked some meat.
- (38) Gulug-ardi gini-ngg-a.
sleep-CAUS(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF
He lay down.
- (39) Gulug-bi g-a,
sleep-nF 3sgS-Pst
He slept,
- (40) yandu yangaji nanga naj-barda.
mind(nF) meat:I(ACC) 3sgmascObl burn-INF
(and) looked after his meat that was cooking.
- (41) Igima g-a yarru.
that.one:I:sg:NOM 3sgS-Pst go(nF)
(The *Barnanggi*) came (out of the water).
- (42) Manjala gin-a banjarri.
vine:IV(ACC) 3sgmascA-Pst throw(nF)
He threw some vine [ie. to make noise].
- (43) Ngaj-bi gin-a: "igima gi-n gulug-bi."
see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst that.one:I:sg:NOM 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sleep-nF
He looked: "he's sleeping now."
- (44) Jagina gini-ngg-a-n.
lie.on.back¹⁶⁶ 3sgmascA-RR-nF-Pr
He was sleeping on his back with one leg across the other.
- (45) Bungmaji g-a duwa.
old.man:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst get.up(nF)
The old man [*Barnanggi*] got up.
- (46) Barnanggi gini-ngg-a yardi.
bird.sp:I(ACC) 3sgmascA-RR-nF put(nF)
He made himself into a *barnanggi*.
- (47) "Burrij." Dirrag-bi g-a banggirri-nmanji.
jump-nF 3sgS-Pst knee:IV:nAbs-ALL

¹⁶⁶This actually describes the position of lying on one's back with one knee bent and the other leg resting across that knee. It is interesting that it is reflexive.

"Burrij." He jumped on (the Jabiru's) knee.

- (48) "Ahh, injannga ini julaji gi-n ngarra bard-bi?"
 where.from this.I.sg:NOM bird:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr 1sgObl run-nF
 "Ahh, where did this bird come to me from?"
- (49) Jabiru gini-ngg-a daguma.
 jabiru(NOM) 3sgmascA-RR-nF hit(nF)
 The Jabiru hit himself.¹⁶⁷
- (50) "Ardardardardarda, daguma ngi-ngg-a banggirra!"
 (scream.of.pain) hit(nF) 1sgA-RR-nF knee:IV(NOM)
 "Ahhhh, I've hit my knee!"
- (51) Dirrag-bi g-a gunya-nmanji banggirri-nmanji.
 jump-nF 3sgS-Pst other:IV:nAbs-ALL knee:IV:nAbs-ALL
 He [*Barnanggi*] jumped on the other knee.
- (52) Daguma gin-a: "Ahh, ngujari ngi-ngg-a!"
 hit(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst break(nF) 1sgA-RR-nF
 He (Jabiru) hit it: "Ahh, I've broken it!"
- (53) Dirrag-bi g-a jarlu-nmanjiigima Barnanggi.
 jump-nF 3sgS-Pst arm:IV:nAbs-ALL that.one:I.sg:NOM bird.sp:I(NOM)
Barnanggi jumped on his arm.
- (54) Daguma gini-ngg-a, ngujari gini-ngg-a.
 hit(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF break(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF
 He [Jabiru] hit himself and broke his (arm).
- (55) Dirrag-bi g-a gunya-nmanji.
 jump-nF 3sgS-Pst other:IV:nAbs-ALL
 He [*Barnanggi*] jumped on the other (arm).
- (56) Daguma gini-ngg-a ngujari jarlu.
 hit(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF break(nF) arm:IV(NOM)
 He hit himself (and) broke (his) arm.
- (57) "Ahh, gayina-ni ng-u daguma?"
 what:IV:nAbs-LOC 1sgA-Fut hit(nF)
 "Ahh, with what am I going to hit him (now)?" [cried the Jabiru]
- (58) Wara-nmanji g-a dirrag-bi.
 face:IV:nAbs-ALL 3sgS-Pst jump-nF
 He [*Barnanggi*] jumped on (his) face.
- (59) Igima gini-ngg-a daguma barlaj-ardi, gurda.
 that.one:I.sg:NOM 3sgmascA-RR-nF hit(nF) fall-CAUS(nF) be.sick(nF)
 He [Jabiru] hit himself and fell down, dead.
- (60) Yarru g-a bungmaji Barnanggi.
 go(nF) 3sgS-Pst old.man:I(NOM) bird.sp:I(NOM)

¹⁶⁷ie. on the knee - he was intending to hit the *barnanggi*, but the *barnanggi* jumped out of the way.

Old man *Barnanggi* went.

- (61) Ngajbi-ngaj-bi gin-a gayirra.¹⁶⁸
RDP-see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst cooking.site:IV(ACC)
He looked around for the cooking site.
- (62) Yany-bi gin-a galaa-rdarra.
get-nF 3sgmascA-Pst bone:IV:Abs-GROUP(ACC)
He got all the bones.
- (63) Nyali-nyalima gin-a,
RDP-gather(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst
He heaped (them all) up,
- (64) muju-mujumi gin-a galaa-rdarra.
RDP-put.together(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst bone:IV:Abs-GROUP(ACC)
(and) he put all the bones back together.
- (65) Yardi gin-a gunyi ini.
put(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst other:I(ACC) this:I:sg:ACC
He put the other boy (back together).
- (66) Ilyirrga gin-a yany-bi,
leaf:IV(ACC) 3sgmascA-Pst get-nF
He got a (coolibah) leaf,
- (67) warrguma gin-a.
slap.with.leaf(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst
(and) slapped (the bones) with it.
- (68) Mujumi irri-ngg-a yagagunya galaa-rdarra.
put.together(nF) 3plA-RR-nF that.one:IV:pl:NOM bone:IV:Abs-GROUP(NOM)
The bones joined themselves up.
- (69) Warrguma gin-a.
slap.with.leaf(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst
He hit them with the leaf (again).
- (70) Iguwulu wurl-a duwa.
that.one:I:du:NOM 3duS-Pst get.up(nF)
The two boys sat up.
- (71) "Ahh ngarri-yulu, daguma gini-ny-a gurla.
 1sgPOSS-DUAL(NOM) hit(nF) 3sgmascA-2O-nF 2duACC
"Ahh my two (sons), he killed you.
- (72) Daguma ng-a igima gurla!"
hit(nF) 1sgA-Pst that.one:I:sg:ACC 2duObl
(But) I killed him for you!"
- (73) "Yu: irda, yarru ngurr-uba."
yes father:I(NOM) go(nF) 1plincS-nP:away
"Yes father, let's go."

¹⁶⁸I don't know why this NP is in the accusative case rather than the dative case, as would be expected.

- (74) Anka-mi gin-a wurla.
 alive-FAC:nF 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC
 He brought them back to life.

Text A.3

Gambarda and Wardangarri The Sun and the Moon

*Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman
 Elliott, April 1992*

- (1) Ngarringga wurlu-ngg-a alaji gambarda wardangarri¹⁶⁹.
 take.from(nF) 3duA-RR-nF boy:I(ACC) sun:II(NOM) moon:II(NOM)
 They took each other's child, the sun and the moon.
- (2) Nagawulu wurlu-ngg-a ngarringga.
 that.one:II:du:NOM 3duA-RR-nF take.from(nF)
 The two women took each other's (babies).
- (3) Gambanga-ni ngiy-a yabu gurijsbi alaji ilig-baji.
 sun:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst have(nF) good:I(ACC) boy:I(ACC) sore-PRIV:I(ACC)
 The sun had a nice baby, with no sores.
- (4) Wardangarringa-ni ngiy-a yabu iliga-nguji bagijsbi.
 moon:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst have(nF) sore-PROP:I(ACC) bad:I(ACC)
 The moon had a "no good" (baby), with sores.
- (5) Damangga-ni iliga gin-aji yabu alangi-ni.
 head:IV:nAbs-LOC sore:IV(ACC) 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst have(nF) boy:I:nAbs-LOC
 The child had sores (all over) its head.
- (6) Ngaragi-nka galyurringini-nka wurl-any yarru.
 drink-PURP water:I:nAbs-DAT 3duS-P:away go(nF)
 They went to drink some water.
- (7) Di-didija wurl-any yarru.
 RDP-carry(nF) 3duS-P:away go(nF)
 They carried (their children) on their hips.
- (8) Wardangarringa-ni ngiy-a didima ngaragi-nka:
 moon:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst tell(nF) drink-PURP
 The moon told (the sun) to drink:
- (9) "Ngara-ba, nyami yarri! Alag-ulu ngi-n yandu wurla."
 drink-Fut 2sgERG first child-DUAL(ACC) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr mind(nF) 3duACC
 "You drink first! I'm watching the two kids."
- (10) "Nyamirnijsi ngara-ba jaburru,

¹⁶⁹Usually this noun belongs to Class I, however in this story it has a female referent and is treated as Class II (as shown in line 4, for example, where it takes the Class II non-absolutive gender suffix *-nga-*), and is therefore glossed as such.

2sgERG drink-Fut first
"No, you drink first,

- (11) ngawu ng-u ngara-ba banjangani."
1sgERG 1sgA-Fut drink-Fut behind
I'll drink after."
- (12) "Nyamirniiji ngara-ba! Yandu ng-u ngawurniji wurla alag-ulu."
2sgERG drink-Fut mind(nF) 1sgA-Fut 1sgERG 3duACC child-DUAL(ACC)
"You drink! I'll watch the kids."
- (13) Yardi ngiy-a jangi lawunjini-nmanji gambanga-ni.
put(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst down coolaman:I:nAbs-ALL sun:II:nAbs-LOC
The sun put (her baby) down in the coolaman.
- (14) Bunjurrbarra ngiy-a galyurringi ngaragi-nka.
kneel.to(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst water:I(ACC) drink-PURP
She knelt down to the water to drink (it).
- (15) Ngankingiy-a lurrbanyi wardangarringa-ni alaji gulug-barda
this:II:sg:LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst grab(nF) moon:II:nAbs-LOC boy:I(ACC) sleep-INF
The moon grabbed her sleeping child
- (16) bard-ba-bu ngiy-a.
run-Fut-OP 3sgnmascA-Pst
(and) she ran away with it.
- (17) "Inama ngarradi alaji=nima nyi-n
yabu!
that:I:sg:ACC 1sgPOSS:I(ACC) boy:I(ACC)=JUST 2sgA(Pres)-Pr
have(nF)
"That's my child you've got!"
- (18) Ngarradi=nima alaji gurijbi.
1sgPOSS:I(NOM)=JUST boy:I(NOM) good:I(NOM)
Mine's the good one.
- (19) Ngangadi ilig-uji.
2sgPOSS:I(NOM) sore-PROP:I(NOM)
Yours is the one with sores."
- (20) "Ngarradi ini gurijbi,
1sgPOSS:I(NOM) this:I:sg:NOM good:I(NOM)
"Mine's this good one,
- (21) ngangi iniyaga bagijbi ilig-uji!"
2sgPOSS:I(NOM) that:I:sg:NOM bad:I(NOM) sore-PROP:I(NOM)
yours is that "no good" one with sores!"
- (22) Dirdbirdbunga wurlu-ngg-a.
argue(nF) 3duA-RR-nF
They had an argument.
- (23) "Ngarradi nyi-n yabu gurijbi.
1sgPOSS:I(ACC) 2sgA(Pres)-Pr have(nF) good:I(ACC)
"You've got my nice (baby).

- (24) Yabu gama ini ngangadi.
 take(nF) sg:IMP:away this:I:sg:ACC 2sgPOSS:I(ACC)
 Take this one of yours!
- (25) Ngarradi nyi-ng jiya-j-ba gurijbi!"
 1sgPOSS:I(ACC) 2sgA-IO give-TH-Fut good:I(ACC)
 Give me my nice one!"
- (26) Dingbari-j-ba-bu ngiy-a gayangga wardangarringa-ni.
 fly.off-TH-Fut-OP 3sgnmascA-Pst high moon:II:nAbs-LOC
 The moon flew off with (the sun's baby) up (into the sky).
- (27) Alima ngiy-a yabu gayangga.
 well 3sgnmascA-Pst take(nF) high
 Well, she took it up (into the sky).
- (28) Jugbi ngiy-a gambanga-ni banjangani.
 spit:nF 3sgnmascA-Pst sun:II:nAbs-LOC behind
 The sun spat after (her).
- (29) Mardima wurlu-ngg-a nyurranji.
 chase(nF) 3duA-RR-nF always
 (Now) They're always chasing each other.
- (30) Gambarda gi duwa.
 sun:II(NOM) 3sgS(Pres) get.up(nF)
 The sun comes up.
- (31) Ayigurru gambarda gi garlarli,
 afternoon sun:II(NOM) 3sgS(Pres) slip.down(nF)
 (then) In the afternoon the sun goes down,
- (32) wardangarri gi duwa.
 moon:II(NOM) 3sgS(Pres) get.up(nF)
 (and) the moon comes up.

Text A.4**Jinkijiyulu¹⁷⁰**

The two stars

*Story told by Minnie Niyamarrama Nimara.
Tennant Creek, May 1992*

- (1) Jinkiji-yulu: bulyingi igima, bugayirna nagarna.
star-DUAL(NOM) little:I(NOM) that.one:I:sg:NOM big:II(NOM) that.one:II:sg:NOM
Two stars: the little one's a man and the big one's a woman.
- (2) Bulyingini-ni gan-ala bardganyi nagarna bugayirna.
little:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Hab:nPst follow(nF) that.one:II:sg:ACC big:II(ACC)
The little (male) one always follows the big woman one.
- (3) Bulyingi gi-n yarru banjangani,
little:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr go(nF) behind
The little (male) one goes behind,
- (4) bugayirna jaburru gugurda.
big:II(NOM) front MM:II(NOM)
(and) the big grandmother in the front.
- (5) Yarru wurl-aji barlangga.
go(nF) 3duS-Hab:Pst together
They were going along together.
- (6) Wugbugbardi bungmanya-ni yangaji.
cook:RDP(nF) old.woman:II:nAbs-LOC meat:I(ACC)
The old lady was cooking some meat [for the grandfather].
- (7) "Yandu-j-ba wugbugbardi ngi-n."
wait-TH-Fut cook:RDP(nF) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr
"Wait, I'm cooking."
- (8) "Yu, yandu ngi-n nganga."
yes wait(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr 2sgObl
"Yes, I'm waiting for you."
- (9) "Gayina ny-u gaj-ba?"
what:IV(ACC) 2sgA-Fut eat-Fut
"What are you going to eat?"
- (10) "Guyala, bagij-bi ngi-n juruma."
nothing feel.bad-nF 1sgS(Pres)-Pr stomach:III(NOM)
"Nothing, I feel sick in the stomach."
- (11) "Gaj-ba ny-u yana, jaminjilana-nka?"
eat-Fut 2sgA-Fut this:IV:sg:ACC MF:I:nAbs-DAT
"Do you want to eat this of your grandfather's?"

¹⁷⁰Jinkijiyulu.
star-DUAL(NOM)

- (12) "Guyala ng-udi gaj-bi bundurra,
NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres eat-nF meal:IV(ACC)
"I don't want to eat any food,
- (13) ngawu ngu-ny-u gaj-bi nyamirni!
1sgERG 1sgA-2O-Fut screw-nF 2sgACC
I want to eat¹⁷¹ you!
- (14) Gaj-bi ngu-ny-u bunyma, gugunya ngarrirna!"
screw-nF 1sgA-2O-Fut arse:III(ACC) MM:II(NOM) 1sgPOSS:II(NOM)
I want to screw you, grandmother!"
- (15) Gaj-bi wurlu-ngg-a.
screw-nF 3duA-RR-nF
They screwed each other.
- (16) "Duwa-j-ba! Dunggala gini-n julaji jaminjilana-ni!"
get.up-TH-Fut chase.away(nF) 3sgmascA(Pres)-Pr bird:I(ACC) MF:I:nAbs-LOC
Get up! (Your) grandfather's frightening the birds!"¹⁷²
- (17) "Bibi yarri gugunya, guyala ng-udi ganjimi!
little.while first MM:II(NOM) NEG 1sgA-IRR:Pres finish:nF
"Just a little bit more grandmother, I haven't finished!
- (18) Guri-nymi ng-u gaj-bi!"
good-FAC:nF 1sgA-Fut screw-nF
I'm going to screw you properly!"
- (19) "Ganinggiji gi-n yarru!"
close 3sgS(Pres)-Pr go(nF)
"He's coming close!"
- (20) Ngaj-bi gin-a wurla gaj-barda.
see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC screw-INF
He saw them screwing.
- (21) Balamurru-nugin-a wurla dudiyarri, gujarri=nima.
spear:IV:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC spear(nF) two:I(ACC)=JUST
He speared them with a spear, both of them.
- (22) Galimbaji gin-a wurla dudiyarri.
rib:I(ACC) 3sgmascA-Pst 3duACC spear(nF)
He speared them in the ribs.
- (23) "(SPIT) Duri-j-ba gurlu-ngg-u, duri-j-ba gayangga!"
fuck-TH-Fut 2duA-RR-Fut fuck-TH-Fut high
"You two go and fuck up (in the sky)!"

¹⁷¹Unfortunately the pun achieved here due to the polysemy of *gajbi* between 'eat' and 'have sex with' is lost in the English translation.

¹⁷²ie. The grandfather is about to arrive.

- (24) Bard-bi wurl-a. Dirrag-bi wurl-a gayangga lili-nmanji.
 run-nF 3duS-Pst jump-nF 3duS-Pst high sky:IV:nAbs-ALL
 They ran away. They jumped up into the sky.
- (25) Yarru wurlu-n barlangga gayangga.
 go(nF) 3duS(nPst)-Pr together high
 (now) They're going together up (in the sky).
- (26) Bardganyi wurlu-ngg-a-n.
 follow(nF) 3duA-RR-nF-Pr
 They're following each other.

Text A.5

Dirdibulyi Ninagangga Buwarraja¹⁷³ The Peewee's dreaming

*Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman
 Elliott, April 1992*

- (1) Dirdibulyini-ni gin-aji galyurringi yabu nangi
 peewee:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst water:I(ACC) have(nF) 3sgmascPOSS:I(ACC)
 lanybiya-ni.
 well:IV:nAbs-LOC
 The peewee used to keep his water in a well.
- (2) Ngara-bi gin-aji ilijbini-ni
 nunku=nima.
 drink-nF 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst alone:I:nAbs-LOC
 that:I.sg:LOC=JUST
 He used to drink (it) all himself.
- (3) Andajarri gin-aji gunyini-nka.
 hide(nF) 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst other:I:nAbs-DAT
 He'd hide (it) from others.
- (4) Ilyirrgi-ni gin-aji jaji.
 leaf:IV:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst cover(nF)
 He'd cover (it) with leaves.
- (5) Ilyirrga gin-aji yardi gayangga-ni
 leaf:IV(ACC) 3sgmascA-Hab:Pst put(nF) high-LOC
 He'd put the leaves on top
- (6) ngaj-bi irr-agba.
 see-nF 3plA-IRR:Fut
 lest other people see (it).

¹⁷³Dirdibulyi ninagangga buwarraja
 peewee:I(NOM) this:I.sg:POSS:IV(NOM) dreaming:IV(NOM)
 Note that *dirdibulyi* does not have genitive marking. I have no explanation for this.

- (7) Ngara-bi irr-agba nanga banjangani.
 drink-nF 3plA-IRR:Fut 3sgmascObl behind
 They might drink (it) behind him [ie. once he had gone].
- (8) "Yarru ng-u alalangmi-ji-ni gannga ng-u
 banjani.
 go(Fut) 1sgS-Fut hunt-TH-SIMUL:SS return(Fut) 1sgS-Fut back
 "I'm going to go hunting (and then) I'll come back (here)
- (9) Ngajbi-ngaj-bi ng-u janga-nka gunyini-nka.
 RDP-see-nF 1sgA-Fut track:IV:nAbs-DAT other:I:nAbs-DAT
 (and) look (on the ground) for someone else's tracks.
- (10) Ngirra-ji-ni irr-agba yarru banjangani ngarra."
 steal-TH-SIMUL:SS 3plS-IRR:Fut go(Fut) behind
 1sgObl
 They might come behind me and steal (my water)."
- (11) Ngirra irr-agba nangi galyurringi.
 steal(nF) 3plA-IRR:Fut 3sgmascPOSS:I(ACC) water:I(ACC)
 They might steal his water.
- (12) Gannga g-a. Ngajbi-ngaj-bi gin-a janga-nka.
 return(nF) 3sgS-Pst RDP-see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst
 track:IV:nAbs-DAT
 He returned. He looked around for tracks.
- (13) Guyala gun-uja ngaj-bi janga.
 NEG 3sgmascA-IRR:Pst see-nF track:IV(ACC)
 He didn't see any tracks.
- (14) "Anggarrinja¹⁷⁴ janga-nka."
 lacking:IV(NOM) track:IV:nAbs-DAT
 "There are no tracks here."
- (15) Guyala irr-ija yarru.
 NEG 3plS-IRR:Pst go(nF)
 They hadn't come.
- (16) Yarru g-a bungmaji Dirdibulyi alalangmi-ji-ni,
 go(nF) 3sgS-Pst old.man:I(NOM) peewee:I(NOM) hunt-TH-SIMUL:SS
 (so) Old man Peewee went hunting,
- (17) labalaba gamuli-ni galyurringi.
 carry.on.shoulder(nF) water.coolaman:IV:nAbs-LOC water:I(ACC)
 (and) carried (some) water [on his shoulders] in a coolaman.
- (18) Aliyulu gin-a barnga-liji bagarrinji.
 find(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst cousin:I:Abs-REFL:POSS(ACC) goanna.sp:I(ACC)¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴This is the only example I have of this word; usually *guyalinja* would be used.

¹⁷⁵I don't know the English name for this goanna. MG describes it as a small black goanna that lives in trees.

- He met up with his cousin, *Bagarrinji*.
- (19) Andajarri gin-a buyunku-nu galyurringi nangi.
hide(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst middle-LOC water:I(ACC)
3sgmascPOSS:I(ACC)
He hid his water half way [along the road].
- (20) Yarru g-a bagarrinyi-nmanji.
go(nF) 3sgS-Pst goanna.sp:I:nAbs-ALL
He went (over) to *Bagarrinji*.
- (21) Ngarl-ajarra¹⁷⁶ wurl-a.
talk-TRANS:nF? 3duA?-Pst
They chatted.
- (22) Bagarrinyi-ni gin-a janganja:
goanna.sp:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst ask(nF)
Bagarrinji asked:
- (23) "Jiya-j-ba nyi-ng galyurringi, guranji ngi-n."
give-TH-Fut 2sgA-IO water:I(ACC) be.thirsty(nF) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr
"Give me some water, I'm thirsty."
- (24) "Guyalinji ngawurniji. Ngangaba nyi-n yabu, barnga
lacking:I(NOM) 1sgNOM fire:IV(ACC) 2sgA(Pres)-Pr have(nF) cousin:I(NOM)
"No, I've got nothing. Have you got some fire, cousin
- (25) ngaba ng-u wugbugbardi-j-ba ini
yangaji?"
THEN 1sgA-Fut cook:RDP-TH-Fut this:I:sg:ACC meat:I(ACC)
so that I can cook this meat?"
- (26) "Ngawurniji guyalinji. Gaj-ba gurludardi.
1sgNOM lacking:I(NOM) eat-Fut raw:I(ACC)
"No, I've got nothing. Eat (it) raw.
- (27) Galyurringi nyi-ng jiya-j-ba! Galyurringi-yaji ngawurniji"
water:I(ACC) 2sgA-IO give-TH-Fut water-PRIV:I(NOM) 1sgNOM
Give me some water! I've got no water."
- (28) "Ngawurniji ngi-n yarru yurubu alalangmi-ji-ni.
1sgNOM 1sgS(Pres)-Pr go(nF) just hunt-TH-SIMUL:SS
"I'm just going hunting.
- (29) Guyalinji ngi-n yarru ngawurniji galyurringi-yaji.
lacking:I(NOM) 1sgS(Pres)-Pr go(nF) 1sgNOM water-PRIV:I(NOM)
I'm going with nothing, no water.
- (30) Ilanji nganggi gaj-ba!"
cooked:I(ACC) 2sgPOSS:I(ACC) eat-Fut
You eat that cooked (meat) of yours!"

¹⁷⁶I'm not sure of the structure of this word, see 6.2.1.2.

[Meanwhile]

- (31) Wirrilgarra bard-bi g-a banjangani.
cockatiel:II(NOM) run-nF 3sgS-Pst behind
Cockatiel ran behind (him).
- (32) Dirdibulyini-nmanji¹⁷⁷ g-amany magi-nmanji
yarru.
peewee:I:nAbs-ALL 3sgS-P:twds camp:IV:nAbs-ALL go(nF)
She came to Peewee's camp.
- (33) Ngaj-bi ngiy-a "ini galyurringi gan-ala
see-nF 3sgnmascA-Pst this:I:sg:ACC water:I:ACC 3sgmascA-Hab:nPst
andajarri."
hide(nF)
She saw (the water), "Ahh, this is the water he always hides."
- (34) Wirrilgarra-ni ngiy-a nguya, darrgulumi.
cockatiel:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst dig(nF)
crack(nF)
Cockatiel dug out (the water) (and) cracked (it) [ie. the well].
- (35) Galyurringi g-a bard-bi.
water:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst run-nF
The water ran out.
- (36) Junmi gin-a galyurringini-ni iligirra.
cut(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst water:I:nAbs-LOC river:IV(ACC)
The water cut rivers (in the ground).
- (37) Dirdibulyini-ni gin-a manku wunba.
peewee:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst hear(nF) wind:IV(ACC)
The Peewee heard the wind [ie. the sound of the water running].
- (38) Ilinga gin-a galyurringi gi-n bard-bi.
hear(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst water:I(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr run-nF
He heard the water running.
- (39) "Darrgulumi=miji irr-a ngarra galyurringi banjangani.
crack(nF)=INFER 3plA-Pst 1sgObl water:I(ACC) behind
"They must have let out the water behind me.
- (40) Bagij-bi ngi-n. Irringgurli irr-a banjangani ngarra."
feel.bad-nF 1sgS(Pres)-Pr mess.around(nF) 3plS-Pst behind 1sgObl
I feel bad. They've been messing around behind me (at my home)."
- (41) Ngaj-bi gin-a galyurringi ini
bililarri.
see-nF 3sgmascA-Pst water:I(ACC) this:I:sg:ACC
flood(nF)

¹⁷⁷I do not know why there is nothing marking the genitive case here.

He saw the water flooding.

- (42) "Ahhhh, irdina-nka, irdina-nka.
 father:I:nAbs-DAT father:I:nAbs-DAT
"Ahhh, my father's (country), my father's (country).
- (43) Darrgulumi irr-a ngarra banjangani gayinini-ni=miji."
 crack(nF) 3plA-Pst 1sgObl behind what:I:nAbs-
LOC=INFER
Someone's let out (the water) behind me, I don't know who."
- (44) Yugu g-a galyurringini-nka nangini-nka.
 cry(nF) 3sgS-Pst water:I:nAbs-DAT 3sgmascPOSS:I:nAbs-DAT
He cried for his water.
- (45) Bard-bi g-a nagarna durra-ji-ni wirrilgarra
 run-nF 3sgS-Pst that.one:II:sg:NOM be.frightened-TH-SIMUL:SS cockatiel:II(NOM)
Cockatiel ran away frightened
- daguma gin-agba.
 hit(nF) 3sgmascA-IRR:Fut
 lest (the Peewee) hit (her).
- (46) Dirdibulyi g-a yugu. Gurlirra gini-ngg-a.
 peewee:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst cry(nF) gash.head(nF)¹⁷⁸ 3sgmascA-RR-nF
Peewee cried. He gashed his head.
- (47) Ilirri g-a bardgu marlanganyi-
nmanji.
 blood:I(NOM) 3sgS-Pst fall(nF) shoulder:I:nAbs-ALL
The blood fell onto his shoulders.¹⁷⁹

Text A.6

Indilyawurna and Wardangarri The Curlew and the Moon

*Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman
Tennant Creek, May 1992*

- (1) Ngarringga ngiy-a wardangarri gurdurlu.
 take.from(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst moon:I(ACC) heart:IV(ACC)
She [Curlew] took the moon's heart.
- (2) Ngaj-bi ngiy-a: "gayina yanama gi-n wubi?"
 see-nF 3sgnmascA-Pst what:IV(NOM) that:IV:sg:NOM 3sgS(Pres)-Pr be.red(nF)

She saw (it): "What's that red thing?"

¹⁷⁸ie. in mourning.

¹⁷⁹This blood is now represented by the peewee's black markings.

- (3) Jangi-jangi gi-n wubi gardibirri-ni.
RDP-down 3sgS(Pres)-Pr be.red(nF) armpit:IV:nAbs-LOC
The red (heart) is under his [Moon] arm.
- (4) Andajarri gin-a ginkanyi gardibirri-ni.
hide(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst this.way armpit:IV:nAbs-LOC
He hid it here under his arm.
- (5) Gardibirri-ni gin-a andajarri
gurdurlu.
armpit:IV:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst hide(nF) heart:IV(ACC)
He hid the heart under his arm.
- (6) Wardangarrini-ni gin-a andajarri gurdurlu.
moon:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Pst hide(nF) heart:IV(ACC)
The moon hid the heart.
- (7) Indilyawunga-ni ngiy-a ngaj-bi.
curlew:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst see-nF
The curlew saw it.
- (8) Ngaj-bi ngiy-a jaburru.
see-nF 3sgnmascA-Pst first
She saw it first.
- (9) "Bungmaji, ngara-ba ini galyurringi!"
old.man:I(NOM) drink-Fut this:I:sg:ACC water:I(ACC)
"Old man, you drink this water!"
- (10) "Ngawurniji baba, nyami yarri nya¹⁸⁰ ngara-ba.
1sgNOM e.brother:I(NOM) 2sgERG first sg:IMP drink-Fut
"I'm (your) brother, you drink first."
- (11) "Ngara-ba nyamirniiji."
drink-Fut 2sgERG
"You drink."
- (12) "Ngara-ba nyami. Nyamirniiji yarri ngara-ba.
drink-Fut 2sgERG 2sgERG first drink-Fut
"You drink. You drink first."
- (13) Nayidanga-ni ngay-ala ngara-bi
jaburru."
woman:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Hab:nPst drink-nF first
Women always drink first."
- (14) "Naahh, juwa-ni gan-ala ngara-bi
jaburru."
no man:I:nAbs-LOC 3sgmascA-Hab:nPst drink-nF first
"No, men always drink first."

¹⁸⁰This is the Gudanyi imperative form. In Wambaya there is no auxiliary in motion-neutral singular imperative constructions, see 5.5.

- (15) "Ngara-ba nyami galyurringi!"
 drink-Fut 2sgERG water:I(ACC)
 "You drink the water!" [Moon]
- (16) "Ngara-ba nyami galyurringi!"
 drink-Fut 2sgERG water:I(ACC)
 "You drink the water!" [Curlew]
- (17) Indilyawurna garran-bi¹⁸¹.
 curlew:II(NOM) stand-nF
 The curlew stood there.
- (18) Bunjurrbarra gin-a galyurringi ninkiyaga.
 kneel.to(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst water:I(ACC) that:I:sg:LOC
 The (moon) knelt down to the water.
- (19) Wurrudbanyi ngiy-a gurdurlu.
 pull(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst heart:IV(ACC)
 She grabbed (his) heart.
- (20) Mardima wurlu-ngg-a.
 chase(nF) 3duA-RR-nF
 They chased each other.
- (21) Indilyawurna g-a bard-bi.
 curlew:II(NOM) 3sgS-Pst run-nF
 The curlew ran.
- (22) Bard-bi g-a.
 run-nF 3sgS-Pst
 She ran.
- (23) Ninkiyaga gin-a nyurrunyurru banjangani.
 that:I:sg:LOC 3sgmascA-Pst chase(nF) behind
 The (moon) chased after her.
- (24) Bardgu g-a buyunku-ni. Janmaj-ardi ngiy-a guda-ni.
 fall(nF) 3sgS-Pst middle-LOC trip-CAUS(nF) 3sgnmascA-Pst stone:IV:nAbs-LOC
 He fell over half way. A stone tripped him up.
- (25) "Yarru gama! Gurda gama
 yunumarrga=nima.
 go(Fut) sg:IMP:away die(nF) sg:IMP:away that.way=JUST
 "Go away! Go and die (and remain) like that (forever).
- (26) Ngawu ng-u mirra anki.
 1sgNOM 1sgS-Fut sit(nF) alive:I(NOM)
 Me, I will be alive.
- (27) Gurda¹⁸² ng-u duwa-j-ba ng-u."

¹⁸¹I do not have an explanation for the absence of an auxiliary in this clause.

die(nF) 1sgS-Fut get.up-TH-Fut 1sgS-Fut
I will die (and then) I will get up (again)."

- (28) Idilyawunga-ni ngiy-a ngurra baginy-mi!
curlew:II:nAbs-LOC 3sgnmascA-Pst 1plincObl bad-FAC:nF
The curlew made things bad for us!

Text A.7

Gunbi and Garrgalyi

The Blanket Lizard and the Plains Lizard

Story told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman

Elliott, April 1992

- (1) Ngarli-ni wurl-a-n mirra.
talk-SIMUL:SS 3duS-Pst-Pr sit(nF)
They were sitting talking.
- (2) Igima g-amany yarru nanga langga-ngani.
that.one:I:sg:NOM 3sgS-P:twds go(nF) 3sgmascObl north-ABL
He [Blanket lizard] came to him from the north.
- (3) Igima manggur-inji garrgalyi-galyi,
that.one:I:sg:NOM plains-ORIG:I(NOM) plains.lizard:I(NOM)-RDP
The plains lizard from the plains country,
- (4) yunumarrga g-amany nanga yarru.
that.way 3sgS-P:twds 3sgmascObl go(nF)
he came to him from that way.
- (5) Aliyulu wurlu-ngg-a iligirri-ni.
find(nF) 3duA-RR-nF river:IV:nAbs-LOC
They met each other by the river.
- (6) Ngarlwi-ngarl-wi wurl-a
RDP-talk-nF 3duS-Pst
They chatted.
- (7) "Ngawu ngi-ngg-a junmi nyungga.
1sgNOM 1sgA-RR-nF cut(nF) hair:IV(NOM)
"I've cut my hair.
- (8) Ngaj-ba yana."
look-Fut this:IV:sg:ACC
Look at it." [said Blanket lizard]
- (9) "Ngarrga gi-n mirra garna.
1sgPOSS:IV(NOM) 3sgS(Pres)-Pr sit(nF) long:IV(NOM)
"Mine's still long.

¹⁸²Note that *gurda* does not have a reflexive object here, as is its usual case frame. I do not know why this is so - perhaps it is a different lexeme meaning 'die' rather than 'be sick'.

- (10) Garnaa ngi-n yabu."
 long:IV(ACC) 1sgA(Pres)-Pr have(nF)
 I've got long (hair)." [said Plains lizard]

- (11) "Ngawu ngi-ngg-a junmi, baba.
1sgNOM 1sgA-RR-nF cut(nF) e.brother:I(NOM)
"I've cut mine, brother.
- (12) Garrijarriji ngi damangga.
be.cold:RDP(nF) 1sgS(Pres) head:IV(NOM)
My head's (nice and) cool.
- (13) Junmi-j-ba ngu-ny-u nyamirniyi, baba."
cut-TH-Fut 1sgA-2O-Fut 2sgACC e.brother:I(NOM)
I'm going to cut your (hair), brother." [said Blanket lizard]
- (14) "Junmi-j-ba nyu-ng-u, baba!"
cut-TH-Fut 2sgA-1O-Fut e.brother:I(NOM)
"Cut it, brother!" [said Plains lizard]
- (15) Junmi gin-a ganjimi.
cut(nF) 3sgmascA-Pst finish:nF
He cut (it) all off.
- (16) Yarru wurl-a jangi iligirri-nmanji.
go(nF) 3duS-Pst down river:IV:nAbs-ALL
They went down to the river.
- (17) Lingba-lingba wurl-a.
RDP-bogey(nF) 3duS-Pst
They had a bogey.
- (18) "Ngaj-ba nyi-ng ngawurniji nyungga, baba!"
look-Fut 2sgA-1O 1sgACC hair:IV(ACC) e.brother:I(NOM)
"Look at my hair, brother!" [called Blanket lizard]
- (19) Binbinkuma gini-ngg-a.
shake.head(nF) 3sgmascA-RR-nF
He shook (all his hair) out. [It hadn't been cut after all]
- (20) "Ahh nyami nyi-ng-a wujubardi!
 2sgERG 2sgA-1O-nF lie(nF)
"Ahh, you lied to me!
- (21) Junmi ny-a ngarrga nyungga!"
cut(nF) 2sgA-Pst 1sgPOSS:IV(ACC) hair:IV(ACC)
(and) You cut *my* hair!" [cried Plains lizard]
- (22) Daguma wurlu-ngg-a.
hit(nF) 3duA-RR-nF
They fought.
- (23) Junmi wurlu-ngg-a jabarri-ni.
cut(nF) 3duA-RR-nF stone.knife:IV:nAbs-LOC
They cut each other with a knife.

- (24) "(SPIT) yarru gama dawurdawurra-ni!
 go(Fut) sg:IMP:away
 hill.country:IV:nAbs-LOC
 "Go away to the hill country!"
- (25) Langan-bi gama darranggu!"
 climb-nF sg:IMP:away tree:IV(ACC)
 Go and climb a tree!" [cried Plains lizard]
- (26) "(SPIT) nyamirniiji gama yarru!
 2sgNOM sg:IMP:away go(Fut)
 "You go away!"
- (27) Girrgili-nigama mirra mangguru-nu!"
 crack:IV:nAbs-LOC sg:IMP:away sit(nF) plains:IV:nAbs-LOC
 Go and sit in a crack in the plains country!" (cried the blanket lizard)

Text A.8

Molly Grueman's Story

*Told by Molly Nurlanyma Grueman,
 Elliott, July 1991*

- (1) Gagaguwaja-ni ngiyi-ng-a bajijurdu gujiga-yi.
 Anthony.Lagoon-LOC 3sgnmascA-1O-nF bring.up(nF) mother:II:nAbs-LOC
 My mother brought me up at Anthony Lagoon Station.
- (2) Guyala g-uda yarru banggajarra-ni banggajarra-ni
 NEG 3sgS-IRR:Pst go(nF) another.place-LOC another.place-LOC
 ngarri irda.
 1sgPOSS:I(NOM) father:I(NOM)
 My father never went to any other places.
- (3) Mirra g-a gili=nima-yaga.¹⁸³
 sit(nF) 3sgS-Pst here=JUST=remote
 He stayed right there.
- (4) Aliyulu gini-ng-a gili=nima-yaga gagaguwaja-ni.
 find(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-nF here=JUST-remote Anthony.Lagoon-LOC
 I was born right there at Anthony Lagoon [Lit: (My father) found me right there
 at Anthony Lagoon.]
- (5) Baji ng-a gili=nima-yaga gandawugi-ni magi-ni.
 grow(nF) 1sgS-Pst here=JUST-remote one:IV:nAbs-LOC camp:IV:nAbs-LOC
 I grew up just there, in the one place.
- (6) Yangula ng-a yarru alanga gunya-ni.
 NEG 1sgS-Pst go(nF) girl:II(NOM)other:IV:nAbs-LOC
 I didn't go to another (place) (as a) little girl.

¹⁸³This is the only example that I have in which =nima appears within a word (giliyaga). For a discussion of =nima see 7.5.1.2.

- (7) Mirra ng-a gandawugi-ni.
sit(nF) 1sgS-Pst one:IV:nAbs-LOC
I stayed in one (place).
- (8) Bajijurndu gini-ng-a irdina-yi.
bring.up(nF)3sgmascA-1O-nF father:I:nAbs-LOC
My father brought me up.
- (9) Bugayirna ngabulu-ngunya yagu ng-a ngarri irda.
big:II(NOM) breast-PROP:II(NOM) leave(nF) 1sgA-Pst 1sgPOSS:I(ACC)
father:I(ACC)
(When) I was a big girl with breasts, I left my father.
- (10) Yarru ng-a gunya-ni.
go(nF) 1sgS-Pst other:IV:nAbs-LOC
I went to another (place).
- (11) Yagu ng-a gujinya irda yarru ng-a nganaarra-nmanji.
leave(nF) 1sgA-Pst mother:II(ACC) father:I(ACC) go(nF) 1sgS-Pst Brunette.Downs-ALL
I left (my) mother (and) father (and) I went to Brunette Downs.
- (12) Giliyaga mirra ng-a {work}-ngali barrawu-ni.
there sit(nF) 1sgS-Pst -?? house:IV:nAbs-LOC
I stayed there, working in the (station) house.
- (13) Mirra ngirr-aji nganaarra-ni. Ngarlu ngirr-aji wangarra.
sit(nF) 1plexcS-Hab:Pst Brunette.Downs-LOC dance(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst corroboree:IV(ACC)
We stayed at Brunette Downs. We used to dance corroborees.
- (14) Ngarlu wangarra ngirr-aji.
dance(nF) corroboree:IV(ACC) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst
We'd dance the corroboree.
- (15) Jila irri-ngg-aji ngarlu ngirr-aji wangarra.
paint(nF) 3plA-RR-Hab:Pst dance(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst corroboree:IV(ACC)
They [the men?] would paint each other up (and) we would dance the corroboree.
- (16) Gurijba¹⁸⁴ ngirr-aji mirra. Yangula ngirri-ngg-a jidanmi.
good:IV(NOM) 1plexcS-Hab:Pst sit(nF) NEG 1plexcA-RR-nF give.cheek(nF)
We were happy. We never gave each other any cheek.
- (17) Gurijba ngirr-aji-n mirra.
good:IV(NOM) 1plexcS-Hab:Pst-Pr sit(nF)
We were happy.
- (18) {Work}-ngali ngirr-aji marndangi-nka.
-?? 1plexcS-Hab:Pst white.man:I:nAbs-DAT

¹⁸⁴I don't understand why this has Class IV agreement.

We were working for the white man.

- (19) Gurijbirna marndanga ngirrigarna maliyirna.
 good:II(NOM) white.woman:II(NOM) 1plexcPOSS:II(NOM) boss:II(NOM)
 Our boss was a good white woman.
- (20) {Work} ngirr-aji ngaya ayigurrajbi.
 1plexcS-Hab:Pst 3sgfemObl all.day
 We used to work for her all day.
- (21) Gannga ngirr-aji magi-nmanji gulug-barda.
 return(nF) 1plexcS-Hab:Pst camp:IV:nAbs-ALL sleep-INF
 We'd go back to the camp to sleep.
- (22) Mirra ngirr-aji.
 sit(nF) 1plexcS-Hab:Pst
 We'd stay (at the camp).
- (23) Gambardarda ngirr-aji duwa.
 early 1plexcS-Hab:Pst get.up(nF)
 We'd get up early.
- (24) Yarru ngaya nyanyalu ngirr-aji wugbardi gambardarda=nima.
 go 3sgfemObl tea:I?(ACC) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst cook(nF) early=JUST
 (We'd) go to her (and) make some tea very early in the morning.
- (25) Yabu ngirr-aji marndanga-nka.
 take(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst white.woman:II:nAbs-DAT
 We'd take (it) to the white woman.
- (26) Jiyawu ngirr-aji marndanga nyanyalu.
 give(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst white.woman:II(ACC) tea:I?(ACC)
 We'd give (some) tea to the white woman.
- (27) Jiyawu ngirr-aji ngannguyi ngirriganji.
 give(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst boss:I(ACC) 1plexcPOSS:I(ACC)
 We'd give (some tea) to our (male) boss.
- (28) Ngurraramba=nima ngirr-aji duwa.
 night-time=JUST 1plexcS-Hab:Pst get.up(nF)
 We'd get up (when it was) still dark.
- (29) Yarru irr-aji juwa-rdarra {work}-ngali.
 go(nF) 3plS-Hab:Pst man:I:Abs-GROUP(NOM) -??
 All the men would go to work.
- (30) {Work}-ngali ngirr-aji marndanga-nka:
 -?? 1plexcS-Hab:Pst white.woman:II:nAbs-DAT
 We were working for the white woman:
- (31) agard-bi danya; banngarradi, langanjardi ngirr-aji.
 wash-nF clothes:IV(ACC) hang.up(nF) hang.up(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst
 (we'd) wash the clothes and we'd hang (them) out.

- (32) Wugbardi ngirr-aji danya.
 cook(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst clothes:IV(ACC)
 We'd iron the clothes.
- (33) Agard-bi ngirr-aji {plate} ngaya.
 wash-nF 1plexcA-Hab:Pst 3sgfemObl
 We'd wash the plates for her.
- (34) {Floor} ngirr-aji ngaya agard-bi.
 1plexcA-Hab:Pst 3sgfemObl wash-nF
 We'd wash the floor for her.
- [We'd go on holiday then:]
- (35) Yardi gini-ng-aji ngirra magi-nmanji.
 put(nF) 3sgmascA-1O-Hab:Pst 1plexcACC camp:IV:nAbs-ALL
 He [the boss] would drop us off at the camp [where we would holiday].
- (36) Yarru ngirr-aji. Yany-bi ngirr-aji marnuguja.¹⁸⁵
 go(nF) 1plexcS-Hab:Pst get-nF 1plexcA-Hab:Pst conkerberry:III(ACC)
 We'd go. We'd get conkerberries.
- (37) Jigama ngirr-aji nguya.
 yam:III(ACC) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst dig(nF)
 We'd dig up bush yams.
- (38) Yany-bi ngirr-aji didija ngirr-aji yabu
 get-nF 1plexcA-Hab:Pst carry(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst take(nF)
 magi-nmanji.
 camp:IV:nAbs-ALL
 We'd get (them) , we'd carry (them and) take (them back) to camp,
- (39) Yabu magi-nmanji wugbugbardi jigama.¹⁸⁶
 take(nF) camp:IV:nAbs-ALL cook:RDP(nF) yam:III(ACC)
 take (them) to camp and cook the yams.
- (40) Jiyawu ngirr-aji bungmungmanya.
 give(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst old.women:II(ACC)
 We'd give (some) to the old women.
- (41) Gulug-bi ngirr-aji.
 sleep-nF 1plexcS-Hab:Pst
 We'd sleep.
- (42) Gambardarda bulinama ngirr-aji duwa ngijininima
 early tomorrow 1plexcS-Hab:Pst get.up(nF) tomorrow
 The next day we'd get up early.

¹⁸⁵This noun, when referring to the fruit as it is here, usually has the Class III gender suffix *-ma*.

¹⁸⁶The informal nature of this story is reflected in reduced clauses such as line 38 and this, which lack auxiliaries and have a rather odd structure. I do not know enough yet about Wambaya discourse principles to know what the possibilities for such reduced clauses are.

- (43) Yarru ngirr-aji alalangmi-ji-ni.
go(nF) 1plexcS-Hab:Pst hunt-TH-SIMUL:SS
We'd go hunting.
- (44) Wugbardi ngirr-aji mayinanji.
cook(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst goanna:I(ACC)
We'd cook goanna.
- (45) Wugbardi ngirr-aji.
cook(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst
We'd cook (it).
- (46) Wawunji ngirr-aji yany-bi.
sugar.bag:I(ACC) 1plexcA-Hab:Pstget-nF
We'd collect sugar bags.
- (47) Nyilangunya ngirr-aji yany-bi.
echidna:II(ACC) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst get-nF
We'd collect echidna.
- (48) Yabu ngirr-aji manjunga-nmanji wugbugbardi.
take(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst shade:IV:nAbs-ALLcook:RDP(nF)
We'd take (it) into the shade and cook (it).
- (49) Angbangbardi manjunga ngirra.
build:RDP(nF) shade:IV(ACC) 1plexcObl
(We'd) make a shade for us,
- (50) Nguya jamba wugbardi mayinanji.
dig(nF) ground:IV(ACC) cook(nF) goanna:I(ACC)
dig the ground (and) cook the goanna.
- (51) Garrunyama ngirr-aji.
roast?(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst
We'd roast (it).
- (52) Gayirrima ngirr-aji jigama.
roast(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst yam:III(ACC)
We'd roast the yams.
- (53) Nyilangunya wugbardi ngirr-aji.
echidna:II(ACC) cook(nF) 1plexcA-Hab:Pst
We'd cook the echidna.
- (54) Gulug-ardi ngirr-aji manjunga-nmanji.¹⁸⁷
sleep-CAUS(nF) 1plexcS-Hab:Pstshade:IV:nAbs-ALL
We'd lie down in the shade.

¹⁸⁷This argument structure is rather odd. Firstly, *gulugardi* usually requires a reflexive bound pronoun in this context and secondly, I would have expected the locative case suffix on the NP, instead of the allative.

- (55) Naj-barda ngirr-aji yandu mayinanji.
 burn-INF 1plexcA-Hab:Pst mind(nF) goanna:I(ACC)
 We'd mind the goanna cooking.
- (56) "Naj-bi gi-n manganyma mama.
 burn-nF 3sgS(Pres)-Pr tucker:III(NOM) this:III:sg:NOM
 "The tucker's cooked [Lit: The tucker's burning].
- (57) Naj-bi gi-n yangaji. Dulanyimi-j-ba ngurra!
 burn-nF 3sgS(Pres)-Pr meat:I(NOM) raise-TH-Fut 1plincObl
 The meat's cooked. Take it out for us!"
- (58) Duwa-j-ba ga! Gajba-gaj-ba ngurru manganyma yangaji."
 get.up-TH-Fut sg:IMP:twds RDP-eat-Fut 1plincA(nPst) tucker:III(ACC) meat:I(ACC)
 "Wake up and come here! Let's eat the tucker (and) the meat."

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